THE GOVERNMENT

OF THE PALATINATE,

1449-1508.

Thesis presented by

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Abstract of thesis.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PALATINATE, 1449-1508.

Not all German historians have yet lost the tendency to view their history until the nineteenth century as a mere prologue to national unification and to regard only the Holy Roman Empire and its institutions as worthy of interest. It is therefore not surprising that to historians outside Germany the German principalities have often appeared as shadows flitting across the scene of imperial affairs. In particular, it is not sufficiently realised that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the German princes were confronting challenges similar to those met by the monarchs of western Europe, though on a smaller scale. The desire of the princes to unify their territories and to strengthen their control over them, as well as growing financial problems and an increasing burden of judicial and administrative tasks, all demanded more purposeful policies, modern methods of government, and organized institutions. These developments were remarkably similar in the major principalities, although they occurred earlier in some than in others. The Palatinate in the later fifteenth century was in many ways representative of other principalities, even though the Estates were not sufficiently developed to be an effective curb on the rulers, as they were elsewhere. The sources for the history of the Palatinate in this period have been scattered rather than lost, but there have been only a few studies of individual problems, and no survey of all aspects of its government.

Although the Wittelsbachs in the Palatinate, together with the counts of Württemberg, were the first ruling house to put an end to the baneful partitions which afflicted nearly every dynasty in the Empire, the attempts

of the electors palatine from the time of the Golden Bull until the sixteenth century to prevent partitions have been neglected by historians. The Golden Bull confirmed the exclusive right of the Rhenish Wittelsbachs to the electoral dignity, which was to descend by primogeniture and to be linked irrevocably with their principality, which was also to be inherited by primogeniture. These provisions were incorporated in several family treaties of the electors during the next fifty years, which also established a nucleus of inalienable lands as an irreducible core for the principality. The demands of the younger sons of King Rupert (the Elector Rupert III) and the recognised necessity of providing for them caused the principle of primogeniture to be broken at the first serious test, and a fourfold partition ensued in 1410. For the next century, however, the rulers of the electoral line sought with varying intensity of purpose — and despite the additional difficulties of minorities and regencies — to prevent further partition. This was the chief objective of the Arrogation of 1451-2, by which Frederick I (1449-76) became elector and sole ruler of the Palatinate in place of his minor nephew and ward, Philip, with specific reference to the Golden Bull and the family treaties of the fourteenth century. Similarly, Philip (1476-1508) on his succession recalled the grant of lands which Frederick had made to his own son. These two electors and their predecessors had also tried to reunite the lands partitioned in 1410; Frederick I conquered some of the territories of the counts palatine of Zweibrücken and Philip eventually absorbed those of the counts palatine of Mosbach and Neumarkt in 1499. Younger sons of the electors were increasingly provided for during the fifteenth century by the acquisition of fat benefices and sees, instead of by grants of lands and revenues of the

principality. Further family compacts of the sixteenth century averted new dangers of partition, so that a tradition of the indivisibility of the Palatinate developed; as a result, even on the extinction of the main line, first one and then another cadet line succeeded to the entire inheritance in 1559 and 1685.

The unity thus preserved was an indispensable basis for the territorial expansion which approximately doubled the revenues of the Palatinate between 1410 and 1500. Not only was the rate of expansion of the fourteenth century thus maintained, but many of the methods of expansion adopted in the previous century were continued and developed. The electors secured the inheritance of several leading noble families whose line came to an end, on occasion using champerty to achieve their aim, and purchased numerous lands of the higher nobility, who had fallen into debt as a result of the 'agrarian crisis'. Other territories were acquired in exchange for the electors' protection, as escheated fiefs, or by means of the administrative pressure exercised by the local officials of the Palatinate and the statements of customary rights which they obtained from the inhabitants of disputed areas.

The growth of the territories was not haphazard, since the electors pursued a more determined policy of expansion in some directions than in others. They were especially anxious to remove enclaves, to control the strategic points and major highways within their lands, and to buttress their position on the frontiers with the see of Mainz, in the vicinity of the imperial city of Weissenburg, and in Alsace and the Ortenau, of which they held the imperial protectorates. By

intervening in the legal disputes and family affairs of the nobles in these areas, they obtained fractional shares and military advantages in many strategic castles. The expansion of the first half of the century had been mainly by means of purchases, but Frederick I made his greatest gains by conquests from the sees of Mainz and Speyer, the count palatine of Zweibrücken, the margrave of Baden and other rulers.

This territorial expansion ensured that the finances of the Palatinate were fundamentally sound during the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, wars of conquest and other conflicts with neighbouring rulers caused great expenditure and also diminished the revenues from taxation whenever the Palatinate was devastated, and from the Rhine tolls when trade was affected. From the middle of the century, military contributions related to the holding of property were levied in lieu of the universal obligation to military service, but they paid only for the picked forces of infantry. The Rhine tolls were never more and often less than one quarter of the total ordinary revenues, and the electors received relatively small amounts from the land tolls, their shares in the profits of all mines in their territories, and their dues from the exercise of safe conduct on the highways and from the protection of the neighbouring free imperial cities and monasteries. The greater part of the ordinary revenues was derived from the taxation of the subjects and from the demesne lands, which with the exception of the sheep farms were mostly leased for a share of the crop, on grounds of profitability.

The electors did not aim to change the system of taxation. They

emphasized such means of retrenching expenditure as good management of their debts and the interest rates on them, which consumed at least one quarter of the revenues. At the same time, they sought to exploit existing sources of revenue to the full. There was indeed little opportunity to increase the long-established fixed tax on property, which no longer corresponded to the wealth of the towns and villages and from which the Church and the nobility were largely exempt. Instead, the electors extended the incidence of the excise on sales and consumption, which had originally been levied on wine in a few towns, until it covered a wide range of commodities in most towns and in part of the countryside; the exemptions from the excise were also fewer than those from the property tax. In the process, however, three major towns were exempted from the property tax itself and from most extraordinary taxation. Capital levies of 5% were raised six times during the fifteenth century and in the later years were used mainly to redeem the loans which had accumulated as a result of the annual deficits on the ordinary revenues which had become common. These deficits were also made good in part by several extraordinary sources of income, including the dowries of three foreign brides of the electors, pensions from the kings of England and France, and the ransoms of three enemy princes captured in 1462.

The Elector Philip lacked his predecessor's military and diplomatic skill and engaged against overwhelming odds in the Bavarian Succession War of 1504. The emperor and the duke of Württemberg made considerable conquests from the Palatinate, and other lands had to be pawned in order to meet the financial crisis

produced by the war. Most of the work of territorial expansion which had been carried out since 1410 had to be performed again in the sixteenth century. The war of 1504 therefore accounted in part for the Elector Frederick V's lack of adequate resources on entering the Thirty Years War. Moreover, the Elector Louis V failed in his attempt of 1517 to overcome the financial crisis by persuading his subjects to assume responsibility for his debts, as the Estates had done in other principalities. Some of the towns had been privileged by his predecessors, others enjoyed a light tax burden because they were former imperial cities pawned to the Palatinate, and none had any direct interest in the elector's estate of indebtedness, since not they, but several free imperial cities and the nobles of the Palatinate, were the main creditors of the principality.

The electors held themselves accountable only to God for the welfare of their subjects, but the extent of their effective control over the Church, the nobility and the towns depended on the interests which they had in common with these subjects and on political circumstances. The electors exercised some influence in all the sees which had part of their provinces or territories in the Palatinate, but only the bishops of Worms and Speyer came under their close control, and even these sees were not mediatized. The electors were less successful in taxing the clergy than in exercising jurisdiction over them, and they had the gift of only a small proportion of the benefices in their territories, but their interventions in the monastic houses under their protection and in the university of Heidelberg were frequent and far-reaching.

Frederick I and Philip prized the feudal relationship with their nobles and were able to derive some political advantages from it, but the main guarantee of loyal service in the army and the central and local administration was the appointment of noble retainers. The nobles entered the electors' protection, gave them the right of entry to their lands and castles in wartime, and accepted their jurisdiction. By Philip's reign the retainers were usually salaried, and the system had become a fully developed 'bastard feudalism'. In exchange for their services, the nobility enjoyed the privileges, lands and other sources of income which the electors were able to grant. Just as the nobles were called on to advise their rulers in time of crisis, so the latter would intervene in the affairs of the nobility and obtain as many advantages for themselves as they gave through their protection. The relationship to the electors of the Landsassen, or subject nobles, is less easy to define, since it was not the outcome of specific contracts, but it came to represent the reinforced loyalty of retainers who were usually also vassals and whose families had long lived in the Palatinate. Nevertheless, the nobles of the Kraichgau and the Ortenau, while sometimes calling the Elector Philip their territorial prince, preferred to set up their own independent leagues rather than rely on the elector to defend them from the claims that they should join the Swabian League.

The intermediate position which some of the nobles took up between the elector and the Swabian League (which eventually led them to become Free Imperial Knights) was one reason why the embryonic Estates which had been developing since the middle of the fifteenth century

received such a rude check in 1517. Another reason was the relatively privileged position of many of the towns of the Palatinate, over which the extent of control exercised by the electors varied widely.

They had more influence in Worms, Speyer and other neighbouring free imperial cities than in the imperial cities of Alsace and the Ortenau, of which they held the imperial protectorates. Oppenheim, Kaiserslautern and other former imperial cities pawned to the Palatinate also had few obligations to the electors and a large measure of self-government. The remaining towns were fully subordinate to the authority of the electors and their officials, who repressed several attempts to gain some municipal autonomy. On the other hand, the electors' legislation for the towns had the character of charters confirming their privileges and regulating trade. These ordinances also promoted uniformity of customs throughout the Palatinate.

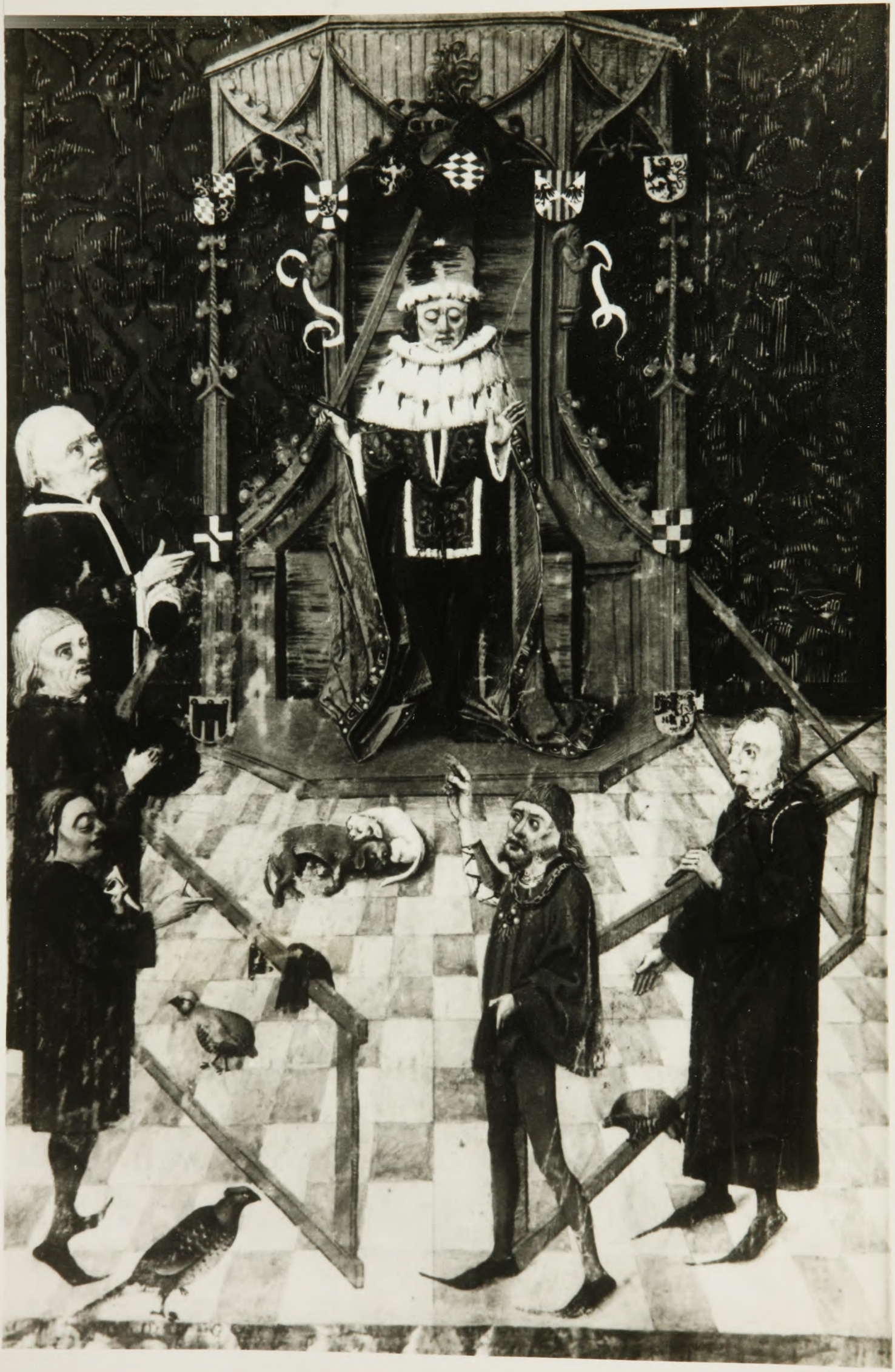
The principality bore the marks of its recent rapid growth: the electors' rights varied extensively throughout their lands, and the work of internal unification was begun properly only in the fifteenth century. One important weapon of unification was for the electors to stress their prerogative rights as territorial princes. These efforts which were made to reinforce and extend their rights over their serfs, over mines and hunting preserves, to the exercise of safe conduct, and to the protection of their subjects and of foreigners, all served to increase their influence beyond the confines of the Palatinate, as well as inside it. A similar dual purpose was

fulfilled by the formal supreme court established in 1462, which helped to make the Palatinate an almost closed sphere of jurisdiction. Although the electors issued no comprehensive code of law for the entire principality in the fifteenth century, their sumptuary laws, economic regulations and codification of parts of the law of inheritance applied to the whole country and furthered its unification.

The conduct of the administration of the Palatinate in the later fifteenth century clearly foreshadowed the organized council and the specialisation among the officials which were fully developed by the mid-sixteenth century. Lawyers trained in the university of Heidelberg were increasingly employed on diplomatic missions, in the courts and the chancery, and in the financial administration, with its distinct functions of receiver, treasurer and auditing commission. The main influence on the policies of the electors was exercised by the legally trained chancellors. Like the chancellors, the leading household officials were becoming officers of state and left the actual supervision of the household to subordinates. Although great responsibilities devolved on the local officials, they were kept loyal and efficient by close definition of their tasks, careful annual auditing of their accounts, and occasional direct intervention in the localities.

Parallel developments in other German principalities suggest that the practice of the fifteenth century had at least as much influence on administrative methods in the later sixteenth century as had the Burgundian institutions which the Habsburgs may have

introduced to their Austrian lands and to the Empire. Similar problems to those in western Europe produced similar expedients in Germany to overcome them, and several institutions and administrative methods could later be borrowed, because the ground had been prepared to receive them.



THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PALATINATE, 1449-1508.

Frontispiece: the Elector Frederick I receives the homage of a noble vassal, circa 1471 (illumination from a feudal book, Generallandesarchiv, Karlsruhe, Abteilung 67, vol.1057).

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Abbreviations.

(i) Archives.

SA	(Staatsarchiv)	Darmstadt
StA	(Stadtarchiv)	Frankfurt
Arch.	(Universitätsarchiv)	Heidelberg
Bibl.	(Universitätsbibliothek)	Heidelberg
GLA	(Generallandesarchiv)	Karlsruhe
GHA	(Geheimes Hausarchiv)	Munich
GSA	(Geheimes Staatsarchiv)	Munich
HSA	(Hauptstaatsarchiv)	Munich
SB	(Staatsbibliothek)	Munich
SA	(Staatsarchiv)	Speyer
Dép.	(Archives Départementales)	Strasbourg
Ville	(Archives de la Ville)	Strasbourg
HSA	(Hauptstaatsarchiv)	Stuttgart

(ii) Collections of Documents and Calendars.

Kremer, ii : C.J. Kremer, Urkunden zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrichs des Ersten von der Pfalz.

Pfälzer Urk. : J.G. Lehmann, Pfälzer Urkunden.

Pfälzisches U.B. : J.G. Lehmann, Pfälzisches Urkundenbuch.

R.Baden : Regesten der Markgrafen von Baden und Hachberg, 1050-1515.

R.Friedrich : Regesten zur Geschichte Friedrichs des Siegreichen.

R.Katz. : Regesten der Grafen von Katzenelnbogen, 1060-1486.

R.Pfalz : Regesten der Pfalzgrafen am Rhein, 1214-1410.

Württ.R. : Württembergische Regesten, 1301-1500.

(iii) Secondary Works.

Becker : J. Becker, Geschichte der Reichslandvogtei im Elsass...1273-1648.

Ernst : F. Ernst, Eberhart im Bart.

Fabricius : W. Fabricius, Die Herrschaften des unteren Nahegebiets.

Gothein : E. Gothein, 'Die Landstände der Kurpfalz', Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins, Neue Folge iii, 1888, pp.1-76.

HÄusser : L. HÄusser, Geschichte der rheinischen Pfalz, vol.i.

Kolb : A.C. Kolb, Die Kraichgauer Ritterschaft unter der Regierung des Kurfürsten Philipp von der Pfalz.

Kremer, i : C.J. Kremer, Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrichs des Ersten von der Pfalz.

Lossen : R. Lossen, Staat und Kirche in der Pfalz im Ausgang des Mittelalters.

O.A.B. Heilbronn : Beschreibung des Oberamts Heilbronn.

O.A.B. Weinsberg	:	Beschreibung des Oberamts Weinsberg.
Ritter	:	G. Ritter, Die Heidelberger Universität, i, 1386-1508.
Vogelgesang	:	G. Vogelgesang, Kanzlei- und Ratswesen der pfälzischen Kurfürsten um die Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert.
Widder	:	J.G. Widder, Versuch einer vollständigen geographisch-historischen Beschreibung der Kurfürstlichen Pfalz.
Ziehen	:	E. Ziehen, Mittelrhein und Reich im Zeitalter der Reichsreform, 1356-1504.

(iv) Periodicals.

Acta Acad. Palat.	:	Historia et Commentationes Academiae electoralis...Theodoro-Palatinae. Pars Historica.
A.H.G.	:	Archiv für hessische Geschichte und Altertumskunde.
M.B.H.C.	:	Mitteilungen der Badischen Historischen Commission.
M.G.B.	:	Mannheimer Geschichtsblätter.
M.H.V.P.	:	Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins der Pfalz.
N.A.G.S.H.	:	Neues Archiv für die Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg und der rheinischen Pfalz.
V.H.O.P.	:	Verhandlungen des historischen Vereins von Oberpfalz und Regensburg.
Z.G.O.	:	Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins.

INTRODUCTION

Until recently, the history of the German principalities before the eighteenth century has been viewed mainly from the standpoint of the participation of the princes in imperial affairs. Yet it is also worth while to investigate their methods of government, especially in the second half of the fifteenth century, when the major principalities completed their development from mere conglomerations of feudal rights and delegated royal powers into territorial states (Territorialstaaten). Since Fritz Ernst's book on Eberhard I of Württemberg[1], however, no survey has appeared of all aspects of the government of any of the leading principalities in this period.

Discussion has centred in the past on the extent to which Austrian institutions, and through them those of the Empire and then of other German principalities, were influenced by Burgundian institutions from the reign of the Emperor Maximilian I onwards[2]. Already in the fifteenth century, however, there existed in Germany the financial problems and increasing burden of judicial and administrative tasks which demanded more modern

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1. Eberhard im Bart, Stuttgart, 1933.

2. The relevant problems and literature are discussed in F. Hartung, Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart, 7th edn., Stuttgart, 1959, pp.73,75-78.

methods of government and organized institutions. Confronting challenges similar to those met by the European monarchs, though on a smaller scale, the German princes independently set their finances in order and centralized their administration. Although these beginnings were not as highly developed as the Burgundian institutions, they explain, at the least, why the new shoots could later be so readily grafted onto the old stock.

Developments in the Palatinate were in some measure representative of those elsewhere in Germany. If only to emphasize the need for a fuller comparative study, parallels will be drawn at selected points between the Palatinate and other principalities. The Elector Palatine Frederick I, 'the Victorious' (1449-76), has been described as a typical territorial prince of his time in his relationship with his country[1]. Although Frederick and his successor, Philip 'the Upright' (1476-1508), were not subject to the control of finances and administration imposed on many princes by their Estates, their rule was not free from all restraints; it is in any case instructive to see how they governed their lands without either the promptings given or the limits set by Estates.

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1. F. Ernst, 'Kurfürst Friedrich der Siegreiche von der Pfalz', Deutscher Westen --- Deutsches Reich, ed. K. von Raumer and K. Baumann, Kaiserslautern, 1938, p.59; Ernst, p.131.

The history of the Palatinate illustrates the complexity of two problems which beset most German principalities. Their ruling houses had no established principle of primogeniture and only a few principalities, like Württemberg and the Palatinate, had put an end to partitions already in the fifteenth century. The efforts of the electors palatine to preserve their patrimony intact may only be understood against the background of similar strivings ever since the Golden Bull, which have not yet received due recognition. The second priority of the electors was to round off their territories against fierce competition from other rulers and from the powerful nobles and free imperial cities of south-west Germany.

The imperial status of the electors, their intervention in imperial affairs, and the relations of the Palatinate with its neighbours will only be examined in so far as they have a bearing on the internal consolidation of the country. The electors' territories in the Upper Palatinate[1], to the north of Bavaria, were an integral part of their possessions, though separated from the Rhine Palatinate by the lands of other rulers. The government of the Upper Palatinate, however, was virtually separate, and will only be referred to when it illuminates developments in the Rhineland. Nor is here the place to describe the Renaissance court of the electors, who were them-

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1. A name first applied in the sixteenth century, but used here for the sake of convenience.

selves well educated and the patrons of German and Italian humanists.

Throughout its history the Palatinate changed continuously in size with the fortunes of war, but its geography, agriculture and commerce have always been governed by the rivers which are both its chief lines of demarcation and the main highways, the Rhine and its tributaries, the Neckar and Nahe. On the Neckar lies the university town of Heidelberg, the capital of the Palatinate for most of its existence. The Bergstrasse, the region immediately to the north of Heidelberg, is known, together with the corresponding west bank of the Rhine, as the 'garden of Germany', where spring arrives a few weeks earlier than in the rest of the country and fruit and nut trees abound. In the fifteenth century the corn granary of the principality was the fertile plain of the Rhine, and especially the triangle between Rhine and Neckar. Wine was produced in large quantities in the villages on the edge of the Haardt mountains, to the west of the Rhine plain, and in Lower Alsace, of which the electors held the imperial protectorate. Bacharach was the centre of another wine-growing district and an entrepôt to which the wines of the rest of the Palatinate, Alsace and the Upper Rhine were brought overland or on small ships and trans-shipped to the Frankfurt Fairs and thence to the Lower Rhine, the Hanseatic cities, the Netherlands and England[1]. The main centre of sheep-farming

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1. F.L. Wagner, Stadt Bacharach und Samtgemeinde der Viertäler, Bacharach, 1956, pp.20-21; F. von Bassermann-Jordan, Geschichte des Weinbaus, i, 2nd edn., Frankfurt, 1923, pp.126-8.

lay to the south-east of Heidelberg, in the Kraichgau and the Neckar valley. The forests of the Bergstrasse, the Neckar valley, the Haardt and Alsace provided timber for export or for charcoal and contained the game preserves of the electors. The Bergstrasse and the area about Alzey were the scene of considerable mining activity after 1470. In 1503 the population of the Palatinate was probably nearer 200,000 than 100,000[1], and even after the elector had lost many of his possessions in the Bavarian Succession War, he still had thirty-seven castles, twenty-four towns, thirty-four agricultural estates, and all or part of nearly 450 villages[2].

Several silver currencies were used in the principality, but the standard by which all were measured was the gold guilder or florin of the Rhenish electors; 7½ guilders were equal to one English pound sterling. Like the currency, weights and measures varied from one district to the next, but the tun (Fuder) of wine was approximately 1,000 litres, the measure (Malter) of grain about 12 bushels, and the Morgen of land nearly one acre.

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1. See Appendix XIV.

2. Generallandesarchiv, Karlsruhe, Abteilung 67(Kopialbücher), vol.907, fos.1-47.

CHAPTER ONE

THE DYNASTY AND ITS PATRIMONY

(i) The Golden Bull and the Family Treaties of the Electors, 1356-1401.

For half a century after the Golden Bull the electors palatine sought to establish the rule of primogeniture for their patrimonial lands. Had this policy been successful, they would have avoided the territorial partitions and the conflicts and wars between brothers and cousins, which afflicted the ruling houses of most German principalities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries[1].

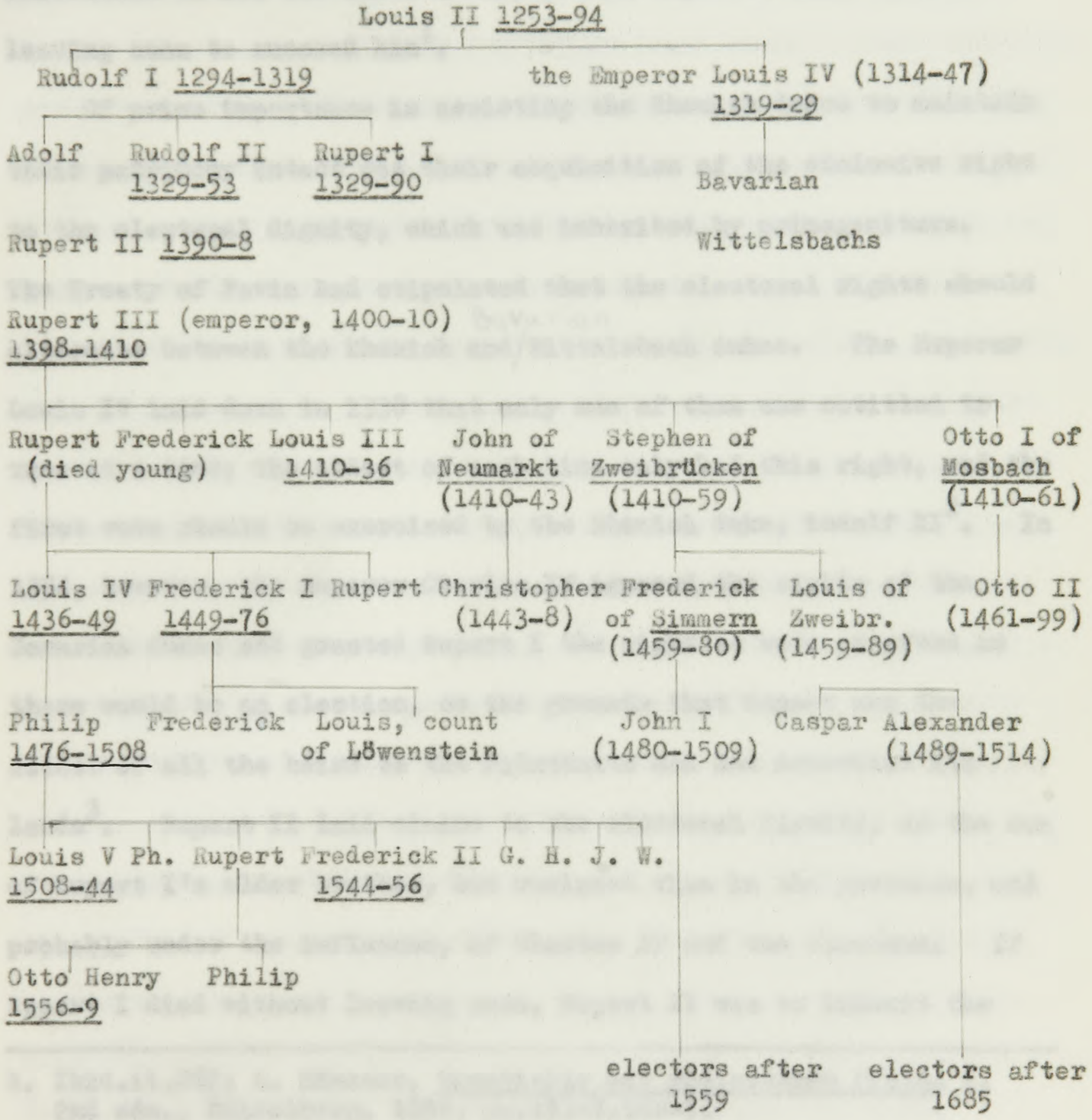
It had indeed been a partition which restricted the rule of the elder line of the Wittelsbachs to the Palatinate and Upper Palatinate only. The Treaty of Pavia put an end in 1329 to the conflicts within the family of the Emperor Louis IV. Whereas Louis's sons received most of the Bavarian lands, his nephews, Rudolf II and Rupert I (together with their nephew, Rupert II), became joint rulers over the rest of the Wittelsbach inheritance. After another partition in 1338, Rudolf II became sole ruler in most of the Rhenish lands and the two Ruperts ruled jointly over the remainder of these and the Upper Palatinate. Disputes between them continued until Rudolf's death in 1353; thereafter Rupert I

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1. F.L. Carsten, Princes and Parliaments in Germany from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century, Oxford, 1959, pp.6-8,150,198-201,263-4,352-7; A. Tille, 'Die deutschen Territorien', in B. Gebhardt, Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte, ii, 7th edn., ed. R. Holtzmann, Stuttgart, 1931, pp.204-5,213, 263-5.

The Wittelsbachs in the Palatinate

(the dates of their rule there are underlined)



acted as Regent for his nephew and exercised sole rule in the Palatinate. Rupert II retired to the Upper Palatinate, until his succession to all the lands in 1390, when Rupert I died without leaving sons to succeed him[1].

Of prime importance in assisting the Rhenish dukes to maintain their patrimony intact was their acquisition of the exclusive right to the electoral dignity, which was inherited by primogeniture. The Treaty of Pavia had stipulated that the electoral rights should alternate between the Rhenish and Bavarian Wittelsbach dukes. The Emperor Louis IV laid down in 1338 that only one of them was entitled to vote at a time; the eldest of each line only had this right, and the first vote should be exercised by the Rhenish duke, Rudolf II[2]. In 1354, however, the Emperor Charles IV ignored the rights of the Bavarian dukes and granted Rupert I the right to vote as often as there would be an election, on the grounds that Rupert was the eldest of all the heirs to the Palatinate and had inherited its lands[3]. Rupert II laid claims to the electoral dignity, as the son of Rupert I's elder brother, but resigned them in the presence, and probably under the influence, of Charles IV and the electors. If Rupert I died without leaving sons, Rupert II was to inherit the

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1. Ibid.ii.269; L. Häusser, Geschichte der rheinischen Pfalz, i, 2nd edn., Heidelberg, 1856, pp.153-7,166-7.

2. K.A. Muffat, 'Geschichte der bayrischen und pfälzischen Kur seit der Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts', Abhandlungen der Historischen Classe der Königlich Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, xi.2, 1869, pp.265-70; K. Zeumer, Die Goldene Bulle Kaiser Karls IV., i, Weimar, 1908, p.155.

3. Ibid.i.156-7;ii, nos.8-9, pp.64-66; Codex diplomaticus palatinus, ed. C.L. Tolner, Frankfurt, 1700, nos.137,143, pp.89,92-93; Muffat, loc. cit., pp.271-5; Häusser, pp.164-6.

Palatinate and Upper Palatinate, together with the electoral rights[1].

Charles IV intended to strengthen the royal authority by precluding disputed imperial elections. He therefore wanted to secure the electoral dignity for Rupert I and avoid further conflicts over it by linking the electoral rights irrevocably with the entire principality of the Palatinate and the hereditary office of imperial steward. This policy was fulfilled when the emperor, electors and princes of the Empire testified that Rupert I was in possession of the electoral dignity, the principality of the Palatinate, the office of imperial steward, and the lands and feudal lordships '...super quibus electio et vox comitatus palatini Reni fundata est ....' No one was to seek to gain the electoral dignity from Rupert I at law without suing him also for the whole Palatinate, '...quod unum sine alio persistere non potest....'[2]. Three days later, Rupert I was confirmed as elector in the Golden Bull, of which the seventh clause introduced the law of primogeniture for the lay electorates and the twentieth affirmed the indissoluble bond between the electoral rights of the electors and their principalities. Among the additional clauses of Christmas Day 1356, the twenty-fifth stated that the principalities of the lay electors were not to be

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1. 27 Dec.1355, Zeumer, op. cit.i.158-9;ii, no.17, pp.77-78; Muffat, loc. cit., p.277.

2. 7 Jan. 1356, Zeumer, op. cit.i.160;ii, no.21, pp.89-90; Codex diplomaticus palatinus, no.139, p.90; Muffat, loc. cit., p.278.

divided, but, like their electoral rights, were to be inherited by primogeniture[1].

Rupert I was but implementing the ideas of Charles IV when, three months later, he made an agreement that if he died without leaving sons, he should be succeeded by his nephew, Rupert II, and that thereafter in perpetuity the eldest son was to be sole ruler of the entire inheritance[2]. In 1374 Rupert I secured a similar promise from his nephew's son, and the agreement was renewed in 1392 by the Elector Rupert II and Rupert III[3].

Rupert I had at the same time created a corpus of lands within his principality which were inalienable from it: they might not be sold, pawned or granted as a dowry. He agreed with Rupert II in 1368 that seventeen castles and towns were to be inalienable in perpetuity. They were the oldest possessions of the dukes and included the chief towns of Heidelberg, Neustadt and Alzey. The officials and subjects of these places were not to swear loyalty to an elector until he had sworn never to alienate them[4]. The three Ruperts renewed the agreement in 1378 and added two towns in the

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1. Zeumer, op. cit.i.82-86,91;ii, pp.21-22,35-36,41. See G. Barraclough, The Origins of Modern Germany, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1947, pp.316-7,320.

2. 25 March 1357, F. von Weech, 'Pfälzische Regesten und Urkunden', Zeitschrift fur die Geschichte des Oberrheins, xxii, 1869, pp.199-201; Regesten der Pfalzgrafen am Rhein, i, ed. A. Koch and J. Wille, Innsbruck, 1894, no.4988,p.299.

3. J.D. von Olenschlager, Neue Erläuterungen der Goldenen Bulle Kaysers Carls des IV., Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1766, Urkundenbuch, nos.58-59, pp.153-5; R.Pfalz.i, nos.5733,5445, pp.349,325.

4. von Olenschlager, op. cit., U.B., no.55, pp.148-50; R.Pfalz.i, nos.3790,5059, pp.225,302; Häusser, p.153. See App. III(5) for lists of the inalienable lands.

Upper Palatinate to the list[1].

Both the rule of primogeniture and the inalienability of certain lands were enshrined in the 'Rupertine Constitution' of 1395[2]. Drawn up by Rupert II and Rupert III for the latter's sons and their descendants, it remained a draft and was never publicized according to the formalities which it prescribed. The editors of the calendars of the electors believed that in 1395, for the first time, succession by primogeniture was envisaged for the entire patrimonial lands and not merely, as in the past, for certain possessions associated with the electoral dignity[3]. The law of primogeniture, however, was established in 1357, eleven years before any lands were declared inalienable. In the earlier treaties, all the lands of the principality were declared to be linked with the electoral rights, indivisible, and subject to the law of primogeniture; in addition, some of them were regarded as inalienable. These views were merely reaffirmed in the Rupertine Constitution.

Rupert I had had no sons and Rupert II had only one, but the practical question of division arose with Rupert III's numerous sons;

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1. Amberg and Waldeck, also Sauerburg in the Palatinate; several versions of the document included other places in both principalities, but some or all of these may have been later interpolations, von Olenschlager, op. cit., U.B., no.56, pp.150-2; R.Pfalz.i, nos.4230-2, p.252.

2. Codex diplomaticus palatinus, no.185, pp.134-43; R.Pfalz.i, no.5611, pp.335-8.

3. Ibid., p.336.

Charles IV's and Rupert I's theories were to be put to the test[1]. Rupert II and Rupert III laid down that the latter's eldest son, and in future generations every eldest son, was to be sole lord of the Palatinate and Upper Palatinate. They stressed that disputes and partitions between the brothers, as occurred in other ruling families, were to be avoided. The second son was to receive some of the castles which were not inalienable and revenues of 10,000 guilders, the younger sons smaller apanages. The vassals in the apanages and the other brothers were to hold their lands as fiefs of the eldest brother, so that he would have all rights over these possessions except the revenues. The ordinance was not to be construed in any way as a division of the lordship (Herrschaft). On the extinction of the cadet lines in the male line, their lands were to revert to the elector. Several additions were made to the inalienable lands in the Palatinate and Upper Palatinate. Despite protestations to the contrary, this constitution represented a breach of the strict principle of primogeniture. Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that it was only a draft, it showed clearly that the ideas of Charles IV and Rupert I were still alive and not merely formally repeated in letters of confirmation.

The Palatinate was meanwhile growing rapidly in size and there was ample opportunity to provide younger sons with lands without reducing the elector's possessions. Nonetheless, King Rupert's two eldest sons promised before their father's departure to Italy

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1. Häusser, p.263.

in 1401 to observe the earlier provisions of the three Ruperts that the eldest son was always to be sole ruler, as well as elector, and that the inalienable lands were to remain with him[1]. Again in 1408, King Rupert stated that his eldest son, Louis, would inherit the hereditary lordship of the Palatinate[2].

(ii) The Partition of 1410 and Louis III's Ordinances for the Succession and Regency.

The principle of primogeniture was broken as a result of the deathbed will of King Rupert in 1410[3]. He did not actually order a division of the lands, but instructed seven counsellors to make an ordinance between his sons[4], according to the letters of himself, Rupert II, their forefathers, and some of his sons, by which were meant all the agreements so far discussed, except possibly the Rupertine Constitution. After four months, however, the counsellors made a complete partition between the four brothers, which ignored the rule established in the previous family treaties that the eldest son should be sole ruler. The generally accepted view of Häusser, that King Rupert himself ordered the partition, is not borne out by the terms of his instructions to the counsellors and overlooks his earlier injunctions to his sons in the contrary sense. The document

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1. Codex diplomaticus palatinus, no.209, p.159; Häusser, p.228 n.50; R.Pfalz.ii, ed. L. von Oberndorff and M. Krebs, 1912-39, no.1244, p.85.

2. Cartulaire de Mulhouse, i, ed. X. Mossmann, Strasbourg, 1883, no.459, pp.445-6.

3. 16 May Frankfurts Reichscorrespondenz...1376-1519, i, ed. J.Janssen, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1863, no.1253, pp.802-3; R.Pfalz.ii, no.6254, p.469.

4. On 11 June 1410, the four brothers promised to observe the ordinance of the counsellors, von Weech, loc. cit., pp.205-6.

of the counsellors shows that there had been disagreements between the brothers, which makes it likely that the younger brothers had insisted on complete partition. The new elector, Louis III, received in advance the inalienable lands as enumerated before the Rupertine Constitution. He had also obtained before his father's death the imperial cities of Oppenheim and Kaiserslautern and the position of imperial protector (Landvogt) of the ten cities of Alsace, and had acquired further lands in Alsace and the Ortenau. Otherwise the brothers received equal shares. Louis was given centrally situated towns and castles on both sides of the Rhine, for the most part near those he possessed as elector, John the remainder of the Palatinate, Stephen the lands to the west of Louis's, and Otto those to the east and a pension of 1,350 guilders to compensate him for the incorporation of some of his share into Louis's[1].

Although the principle of primogeniture had been abandoned at the first serious test to which it was put, a valuable corpus of inalienable lands had been established, which the electoral line could develop in its efforts to prevent further partition. Louis II immediately confirmed the agreements of his ancestors concerning these places[2]. He added considerably to the list sixteen years

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1. 3 Oct. 1410, Codex diplomaticus palatinus, no.205, pp.152-7; Status causae...der dem...Herrn Christian III. Pfaltz-Graffen bey Rhein...auf die bevorstehende Succession in dem Herzogthumb Zweybrücken...possessorischen Gerechtsamen, ii, 1729, Beylagen, pp.21-27; Häusser, pp.264-7. The rulers of the collateral lines became known by the names of their chief towns: John of Neumarkt, Stephen of Zweibrücken and Otto of Mosbach.

2. 10 Nov. 1410, Regesta, sive Rerum Boicarum Autographa, xii, ed. M. von Freyberg, Munich, 1849, p.82.

later, before setting out on pilgrimage for the Holy Land. Louis appointed his youngest brother, Otto, at the head of a Regency of twenty noblemen for his infant sons, Louis and Frederick. Should the elector not return from Palestine, the eldest, Louis, was to become elector, with possession of the lands previously declared inalienable and of over twenty towns and castles which had been pawned to the Palatinate since the beginning of the century and which were now declared inalienable from it. The younger sons were to rule jointly over other named castles and towns, and the youngest was to have the remainder of the inheritance[1]. Separate provision was made to prevent disputes between the sons when they came of age[2]. In Louis III's will, made after his return from Palestine, he revised the terms of this partition to allow for the birth meanwhile of his third son and to secure larger shares for the elder brothers and more influence for the future elector. The young Louis was not only to receive the augmented inalienable lands, but to have a share with his brothers in the joint rule of the second list of possessions. The youngest son who remained a layman (Frederick) was to have the rest of the inheritance, and Rupert was to enter the Church. The eldest son was to invest all vassals of

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1. 28 Aug. 1426, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich, Urkunden, no.2621; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/810, fos.237-40;865, fos.76-80; Codex diplomaticus palatinus, pp.160-1,179; C. Häutle, Die Oberpfalz und ihre Regenten, 1404-48, Stadtamhof, 1869, pp.25-26. The third son, Rupert, was born six months later, on 27 Feb. 1427, C. Häutle, Genealogie des erlauchten Stammhauses Wittelsbach, Munich, 1870,p.29.

2. GHA Munich, Urk.2622; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/865, fos.74-75.

the Palatinate with their fiefs; and disputes between the brothers after Louis III's death were to be settled by the Regent Otto[1].

The danger of further partition of the electoral lands appeared great, but it was overshadowed during the next three decades by the problems of regency government and minorities, such as existed also in Württemberg and Hesse, each of which underwent two minority regencies dominated by the nobility in the early fifteenth century[2]. Minorities could not be avoided in hereditary principalities, but their difficulties were enlarged by family quarrels which arose from the lack of an established rule of primogeniture. According to clause seven of the Golden Bull and the Emperor Sigismund's confirmations of those clauses which concerned the electors palatine, the regency for a minor elector was to be exercised by the eldest brother of the late elector[3]. Louis III, however, had long been at loggerheads with his eldest brother, John[4], and since 1413 had repeatedly expressed his preference for the youngest, Otto[5]. Louis's relations with Stephen were marred

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1. 5 Oct. 1427, ibid., 810, fos.274-7;811, fos.18-20; Status Causae, i, Beylagen, pp.51-54; Häutle, Oberpfalz, p.27.
2. Württembergische Landtagsakten, 1498-1515, ed. W. Ohr and B.Kober, Stuttgart, 1913, pp.xv-xvi; Carsten, Princes and Parliaments, pp.6-7,150.
3. Zeumer, Goldene Bulle, ii,21-22; 1414 and 1434, Codex diplomaticus palatinus, nos.145-6, pp.93-98.
4. Häutle, Oberpfalz, pp.10-14,18-20,25,86-88; W. Eberhard,Ludwig III., Kurfürst von der Pfalz, und das Reich, 1410-27, Giessen, 1896, pp.101-3.
5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/810, fo.277;865, fos.76,113-6; Status Causae, i, Beylagen, p.51.

by disputes over the forthcoming succession to the county of Sponheim, and subsequent territorial conflicts between the electors and Stephen's second son and his son led to six fierce wars which lasted until 1504[1].

After his return from Palestine, Louis III had to settle major territorial conflicts, which had arisen out of the partition of 1410, even with his favourite brother, Otto[2]. Five weeks later, Louis's will gave Otto full powers as guardian and Regent of the elector's children, lands and people after Louis's death, but he was obliged not to alter the provisions concerning Louis's widow and children and the inalienable lands. Otto was to transact all affairs with the advice of four counsellors, who were to consult also with other counsellors and the local officials[3].

These were measures for a future eventuality, but the very next day Louis, because of the illness which he had contracted on the pilgrimage and which later resulted in blindness, appointed Otto to manage the more important affairs of the principality for the duration of the elector's life. Otto had first to swear to protect Louis's lands and subjects; no revenues were to be collected nor important

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1. J.G. Lehmann, Vollständige Geschichte des Herzogthums Zweibrücken und seiner Fürsten, Munich, 1867, pp.12,34-38,40-43; Die Grafschaft und die Grafen von Spanheim, ii, Kreuznach, 1869, pp.142-5.

2. 29-30 Aug. 1427, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/810, fos.270-3;811,fos.10-12.

3. 5 Oct. 1427; Otto promised the following day to observe this will, GHA Munich, Urk.2624; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/865, fos.121-7.

decisions made without the advice and consent of Louis and the counsellors whom he could appoint for this purpose at any time. Otto would be maintained at court with twenty-six followers and as many horses, and receive a salary of 2,000 guilders[1].

The first regencies in the Palatinate had not been the usual minority regencies, but expedients to carry on the business of government during the absence or incapacity of the elector. These special circumstances were to cause difficulties. A record has survived of negotiations which took place at some time during the twenty months after Otto's appointment in October 1427 and which concerned the powers he was to have as guardian of Louis III and his children[2]. Louis informed Otto, Bishop Raban of Speyer and other counsellors that Otto was to make no important decisions without the consent of the bishop, Count Bernard of Eberstein, the knight Schwartz Reinhard von Sickingen and the leading household official, the Hofmeister. The Hofmeister and three other nobles, or at least two of them, were always to be at court; and Otto had to consult them for all lesser affairs. The seven counsellors agreed to observe this ordinance, as long as Louis would do so as well and not seek to alter their arrangements for his children and lordship (Herrschaft). Otto insisted that they be given full powers and the right to exercise jurisdiction over the nobles, towns

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1. Ibid., 810, fos.277-8;867, fos.102-4.

2. GHA Munich, Urk.2625 and 2626. The first, undated protocoll does not mention the later events of 7 June 1429, which are described in an appendix to the second but identical version of the same account; a later copy of the whole is in GLA Karlsruhe, Abt.43 (Urkunden, Kurpfalz), Generalia, Konvolut 14, no.19.

and other subjects, to defend them at Louis's expense against unjust attacks, and to make ordinances for the officials, the court and all Louis's lands. When the elector had consented to these conditions, Otto stressed that it would be better for him not to take up the appointment than for Louis later to intervene, and in that case Otto and the others would lay down their task once and for all. Such strong words implied that there had been conflicts in the past and presaged others for the future.

The extent to which Louis III delegated his princely powers is shown by the investiture of his four-year-old son, Louis, by Bishop Frederick of Worms with the fiefs held by the electors of his see[1]. In January 1429 the elector ordered his gold and silver plate, except that in daily use, to be locked away until his children came of age[2]. Five months later there was an assembly at Heidelberg of the seven counsellors of the Regency, eleven other named and many other unnamed counsellors, in which Otto promised Louis not to start a war or feud on behalf of the elector, himself, or anyone else, without the consent of Louis or the seven counsellors appointed by him[3]. This rein may have been placed on Otto's freedom of action

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1. 4 April 1428, ibid., Konv.10, no.13; 67/895, fo.82; A. Krieger, Topographisches Wörterbuch des Grossherzogtums Baden, i, 2nd edn., Heidelberg, 1904, p.887.

2. von Weech, 'Pfälzische Reg.', Z.G.O., xxii, 1869, pp.366-76.

3. 7 June 1429, GHA Munich, Urk.2626.

because of the events of 1428, when he had supported the highway robbery by Conrad, lord of Weinsberg, of merchants from imperial cities on their way to the Frankfurt Fair[1]. At any rate there was some cause for reminding the Regent that he had exceeded his powers.

Within the next eighteen months, Louis himself resumed some of the tasks of government. He spent over two months at the beginning of 1431 at the imperial diet at Nuremberg and acted in the years 1432 and 1433 as imperial vicar during Sigismund's absence in Rome[2]. Otto remained at the elector's side at Nuremberg and acted with four counsellors as arbitrators in Louis's place at the end of 1431[3], but later the brothers fell out completely and the Regency came to an end. In 1435 Otto secured partial settlement from Louis of a debt of 10,000 guilders, some of which was for his salary of 2,000 guilders, which had not been paid for several years, during which he had also not been kept at court as agreed in 1427[4]. Thus Louis had intervened in the affairs of his own principality; the outstanding debt and subsequent events make it improbable that the Regency had been suspended amicably or by agreement.

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1. C.F. von Stälin, Wirtembergische Geschichte, iv, Stuttgart, 1873, p.429; Beschreibung des Oberamts Heilbronn (publ. Königlich Statistisches Landesamt, Württemberg), i, Stuttgart, 1901, p.61.
2. Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis in's 16. Jahrhundert, ed. C. von Hegel, Nürnberg, i, Leipzig, 1862, p.378; ii, 1863, p.22; Deutsche Reichstagsakten. Ältere Reihe, ix, ed. D. Kerler, Gotha, 1887, pp.599,601,603; x, ed. H. Herre, 1900-06, pp.526,1032 et seq.
3. 13 Dec., Regesten der Markgrafen von Baden und Hachberg, 1050-1515, iii, ed. H. Witte, Innsbruck, 1902-7, no.5154, p.16.
4. 20 Sep., GHA Munich, Urk.2629; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/811, fos.17-18; 895, fos.28-30.

(iii) The Regency Crisis, 1435-6.

On 6 June 1435 Louis III was deposed by an assembly of noble counsellors who met for over a week at Heidelberg[1]. Louis's wife, Duke Otto who was the prime mover, Bishop Frederick of Worms and twenty-three nobles declared that Louis had long been ill[2] and unable to govern himself, his children, lordship (herschaffte), lands and subjects, or to give them the protection of which they were in need. Since his condition was not likely to improve, and in order to prevent further damage to the Palatinate, they had agreed among themselves to exercise Louis's government on his behalf[3]. They would care for his person, preserve the rights of the Palatinate, ensure safe conduct and punish highway robbery. All subjects were to be protected and the privileges of the university of Heidelberg

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1. Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg, Handschriften, no.500, J.C. Lehmann, Pfälzisches Urkundenbuch, x, fos.338-41, a fifteenth century copy from the archives of the counts of Leiningen, bound by Lehmann into his volume of transcripts. On the assembly, see chapter 5(iv).

2. He was an old man, half-blind, crippled and deaf, Johannes Trithemius, Annales Hirsaugiensis, ii, St. Gallen, 1690, p.393; Louis's insanity was rumoured, Reinbolt Slecht, 'Die Fortsetzung des Flores temporum', ed. R. Foster, Z.G.O., Neue Folge, ix, 1914, p.140, but he later twice denied that his reason had been affected, J.F. Hautz, Zur Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg, Heidelberg, 1852, p.26; G. Ritter, Die Heidelberger Universität, i, Heidelberg, 1936, p.517.

3. '...so haben wir...uns samentlich miteinander underredte und... vereynte...sin und siner kinde herschaffte lande und lute und yre sachen...In sinem namen und von sinen wegen zu handeln....', Pfalzisches U.B.x, fo.338R.

would be maintained. The archives were to remain in the vaults and chancery, but Louis's seal and signet would be used by the chancellor on the instructions of the nobles. This ordinance was to last for Louis's life and until his eldest son came of age at eighteen.

The assembly had declared its intention to appoint annually a committee of four, who were to reside permanently in Heidelberg and transact all daily business as in previous regencies. Eight days later, the assembly enlarged upon the detailed rules for the work of this committee. It had power to instruct the chancellor to use the seals on letters issued in Louis's name, and to provision the castle of Heidelberg and control the households of members of the princely family. Vassals and those who served for an annual payment were to swear to Louis III and the Herrschaft, instead of to Louis only[1]. A proclamation was issued for the pursuit of robbers and criminals by hue and cry in the electoral and Mosbach lands and in those of the bishops of Worms and Speyer and the contracting nobles[2]. Bishop Raban of Speyer, now also archbishop of Trier, promised his wholehearted support to the new regime[3], which had also concluded an alliance with the archbishop of Mainz[4].

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1. The four for the first year were Count Michael of Wertheim, Eberhart von Heiperg, the knight Bernhard Kreiss, and Diether Kämmerer, ibid., fos.339V-340R; GHA Munich, Urk.2628; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/865, fos.116-21.
2. Ibid., fos.119-20; Pfälzisches U.B.x, fo.342R.
3. 20 Aug. 1435, GHA Munich, Urk.2639; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/895, fos.25-26.
4. 19 June 1435, Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Munich, Kasten Rot, no.37 k.36.

Nevertheless, there were signs that Louis III could not be deposed without opposition. One of his oldest advisers, Schwartz Reinhard von Sickingen, had indeed joined the ranks of the assembly and promised for the sake of the Herrschaft to observe the ordinance, but he made the condition that he would not act against Louis III himself[1]. Later, the city magistrates of Heidelberg informed the counsellors that students of the university had threatened to set the city on fire by night at sixty places, and some of them had conspired to kill or capture the elector's advisers. On 16 and 17 December 1435, the members of the university were made to swear an oath to the rector that they would not do any damage to the Herrschaft, counsellors or town, and would report any information of such plots[2]. During the next two months, Duke John claimed the guardianship of his brother and sought the emperor's support. Louis's counsellors declared that they had no intention of going to law on this point and Sigismund ordered the parties to settle it between themselves[3]. As Duke Otto and the counsellors informed the free city of Frankfurt, there were widespread rumours that they had acted wrongly in what they did[4].

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/865, fo.116; Pfälzisches U.B.x. fos.341V-342R.

2. Others took the oath on 1 Jan. 1436, Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg, i, ed. G. Töpke, Heidelberg, 1884, pp.650-1; Urkundenbuch der Universität Heidelberg, ii, ed. E. Winkelmann and A. Koch, Heidelberg, 1886, no.276, p.32.

3. Häutle, Oberpfalz, pp.40-41.

4. Stadtarchiv, Frankfurt, Reichssachen, no.3470.

Before the storm broke, the Regency made a remarkable and, it seems, a successful strategic withdrawal. It summoned a conference to Speyer for 12 March 1436 to meet all complaints; the invitation to the city of Frankfurt to send representatives was dated 3 February. Meanwhile, through the mediation of Archbishop Raban of Trier and the German Master of the Teutonic Order, the ordinance of 6 June 1435 was reissued on 29 February 1436, but the assembly of counsellors disappeared entirely to be replaced by Louis III himself as the issuing authority[1]. On the advice of the two prelates, Louis appointed a committee of four to govern all his affairs, but the initiative remained with Duke Otto and his associates, for the same four were appointed who had been elected by the assembly of noble counsellors nine months earlier. The ordinance was to last for the duration of Louis's illness, but at the end of one year he could appoint other counsellors if he wished. Otto was to be consulted only in difficult matters and those affecting Louis's wife, children and Herrschaft. The committee had full powers to make decisions, which could not be revoked by Louis himself, although he had the right to be consulted and he or his own advisers were to hear the annual accounts of the officials. It was emphasized that Louis was to remain prince for life and not to be deposed, so that in this respect, too, the events of 1435 were reversed. The elector himself ordered the keeper of his seal to use

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1. Eberhart Windecke's Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Kaiser Sigmund's, ed. W. Altmann, Berlin, 1893, pp.429-33; W. Altmann, Studien zu Eberhart Windecke, Berlin, 1891, pp.51-60.

it in his name on all acts sanctioned by the four, with or without Otto, but on no others. Louis also promised not to bear any ill-will towards his wife, Otto, the counsellors, or any of his subjects for the past events.

These arrangements were made only just in time to soften the blows of criticism launched twelve days later at the conference at Speyer, as reported by the contemporary chroniclers Eberhart Windecke and Heinbolt Slecht[1]. In this large assembly of nobles of the Palatinate, neighbouring princes, and their nobles, Louis's brothers, John and Stephen, and his son-in-law, Count Louis of Württemberg (according to Slecht, also the margrave of Brandenburg and his two sons) objected that Otto and the counsellors had deprived Louis of the powers of government without their consent (as members of his family) and, according to Windecke alone, held him shut up as a prisoner. The two prelates who had presided over the new ordinance a fortnight earlier now undertook, with the margrave of Brandenburg, to mediate between the parties. There were two days of public and two of secret negotiation, of which nothing is known, and only Slecht concludes that it was agreed that Louis should remain in good custody until his death.

This indeed appears to be what happened. Within ten days Louis renewed his will, by which his son, Louis, was to succeed him under the Regency of Otto until he came of age[2]. Concern seems to have

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1. 12 March 1436, Windecke's Denkwürdigkeiten, pp.433-4; Slecht, loc. cit., p.140.

2. 24 March, Hautz, Zur Geshichte der Universität Heidelberg, pp.26-28; J.F. Hautz, Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg, i, Heidelberg, 1862, p.285; U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, ii, no.277, p.32.

shifted from the mode of the Regency to securing a smooth succession. In the last months of 1436, the officials and subjects of the Palatinate and Upper Palatinate were instructed by Louis, in order to avoid a disputed succession, to take an oath at once to his eldest son as their presumptive lord after his death; or in case of the death of the eldest, Louis, to Frederick, and after him Rupert. The ordinance of February 1436 and the government by Otto and the four counsellors then appointed were meanwhile confirmed. So was the will granting Otto the Regency after Louis's death[1].

By this time certain formalities had long been established for the succession of an elector, which showed that his lands and subjects were not his to do with as he pleased. Since 1368 every new elector had had to swear that he would not alienate the inalienable lands, and only then did he receive the oaths of loyalty of the subjects in them. Furthermore, successive electors had granted the university of Heidelberg considerable privileges and endowments since its foundation by Rupert I in 1386. Not only did its members from the outset enjoy protection and safe conduct throughout the Palatinate and freedom from taxation, but when the Jews were expelled in 1391, Rupert II gave the university their synagogue as its chapel, their houses as residences for the professors, and their books (which the university sold[2]). According to the Rupertine Constitution, future electors

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1. 9-11 Oct., GHA Munich, Urk.2631; GLA Karlsruhe, 43/Gen., Konv.14, no.11;67/811, fo.20; Windecke's Denkwürdigkeiten, p.429 n.4; W.Franck, Geschichte der ehemaligen Reichsstadt Oppenheim am Rhein, Darmstadt, 1859, no.177, pp.460-2; Ritter, p.517; Häutle, Oberpfalz, p.43.

2. Ritter, pp.95,132-4; L. Löwenstein, Geschichte der Juden in der Kurpfalz, Frankfurt, 1895, pp.16-18.

were to swear to maintain the privileges of the university and not to tolerate Jews in the Palatinate[1]. King Rupert's sons, Louis and John, made promises to this effect in 1401[2], and Louis III enjoined all three oaths on Otto as guardian and on future electors in 1426 and 1427[3]. Now his son swore, on the occasion of receiving the oaths of loyalty of the Palatinate as presumptive heir, that he would observe what his father had sworn to observe[4].

On Louis III's death at the end of 1436, Otto became Regent until Louis IV came of age in 1442. This minority Regency ran its normal course under Otto's competent rule[5]. Part of Otto's success was due to his ability to maintain better relations with his brother, John, whose quarrel had been mainly with Louis III and who in 1437 renounced his right to act as Regent[6]. Otto also settled in 1440 the conflict with Stephen of Zweibrücken and the margrave of Baden over the succession to the lands of the count of Sponheim[7]. Family unity was restored for a few years, but it remained to be seen whether the electors had learnt the lesson of the partition of 1410.

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1. Codex diplomaticus palatinus, no.185, p.139.
2. R.Pfalz.ii, nos.2145-6, p.85; Löwenstein, op. cit., p.19.
3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/810, fo.238V; Status Causae, i, Beylagen, p.51.
4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/811, fo.20.
5. Häusser, pp.313-6.
6. Häutle, Oberpfalz, pp.52-55,102-15.
7. Lehmann, Spanheim, ii.228-30; Zweibrücken, pp.56-57.

(iv) The Arrogation, 1451-2.

The partition of the Palatinate envisaged in Louis III's will came to pass when his two eldest sons reached their majority. Louis IV quickly realised that partition would weaken his principality and secured from his brother the grant of his entire inheritance for eight years, during which Frederick would be kept at court. It was expressly stated that this agreement was made to prevent further division of the Herrschaft[1]. In 1448 Count Louis of Württemberg had to mediate in disputes between the brothers over this arrangement[2]. One week later Frederick obtained, according to the terms of their father's will, the inheritance of the youngest brother, who had gone into the Church. Rupert reserved the right to enjoy his inheritance again, if Frederick died before him without leaving sons or a widow, and promised in that case not to alienate any of his lands, which would fall after his death to the next heirs of the ruling house[3].

Frederick's own principality was now fairly large; he had acquired a two-thirds share in the second list of places in Louis III's will, which also endowed him with all those possessions not mentioned in its text and any subsequent acquisitions by Louis III.

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1. 6 Oct. 1443, Regesten zur Geschichte Friedrichs des Siegreichen, ed. K. Menzel (Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, ii, ed. C. Hofmann), Munich, 1862, p.213; Status Causae, ii, Beylagen, p.48.

2. 19 Oct., C.J. Kremer, Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrichs des Ersten von der Pfalz, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1765, pp.7-8.

3. 27 Oct., Status Causae, ii.23-24.

The list Frederick made of his lands in 1472 showed how extensive his inheritance had been. It comprised the protectorate of the ten cities of Alsace and nearly all the other lands of his house in Alsace, as well as several important towns between Alsace and the Palatinate, including Germersheim and Sels with their customs posts on the Rhine, Eppingen, and Heidelsheim; he also had a number of towns in the Upper Palatinate[1].

One reason given by Frederick in 1443 for granting his inheritance temporarily to Louis IV was that Germersheim and Sels had originally been pawned by the Empire to the electors palatine and their successors and should therefore not have been held by a cadet line. The protectorate of Alsace was a similar imperial pawning. King Rupert had nominated Louis III as protector for life in 1408, reserving to the Empire 2,000 guilders of the annual imperial taxes[2]. In 1423 the Emperor Sigismund pawned the protectorate, including the imperial taxes, to Louis III and his heirs as electors for 50,000 guilders. The pawning was not to come into effect until royal debts to the cities themselves and to the archbishop of Cologne, which were guaranteed on the imperial taxes, had been paid off; this was not done until 1441, although Louis IV had begun to collect the taxes in 1440[3]. Meanwhile, Louis III had continued to enjoy the lifelong

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1. C.J. Kremer, Urkunden zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrichs des Ersten von der Pfalz, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1765, no.168, pp.455-7; R.Friedrich, pp.472-3.

2. Cartulaire de Mulhouse, i, no.459, pp.445-6.

3. Die Urkunden Kaiser Sigmunds (1410-1437), i, ed. W. Altmann, Innsbruck, 1896, no.5447, p.384; J. Becker, Geschichte der Reichslandvogtei im Elsass...1273-1648, Strassburg, 1905, pp.68,70; L. Sittler, La décapole alsacienne des origines à la fin du Moyen-Age, Strasbourg and Paris, 1955, pp.15-16,25.

grant of the protectorate only, and Louis IV was newly appointed by Sigismund and his successors[1]. Louis IV also secured royal confirmation of the pawning of the protectorate with its taxes, as if he himself had inherited it[2]. It may be that Louis and his brother fell out in 1448 over the inconsistency between the terms of the imperial pawning of the protectorate in 1423 and those of Louis III's will, since Frederick obtained a renewal of the pawning from the emperor in 1451, which mentioned that Louis III's will had left the protectorate to Frederick, who should have inherited it already in 1437[3]. In 1449, however, the brothers were reconciled by the count of Württemberg; Frederick was to remain at court on the same terms as before for another year[4]. When Louis died a few months later, he left only a thirteen-month-old son, Philip, for whom he appointed Frederick by word of mouth as guardian until he came of age at eighteen[5].

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1. Cartulaire de Mulhouse, ii, Strasbourg and Colmar, 1884, nos.551,554,576, pp.77,79,97.

2. 1437, Die Urkunden Kaiser Sigmunds, ii, 1900, no.11866, p.407; 1440, J. Chmel, Regesta chronologico-diplomatica Friderici IV. Romanorum Regis — Imperatoris III., Vienna, 1838-40, no.39, p.6; Becker, p.70.

3. Ibid., p.72.

4. 9 March, Status Causae, ii, Beylagen, pp.49-50; R.Friedrich, pp.213-4.

5. 13 Aug., Johannes Trithemius, Chronicon Sponheimense (Opera historica, ii), Frankfurt, 1601, p.366; Altmann, Studien, p.73; Kremer, i.8.

A situation had arisen in which the electoral principality was beset by the double problem of partition and a minority. Frederick became Regent for Philip, but recovered his own inheritance which he had given to Louis IV. Not only did he make good his claims to the protectorate of Alsace, but he immediately obtained royal confirmation of Louis III's will, which had ordered a partition of the electoral lands[1]. Frederick continued to act independently in his own affairs. He bought half of the lordship of Weinsberg to add to the half he had inherited[2], and made other purchases in Alsace and the Ortenau[3]. When an extraordinary aid was levied in the Palatinate, it was levied separately on Frederick's lands[4]. Frederick's alliances with princes, imperial cities and other towns were concluded both in his capacity as Philip's guardian and in his own name for his own lands[5]. His performance of the duties of Regent was at the same time beyond reproach. The privileges of the inalienable lands were confirmed[6]. Following his brother's policy,

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1. 25 Oct. 1449, Status Causae, i, Beylagen, p.54.

2. 2 Jan. 1450, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/866, fos.185-6; Württembergische Regesten, 1301-1500, ii, ed. G. Mehring, Stuttgart, 1925-30, no.14526.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/864, fos.353-5;866, fos.96-98;893, fos.248-9; 895, fos.183-5.

4. R. Friedrich, pp.225-6.

5. Kremer, ii, nos.3,5,9,12,18, pp.6,11,19,32,54.

6. M.g., Amberg, Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich, Oberpfälzische Archivalien, vol.161, fos.3-4;162, fos.18-19.

Frederick defended the electorate against the external dangers represented by territorial disputes with the see of Mainz and the counts palatine of Zweibrücken, and in a feud with the counts of Lützelstein. He also assisted the counts of Leiningen against the lords of Lichtenberg, which in turn provoked the enmity of the margrave of Baden[1].

Nevertheless, the warlike, ambitious and able Regent of twenty-four years could not have been expected to undertake the responsibilities of ruling the leading German lay electorate for seventeen years, and then retire without reward to his small inheritance. The plan for him to assume the electorate himself may have been devised earlier[2], but the first definite news of it is from September 1451, when twenty-nine 'chosen counsellors and important members' of the Palatinate assembled at Heidelberg[3]. Each of them advised Frederick in a separate letter that, for the benefit of Philip and the Palatinate, he should adopt Philip as his son and himself not marry while Philip or his sons were alive. Frederick was to give his inherited lands and those he had subsequently acquired to the Palatinate in perpetuity. He was to take the traditional oaths concerning the inalienable lands, the university and the Jews. In exchange for his sacrifices, Frederick would be lawful ruler of the Palatinate for his lifetime[4]. Margaret, mother

1. Kremer, i.14-26; HHusser, pp.332-4; see chapter 2(ii).

2. See App. I.

3. Kremer, ii, no.6, p.14;i.32-33; R.Friedrich, p.226.

4. The bishop of Worms's letter, 6 Sep. 1451, Kremer, ii, no.4, pp.10-11.

of Philip and widow of Louis IV, approved these terms and agreed that Frederick should also be elector and imperial steward for life[1]. Frederick accepted this advice and promised to resign his future as well as past acquisitions to the Palatinate. He insisted that all vassals and subjects should swear to him as their lawful lord and elector and after his death to Philip and his heirs, according to Charles IV's and Sigismund's ordinances concerning the inheritance of the electorate, the office of imperial steward and the principality of the Palatinate. His acceptance included the proviso that the king of the Romans must give his consent[2]. The attempt was made, but in vain, to secure this approval from Frederick III[3], who remained intransigant on this point and an implacable enemy of the new elector.

Therefore Frederick summoned a larger assembly of fifty-one prelates, counts, nobles and counsellors, who in January 1452 unanimously approved the terms of the Arrogation (a word for adoption from the vocabulary of Roman law[4]). Frederick was to rule in all the lands of the electorate for life, and Philip on coming of age was to consent to the Arrogation and allow Frederick to be imperial steward and elector for life. This change in tone came about because Frederick III had withheld his consent, without which Duke Frederick

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1. 9 Sep. 1451, ibid., no.6, p.14.
2. 16 Sep. 1451, R.Friedrich, pp.226-9; Kremer, i.33-35; HHusser, pp.336-7.
3. R.Friedrich, pp.229-30; Kremer, i.35; HHusser, pp.337-8.
4. Ernst, 'Friedrich der Siegreiche', Deutscher Westen —— Deutsches Reich, p.46.

could not legally enjoy the electoral dignity. The vassals and subjects were first to be released from their oaths to Frederick as guardian and then to pledge their loyalty to him in his new capacity[1]. Frederick accepted this revised version of the Arrogation and repeated that all vassals and subjects should swear in one oath to be loyal to him for his lifetime, as their rightful lord, and after his death to Philip and the latter's heirs as imperial stewards and electors. Nowhere in this extensive document did he mention that he himself should assume the electoral dignity. He reserved the right to dispose of 6,000 guilders in his will and to alienate any lands not previously declared inalienable[2]. The clause that Frederick's own inheritance and acquisitions should remain for ever with the Palatinate once more established the indivisibility of the electoral lands and resumed the traditions broken in 1410, as the reference in 1451 to the Golden Bull and Sigismund's confirmations had shown.

It has been maintained that the purpose of the Arrogation was primarily to strengthen the resistance of the Palatinate to its external enemies[3], but there is every reason to believe that the main intention was to prevent further harrowing partition of the principality. One important effect of this was to stiffen resistance to external dangers. For Frederick's court chronicler, Matthias von Kemnat, the chief feature of the Arrogation was that Frederick gave

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1. 13 Jan. 1452, Kremer, ii, nos.15-16, pp.47-51; H.Friedrich, p.232.

2. Kremer, ii, no.14, pp.44-47; H.Friedrich, pp.231-2.

3. Kremer, i.27; H. Weigel, 'Kaiser, Kurfürst und Jurist', Aus Reichstagen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, Göttingen, 1958, p.92. H. Grüneisen has recently placed equal emphasis on this motive and on Frederick I's political ambitions, Neue Deutsche Biographie, v, Berlin, 1961, p.526.

up his inheritance[1]. The abbot and chronicler, Johannes Trithemius, held that Frederick had promised not to marry in order to prevent a division of the principality[2]. In 1451 Duke Frederick expounded on the evils which arose from the division of principalities and declared his intention of maintaining the high honours and might of the Palatinate by means of the Arrogation[3]. Pope Nicholas V later recounted the reasons which, according to Frederick, had led the nobles to advise the Arrogation: the need firstly to rescue the principality from division among the heirs and then to guard against wars and other dangers[4]. The second assembly expressed its fears of the weaknesses which would result from the separation of Frederick's inheritance from that of Philip, especially as Philip's was burdened with debts while Frederick's was not. The members of the assemblies felt that the Arrogation would prevent their being alienated from Philip, his heirs and the electorate. They pointed out, moreover, that Frederick's guardianship of Philip would have had to last another fourteen and a half years, at the end of which he might have disputes with Philip, as before then had happened after partitions[5]. The

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1. Des Matthias von Kemnat Chronik Friedrichs I. des Siegreichen, ed. C. Hofmann (Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, ii) p.24.

2. Annales Hirsaugiensis, ii.397.

3. '...was unrats schaden irrunge und nyderdruckunge von teylungen der furstenthume swerlichen entsteet und ensteen mag....', R.Friedrich, p.227.

4. Kremer, ii, no.13, p.42.

5. Ibid., no.16, pp.50-51.

Arrogation must be considered against the background of the partition of 1410 and subsequent dangers of further partition in the electoral lands, of Duke Otto's Regency and Louis III's deposition, and of the disputes between the various palatine houses, which had most recently concerned the succession to the last duke of the Neumarkt line[1]. The prime concern of Frederick I and the nobles of the Palatinate was to prevent the occurrence of such crises.

After the Arrogation, Frederick took the homage and confirmed the privileges of the inalienable lands between April and August 1452, and of other places in subsequent years[2]. The burgomasters and council of Oppenheim declared that they could not in conscience swear loyalty to Frederick and Philip in one oath, but agreed to have this point decided by counsellors and vassals of the Palatinate chosen by Frederick. Only after this had been done did the city pay its homage[3]. Frederick would brook no real opposition, however, and several rebellious towns in the Upper Palatinate, including Amberg, which had refused to accept the Arrogation and imprisoned Frederick's commissioners, were brought to obedience in 1454 by a military campaign led by Frederick himself[4].

As the second Arrogation had not made Frederick elector, he refrained at first from assuming the title. In 1452 the towns of

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1. See (vii), below.

2. Kremer, i.47 n.7.

3. 31 July and 18 Aug. 1452, Franck, Oppenheim, no.192, pp.495-8.

4. Kremer, i.52-54,58-60; HHusser, pp.341-2.

the Palatinate wrote asking the emperor to confirm the Arrogation and to appoint Frederick to be elector and imperial steward for life[1]. While the emperor was in Italy, Frederick acted as imperial vicar, but only in his nephew's name[2]. The Rude von Collenberg, vassals of the Palatinate, in one document addressed Frederick as 'ruler of the Palatinate' and Philip as 'elector and imperial steward'[3]. This dichotomy could not reasonably be maintained on a permanent basis. By 1454 Frederick was entitling himself elector[4]; during 1453 he had obtained both the qualified approval of the pope for the Arrogation, in the form of a bull empowering two German prelates to pronounce on its legality[5], and recognition as elector by four of the other electors[6]. He was later accepted as elector by the two remaining electors[7], and was admitted into the electoral league in 1461[8].

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1. 21 June GHA Munich, Urk.2726; J.G. Weiss, Geschichte der Stadt Weinheim an der Bergstrasse, Weinheim, 1911, p.65; Kremer, i.35 n.5.

2. 8 March 1452, GSA Munich, Rot 26 b.11.

3. 16 July 1452, ibid., 46 i.10.

4. 10 June, Kremer, ii, no.29, p.85.

5. Ibid., no.13, pp.41-43; Weigel, loc. cit., p.107; the date corrected to 8 Jan. 1453, ibid., p.104 n.104.

6. Trier, 10 March; Cologne, 12 March; Brandenburg, 26 Dec.; Saxony, 29 Dec, Kremer, ii, nos.24,32-33, pp.77,94-96; i.36-37; Weigel, loc. cit., pp.108-9.

7. Mainz, 1456, R.Friedrich, p.265; Kremer, i.80 n.9,84; ii, no.49, pp.133-4; Bohemia, 1459, ibid., no.62, pp.182-3.

8. Ibid., no.75, pp.223-5; R.Friedrich, p.356.

Most important of all was the imperial sanction, but Frederick's efforts to obtain it never succeeded. In 1460 the emperor was on the point of giving in, but thought better of it[1]. When nearly fifteen, Philip gave his consent to the Arrogation and agreed that Frederick should be elector and imperial steward for life, as the second Arrogation had required[2]. This document and a handwritten request of Philip that Frederick be invested with the electoral regalia were sent to the emperor. Representatives of the dukes of Saxony reported from Heidelberg that Philip really did assent to Frederick becoming elector. Frederick complained bitterly in 1466 that these measures and a later letter of Philip and further embassies had all been unavailing[3].

Frederick secured the consent of Philip once more in 1467, when the latter had come of age[4]. Philip recalled that the Arrogation had been advised especially because his own inheritance was heavily burdened with debts, whereas those of Frederick and Rupert were without liabilities. Frederick allowed Philip to consult with twenty-nine clergy, lawyers and nobles, whom he released from their oaths to him. They advised Philip that the Arrogation had been for the best, since

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1. Kremer, ii, no.17, pp.52-53; i.36.

2. 12 March 1463, ibid., ii, no.93, pp.285-9.

3. J.J. Müller, ...Reichs Tags Theatrum...unter Keyser Friedrichs... III....Regierung...., i, Jena, 1713, pp.203,205; R.Friedrich, pp.426-7; Kremer, i.370-3; Hüsser, pp.380-1.

4. 8 Jan., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.100-1; Kremer, i.391-3; Hüsser, p.383.

Frederick had augmented the territories of the Palatinate. Philip thereupon solemnly swore his consent to the Arrogation and to Frederick remaining elector for life.

(v) Frederick I's Dispositions on behalf of his Family and their Overthrow by Philip, 1453-77.

Frederick not only strengthened his position as de facto elector, but ensured that the electoral lands remained indivisible and that his brother was not a burden on them. Rupert had according to his father's will chosen an ecclesiastical career; he held substantial benefices already before the Arrogation and acquired others in 1458[1]. In 1453 he abandoned his earlier reservation of the life usage of his lands in the event of Frederick dying without leaving a family and consented to their incorporation into the Palatinate. Rupert received a life annuity of 1,200 guilders, 16 tuns of wine and 400 measures of corn. Frederick was to exercise Rupert's right to fill the provostship of Würzburg and make up Rupert's revenues from this benefice to 400 guilders. The payments were only to be reduced if Rupert obtained a benefice worth over 500 guilders annually and to cease if he came into a bishopric[2]. Three years later these payments were suspended for as long as Frederick kept Rupert at court with fourteen followers[3]. From 1453 onwards Frederick sought the

1. W. Kisky, Die Domkapitel der geistlichen Kurfürsten in ihrer persönlichen Zusammensetzung im vierzehnten und fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, Weimar, 1906, p.41; HHutle, Genealogie, p.29; Kremer, i.30.

2. 4 Feb., R.Friedrich, pp.242-5.

3. 11 Sep. 1456, Codex diplomaticus palatinus, no.216, pp.161-2.

assistance of other German electors[1] and of the popes[2] to obtain an episcopal see for Rupert. The elector was rewarded when his brother became archbishop of Cologne in 1463, but until that date Rupert seems again to have been drawing his annuity, for Frederick's chaplain claimed that this election saved the elector annual payments of 2,000 guilders[3].

No effort was spared to secure the legality of the Arrogation and the indivisibility of the principality, but the human element was to upset all these calculations. The Elector Frederick had taken a great sacrifice upon himself in renouncing marriage[4]. In 1458 he took to Heidelberg as his mistress Clara Tott, a former maid of honour at the Munich court and the daughter of an Augsburg burgher[5]. Their first son, Frederick, was born in 1461, the second, Louis, in

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1. Mainz, 1456, Codex diplomaticus anecdotorum, res Moguntinas ... illustrantium, iv, ed. V.F. von Gudenus, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1758, pp.318-21; R. Lossen, Staat und Kirche in der Pfalz im Ausgang des Mittelalters, Münster, 1907, p.47; Bohemia, 1460, G. von Hasselholdt-Stockheim, Herzog Albrecht IV. von Bayern und seine Zeit, i, Leipzig, 1865, Urkunden, p.276; R.Friedrich, p.353; Lossen, p.47.

2. 1453, Weigel, loc. cit., p.107; 1461, G. Voigt, Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini, als Papst Pius der Zweite, und sein Zeitalter, iii, Berlin, 1863, p.259.

3. Kemnat, p.49; Kremer, i.329; HHusser, p.377.

4. Kemnat, p.18.

5. See the document in App. II; F.H. Haug, Kurzgefasste Familiengeschichte des fürstlichen Hauses Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rosenbergs, 1941, manuscript in Fürstlich Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rosenbergsches Archiv, Wertheim am Main, pp.41 et seq.; HHusser, p.418.

1463[1]. During the following years the elector granted Clara several tax-free houses and gardens in Heidelberg[2], and in 1467 he gave his sons the castle of Schwarzach, which had originally been part of his own inheritance; as bastards they could have only the hereditary use and possession, but not outright ownership of the castle[3]. Frederick was careful to obtain Philip's consent for these and later grants, in which he also declared that his counsellors had advised that he was bound by law to leave some of his possessions to his natural sons for their sustenance[4].

In 1468 Frederick appointed three administrators for the affairs of his sons; one of them was invested on the children's behalf by Bishop Matthias of Speyer with the castle of Asbach, which Frederick had taken from the see in 1462[5]. From Frederick himself the children received numerous small fiefs which had lapsed from vassals of the Palatinate[6]. Also in 1468, 14,000 guilders were invested by

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1. R.Friedrich, p.481.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.17,20-21,74-76; J.C. Lehmann, 'Urkunden über Clara Dettin von Augsburg', manuscript in Bibl. Heidelberg, Handschriften 502, Pfälzisches U.B. xiii, fos.335R,343-5.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.132-5; Lehmann, 'Clara Dettin', fos.335V,346.

4. GHA Munich, Urk.2783,2786,2788; Kremer, ii, no.174, p.473.

5. 4-5 July, Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Bischöfe zu Speyer, ed. F.X. Remling, ii, Mainz, 1853, nos.191-2, pp.360-1; see also no.200, pp.379-81; Kremer, i.533.

6. 31 Dec. 1468 and 6 Jan. 1469, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1007, fos.3-5; 1911, fos.164-5; Kremer, i.533.

Frederick for his sons at 5% interest with several free cities[1]. The elector proposed in 1470 an investment of a further 4,000 guilders, which Philip was to undertake if it was not completed before Frederick's death. As the young children had few needs, their mother was to collect the first 2,000 guilders in revenue for herself. Thereafter the income from the investments was to be reinvested by the newly appointed guardians, who were also to supervise all the affairs of the children, especially the eldest, Frederick's, entry into the Church[2]. The elector had obtained a papal bull making this nine-year-old boy legitimate and a papal appointment for him to a canonry in the cathedral at Speyer, which had been bought for 1,000 guilders[3]. The bishop of Speyer had legitimized the children also for civil matters[4].

Further gifts had meanwhile been showered upon Clara, including property in the Palatinate and another investment of 3,000 guilders[5]. She obtained a confirmation by the imperial court at Rottweil of Frederick's grants and Philip's consent to them[6]. In 1470 fifteen

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1. Kremer, i.532.

2. 27 April, GHA Munich, Urk.2783; Haug, op. cit., p.89; Kremer,i.532.

3. 2 Feb. 1470, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.177V; R.Friedrich, p.455.

4. Ibid.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.182,217; Lehmann, 'Clara Dettin', fos.336,350-2; R.Friedrich, pp.454,457.

6. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.42; Lehmann, 'Clara Dettin', fo.354.

documents concerning the affairs of the children, and others for Clara, were deposited with the cathedral chapter at Strasburg[1]. By such unusual measures Frederick tried to ensure that these grants from the lands and revenues of the Palatinate remained valid even after his death.

The final step was taken when, on or before 15 October 1471, the Elector Frederick I married his mistress in the castle of Heidelberg — secretly, but with the authority of his ordinary, the bishop of Worms, and the full rites of the Church[2]. With the assistance of five intimate counsellors (including the bishops of Worms and Speyer and Frederick's Hofmeister), the elector persuaded Philip before the ceremony to give his verbal consent to the marriage. Among the reasons advanced by Frederick for entering into this marriage were that Clara alone was able to nurse him in his severe illness and that his confessors had not allowed him to receive the sacraments while living with her.

Three months later an attempt was made to legalize this breach of Frederick's solemnly sworn obligation not to marry. In Philip's letter of consent[3] (witnessed only by the same five counsellors who had urged him to agree to the marriage), he recounted that Frederick had asked to be released from certain provisions of the Arrogation,

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1. R.Friedrich, pp.454-6; Kremer, i.533.

2. See App. II.

3. 24 Jan. 1472, GHA Munich, Urk.2784; this is only a draft in an advanced state, but reference was later made to the letters of both Frederick and Philip of this date, Kremer, ii, no.186, p.506. Therefore Philip must have signed and sealed his letter, though perhaps with alterations in the text.

to enable him to marry, to give his wife a marriage settlement, and to grant their children lands and revenues, so that they might live in princely state. Philip recalled Frederick's many services to the Palatinate: his agreement to the Arrogation, his subsequent care for Philip as if he had been his natural father, and his strenuous efforts, risking his life in battle, to increase the territories of the Palatinate. A further consideration was, as Philip said, that Frederick was the next heir after Philip to the Palatinate and the electorate. Only their two lives stood between the whole inheritance falling to a cadet line which had long harboured only ill will towards the electoral line, by which were meant Stephen of Zweibrücken and his sons. This fear was probably an important motive for Frederick I's subsequent dispositions, for Philip did not marry until 1474 and his first son was born only in 1478.

Philip therefore acceded to Frederick's requests and swore to protect Frederick's wife and children. Frederick might dispose of 20,000 guilders in his will, instead of the 6,000 guilders allowed at the Arrogation. This looks like a belated attempt to legalize Frederick's grants of money from the revenues of the Palatinate to Clara and her sons. By his will of 1467 he had set aside just over 3,000 guilders for masses, the endowment of churches, alms and various gifts[1]; 3,000 guilders had been given to Clara and 14,000 to the sons, making a total of 20,000 guilders. In other respects, the Arrogation was to remain in force. The lands apportioned to Frederick's family

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1. 3,110 2/3 fl.(guilders), GHA Munich, Urk.2782; Lossen, pp.210-1.

were listed, as were all the territories of the Palatinate, in Frederick's complementary letter[1]. The elector claimed that this step was taken neither to diminish the Palatinate nor to enrich his own heirs, who would claim none of the rights of the electoral principality once they had received their lands. Philip and his heirs were to inherit the lands hitherto declared inalienable, but Philip had allowed Frederick to dispose of his own inheritance as he pleased. The greater part of it was again granted by Frederick to Philip and was never to be separated from the Palatinate. Philip was also promised as an indivisible part of the Palatinate over thirty castles, towns and other possessions which Frederick had acquired since his accession and at least half of which, he claimed, should have belonged to him. The territories set aside for Frederick's family were some of those which he had originally inherited or later acquired. He had several times before kept his own inheritance notionally separate from the rest of the Palatinate, especially when he countered the emperor's attempts to deprive him of the protectorate of Alsace with the argument that it was his own inheritance from his father, which the emperor had previously confirmed[2]. Even after the extensive grants now made to Philip and the Palatinate, the portion of Frederick's family was considerable. It included four administrative districts (Ämter) bordering on Württemberg in the east and Sels and Neuenburg with their customs posts on the Rhine[3]. Judging from the monetary value placed

1. 24 Jan. 1472, Kremer, ii, no.168, pp.454-60; R.Friedrich, pp.471-5.
2. 5 March 1471, Kremer, ii, no.159, p.432;i.6 n.2; R.Friedrich, p.457; also in later years, ibid., p.482; Kremer, ii, no.162, p.444.
3. Also Weinsberg, Löwenstein, Möckmühl, Neustadt/Kocher and Besigheim; Lützelstein and Einartshausen with their customs posts; Schwarzach, Landsberg, Barr, the Lebertal, ¼ Rappoltsweiler, ½ Guttenberg, Scharfeneck, and an outstanding loan to Archbishop Rupert of Cologne, ibid., p.457; R.Friedrich, p.473.

on these territories at various times[1], they must have been worth more than the 10,000 guilders in revenues which were considered in 1395 the proper apanage for the second son of an elector. Frederick's heirs were to be liable for one sixth of the debts which he would contract for the benefit of the Palatinate until his death. Their share of the lands of the principality may therefore have also been one sixth. Despite Frederick's protestations to the contrary, he was planning to enrich his own heirs at the expense of the Palatinate. It was a retrograde step, flouting the principle of the indivisibility of the electoral lands, which had been restored to such good purpose at the Arrogation[2].

In the documents of 1472, Frederick and Philip treated Frederick's marriage as if it were a possibility in the future and made no reference to Clara and her sons. There can nevertheless be little doubt that the children had been made Frederick's legitimate heirs by his marriage and were therefore entitled to some of his inheritance, and that the situation thus created was being regulated in 1472[3]. Frederick then set aside certain lands (including Schwarzach, which he had already given to his sons, and Landsberg and Barr, which he had once intended to give them[4]), for his legitimate heirs by marriage.

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1. See chapter 2(i) and App. III(1); the capital value of territorial possessions was usually calculated on the basis of their bringing 5% in revenues, but often the revenue was less.
2. Contrast Kremer, i.478-80.
3. But cf. Kremer, i.533; Lehmann, 'Clara Dettin', fo.338.
4. 1470, GHA Munich, Urk.2783.

In 1476 he bequeathed many of these lands to his surviving son, Louis[1]. The conclusion is inescapable that, by marrying Clara, Frederick had made Louis his legitimate heir. In 1488 the Elector Philip declared in front of his whole court that Louis was Frederick's son by marriage[2].

The marriage was being kept secret and in public the children continued to be treated as bastards. At the beginning of 1472 they were matriculated at the university of Heidelberg as Frederick's natural sons[3]. When the administrators for their affairs were reappointed in 1473, the two boys were referred to as Frederick's natural sons and Clara as their mother, not Frederick's wife. The lands apportioned to Frederick's family in 1472 were not listed among the possessions in which Philip swore to protect Frederick's sons after his death[4]. There were good reasons for guarding the secret so closely. The terms of the Arrogation had been transgressed, without the advice being sought of a large number of counsellors or of the wider class of those who represented 'the country'. Frederick's relations with the emperor had further deteriorated and continued to do so until his own death. It was to be feared that if

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1. Kremer, ii, no.186, pp.506-13.

2. ein Elichen Sone, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fo.326.

3. 2 Jan.; after 1488 the words legitimi filij were entered, probably to replace naturales filij, Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg, i.335; Häusser, p.420 n.55.

4. 15-18 March 1473, GHA Munich, Urk.2786; Kremer, ii, no.174, pp.472-8;i.534-5; R.Friedrich, pp.479-81.

the news leaked out that Frederick had married and set aside some of the lands of the Palatinate for his own heirs, the emperor might again secure the military support of the neighbouring princes who had allied in 1453 and had in vain gone to war in 1460 in order to oust Frederick from the government of the Palatinate[1]. When Frederick, as protector of Alsace, had tried in 1469 to reform the Benedictine abbey of Weissenburg, he had endangered the imperial status of the city of Weissenburg. The emperor thereupon deprived him of the protectorate of Alsace, so that subsequent negotiations to reconcile them were embittered by this question, as well as by that of Frederick's recognition as elector[2]. In 1474 the emperor placed the imperial ban on Frederick and formally deprived him of the electorate at the Diet of Augsburg. The first in the list of charges was that Frederick had usurped the principality of the Palatinate and the electoral dignity[3]. In a later draft settlement, Frederick was expected to renounce the protectorate of Alsace for monetary compensation and to restore a number of his conquests from neighbouring rulers, before the emperor would recognize him as elector and confirm the Arrogation[4]. Frederick rejected these terms, after he and Philip had been advised by the

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1. R. Baden, iii, nos.7507-8, p.313; Müller, Reichs Tags Theatrum... Friedrichs...III.i.764.

2. Häusser, pp.384-93.

3. 27 May, Kremer, ii, no.181, pp.487-96; R.Friedrich, pp.485-91.

4. 23 Aug. 1474, Kremer, ii, no.182, pp.497-500; R.Friedrich, pp.491-3.

counsellors and important members of the principality that they were too disadvantageous[1]. These nobles might not have supported their princes so firmly if they had known of Frederick's marriage and its consequences.

Gifts continued to be bestowed upon Clara[2] and her younger son, Louis, after the elder had died in 1474[3]. On the other hand, there is some evidence that Frederick's relations with Philip became strained. Philip had been betrothed since 1468 to Margaret, daughter of Duke Louis of Lower Bavaria, and they were married at Amberg in 1474[4]. Between these dates the draft of an alliance was made between Frederick, Philip, Louis, and the latter's son, George, in which there was a clause that three prelates were to arbitrate in case of future disputes between Frederick and Philip[5]. In 1474 Frederick appointed for Philip a Hofmeister, marshal and other officials, whose primary task was to prevent discord between the two princes[6]. Frederick gave Philip the

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1. 3 Oct. 1474, Kremer, ii, no.183, pp.501-3; R.Friedrich, pp.494-5; Carsten, Princes and Parliaments, p.343.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.247,266V; Lehmann, 'Clara Dettin', fos.337,359-60.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.73; G. Kattermann, 'Ein Büchervermächtniss des Kurfürsten Friedrich I. von der Pfalz', Z.G.O., N.F.1, 1936, pp.44-57; Ritter, p.401; Kremer, i.530.

4. c.20 Feb., M. Buchner, 'Die Amberger Hochzeit (1474)', Z.G.O., N.F.xxv, 1910, pp.585-6;xxvi, 1911, p.96 n.1.

5. n.d., GHA Munich, Akten, no.959 (unfoliated), after the elector's instructions for Philip's government of the Upper Palatinate.

6. 1 Jan. 1474, ibid.; Buchner, loc. cit., xxvi, pp.122-3.

government and revenues of the Upper Palatinate, but himself remained the ruling prince, without whose consent no lands could be alienated, taxes levied, feuds and wars waged, or officials appointed[1]. Philip was urged to practice economy in his household expenses[2], but in the two and a half years of his rule in the Upper Palatinate he raised on interest loans totalling nearly 5,000 guilders[3].

In the last year of his life, Frederick I bequeathed part of his lands to his son. Philip gave his consent for Frederick to grant Louis and his heirs the four eastern Ämter which had been the chief possessions set apart for Frederick's family in 1472[4]. Louis would thus be enabled to grant his wife a marriage settlement when he came to marry. Should Frederick not have made the grant before his death, Philip swore to do so afterwards[5]. As Löwenstein and the tithes at Heilbronn were pawned, Louis was to receive instead Otzberg, Herings and the half of Umstadt belonging to the Palatinate. Neither the fact that these were not among the lands reserved in 1472 for Frederick's family, nor the terms of the Arrogation, were to impair Louis's right to possess or alienate all these places. Philip

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1. 14 April 1474, Kremer, ii, no.180, pp.486-7; R.Friedrich, p.485.

2. Instructions through Erkinger von Rodenstein for Philip's government, n.d., GHA Munich, Akten 959; Buchner, loc. cit., xxvi, pp.121-2.

3. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.152, fos.207-23.

4. 22 Jan. 1476, GHA Munich, Urk.2787; Kremer, ii, no.186, pp.506-13.

5. Ibid., p.507.

released the officials, vassals and subjects from their oaths of loyalty to him. Since he made a correction to this document four months later[1], doubts that he actually took the solemn oaths described in it must be waived[2]; later documents of 1476 repeated that Philip had given his consent. He had moreover immediately ordered the vassals of the lordship of Weinsberg to recognize Louis as their feudal lord as soon as Frederick should require. Seventeen vassals promised in November to pay their homage to Louis on Frederick's death, or as soon as Frederick commanded[3].

Before his death, Frederick caused a draft to be made of the immediate grant to Louis of the four Ämter, although the document was never executed[4]. Frederick declared that he was acting on the advice of the 'counsellors and most important members of the Palatinate', according to reasons existing in law, and out of especial favour towards his son. Louis was to live at standards at least above those of a knighted noble, but his legitimate status was still suppressed. The terms of Philip's consent in January were repeated with only minor modifications, but Frederick's growing mistrust that Philip would not leave Louis in possession of his lands became evident. Louis and

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1. 13 May, GHA Munich, Urk.2789.

2. Cf. Kremer, i.536; Häusser, p.420.

3. 23 Jan. and 20 Nov. 1476, Urkundenbuch der Stadt Heilbronn, ii, ed. E. Knupfer and M. von Rauch, Stuttgart, 1913, no.1134, pp.99-100; Kremer, i.536.

4. n.d., GHA Munich, Urk.2788; the two leaves missing in Munich are in GLA Karlsruhe, Abt.77 (Pfalz Generalia), Faszikel 8559, fos.275-6. Since all the clauses of Philip's consent in January are recapitulated, except the one cancelled in May, the draft dates from May or after.

his heirs were not to alienate the lands, unless they were done such an injustice by the Palatinate as to be denied arbitration of their disputes with it by a prince or prelate of their choice. In that case, all the lands set aside for Frederick's family in 1472 were to fall to Louis as a forfeit. Frederick also added a codicil to his will to the effect that when Philip became elector and swore not to alienate the inalienable lands of the Palatinate, those which Frederick had granted to his son were not to be included[1].

These guarantees of Louis's inheritance proved useless as soon as his father's influence on his behalf ceased. A fortnight after Frederick's death[2], Louis's guardians reported that, although the subjects of the four Ämter had sworn before Frederick's death to recognize Louis as their lord after his father died, objections had been raised by the greater vassals near Umstadt, because it was among the inalienable lands. Further difficulties were that some of the lands promised to Louis were fiefs of the Empire, the terms of the Arrogation had been contravened, and the letter of Frederick's actual grant had not been completed. The guardians and Clara therefore asked the new elector to take back these lands and make other provisions for Louis[3]. They were probably acting under pressure from Philip and

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1. 3 Nov. 1476, Lossen, pp.217-8.

2. 12 Dec. 1476, Häusser, p.396.

3. 28 Dec. 1476, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/889, fos.49-50;1662, fos.2-4; Kremer, ii, no.187, pp.513-5.

his advisers: they stated that they could not maintain themselves in the lands granted to Louis without Philip's support. Philip confirmed Louis in all the other fiefs and revenues amounting to over 1,200 guilders given him by Frederick, and granted him the lordship of Scharfeneck as a male hereditary fief[1]. As soon as Louis had released the subjects of the four Ämter from their oaths[2], he was invested with his fiefs as the first investiture of the reign[3]. Philip ordered the officials and vassals of the four Ämter to pay their homage to his representatives, adding that he was the natural heir to these lands[4]. He likewise stressed that he was the rightful heir and sole ruler of the Palatinate in later confirmations of the privileges of several monasteries and towns[5].

The unity of the electoral lands had been preserved, although Philip had broken his oath to Frederick that he would give Louis his

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1. 28 Dec. 1476, ibid., no.188, pp.516-8.

2. 12 Jan. 1477, ibid., no.190, pp.520-2.

3. 11-13 Jan. 1477, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1007, fos.1-5.

4. '...auch das wir der Rechter naturlicher erb gewesen und noch sin sollen....', ibid., 889, fos.52-53;1662, fos.8-9; Kremer, ii, no.189, pp.518-20.

5. '...der recht eynich erbe und Lantfurst....', 12 Nov. 1477, for the Cistercian convent of Sion, S.A.Würdtwein, Monasticon Palatinum, vi, Mannheim, 1796, p.156; other examples, ibid., iv, 1795, p.467; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i, Fränkische Rechte, ed. C. Köhne, Heidelberg, 1895, p.512; Hessische Urkunden, iv, ed. L. Baur, Darmstadt, 1866, no.229, pp.224-5.

inheritance if this was not done before Frederick's death. Politically, it was a wise and necessary step. Had Louis been confirmed in his inheritance, his claims for further lands might have been greater even than they later became. The reversal of Frederick's intentions was not the work of Philip alone, for he was probably advised in this course by the two witnesses of these events, the bishops of Worms and Speyer. They had acted as Regents after Frederick's death[1], and on Philip's return from the Upper Palatinate presented him with a memorandum on the government of the Palatinate, in which they urged him not to give way easily to the territorial claims of others[2].

On coming of age, Louis again renounced all claims to the lands once given him by Frederick[3]. He later entered Philip's service and was in high favour with him[4], but Louis's mother enjoyed a less happy fate, for she was imprisoned by Philip in the castle of Lindenfels for nine years after Frederick's death[5]. In 1488 Louis acquired lands to

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1. GHA Munich, Urk.2791½.

2. n.d., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/338, fo.55V.

3. 6 Feb. 1482, Kremer, ii, no.191, pp.522-3.

4. E.g., at the Diet of Worms in 1495, J.J. Müller, ...Reichs Tags Theatrum...unter Keyser Maximilians I....Regierung..., i, Jena, 1718, p.514.

5. Archives de la Ville, Strasbourg, Wencker, Argentoratensia historico-politica, III, no.6 b.; Kremer, i.537 n.2. She was under the care of guardians in 1490 and died in 1520, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fo.58V; Lehmann, 'Clara Dettin', fo.372; A. Kleinschmidt, 'Clara Tott', Ruperto-Carola: Illustrierte Fest-Chronik der V. Säcular-Feier der Universität Heidelberg, Heidelberg, 1886, p.184.

guarantee the jointure of his wife, as his father had intended: Philip arranged his marriage to a countess of Montfort, invested him with the county of Löwenstein as an hereditary fief, allowed him to entitle himself count, and made him and his heirs retainers (Diener) of the Palatinate[1]. The Emperor Maximilian later confirmed Louis's title and recalled that Philip had given him the county because, although a legitimate son of Frederick I, he had no principality or lands to enable him to live according to his princely rank[2]. During the Bavarian Succession War, Louis's county was seized by the duke of Württemberg and his lordship of Scharfeneck by the landgrave of Hesse. Louis thereupon renewed his claims to his father's inheritance, but in 1507 again renounced the four Ämter and also the unspecified further inheritance from his father which he had claimed as his due. Philip gave him 300 guilders annually on the customs at Germersheim and promised another fief worth 100 guilders annually and, until Louis recovered his losses in the war, a pension of 1,200 guilders[3]. The county of Löwenstein was not returned until 1510, when Louis had to receive it as a fief of Württemberg, not the Palatinate[4]. Louis had

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fos.326-9;1007, fos.314-5; J.G. Lehmann, Urkundliche Geschichte der Burgen und Bergschlösser...der bayerischen Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, 1858-9, ii.193.

2. 27 Feb. 1494, J.C. Lünig, Das Teutsche Reichs Archivs, pars specialis, Continuatio II, 6. Abtheilung, Leipzig, 1712, pp.618-9.

3. 3-5 Feb. 1507, GHA Munich, Urk.2887-8; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/821, fos.276-80;825, fos.273-6; Lehmann, Burgen, ii.194-5.

4. Beschreibung des Oberamts Weinsberg (publ. Königlich statistisch-topographisches Bureau, Württemberg), Stuttgart, 1861, p.119.

been at least as expensive a burden on the Palatinate as any younger son of an elector.

(vi) The Electors and the Collateral Lines of their House.

With varying intensity of purpose, successive electors had followed a policy of avoiding further partition of the electoral lands in the fifty years after Louis III's will of 1427. Another aim which they pursued with vigour or neglected according to opportunity and inclination, was to reunite all the lands separated in 1410. Among the numerous conquests made by Frederick I were several from Louis of Zweibrücken, but Stephen of Zweibrücken's descendants were often hostile to the electors and sufficiently powerful to resist any attempts to acquire a greater share of the inheritance.

The other cadet lines were less capable of providing their own heirs. Duke John of Neumarkt's son, Christopher, became ruler of the Scandinavian kingdoms, and died without leaving sons in 1448. Before his death he had appointed his uncle, Duke Otto of Mosbach, as Regent of the Neumarkt lands during his absence[1]. On Christopher's death, Otto used his position to take possession of these territories and bought out the claims of his brother, Stephen, to half of the inheritance[2]. The Elector Louis IV and his brother, Frederick, at first claimed one third of the inheritance under the terms of

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1. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.147, fos.214-8; HÄutle, Genealogie, pp.127-9; Oberpfalz, p.65.

2. Ibid., p.68; Lehmann, Zweibrücken, pp.75-76.

Duke John's will[1], but by the end of 1448 Louis alone was laying claim to the whole inheritance. At Amberg his counsellors urged the representatives of the Estates of the Neumarkt lands to accept the elector as their ruler, on the grounds that Louis was the sole lord of the Palatinate and Upper Palatinate, according to the agreements made by the three Ruperts from 1357 onwards, which Duke John himself had promised to observe in 1401. A copy was produced of the clause in the Rupertine Constitution which proclaimed that the lands of the cadet lines were on their extinction to fall to the elector[2]. Thus the principle that there should be no partitions was revived by Louis IV, in an attempt to absorb the lands of a cadet line, only three years before it was invoked at the Arrogation in order to reunite the electoral lands themselves. The commission of the Estates would not, however, consider these arguments, and Duke Otto came to receive the homage of his new lands before the elector could marshal his support among the towns[3]. The electors continued to put forward their claims until 1453[4], but later Frederick I's relations with the counts palatine of Zweibrücken and other neighbours became so poor that he

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1. HSA Munich, Fürstensachen, no.954; GHA Munich, Urk.2676, 3387; Akten 1318 II, fo.92; Häutle, Oberpfalz, p.67.

2. GHA Munich, Akten 1318 II, fos.84-89; HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 956 (30 Dec. 1448).

3. 4-12 Jan. 1449, ibid.

4. 13 April 1449 and 28 Jan. 1453, GHA Munich, Akten 1318.

could not afford to antagonize Otto as well. Thereafter the former Neumarkt lands shared the fate of the Mosbach lands.

The electors were on good terms with their Mosbach relatives and the disputed Neumarkt succession did not harm their friendship for long. In 1427 Louis III and Otto had agreed that if Otto's line died out, Louis and his heirs were to have the entire Mosbach inheritance, and if Louis's line died out, Otto and his heirs were to succeed in all but those lands of the Palatinate which had been declared inalienable before 1410[1]. In successive wills, Otto gave instructions that his three younger sons should go into the Church and his lands be inherited by the eldest[2], who succeeded in 1461. Otto II soon went to reside in his distant lands of the Neumarkt inheritance and left his Mosbach lands on the Rhine and Neckar, which bordered on Frederick I's territories, in Frederick's protection[3]. The Elector Philip concluded a new succession treaty with Otto II in 1479 for the expressed purpose of securing the complementary interests of their lands and subjects[4]. This treaty was more favourable to the

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/811, fos.15-16; Regesta...Rerum Boicarum, xiii, ed. B.T. Rudhart, 1854, pp.108-9.

2. 1444 and 1454, C. Häutle, 'Die letztwilligen Verfügungen Herzogs Otto I. des Mosbachers (1444-1461)', Verhandlungen des historischen Vereins von Oberpfalz und Regensburg, xxiii, 1865, pp.192-209.

3. 30 Dec. 1463, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fos.248-9,255V; renewed, 1473, R.Friedrich, p.484; Kremer, i.621.

4. 4 Nov., GHA Munich, Urk.2795; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/867, fos.115-9; G.H. Krieg von Hochfelden, Die Veste Zwingenberg am Neckar, Frankfurt, 1843, pp.198-9.

elector: not only was Otto without children while Philip already had two, but Philip was to inherit all Otto's lands on the Rhine and Neckar if Otto left no children, whereas if Philip died childless, Otto was to inherit only two inalienable towns of the Palatinate and eleven others[1].

Otto II later sought to overcome his financial difficulties by means of a draft agreement with Duke George of Lower Bavaria. In exchange for the right to inherit Otto's Neumarkt lands, George was to grant Otto a life pension, take over more than 40,000 guilders of his debts, and return those lands which were already pawned to the Landshut dukes[2]. This treaty was not concluded, however, and in 1490 the elector entered into a similar agreement with Otto[3]. Philip at once took over Otto's debts and granted him a pension of 1,430 guilders. Otto was to have the revenues and government of his Neumarkt lands for his life, after which Philip would succeed him. Otto's brother, Bishop Albert of Strassburg, consented to this sale and was promised by Philip a pension of 1,600 guilders, payable after the death of Otto II, for his rights to the inheritance of his father, Otto I[4]. In spite of the rival claims of the Count Palatine John of

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1. These lands may, however, have been the same size as the Mosbach inheritance.

2. n.d., but the next payment of interest on one of the debts was due on 24 June 1489, GSA Munich, Kasten Blau, no.341/9, fos.22-24.

3. 4-5 Oct. GHA Munich, Urk.2826; HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.164, fos.240-4,371-4,402-3; Bibl. Heidelberg, Handschriften 436, J.G. Lehmann, Pfälzer Urkunden, vii, no.1975; K. Morneweg, Johann von Dalberg, ein deutscher Humanist und Bischof, Heidelberg, 1887, pp.135-6.

4. 30 Sep. and 11 Oct. 1490, GHA Munich, Urk.2812; HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.164, fos 409-10,413-5.

Simmern to the inheritance[1], Philip secured imperial confirmation of his right to succeed in all Otto's lands on the Rhine and Neckar and in Bavaria[2].

More careful plans had been laid by the elector to absorb the combined lands of the two cadet lines than by his father in 1448 to secure the Neumarkt succession. When Otto died in 1499, Philip had no difficulty in being recognized throughout these lands[3]. The Mosbach inheritance was the smaller gain, for although there were seven Ämter, the revenues later amounted only to about 1,450 guilders, after Lauda and Eberbach had been pawned by Philip for a total of 31,000 guilders[4]. The original gain may therefore have been worth 3,000 guilders annually in revenues, but a decade later the elector was also making annual interest payments of 1,250 guilders on debts contracted by Otto II[5]. The Neumarkt lands, on the other hand, were larger than the existing possessions of the electors in the Upper Palatinate. A rough guide to the relative sizes are the numbers of men enrolled in the levies for the war of 1504: 4,788 in the Amberg

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1. 27 Sep. 1491, GHA Munich, Urk.2807; Pfälzer Urk.vii, no.1996.

2. 11 Sep. 1493, GHA Munich, Urk.2813; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/863, fos.97-98.

3. Häusser, pp.500-1. The Count Palatine Alexander of Zweibrücken gave up his claims in 1507, Lehmann, Zweibrücken, pp.230-1.

4. The others were Mosbach, Steinsberg, Wiesloch, Neckarelz and Sinsheim, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fos.44-47; see App. III(2), nos.300,307.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, between fos.54 and 55.

lands and 9,601 in the Neumarkt lands, compared with 16,804 for the whole of the Palatinate itself[1].

(vii) Philip's Provisions for his Sons and for the Succession.

The Elector Philip profited from the lack of heirs among his cousins, but found his own family of eight sons and four daughters a mixed blessing[2]. He complained in 1496 to the emperor, and later to the archduke of Burgundy, of the expense of having so many children[3]. It was taken for granted by the electors in the fifteenth century that all the younger children of a ruler should have sufficient financial resources to enable them to 'maintain their estate', as befitted those of princely descent[4]. Younger sons could be given a share in the lands of the ruling house or a large annuity on their revenues, but best of all because least a burden on the principality, sees and profitable benefices could be acquired for them.

Louis III had imposed the ecclesiastical status on one of his three sons, but Philip was the first elector to use this method of providing for his sons to the full. His policy was marked by a

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1. 'Das Reissbuch anno 1504', ed. F. von Weech, Z.G.O., xxvi, 1874, pp.171,185-6.

2. Two others did not survive infancy, Häutle, Genealogie, pp.37-43; Häusser, pp.495-7.

3. GSA Munich, Blau 103/2b, fo.289;435/5, fo.202.

4. '...davon sie dann auch furstlich state und wesen Iren namen und stammen zu eren...halten mogen....', 24 Jan. 1472, GHA Munich, Urk.2784; other examples, ibid., 2783,2812; HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 216 (7 June 1505).

disregard for the provisions of the canon law: already as small children the young princes were non-resident pluralists and they often only became priests late in their ecclesiastical careers. Moreover, brother succeeded brother in a series of benefices, canonries and sees. Best provided for was the elector's second son, Philip. Born in 1480, he was nominated prebend in the cathedral of Cologne in 1484 and became canon of the chapter of Mainz in 1489, provost there in 1491, and in 1489 provost of the foundation of St. Albans, near Mainz. He soon acquired canonries in five other cathedral chapters. In 1497 he succeeded his brother, Rupert, as administrator of the see of Freising, of which he became bishop in 1499, although because of his age he could not be consecrated until 1507. He also became administrator in 1517 and bishop in 1520 of the see of Naumburg[1]. Rupert, the third son, acquired several important benefices and became administrator of the see of Freising, but renounced all his ecclesiastical dignities at the age of sixteen, in order to be able to marry[2]. The careers of the other brothers were similar; Wolfgang also eventually became a layman, but George, Henry and John all reached the eminence of episcopal sees[3]. Although the elector's attempts between 1499 and 1503 to secure an archbishopric for one or other of his sons were unsuccessful[4], he was one of two princes

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1. Kisky, Domkapitel, p.40; HHutle, Genealogie, p.37

2. 1497, ibid.

3. Ibid., pp.39,41,43; Kisky, op. cit., pp.41,117.

4. GHA Munich, Akten 2385, fo.123; E. Ziehen, Mittelrhein und Reich im Zeitalter der Reichsreform, 1356-1504, ii, Frankfurt, 1937, pp.584-5,594-5,614.

singled out by Ludwig von Eyb the elder as examples of those who solved the problem of having many children by obtaining positions for them as administrators of sees, enabling them eventually to become bishops[1].

Philip also intended to make an ordinance for his eldest son to inherit all his lands; the three other sons he had sent into the world would have had 3,000 or 4,000 guilders each as annuities[2]. In 1502 the elector's son, Philip, consented in his father's presence to the clause in this ordinance that he was to remain in the Church for life[3]. The younger Philip sent his father his written consent a few weeks later, but, although he had already been elected bishop of Freising, he declared in piteous tones how sad it had made him to give this promise; he would be content with only a small portion, if he could but remain a layman[4]. The ordinance itself, in the form of the elector's will, was never executed, but was continually postponed during 1503 because of the growing danger of war with Hesse, Philip's illness, and the absence abroad of his sons, Louis and Frederick[5].

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1. 1500, A. Werminghoff, Ludwig von Eyb der Ältere (1417-1502), Halle, 1919, p.310.

2. '...wir haben unser ordnung bestelt das alle unnser land under ainem regirenden fursten nemlich dem eltsten sone beyeinander unzerstreut pleiben sollen....', instructions for Philip's envoys to the duke of Cleves, GSA Munich, Blau 435/5, fo.238. No year was given in the date, but from a reference to an earlier draft alliance of Aug. 1501, it was probably 28 April 1502, ibid.,fos.236-9.

3. Neumarkt, 19 April, GHA Munich, Urk.2868; von Weech, 'Pfälzische Reg.', Z.G.O., xxii, 1869, p.407.

4. 10 May, GHA Munich, Urk.2869.

5. Ibid., Akten 2385, fos.123-4,198,213,247-51,261-3,302,372.

When the elector finally came to make his will in 1506, the Palatinate was in a far less fortunate condition than four years earlier. The loss of numerous territories in the Bavarian Succession War inspired the pessimistic prologue with which Philip opened the will, which he made at Heidelberg with the consent of six of his sons and the advice of twenty-two counsellors[1]. Philip declared that he wished to prevent disputes and the division of his principality; he himself had been its sole ruler and feared the effects of a partition between his sons, especially on the ability of the eldest to maintain his princely estate as elector. Four more sons, George, John, Henry and Wolfgang, had already promised to remain in the Church for their lives[2]. On the elector's death, they and the two sons of Rupert, who had died, were to receive under the will annuities of 1,200 guilders; Philip had become bishop of Freising through his father's efforts and was adequately provided for. John renounced his annuity on becoming coadjutor of the see of Regensburg[3], and the two other brothers who became bishops during the rule of the next elector presumably also became independent of him financially.

Under the will of 1506, the eldest son was to receive the electoral dignity and inalienable lands, which were to descend by primogeniture. Philip preferred Louis and the fourth son, Frederick,

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1. 12 Aug., ibid., Urk.2881; Akten 963; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/821, fos. 325-31; Bibl. Heidelberg, Handschriften 504, Lehmann, Pfälzisches U.B. xv.230.

2. 29 Jan. 1506, GHA Munich, Urk.2883. They and Bishop Philip of Freising later renewed their promises, 12-14 Dec. 1506, ibid. 2882,2884.

3. 12 Oct. 1506, ibid.2814.

to be co-rulers of the remainder of the inheritance, but if they could not agree to rule together, an equal division between them of those lands which were not inalienable would be made by Philip with the advice of the 'Estates of the Palatinate'. Should this partition not have been made during Philip's lifetime, it was to be supervised after his death by representatives of the Estates. The unity of the principality and ruling house was endangered by these provisions for a possible partition and by the further clause that Louis, if he died without leaving sons, was to be succeeded as elector firstly by Frederick and only then by Otto Henry and Philip, the sons of Frederick's elder brother, Rupert, who according to the Golden Bull should have succeeded before Frederick. Philip may have favoured Frederick in this way because he wished to avoid a recurrence of the situation of 1449, when he himself as a child had been replaced as elector by his uncle, Frederick I[1]. Another possibility is that this decision was a product of the immediate political circumstances. Frederick was the only member of the electoral family in favour with the emperor, and with Maximilian's agreement had become guardian of Philip's minor grandchildren, Rupert's sons[2]. At the time of Philip's will, negotiations were still being conducted by Frederick with the emperor, who in principle had already given his consent to the creation for the young princes of a small principality with 24,000 guilders in

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1. F. Trautz, 'Ottheinrichs Stellung in der pfälzischen Geschichte', Ruperto-Carola: Mitteilungen der Vereinigung der Freunde der Studentenschaft der Universität Heidelberg e. V., Jahrgang 8, Band xix, 1956, p.22.

2. 1505, Häusser, p.486.

revenues from the Landshut inheritance[1]. Furthermore, the elector had brought the imperial ban on himself by assisting Rupert in his attempt to seize the Landshut inheritance. Frederick, rather than Philip, conducted the negotiations during the following years to induce the emperor to absolve the elector and restore or pay compensation for the lands in Alsace, which he had taken from Philip in the war[2]. Philip probably gave Frederick such extensive rights in his will in order to reward him for his efforts and to strengthen his hand for future negotiations.

After their father's death in 1508, Louis and Frederick agreed not to undertake a partition, but to rule jointly for nine years those lands which did not belong exclusively to the elector[3]. They thus respected Philip's wishes in his will and adopted the course best suited to the reduced territories and poor finances of the Palatinate. The agreement was renewed in 1517, but Frederick left the government in his brother's hands, went off on his travels about Europe, and later settled down to administer the principality of his nephews in Bavaria[4]. Both in the Upper Palatinate, where Frederick was Regent, and in the

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1. Ibid., p.489.

2. Ibid., p.490. These objectives were only achieved in 1518, M. Steinmetz, Die Politik der Kurpfalz unter Ludwig V. (1508-44), typewritten thesis, Freiburg, 1942, pp.99-100,119.

3. 26 May, GHA Munich, Urk.2890.

4. Hubertus Thomas Leodius, Annalium de vita et rebus gestis illustrissimi principis, Friderici II. Electoralis Palatini Libri XIV., Frankfurt, 1624, p.65; Häusser, pp.504,571.

Palatinate, the Elector Louis V retained the supreme power[1]. In further family agreements of 1524, the succession established for the electorate in Philip's will was confirmed, with the result that Frederick II succeeded Louis V in 1544 and was in turn followed by his nephew, Otto Henry, in 1556[2]. The possibility of a partition had become remote when Frederick II became elector, and from that time younger relatives, like his nephew, Philip, received only small pensions[3]. Although the descendants of the Elector Philip's numerous sons died out already in 1559, first one and then another cadet line succeeded to the entire electoral lands. With the aid of the tradition of indivisibility which had been established, the Palatinate was spared the partitions which continued to cause the fragmentation of many German principalities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The policy of preventing partitions had not been pursued with equal vigour by all electors. Often the danger of partitions was only realized when the territories were on the verge of being divided or had already been divided. Rupert III and Louis III had made inadequate provisions to preserve the unity of their patrimony, but the other electors were at the right times aware of the importance of this task. Such awareness was fostered by the existence of a nucleus of inalienable lands. When further partition was imminent, Louis IV, Frederick I and Philip, with the participation of their closest

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1. Steinmetz, op. cit., p.86.

2. Trautz, loc. cit., pp.22-23,30.

3. Häusser, pp.622-3.

advisers or the Estates, devised expedients for preventing the disaster. Yet an elector who at one time had saved the unity of the principality might at another put it in danger again, Frederick I out of fondness for his son and Philip out of political necessity. Dynastic arrangements had to be made anew by each generation, but with the passage of time the tradition of indivisibility became stronger.

The family treaties of the fourteenth century became a guide to the policy of the electors again in the middle of the fifteenth century, as the reference to them at the time of the Neumarkt succession dispute and the Arrogation showed. This is a testimony to the continuing influence of the clauses of the Golden Bull which Rupert I had adopted for his house. The electors were ready to use the Golden Bull as a theoretical justification for their dynastic policy, but they could also ignore its provisions for reasons of expediency: when the younger brother, Otto, became Regent, when Frederick I replaced Philip as elector, or when Philip rearranged the order of succession to the electoral dignity in his will.

There were several aspects to the policy of maintaining an undivided electoral principality. Further partition was prevented, but a largely successful attempt was also made to reunite the lands separated in 1410. Younger sons had been responsible for that partition; in the later fifteenth century many younger sons were sent into the Church. All this did not by itself create a unified state with a strong central administration, but unity under a single ruler

was a necessary condition for the attempt to bind more closely together the scattered territories which were the inheritance of the electors. A united state was also the indispensable basis for the territorial expansion which was the most outstanding feature of the development of the Palatinate in the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER TWO. TERRITORIAL EXPANSION.

(i) The Growth of the Palatinate until 1449.

The territories of the electors were of comparatively recent origin: the name Palatium was not applied to them until the mid-thirteenth century, and a count palatine had first possessed lands in this area only in the middle of the twelfth century[1]. The electors therefore had no allodial lands of their own. In the fifteenth century, neighbouring princes of the Church remained feudal lords, in name at least, of the lands which in earlier centuries had passed out of their possession to augment the Palatinate. Heidelberg was held of the see of Worms, Neustadt an der Haardt of Speyer, and Bacharach and Stahleck of Cologne[2]. The greater part of the territories, however, had been gradually acquired as imperial pawnings since the time, in the twelfth century, when most of the imperial lands had been in this corner of Germany[3]. It has been estimated that between 1329 and 1400 the three Ruperts approximately doubled the lands under their rule or

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1. F. Trautz, Die Pfalz am Rhein in der deutschen Geschichte, Neustadt an der Weinstrasse, 1959, p.4.

2. J.F. Schannat, Historia episcopatus Wormatiensis, i, Frankfurt, 1734, p.231; Lossen, p.3; C. Schütze, Die territoriale Entwicklung der rheinischen Pfalz im 14. Jahrhundert, typewritten thesis, Heidelberg, 1955, p.111; R.Friedrich, pp.419-20; the electors were also vassals of the sees of Trier, Bamberg and Strassburg, F. von Weech, Über die Lehenbücher der Kurfürsten und Pfalzgrafen Friedrich I. und Ludwig V., Karlsruhe, 1886, p.4.

3. Trautz, op. cit., p.5.

influence, and that, in spite of the fourfold partition of 1410, Louis III inherited more than had his father in 1398[1].

Whereas military conquests had played a negligible part in the fourteenth-century expansion[2], they were to enable the Palatinate to continue expanding in the later fifteenth century, when the growth of the neighbouring principalities was no longer as rapid as it had been. Already in 1424, Louis III had forced the margrave of Baden nominally to pawn, in reality to cede to him, Eppingen and half of Heidelsheim[3]. The electors came into conflict and sometimes went to war with other rulers in order to secure a share of the inheritance of leading noble families whose line came to an end. The succession to the counts of Sponheim, whose extensive lands were divided between two branches of their family, was disputed by the electors with the margrave of Baden and the count palatine of Zweibrücken. Notwithstanding the claims of Stephen of Zweibrücken, Louis III obtained one fifth of the lower county, centred on Kreuznach, as a gift in 1416 from his sister-in-law, the daughter of the last count of that line. On her death, some of her fiefs escheated to the see of Worms and were bought by the elector in 1419. Meanwhile, Count John V of the Starkenburg line in the upper county had inherited the remaining four-fifths of the lower county, but

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1. C. Schütze, 'Ziele und Mittel der pfälzischen Territorialpolitik im 14. Jahrhundert', Pfälzer Heimat, ix, 1958, p.5; R. Fester, Markgraf Bernhard I. und die Anfänge des badischen Territorialstaates, Karlsruhe, 1896, p.71.

2. Schütze, Entwicklung, pp.270-3.

3. Nos.68-69 (in this chapter, references to items in App. III(1) and (2) will be made in this abbreviated form).

in 1422 he pawned a further fifth to Louis III for 20,000 guilders[1]. In 1437 John was succeeded in all his lands by his joint heirs, the rulers of Zweibrücken and Baden, but they were unsuccessful in their attempts to recover the elector's share of the lower county or Count John's imperial fief of the castle of Neuwolfstein, which had escheated to Louis IV[2]. Louis was confirmed in 1440 in his two-fifths shares in Kreuznach, Kirchberg, Gemünd and five other castles, over seventy villages, ten estates, and hunting, fishing and other rights, which were to be the basis of further gains during the century[3].

The majority of territorial acquisitions between 1410 and 1449 were not made by conquest or inheritance, but by purchases, on which over 350,000 guilders were spent in these four decades[4]. Louis III was especially active in buying the villages of indebted nobles in the Amt of Alzey[5], and the estates in the fruitful plain of the Rhine, some of them from impoverished monasteries. The estate and village of Osthofen, near Worms, were obtained from the monastery of Hornbach

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1. Nos.31,43,57.

2. Near Kaiserslautern, no.99; also, Die Flersheimer Chronik, ed. O. Waltz, Leipzig, 1874, p.111.

3. R.Baden, iii, no.6047, pp.113-5; Lehmann, Spanheim, ii.228-30; Zweibrücken, pp.56-57. See the map of the Palatinate; it is not possible to indicate the stages of territorial expansion with accurate linear boundaries.

4. App. III(3).

5. E.g., the Raugraves, the lords of Hohenfels-Rippoltskirchen and Johann von Helmstädt, W. Fabricius, Die Herrschaften des unteren Nahegebiets, Bonn, 1914, pp.XXXVII, XXXIX, XLI,441-2; E. Seyfried, Heimatgeschichte des Amtsbezirks Schwetzingen, Schwetzingen, 1926, pp.345-6.

for 10,000 guilders; most of this sum was paid by taking over debts already incurred by the monastery on the estate[1].

Louis III also continued the policy of his predecessors[2] of making the imperial pawnings in fact irredeemable. For a loan of 8,000 guilders, he received from the Emperor Sigismund the privilege that Germersheim, Oppenheim, Kaiserslautern and the Ortenau, with their dependent towns and villages, could only be redeemed all together[3]. Louis IV does not seem to have been successful in his attempt to add to this list[4], but the price of redemption of most of the imperial pawnings was so high that the Emperor was unlikely to redeem them, and the electors were powerful enough to prevent anyone from exercising a delegated right of redemption. When Louis III and the count of Hanau bought the city and castle of Gelnhausen, north-east of Frankfurt, from the nobleman to whom they were already pawned, the city expressed

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/866, fos.33-35,356; Urkundenbuch der früheren freien Reichsstadt Pfeddersheim, ed. D. Bonin, Frankfurt, 1911, pp.262-4; Fabricius, p.217; J.G. Widder, Versuch einer vollständigen geographisch-historischen Beschreibung der Kurfürstlichen Pfalz am Rheine, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1786-8, iii.109-10; other examples, nos.14,40,42,52,54,55,66,67,77,82,89,91,93,98.

2. E.g., R.Pfalz.i, nos.2299,2877,3135,3398,4092, pp.138,174,187,202,244.

3. 1414, Urkunden Kaiser Sigmunds, i, no.1266, p.75; Eberhard, Ludwig III., p.51.

4. 1447, Chmel, Regesta...Friderici...III., no.2399, p.244. Frederick I and Philip made similar abortive attempts to strengthen their hold on the imperial pawnings, 1454, Kremer, ii, no.31, pp.91,93; 1495, GSA Munich, Rot 23 d.62/64; Müller, Reichs Tags Theatrum...Maximilians I., i.515; Häusser, p.423; A.G. Kolb, Die Kraichgauer Ritterschaft unter der Regierung des Kurfürsten Philipp von der Pfalz, Stuttgart, 1910, pp.139-40.

its fears, justified in the event, that it would never return to the Empire[1].

Weinsberg was not only another imperial city mediatized by the electors, but the centre of the possessions of the lords of Weinsberg, who also gradually yielded their lands to the Palatinate. Louis III and his successors exploited both the financial straits of Conrad, lord of Weinsberg, and his sons, and the hostile relations between the city and Conrad, the archbishop of Mainz and the city's other enemies[2]. Between 1411 and 1459 the electors spent nearly 34,000 guilders, including Conrad's salary as Amtmann at Weinsberg of 200 guilders for twenty-two years, and thereby obtained the city and imperial taxes, the castle and lordship of Weinsberg, together with the castle of Stein, some sixteen villages, and the protection of another village and of the monastery at Lichtenstern[3]. Louis IV made other sizable gains in this area, buying Neustadt, on the river Neckar, from Conrad of Weinsberg, and the castle and town of Möckmühl from the counts of Hohenlohe, who had already contracted many debts on it to members of the lesser nobility[4]. By a series of purchases, mainly from the last members of the old family of the counts of Löwenstein, the elector acquired for some 40,000 guilders the town, castle and county of Löwenstein with

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1. 1435, StA Frankfurt, Reichssachen 3442; see no.97.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/866, fos.170-4,178-81,184-8;890, fos.80-89, 93-99,102; C. Jäger, Geschichte der Stadt Heilbronn, i, Heilbronn, 1828, pp.182-3; O.A.B. Weinsberg, pp.161-2; see nos.1,11,102,125.

3. Nos.130,138; O.A.B. Weinsberg, pp.188,196,210,219,246,252,256,273, 288,323,328,333,337,386,405; O.A.B. Heilbronn, ii, 1903, pp.321,414,435.

4. Nos.115,121.

twenty-seven villages, 10,000 Morgen of forest and the valuable annual tithes at Heilbronn, which included 9½ tuns of wine[1]. The most purposeful expansion before the middle of the century was undertaken in the 1440s in these lands to the east of the Mosbach territories and the river Neckar. The electors had taken advantage of the financial difficulties of the three leading families of the local higher nobility: Weinsberg, Löwenstein and Hohenlohe. Extensive sales and pawnings of their lands to the territorial princes by the declining higher nobility were characteristic in the first half of the fifteenth century of Baden and Württemberg, as well as the Palatinate[2]. They marked the culmination of the effect on many noble families of the 'agrarian crisis', which, according to Wilhelm Abel, had been caused by the decline in population since the later fourteenth century[3].

(ii) Frederick I's Wars of Conquest, 1451-60.

Louis IV left his brother a legacy of territorial conflicts, which soon broke out into open warfare. The first of the old rivals to succumb were the counts of Lützelstein, in Alsace. After two years of feuding, plundering and fruitless negotiations, their castles of Lützelstein and Einartshausen fell to the elector[4]. Frederick I's court chronicler pointed out that these places had good customs posts

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1. Nos.104-6,114,116-7; C.J. Kremer, 'Abhandlung von den Graven von Loewenstein', Historia et Commentationes Academiae Electoralis ...Theodoro-Palatinae, i, 1766, pp.347-50,365-71.
2. Fester, op. cit., p.91.
3. W. Abel, Die Wüstungen des ausgehenden Mittelalters, 2nd. edn., Stuttgart, 1955, pp.109,136-50; cf. F.L. Carsten, The Origins of Prussia, Oxford, 1954, pp.107-8,113-6.
4. Kremer, i.47-51; Häusser, pp.340-1.

and were strategically placed on the routes to Alsace, Lorraine and France[1]. Frederick shortly consolidated this position by an alliance with Lorraine[2], repaired the fortifications of Lützelstein, and transferred the residence of his deputy in Alsace from Hagenau to Lützelstein[3].

The Lützelsteiner and their allies, the lords of Lichtenberg, had been supported by Margrave Jacob of Baden, whom Duke Frederick had refused to invest with several fiefs which he claimed[4]. After the Arrogation, Jacob and his son, Charles, who succeeded in 1453, would not accept their fiefs of Graben and Stein from Frederick[5]. There were also innumerable minor conflicts with Baden, which made up the patchwork of territorial rivalry — disputes over hunting and fishing rights on the Rhine and over rights of safe conduct; clashes between the local officials (Amtleute); and Frederick's complaint that Jacob had taken the Lichtenberger into his service, although they had recognized Frederick as their hereditary lord[6]. Peace was not made until 1455, when a feudal court of the Palatinate also compelled Charles to render homage to Frederick as elector[7]. Charles and his brother, Bernard, renounced

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1. Kemnat, pp.25-26.
2. 1453, Kremer, ii, no.26, pp.79-81.
3. 1455, Becker, p.237; D. Fischer, 'Le comté de la Petite-Pierre sous la domination palatine', Revue d'Alsace, viii, 1879, p.395.
4. R.Baden, iii, nos.7160-1, p.260.
5. Kremer, i,70.
6. R.Baden, iii, no.7268, pp.274-5.
7. Ibid.iv, ed. A. Krieger, 1912-5, nos.7940-1, p.35.

their hunting rights and jurisdiction at Michelfeld to Frederick; of the few other territorial disputes settled, most went in the elector's favour[1].

The first issue at stake between the elector and the counts palatine of Zweibrücken was the succession to yet another family of the higher nobility, the counts of Veldenz, whose lands lay to the north-west of Kaiserslautern. In 1444 Stephen of Zweibrücken inherited the possessions of the last count of Veldenz, his father-in-law. When Stephen retired from ruling his territories in 1453, they were divided between his eldest son, Frederick, who received his father's lands about Simmern and his adjoining shares in the counties of Sponheim, and the second son, Louis, who obtained the counties of Veldenz and Zweibrücken[2]. The Elector Louis IV's feudal court had not yet decided before his death whether Kusel, Lichtenberg and other fiefs held by the count of Veldenz had escheated to the Palatinate[3]. Therefore Duke Frederick, as Philip's guardian, reserved the elector's rights to these fiefs when investing Louis of Zweibrücken with them, although he promised not to press these claims while he was guardian[4]. After the Arrogation, Frederick refused to invest Louis with the fiefs without reserving his own rights as elector, and Louis refused to receive them with this condition. In 1453 Louis allied with the margraves of Baden

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1. Ibid., nos.7930-1, p.33; R.Friedrich, pp.255-60.

2. RSusser, pp.325-8,497-8; Lehmann, Zweibrücken, pp.62-64,84.

3. Ibid., p.90; Kremer, i.21-22.

4. R.Friedrich, pp.222-3; Lehmann, Zweibrücken, p.91.

and the archbishop of Mainz in order to press their respective claims against the Palatinate, restore Philip as elector, and appoint a new guardian for him[1]. Frederick declared war on Louis in 1455, after the latter had failed to pay homage according to an arbitration decision of 1453 and clashes had occurred between their Amtleute[2]. Louis was abandoned by all his allies and his castle of Bergzabern fell to the elector[3]. He nevertheless received favourable peace terms: his losses in the war were restored and, although he had to accept the Veldenz fiefs with reservation of Frederick's rights, these were not to be claimed during Louis's or the elector's lifetime[4]. The main issue was thus left unsettled.

The archbishops of Mainz were hostile to the electors palatine because of their territorial losses to the Palatinate in the first half of the fifteenth century. Over the years, Mainz and the Palatinate had obtained from the inhabitants of the Bergstrasse conflicting testimonials (Weistümer) concerning the ownership of jurisdiction to the north of Heidelberg. The Palatinate meanwhile incorporated the village of Neuenheim into the city of Heidelberg and took possession of the court at Handschuhsheim and the common rights from Schriesheim to the middle of the Neckar[5]. Frederick I excluded the officials of

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1. H.Baden, iii, nos.7507-8, p.313; Lehmann, Zweibrücken, pp.93-94.
2. Kremer, ii, no.35, pp.99-100; R.Friedrich, pp.250-1; Häusser,pp.342-3.
3. Ibid., pp.343-5; Lehmann, Zweibrücken, pp.99-125; Kremer,i.66-68,70,74.
4. 3-8 Oct.1455, Kremer, ii, no.42, pp.115-6;i.75-76; R.Friedrich,pp.262-3.
5. F. Zimmermann, Die Weistümer und der Ausbau der Landeshoheit in der Kurpfalz, Berlin, 1937, pp.33-35,41-42; H. Schmith, Neuenheim, Heidelberg, 1928, p.53; K. Kollnig, Die Zent Schriesheim, Heidelberg, 1933, p.17.

Mainz from the whole hundred (Zent) of Sachsenheim and replaced the coat of arms of the see by that of the Palatinate on the north tower on the bridge over the Neckar[1]. The see also claimed that the boundaries of jurisdiction of its village of Lorch, on the Rhine, extended further towards Kaub than the electors palatine would allow[2]. War was averted in 1456, when an alliance was concluded between the two electors and the archbishop agreed not to renew his various claims[3]. In 1458, however, he secured an arbitration decision in his favour from the bishop of Speyer[4]. In order to avoid further conflict, Frederick I sold his rights between Kaub and Lorch to the chapter of Mainz for 9,000 guilders, but the archbishop would not recognize the sale and the chapter went back on it[5]. The archbishop's ensuing alliance with Count Ulrich of Württemberg, the margrave of Brandenburg and Louis of Zweibrücken[6] endangered Frederick I's policy of overcoming his enemies one by one.

The elector had recently allied with Duke Louis of Bavaria against

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/883, fos.108-10.

2. K. Menzel, Diether von Isenburg, Erzbischof von Mainz, 1459-63, Erlangen, 1868, pp.9-10; Kremer, i.18-19.

3. GSA Munich, Rot 38/58; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/883, fos.263-4; F.J. Bodmann, Rheingauische Alterthümer, i, Mainz, 1819, pp.65-66; Kremer, ii, no.45, pp.120-7;i.78-80.

4. 9 June, Kremer, i.34-35; Menzel, op. cit., p.11.

5. 10 June 1458, ibid. p.10.

6. 20 June 1458, R.Baden, iv, no.8243, p.68.

the invasion of their jurisdiction by the Landgericht at Nuremberg belonging to Albert Achilles, margrave of Brandenburg[1]. The margrave and Ulrich of Württemberg later enforced a decision of the Landgericht against robber lords who had attacked their lands from the castle of Widdern, near Möckmühl, a fief of the elector and the bishop of Würzburg. The Württemberg army then turned against Frederick's forces; until Ulrich withdrew, the elector had an anxious week while the expected aid from Bavaria failed to arrive. He was then able to save from pursuit the leading robber lord, Hermeck von Hornberg, who with the support of the Palatinate later mounted raids on the Württemberg lands[2]. The eastward extension of the Palatinate since 1440 was also partly the cause of another conflict with Württemberg. Frederick I had granted Louis IV's widow Löwenstein, Möckmühl and the tithes at Heilbronn, with revenues of just over 2,000 guilders, and a pension of nearly 3,000 guilders on the customs at Oppenheim and Mannheim[3]. Margaret of Savoy used this jointure as her dowry on marrying Count Ulrich of the Stuttgart line of Württemberg, to whom she also gave her claims on the duke of Savoy for the unpaid balance of the dowry for her marriage to Louis IV. Frederick I, however, claimed these arrears for himself and refused to pay Margaret's pension of 3,000 guilders while they were outstanding[4].

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1. 24 Feb. 1458, Kremer, ii, no.55b, pp.170-1.

2. Kremer, i.100-8; R.Friedrich, pp.300-3.

3. 21 July 1451, ibid., p.221; J.U. Steinhofer, Neue Wirtembergische Chronik, ii, Tübingen, 1746, pp.939-40.

4. Ibid., pp.954-6; Kremer, i.137-41.

After a military alliance of Mainz, Brandenburg and Württemberg against Frederick at the end of 1458[1], the parties consolidated their positions until the 'blind judgment' of 1459. The imperial commissioner, the bishop of EichstHdt, urged on by the emperor, Albert Achilles and other enemies of Frederick I, handed down an arbitration decision at the Diet of Nuremberg, although the elector's case had not been heard and his representatives had protested at this procedure. The decisions were all in favour of Frederick's opponents: the debt of 9,000 guilders from the chapter of Mainz was cancelled; Margaret of Savoy was to receive her pension of 3,000 guilders with all arrears; and Louis of Zweibrücken was to be invested unconditionally with his Veldenz fiefs[2]. A sharp exchange of letters between the parties quickly gave place to open war. Against the formidable alliance, backed by imperial sanction, of Brandenburg, Wüttemberg, Baden, Mainz, Zweibrücken and others, the elector had material support only from Louis of Bavaria, the landgrave of Hesse and a few imperial cities[3]. On the other hand, the forces of Brandenburg and most of those of Württemberg were held down in Bavaria. After heavy pillaging by both sides in the Rhineland, the elector and the landgrave of Hesse defeated the archbishop of Mainz and Louis of Zweibrücken at Pfeddersheim, near Worms, in 1460[4].

The archbishop at once recognised the debt of 9,000 guilders and

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1. R.Baden, iv, no.8280, p.73; Menzel, op. cit., p.12.

2. R.Friedrich, pp.314-6; Kremer, i.124-32.

3. HHusser, p.354; Kremer, i.148-51.

4. 4 July, HHusser, pp.359-60; Kremer, i.183-5.

renounced his claims under the 'blind judgment'. He ceded to Frederick the castle of Schauenburg, destroyed in the war, and the villages of Handschuhsheim and Dossenheim, which Frederick had captured; the see might redeem them for 20,000 guilders[1]. The elector's peace with Württemberg, however, was only in the nature of a truce[2]. Louis of Zweibrücken did not submit until 1461, when he received his fiefs from the Palatinate unconditionally as an inheritance in the male line, but had to renounce half of his annuity of 655 guilders on the customs at Bacharach and Kaub and receive the other half as a fief[3].

(iii) The War in the See of Mainz and the Battle of Seckenheim (1462).

The archbishop of Mainz, Diether von Isenburg, had capitulated so quickly after Pfeddersheim because of his growing conflicts with Pope Pius II over the exceptionally high payments demanded when he had entered his see in 1459. In 1461 the pope deposed Diether and appointed as archbishop Adolf of Nassau, who seized the greater part of the see[4]. The rival archbishops sought the aid of Frederick I, who prevaricated at first, but eventually became alarmed at the possibility of having Adolf of Nassau as a hostile neighbour. He therefore allied with Archbishop Diether and Count Philip of

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1. 18 July and 4 Aug. 1460, Kremer, ii, nos.72-73, pp.210-22; i.186-9; R.Friedrich, pp.344-9.

2. Ibid., pp.349-51; Kremer, i.190-2.

3. 30 June, R.Friedrich, pp.367-8; Kremer, i.228,232.

4. Kremer, i.244-8; Menzel, op. cit., p.68.

Katzenelnbogen, whose lands adjoined the two electoral principalities[1]. As the price of his assistance, Frederick was given the whole Bergstrasse —— the towns of Starkenburg, Bensheim, Heppenheim and Mörlenbach, at least twenty-three villages, the forest of Lorsch, and the right of safe conduct from Heppenheim to Frankfurt —— which might only be redeemed by the see of Mainz for 100,000 guilders[2]. For Frederick I, the justice of his ally's cause in the ensuing war was secondary to the desire to maintain his own territorial gains.

Frederick and Diether made two vain attempts late in the season to regain the lands of the see. Ulrich of Württemberg and Charles of Baden then found an excuse to attack Frederick in the Rhineland: in September 1461 he had successfully intervened in Bavaria against their imperial commission to reconquer the imperial city of Donauwörth and the bishopric of Eichstädt from Louis of Bavaria[3]. After six months of ravaging by the opposing armies, Frederick's enemies planned a raid up to the walls of Heidelberg itself, but allowed themselves to be caught without their infantry in the angle between the Rhine and the Neckar. On 30 June 1462, at Seckenheim, Count Ulrich, Margrave Charles, the latter's brother, Bishop George of Metz, and half of their 800

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1. 19 Nov. 1461, Kremer, ii, no.80, pp.237-40; R.Friedrich, pp.371-2; Menzel, op. cit., pp.162-8; N. Feeser, Friedrich der Siegreiche, Kurfürst von der Pfalz, 1449-1476, Neuburg an der Donau, 1880, pp.87-89.

2. Speierische Chronik von 1406 bis 1476,ed. F.J. Mone, Quellensammlung der badischen Landesgeschichte, i, Karlsruhe, 1848, p.461; Kemnat, p.40; Kremer, i.260-1. Frederick also received the disputed silver mines at Deimbach, W. Silberschmidt, Die Regelung des pfälzischen Bergwesens, Leipzig, 1913, pp.16-17.

3. Kremer, i.233-44,262-9; Häusser, pp.368-9.

cavalry, including some 123 nobles, were captured by the larger forces of Frederick I and his allies[1].

Frederick now turned against Bishop John of Speyer, who had rashly opposed him in the war. The elector seized and kept Rotenberg, Wersau and several villages[2], all just to the south of Heidelberg and a source of danger if in hostile hands. In 1459 Frederick had induced the previous bishop to buy Wersau from the Count Palatine Louis, whom he wished to deprive of this strategic fort[3]. Louis had not openly opposed the elector in the war over the see of Mainz, but he was a supporter of Archbishop Adolf and helped him in October 1462 to mediatize the imperial city of Mainz, from which Frederick I and his two allies narrowly escaped with their lives[4]. By the beginning of 1463, however, Louis and Frederick had been reconciled[5]. The fall of Mainz had meanwhile lessened Archbishop Diether's chances of regaining the see by force. Frederick I also became inclined to accept the papal candidate in Mainz, because he wished to secure papal approval for his brother's election as archbishop of Cologne in 1463. Through Rupert's mediation an armistice was concluded in the see of Mainz and

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1. C. Roder, Die Schlacht von Seckenheim in der pfälzer Fehde von 1462-63, Villingen, 1877, pp.11-21,45,48; Kremer, i.291-303; Häusser, pp.371-5. Albert Achilles was defeated equally decisively by Louis of Bavaria at Giengen, 19 July 1462, Kremer, i.315.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/338, fos.15-18; R.Baden, iv, no.8960, p.160; U.B. Speyer, ii, no.169, pp.314-7; Häusser, p.376.

3. Lossen, pp.55-56.

4. Kremer, i.320-5.

5. R.Friedrich, pp.390-2; Kremer, ii, no.92, pp.284-5;i.330,365; Lehmann, Zweibrücken, pp.148-50.

Diether later renounced the archbishopric[1]. Adolf then made peace with Frederick, confirmed his right to keep the Bergstrasse, and in 1465 pawned to him the imperial city of Pfeddersheim, to the west of Worms[2].

The misfortune of the three imprisoned princes had meanwhile been emphasized when Archbishop Diether and the count of Katzenelnbogen renounced their rights over the captives to Frederick I[3]. Charles of Baden, Ulrich of Württemberg and some of their nobles were put in stocks in the castle of Heidelberg[4]. The elector was able to impose his own terms for their ransoms[5], part of which was paid by the cession of territories. From the bishop of Metz Frederick gained only half of the Lebertal in Alsace[6]; even then, it was held for a long time as a fief by his commander-in-chief at the battle of Seckenheim[7] and was redeemed in 1479 by its original owner, the duke of Lorraine[8]. Charles of Baden, on the other hand, paid nearly all his ransom by ceding

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1. Kremer, i.345-50,353-61; Lossen, p.40 n.1; Menzel, op. cit., pp.213 et seq.

2. No.171; Kremer, ii, nos.109,111, pp.313,319-24.

3. 30 Oct. and 1 Nov. 1462, R.Baden, iv, nos.8981,8984, p.162.

4. Speierische Chronik, p.482; Michel Beheims Reimchronik, ed. O. Hofmann (Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, iii), 1863, pp.146-7; R.Baden, iv, no.9000, p.165; Feeser, op. cit., p.103.

5. See chapter 3(i).

6. 1 Dec. 1462 to 21 April 1463, no.158; R.Baden,iv, no.8994, pp.163-4.

7. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1911, fos.14-15;813, fo.69;1057; Beheim, p.121; Kremer, ii, no.168, p.457.

8. No.270.

territories. The elector received the margrave's three tenths of the lower county of Sponheim, which Baden might redeem for 45,000 guilders, and in the east Besigheim and Beinheim, with their villages, which for the purposes of redemption were valued altogether at 35,000 guilders[1].

Frederick I now held a valuable seven tenths of the lower county of Sponheim and his cousin, Frederick of Simmern, with whom he was on good terms, the remainder. Otherwise, the elector's acquisitions were not as great as they seem. His chancery estimated that the share of the county of Sponheim brought annual revenues of no more than 1,400 guilders and Besigheim and Beinheim under 800 guilders[2]. A capital value in accordance with the revenues would have been 28,000 and 16,000 guilders, respectively. Instead of paying a further 40,000 guilders, Charles made Pforzheim into a fief of the electors, which might be renounced by the margrave's successors only on payment of that sum[3]. This obligation bound Baden politically to the electors, but gave them no tangible rights or revenues in Pforzheim itself. Charles gave up his right to redeem the imperial pawning of Eppingen, which had stood at 7,000 guilders since 1455, and his claim to redeem Heidelsheim[4], but these places had been in the elector's possession already before the war. Frederick's chancery also regarded the price put on Eppingen as

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1. 10 Feb. to 20 April 1463, nos.159-60; Mone, Quellensammlung, iii, 1863, p.149; R.Baden, iv, nos.9013-4,9018-9,9042-3, pp.166-8, 170.

2. R.Friedrich, p.400.

3. Ibid.; R.Baden, iv, no.9040, p.170.

4. Ibid., no.9024, p.168.

too high[1], and claimed that the revenues from the fishing and other rights on the Rhine renounced by Charles were under 50 guilders[2]. Although the nominal value of the territories ceded by Baden was over 130,000 guilders, the capital value of the increase in revenues was under 50,000 guilders.

There was a similar discrepancy between the nominal and real values of the lands given up by Ulrich of Württemberg. His Amt of Marbach, like Pforzheim, became a fief of the Palatinate, which his successors might renounce on payment of 30,000 guilders[3]. Margaret of Savoy now abandoned her annuity of 3,000 guilders and gave back to the elector the Amt of Möckmühl and the county of Löwenstein with the Heilbronn tithes[4]. These lands had been estimated to produce revenues of some 2,000 guilders when given to Margaret as her jointure, but in 1463 they were old possessions recovered, not new ones conquered; the electors had originally spent over 65,000 guilders on their purchase.

(iv) The Counts Palatine of Zweibrücken and the Counts of Leiningen.

Frederick I's territorial gains as a result of his victory at Seckenheim were smaller than the conquests he made from Louis of

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1. R.Friedrich, p.400; the two places were elsewhere valued at 5,000 fl., Mone, op. cit.i.224.

2. R.Friedrich, p.400; R.Baden, iv, no.9039, p.170; Baden claimed in 1488 that they were worth 10,000 fl., but another estimate was 4,000 fl., Mone, op. cit.i.224;iii.149.

3. Kremer, ii, no.192, pp.523-6; Württ.R.i, 1916, no.4932, p.180.

4. Ibid., no.4933, p.180.

Zweibrücken in the last of his wars. Louis waged war as imperial commander on behalf of the city and abbey of Weissenburg in 1470, but had the support of only the counts of Leiningen. He soon lost those of his towns and castles which were strategically placed within the electoral lands: Schriesheim on the Bergstrasse, with the castle of Stralenburg, and two castles near Alzey (Armsheim, with its villages of Biebelnheim and Weinheim, and Ruprechtseck)[1]. The elector's campaign of 1471 began on the left bank of the Rhine, to the south of Worms. Large forces were summoned to take the town of Wachenheim, since its siege had had to be abandoned the previous summer, even though the castle had already fallen. The well-fortified town of Lambsheim fell in a few days[2], as did the customs post for land tolls at Agersheim, the ownership of which Frederick had claimed for at least five years[3]. To the west of Kreuznach, Frederick seized the towns of Sobernheim and Monzingen with Böckelheim and other villages and the quicksilver mines at Sobernheim, which had all been pawned to Louis in 1466 by the archbishop of Mainz for 40,000 guilders[4]. After the war, Louis estimated the total value of his losses to the elector at 136,000 guilders[5], although there may have been an element of exaggeration in this analysis of defeat.

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1. Nos.178-80; Kremer, i.434,437,443.

2. No.181; Kremer, i.439-40,449,458-60.

3. GSA Munich, Blau 384/7, fos.272-6; Rot 75 e.54.

4. No.182; Silberschmidt, Regelung des pfälzischen Bergwesens, p.20.

5. Lehmann, Zweibrücken pp.177-8.

These conquests had to be defended against the attempts of Louis and his successors to secure their return. By the peace of 1471 Louis renounced the protectorate over Alsace, with which the emperor had invested him, and paid homage again for his fiefs. Three villages which Frederick had taken were restored, but there were to be further negotiations about his other conquests[1]. The elector soon declared that he had no intention of giving them up[2] and made them indivisible from the Palatinate[3]. The commission which was to have decided how the conquests should be returned was never appointed, and on several occasions until 1479 the electors put off Louis's claims with evasive arguments[4]. In 1489 the Elector Philip took advantage of the conflicts between Louis's two sons and forced them to abandon for ever their title to all the lands conquered by Frederick I[5].

Frederick's wars of conquest involved him continually with the counts of Leiningen, whose lands in the triangle between Kaiserslautern, Worms and Speyer formed an enclave which was so large that the electors had not attempted to absorb it in the fourteenth century[6]. The Leiningen territories were divided between the senior line of the

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1. 2 Sep. 1471, P.C. Heintz, 'Das ehemalige Fürstenthum Pfalz-Zweybrücken und seine Herzoge..., i, ...von 1410 bis 1514...', Abhandlungen der Historischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, i.1, 1833, pp.363-4; R.Friedrich, pp.468-9; Lehmann, Zweibrücken, pp.174-5.
2. 26 Sep. 1471, GSA Munich, Rot 75 e.62, no.109.
3. 24 Jan. 1472, Kremer, ii, no.168, p.456.
4. GSA Munich, Rot 75 e.62, no.109; Heintz, loc. cit., pp.365,367.
5. Status Causae, i, Beylagen, pp.61-62; Lehmann, Zweibrücken, pp.203-6,211-2.
6. Schütze, Entwicklung, p.249; 'Ziele', loc. cit., p.2.

landgraves and the junior line of Hartenburg, and the county itself was a fief of the Palatinate[1]. The elector's opportunity came when the Hartenburg lands were divided between Count Emich VII and his brothers in 1452[2], and when the landgraves died out in 1467.

Frederick I had already overridden the claims of Count Emich VI to succeed to the inheritance of yet another family of the higher nobility, the counts of Hohenburg, whose line came to an end in 1449. Their small county of Pfeffingen, near Dürkheim and in the centre of Emich's lands, was seized as an escheated fief by the elector's officials during Emich's absence[3]. They even took possession of Emich's rights at St. Michelsberg, which he later claimed belonged to the county of Leiningen, not Pfeffingen. He maintained that it would be unfair if he lost his rights merely because the church of St. Michelsberg was within the bounds of Pfeffingen; many nobles and others had property in lands of the electors and the latter also had property in the lands of other princes and nobles, but it would be unjust for any of them to lose their rights for this reason[4]. These complaints showed that even the greatest of the nobility feared that the electors might systematically round off their territories at the expense of the nobles.

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1. E. Kristek, Bauernlage und Bauernnot in der Grafschaft Leiningen, 1400-1525, Kaiserslautern, 1941, p.24; Kremer, i.394.

2. J.G. Lehmann, Urkundliche Geschichte des gräflichen Hauses Leiningen-Hartenburg und Leiningen-Westerburg, Kaiserslautern, 1860-1, pp.150-1,153.

3. Bibl. Heidelberg, Handschriften 501, Lehmann, Pfälzisches U.B. xi.106-7; J.G. Lehmann, Geschichtliche Gemälde aus dem Rheinkreise Bayerns, ii, Das Dürkheimer Thal, Heidelberg, 1834, pp.135-6; Burgen, v.209-10.

4. 3 Oct. 1449, Pfälzisches U.B.xi.107.

An arbitration commission decided in 1451 that the county of Pfeffingen had escheated to the Palatinate and, although Count Emich VII produced a testimonial of the court of Pfeffingen clearly stating that the counts of Leiningen had been its supreme lords, the count's repeated demands on Frederick I for his rights remained without effect[1].

These disputes paved the way for the reversal of the elector's alliance with the counts of Leiningen against the lords of Lichtenberg. Count Schafried of Leiningen became dissatisfied with the protection afforded him by Frederick I and left his service for that of Louis of Zweibrücken in 1455. The Lichtenberger had become retainers of the Palatinate, assisted the elector in the war of 1455[2], and with his connivance seized Schafried's share of the county of Saarwerden[3]. In 1457 they even took Schafried captive; the 'blind judgment' of 1459 imposed on Frederick I the obligation to secure Schafried's release without ransom and to invest all the Leiningen brothers with their fiefs[4]. Emich VII had taken over the administration of Schafried's lordship of Guttenberg, between Weissenburg and Bergzabern, and joined the elector's enemies in the war of 1460. After Pfeddersheim, Frederick seized Guttenberg and destroyed Hassloch and its villages, to the east of Neustadt[5]. Frederick promised in the peace of 1461 to

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1. Lehmann, Dürkheimer Thal, pp.137-8; Burgen, v.212-3.
2. J.G. Lehmann, Urkundliche Geschichte der Grafschaft Hanau-Lichtenberg, i, Mannheim, 1862, pp.266,269,274,281-2,289; K. Stenzel, Die Politik der Stadt Strassburg am Ausgange des Mittelalters, Strassburg, 1915, p.40.
3. Archives Départementales, Strasbourg, C98 (8-10 Dec. 1456), 8J42c; Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, i.304.
4. R.Friedrich, pp.315-6; Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, i.307-10,315.
5. Lehmann, Burgen, i.238-42; Kremer, i.194.

invest the counts with their fiefs, return his conquests, and work for the release of Schafried[1], but he did not relinquish Hassloch and its villages, of which Louis of Zweibrücken had held a quarter[2], and did nothing on Schafried's behalf.

The elector and Louis of Zweibrücken had long had designs on Guttenberg, for Schafried owned only half of the castles of Guttenberg and Minfeld and three quarters of the five villages belonging to Minfeld; the remainder of the lordship was held by Louis as a fief of the Palatinate[3]. Already in 1456 Frederick I had acquired half of two villages near Guttenberg and of the lower courts at Minfeld[4]. In 1463 Frederick and Louis became reconciled and forced Schafried to give up to the Lichtenberger, as the price of his release, Guttenberg and his property in Alsace. The Lichtenberger at once sold their newly acquired share of Guttenberg to Frederick and Louis[5]. Already before Schafried's renunciation of Guttenberg, the elector and his cousin had made arrangements for its administration[6]. They later agreed to an undivided joint rule of Guttenberg with equal shares[7],

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1. R.Friedrich, p.368; Kremer, i.230-1; Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, i.317.
2. No.153.
3. Lehmann, Burgen, i.221,231-2,235-6.
4. No.142.
5. 8-10 June, Lehmann, Burgen, i.242,244; Zweibrücken, pp.152-3; Hanau-Lichtenberg, i.324-5,327.
6. 7 June, ibid.i.323; Zweibrücken, pp.151-2; Burgen, i.243.
7. 10 June and 30 July 1463, ibid.i.244; Zweibrücken, p.153.

but since Louis already owned half of the castles and a quarter of the villages, almost the entire purchase came to the elector's hands. The price moreover was the low one of 7,000 guilders; soon after the Elector Louis V's accession, the revenues of a quarter of the lordship were 500 guilders[1], representing a capital value of 40,000 guilders for the whole lordship.

In 1467 Landgrave Hesso of Leiningen died childless and his castle of Neuleiningen was seized by Count Emich VII, who sought to acquire the whole inheritance in this way[2]. Frederick ordered him to desist, since Hesso's widow had claims to her jointure, Bishop Reinhard of Worms to fiefs of that see which had escheated, and Hesso's sister, Margaret, the widow of a count of Westerburg, to the remainder of the inheritance[3]. The bishop then promised the elector half of Neuleiningen and of Hesso's other fiefs held of the see, if Frederick would recover them and protect the bishop in his half[4]. The elector obtained a similar promise from Hesso's sister, who also admitted that the landgrave's fiefs of the Palatinate had escheated[5]. In vain Count Emich asked Frederick, as his territorial prince

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fo.26; a price of 12,000 fl. was put on a quarter of the lordship in 1507, Lehmann, Burgen, i.252; Zweibrücken, pp.244-5.

2. Kremer, i.395; Lehmann, Leiningen, p.172.

3. 12 April 1467, Kremer, ii, no.131, p.372; R.Friedrich, p.434; J.P.L.E. Brinckmeier, Genealogische Geschichte des...Hauses Leiningen und Leiningen-Westerburg, i, Braunschweig, 1890, pp.217-8.

4. 16 April 1467, GSA Munich, Rot 42 f.8; Kremer, i.396; Lehmann, Leiningen, p.173; Brinckmeier, op. cit.ii, 1891, p.113.

5. 2 June 1467, Kremer, i.397; Lehmann, Leiningen, p.173.

(Landesfürst), not to act as a party in the disputes[1]. The elector's supreme court (Hofgericht) decided against Margaret of Westerburg in 1468 that Hesso's fiefs of the see of Worms had escheated, because they were hereditary only in the male line[2], and Frederick himself captured Neuleiningen from Emich. The elector divided the county of Leiningen with Margaret and retained for himself a quarter of Neuleiningen, twenty-one villages, and the serfs of the county in eleven others, which were all added to the Amt of Alzey[3]. The fiefs which escheated directly to the Palatinate included several castle fiefs and the right of safe conduct on the roads between Kaiserslautern, Oppenheim, Worms, Speyer and Dürkheim, some of which were part of the important highway from Burgundy and Lorraine to the Rhine and beyond[4].

When Count Emich and his brothers again supported Louis of Zweibrücken, the elector razed the defences of their castle of Dürkheim and only restored it to them in 1471 on condition that they swore never to oppose the Palatinate again. By this time the monastery of Limburg, near Dürkheim, had left the protection of Emich for that of Frederick[5]. The Elector Philip increased his holding in

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1. Ibid., pp.175-6; Brinckmeier, op. cit.i.150,219.

2. 18 March, Bibl. Heidelberg, Pal. Germ.158, fos.177-80; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.28-30.

3. Kristek, op. cit., p.116; Lehmann, Leiningen, p.181; Brinckmeier, op. cit.i.150;ii.113; Kremer, i.398.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1914, fo.13; D. Häberle, Alte Strassen und Wege in der Pfalz, Neustadt/Haardt, 1931, p.37.

5. Kremer, i.463-4; Lehmann, Leiningen, pp.179-81,184; R. Krebs, 'Die Politik des Grafen Emich VIII. zu Leiningen und die Zerstörung des Klosters Limburg im Jahre 1504', Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins der Pfalz, xxiii, 1899, p.6.

the county of Leiningen by purchasing seven villages and an estate from Margaret of Westerburg's son, Landgrave Reinhard, who found that Leiningen was too far away from Westerburg and that the villages did not produce revenues commensurate with the price Philip was prepared to pay for them[1].

(v) Peaceful Methods; the Sees of Worms and Speyer.

As in the county of Leiningen, the electors supplemented their territorial conquests with purchases, which were often made possible by the continued financial difficulties of the nobility. Thus in 1487 the elector foreclosed on the village of Schillingstadt, when Georg von Rosenberg failed to repay a loan[2]. Not all the nobility succumbed to the relative financial strength of the electors. The Rhinegraves later redeemed their rights in twelve villages in the Amt of Alzey, which they had pawned to the electors before 1452[3]. For the most part, however, the electors derived advantages from the size of their territories, which could be more economically administered than those of the nobles. The landgrave of Leiningen-Westerburg recognized this by taking an annuity instead of the revenues of part of his county[4]. Several monasteries were also eager to sell their

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1. No.201. Lehmann, Leiningen, p.267, and Brinckmeier, op. cit.ii.119, 221-5, incorrectly state that half of the entire county was pawned.

2. No.210; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fo.14;889, fos.122-3; other examples, nos.125,145.

3. G.F. Böhn, Beiträge zur Territorialgeschichte des Landkreises Alzey, Meisenheim/Glan, 1958, pp.82-83; Fabricius, pp.250,349.

4. Another example, J.G. Lehmann, Dreizehn Burgen des Unter-Elsasses und Bad Niederbronn, Strassburg, 1878, pp.62-63.

revenues in distant parts. Engelstadt with its court, vineyards and revenues, both there and in five other villages in the Amt of Alzey, belonged to a convent at Cologne. Although the revenues in rye alone were 100 measures, worth 50 guilders, the whole was sold to Frederick I for only 1,200 guilders. Heavily indebted monasteries, like those at Sinsheim and Klingenmünster, sold some of their property at low prices to both electors[1].

There were fewer occasions in the fifteenth century than there had been in the fourteenth[2], on which the electors acquired the feudal lordship of lands held by the nobility, either through the exercise of pressure[3] or as a free gift. Nevertheless, several noblemen were eager to acquire the protection of the electors by receiving their castles as fiefs, and the electors were interested in the military advantage of the right of entry they thus obtained to castles on their borders. In this way they became feudal lords of Horkheim, Stettenfels and Untereisisheum in the Amt of Heilbronn, and of Maienfels in the Amt of Weinsberg[4].

The protection they could give enabled the electors to obtain more tangible assets. During the fifteenth century, various ecclesiastical foundations granted them half of their villages in

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1. Nos.135,188,213.

2. Schütze, Entwicklung, pp.240,261-2; 'Ziele', loc. cit., p.3.

3. E.g., GSA Munich, Rot 36 g.1; Hessische Urk.v, 1873, pp.512-3; Kremer, ii, no.34, pp.96-99;i.564.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1911, fo.176; O.A.B. Heilbronn, ii.383,494,505; Württ.R.ii, nos.14541-2; other examples, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1007, fos.237,258-9;1911, fos.21-22,179-81; Böhn, Alzey, pp.70,179.

exchange for protection of the other half[1]. There were at least ten such villages, the majority of them in the Amt of Alzey, where the see of Mainz was also engaged in a policy of expansion by these means[2]. The electors were especially keen to secure rights of lower jurisdiction; the monasteries retained their estates, tithes and other revenues, and sometimes their serfs as well. The less powerful foundations were often induced to make such grants because they were themselves in the protection of the electors and unable to exercise jurisdiction in their own villages[3].

The see of Worms similarly sought the protection of the Palatinate against nobles laying claim to its possessions; the chief advantage derived by the electors from such a situation was the half of Neuleiningen acquired by Frederick I[4]. The lands held jointly by the see of Worms and the electors illustrate the domination of the stronger power in such partnerships. The possessions of the electors went up to the walls of Worms itself[5]. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, three villages near Worms, which were jointly owned by the electors with the see, were incorporated with twelve electoral villages in the Amt of Dirmstein, in which the elector alone was

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1. Nos.20,35,50,142,186,205,230; there were precedents from the fourteenth century, Schütze, Entwicklung, p.242.

2. Fabricius, p.XLIV.

3. Böhn, Alzey, pp.35,70; Lossen, p.146.

4. Other examples, nos.133,200; Flersheimer Chronik, pp.113-4.

5. Nos.24,42,52,61,82,171; Fabricius, p.464; H. Boos, Geschichte der rheinischen Städtekultur, ii, 2nd edn., Berlin, 1897, p.526.

declared to be entitled to the military service of the inhabitants (Reise)[1]. The electors had won this commanding position through the more active maintenance of their rights by their Amtleute. Two bishops admitted this in 1492 and 1504, when justifying their reluctance to aid the emperor against the elector or his allies: the lands of the see were all in the heart of the Palatinate and its fortified places were held jointly with the electors, whose Amtleute had everywhere gained the upper hand[2].

The see of Speyer came into equally great dependence on the electors after its defeat in 1462[3]. Its lands were not owned jointly with the electors, but were in the centre of the Palatinate and liable to be encroached upon by the activities of its officials. Lengthy settlements were necessary in 1491 and 1503 for disputes which had arisen over prerogative rights, such as safe conduct and tolls, and taxes and other rights over serfs[4].

(vi) Border Conflicts with the See of Mainz; the Amt of Alzey.

Border conflicts like those with the see of Speyer were a regular feature of the electors' relations with all their neighbours and could

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fo.15; 'Reissbuch', Z.G.O., xxvi, 1874, p.217.

2. Morneweg, Dalberg, p.145; Lossen, p.72; Monumenta Wormatiensia. Annalen und Chroniken, ed. H. Boos (Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Worms, iii), Berlin, 1893, p.495 n.

3. See chapter 5(i)(a).

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/338, fos.38-41; GSA Munich, Blau 398/1, I, no.4; reflected also in treaties of 1452 and 1462, Kremer, ii, no.20, pp.60,63; Lossen, pp.201-5; U.B. Speyer, ii, nos.169,171, pp.316, 323-4.

result in an increase of revenues, prerogative rights or territories. These differences rarely led to more than the unofficial border raid, but they were contributory causes of Frederick I's wars with Mainz and Baden. They flared up only when the neighbours concerned were enemies in the wider context of imperial affairs or had rival claims to extensive territories[1]. At other times they produced endless negotiations, compromises and renewed encroachments, leading to further negotiations. Disputes in the Ämter continued like this with Baden for decades after the settlement of 1463, but without danger to the friendly relations of the two princes[2].

Border relations between the Palatinate and the see of Mainz were more acrimonious because, as their rulers stressed in numerous arbitrations and treaties, the lands and jurisdiction of each penetrated those of the other[3]. They adjoined in the Bergstrasse, on the Rhine near Kaub, where a series of forts of the archbishopric confronted those of the Palatinate, and in the Amt of Alzey, where the city of Mainz lay between the Rhine and a ring of possessions of the Palatinate[4].

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1. Ernst, pp.185,215; 'Friedrich der Siegreiche', Deutscher Westen — Deutsches Reich, p.51.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/829, fos.129-59,305,435-7;77/8783; R.Baden, iii, nos.7484-5, p.307, and passim;iv, no.10686, pp.359-60, and passim; F. Wielandt, 'Markgraf Christoph I. von Baden, 1475-1515, und das badische Territorium', Z.G.O., N.F.xlvi, 1933, pp.575-7.

3. E.g., '...unsere...lande an und ineynander gelegen sin....', 1424, S.A. Würdtwein, Diplomataria Maguntina, pagos Rheni, Mogani... illustrantia, ii, Mainz, 1789, p.375; see also Mensel, Diether von Isenburg, p.9; Ziehen, i, 1934, pp.162,210; Ernst, 'Friedrich der Siegreiche', loc. cit., p.50.

4. Ziehen, i.115,131,139.

Until 1460 the electors palatine had provided legal basis for the encroachments of their Amtleute against the see of Mainz by means of testimonials, which were a declaration of customary rights by the inhabitants[1]. Testimonials could be obtained from individual villages or from the hundred, a unit of higher jurisdiction, which embraced twenty or more villages. The electors had become lords of the hundreds which had survived within their lands on the right bank of the Rhine. In the fifteenth century, they used testimonials systematically as a political weapon to extend their rights against the lesser nobility, who were the lords of villages within their hundreds, and against serfs who immigrated to the hundreds. Rights established in this way included military service, hunting, fishing, customs, safe conduct, and the ownership of serfs. In the nine hundreds of the Amt of Heidelberg, moreover, testimonials were recorded as the basis for securing favourable arbitration decisions for conflicts with the sees of Mainz, Worms and Speyer, the counts palatine of Mosbach, and other neighbours. From 1430 onwards, when the elector's officials obtained a group of testimonials of uniform character from these hundreds, testimonials were the instrument of a centralized policy of expansion in this Amt[2]. The electors were largely successful in using the subjects of other rulers against their lords, and never failed to secure favourable testimony from their own subjects. Force or

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1. See Zimmermann, Weistümer, passim.

2. Badische Weistümer und Dorfordnungen, i.1, ed. C. Brinkmann, Heidelberg, 1917, no.3; Zimmermann, op. cit., pp.14-15,23-41, 86-89,99.

corruption were not necessary, since the questions put by the officials to the assembled populace were skilfully phrased and the subjects felt a community of interest with the electors against their territorial rivals[1]. The superior organisation and more purposeful policy of the electors gave them an edge over their adversaries in the battle of testimonials no less than in that of armies.

Territorial rivalry with the see of Mainz continued after 1463 on the left bank of the Rhine, where the see's towns of Mainz and Bingen impinged on the Ämter of Alzey, Kreuznach and Stromberg. This area had seen some of the most active expansion of the Palatinate since Louis III's rule, and by the end of the century the electors owned most of the lands along the river Nahe[2]. The Amt of Alzey had become larger than any other, with 138 villages, or nearly one third of the villages of the Palatinate in 1503[3]. A good example of the elector's piecemeal policy of purchasing rights in individual villages from declining noblemen was the gradual absorption of the lands of the Raugraves from King Rupert's time until 1457[4]. The electors also slowly gained possession of the triangle between Stromberg, Kreuznach and Bingen, which formed the sole land link between the Ämter of Bacharach and Kaub and the rest of the Palatinate[5]. Friction with

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1. Ibid., pp.27-29,31-32,70-78,90,92-97.

2. Fabricius, p.XXI.

3. 'Reissbuch', loc. cit., pp.150-2.

4. Nos.2,5,12,13,30,46,53,78,90,101,103,145; Fabricius, pp.XXXVII, XXXIX; P. Schnepp, 'Die Raugrafen', M.H.V.P., xxxvii/viii, 1918, pp.200-3.

5. Nos.41,71,73,85,139,160,172,211,223,231,271.

the town of Bingen began in 1486, when the archbishop of Mainz decided that its citizens were not to be under foreign protection or safe conduct and expelled those who refused to comply. In 1490 the archbishop made it easier for immigrant serfs, who were mostly serfs of the elector, to become citizens of Bingen, and allowed the town to levy special tolls for its weekly market, which was attended by subjects of the Palatinate[1]. The Elector Philip imposed a blockade on the market at Bingen and the economic war spread, bringing trade on the Rhine to a standstill[2]. Philip prepared for war in 1494, but a settlement of the principal disputes was reached in 1495[3]; in this case border conflicts had by themselves nearly provoked a major war and, according to one authority, had been responsible for the failure of the two leading electors to work together for the cause of imperial reform[4].

(vii) Alsace and the Ortenau.

As in the Amt of Alsey, the electors pursued a deliberate policy of expansion in Alsace and the Ortenau. Less opposition had to be met there, because no other prince provided adequate sanctions against local feuds[5]. The protectorate of Alsace gave the electors rights

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1. Ziehen, i.239,293,297.
2. Ibid.i.294;ii.435-40,444.
3. HHusser, pp.424-5; Ziehen, ii.450,452,497-8.
4. Ibid.i.115;ii.503.
5. Stenzel, Strassburg, pp.22-24.

in the ten cities of Hagenau, Weissenburg, Rossheim, Oberehenheim, Schlettstadt, Kaiserberg, Türkheim, Colmar, Münster and Mülhausen, and in forty-five imperial villages[1]. Since King Rupert's reign[2], their efforts had been directed not only to redeeming those parts of the protectorate which had been pawned before it came to the Palatinate[3], but especially to acquiring lands in Alsace which did not belong to the protectorate[4]. Louis III even detached the city of Sels from the protectorate and incorporated it into the Palatinate in 1418, after the emperor had empowered the margrave of Baden to recover it for the Empire[5].

After seizing the castles of the Lützelsteiner in 1452, Frederick extended his influence in Alsace by taking several ecclesiastical corporations into his protection[6] and by making more of the nobility

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1. Becker, p.165 n.2; see map of Alsace.

2. R.Pfalz.ii, nos.3208,3719,5715,5830,5832-3, pp.224,264,427,436-7; S. Heck, Reichs- und Territorialpolitik Ruprechts von der Pfalz (1400-1410), typewritten thesis, Heidelberg, 1940, pp.46,49.

3. Nos.8,27.

4. Nos.29,80,129,242-3.

5. Eberhard, Ludwig III., pp.106-7.

6. St. Peter's, Weissenburg, opened its castles to the elector on 23 April 1453, J. Würdinger, Kriegsgeschichte von Bayern, Franken, Pfalz und Schwaben von 1347 bis 1506, ii, Munich, 1868, pp.75-76; other examples, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/895, fos.442-6,452-3. Several foundations enjoyed the elector's protection because they were in the protectorate of Alsace, e.g., Cartulaire de Mulhouse, ii, no.1456, pp.429-30; Rappoltsteinisches Urkundenbuch, iv, ed. K.F.H. Albrecht, Colmar, 1896, no.493, p.182. Others later entered Philip's protection, e.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fos.88-89; 818, fos.17,204;821, fos.112-3; Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, ii.308.

hereditary retainers of the Palatinate. In 1453 the lords of Lichtenberg granted the elector the right of entry to all their lands and one of them became his hereditary retainer[1]. In the south, Frederick captured the castle of Hohkönigsburg, which several nobles had used for highway robbery; two of them then gave the elector a quarter of the castle and of the town of Biettenheim, but retained their revenues and the duty of maintaining the castle[2]. As in the fourteenth century[3], the chief aim of such conquests was to secure peace in the vicinity and the right of entry to strategic castles; the electors later never even made use of their quarter of Hohkönigsburg[4].

Throughout the century the electors used their position as protectors of Alsace to acquire from its nobles and monasteries part ownership or other rights in numerous castles[5], especially in a large group of castles to the west of Hagenau[6]. Since 1412 they held small fractional shares in Reichshofen, Hochfelden and seven other castles belonging to the lords of Ochsenstein, but in practice enjoyed only the right of entry, receiving none of the revenues and paying no

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1. R.Baden, iii, no.7478, pp.305-6; Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, i.289.

2. 1454-5, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/895, fos.187-90; Kremer, ii, no.34, pp.96-99;i.64-65; Kemnat, p.30.

3. Schütze, Entwicklung, pp.85,263,266; 'Ziele', loc. cit., p.3.

4. F. Woolf, Elsässisches Burgen-Lexikon, Strassburg, 1908, p.149.

5. Nos.33,113,217,248.

6. Nos.10,157,197,214-6,247,250.

expenses[1]. On the death in 1485 of George, the last lord of Ochsenstein, Count Henry of Zweibrücken-Bitsch seized George's entire lordship of Geroldseck from his heirs, the lords of Hohengeroldseck, as a pledge for an unpaid debt. In order to secure powerful support for this action, Count Henry at once pawned the shares of the lordship in Reichshofen, Hochfelden and six villages to the elector[2]. Among Philip's other purchases in the lordship of Geroldseck was one in 1502 from Count Henry's minor son, whose guardian had recently been appointed by the elector himself[3]. By intervening in the legal disputes and the family affairs of the nobility of Alsace, Philip had increased his holdings in Reichshofen and Hochfelden, until he held the greater part of these castles, and not merely a right of entry.

There was a parallel development across the Rhine in the imperial protectorate of the Ortenau, which comprised the castle of Ortenberg and the cities of Offenburg, Gengenbach and Zell. The castle was entirely pawned to the electors, but they shared the protectorate of the cities with the bishops of Strasaburg[4]. They therefore tried several times to gain the remainder of the protectorate[5], and had also to defend themselves against attempts by the rulers of Baden and

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/895, fos.152-4; Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, ii, 1864, pp.102-3.
2. Ibid. ii.306-8.
3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/821, fos.94-100,194-8; Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, ii.323.
4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/893, fos.88-90; R.Pfalz.ii, no.5315, p.396.
5. 1437, K. Walter, Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Stadt Offenburg, i, Offenburg, 1880, pp.xxix-xxx; 1447, Chmel, Regesta...Friderici ...III., nos.2346,2368-9, pp.239,241; P. Ruppert, Geschichte der Ortenau, Achern, 1878, p.39; 1454, Kremer, ii, no.31, p.92.

and Austria to redeem on behalf of the Empire the part held by the Palatinate[1], but nothing came of all these schemes. The electors meanwhile buttressed their position by extending their influence to other lands in the area. As a result of their intervention in the affairs of the local nobility, they held half of the villages of Hofweier and Schutterwald from 1441 until 1461[2], the right of entry and a quarter share in the castle of Schauenburg between 1455 and 1481[3], and the right of entry to Bossenstein from 1446 onwards[4]. Diebolt, lord of Hohengeroldseck, became hereditary retainer of Frederick I in 1450 and granted him the right of entry to his castle of Schuttern, and also pawned to him various revenues there[5]. In 1484 Diebolt complained that the Elector Philip's officials at Ortenberg had invaded his lordship for the third time and seized Schuttern[6]. Philip used Diebolt's engagement as a retainer by Sigismund of Austria as a pretext to take the castle of Hohengeroldseck by siege during Diebolt's absence

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1. 1419, 1450 and 1462, Ruppert, op. cit., pp.31,50; 1473, 1488 and 1489, Mone, Quellensammlung, i.150;iii.63; Ruppert, op. cit., p.60; Ziehen, i.290.

2. Nos.109,256.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.273-4;1662, fos.321-2; Mone, op. cit.ii, 1854, p.140; Kremer, ii, no.30, p.89;i.608,644.

4. GSA Munich, Rot 46 h.1-2; GLA Karlsruhe, 77/9672.

5. Ibid., 67/895, fos.183-5; Kremer, ii, no.2a, p.5; P. Ruppert, Geschichte des Hauses und der Herrschaft Geroldseck (Geschichte der Mortenau, i), Achern, 1882, pp.432-4.

6. Ibid., p.435; A. Wetterer, 'Die Kurpfalz in der Ortenau', Die Ortenau, xxii, 1935, p.78.

in 1486. The elector occupied the whole lordship of Hohengeroldseck and became protector of the monasteries of Schuttern (which he reformed)[1] and Ettenheimmünster[2]. This conquest also enabled him a few years later to help the count of Zweibrücken-Bitsch to seize the lordship of Geroldseck in Alsace.

(viii) Weissenburg.

By similar methods, but if anything more unscrupulous than those used in Alsace and the Ortenau, the electors augmented their lands in the neighbourhood of the imperial city of Weissenburg. Not only was Weissenburg the gateway to Alsace, but it was surrounded by strategic castles, which were near the French border and the territories of the see of Speyer and the rulers of Zweibrücken[3]. In 1455 Frederick I seized from Richard Puller von Hohenburg, an ally of Louis of Zweibrücken, the castles of Kleeberg, Hohenburg, Löwenstein and Kleinwasichenstein, all to the south of Weissenburg. The elector retained Kleinwasichenstein, and claimed Kleeberg with five villages as an escheated fief, which was formed into a separate Amt in 1457[4].

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1. Bernhart Hertzog, Edelsasser Cronick und aussfürliche Beschreibung des unteren Elsasses am Rhein, Strassburg, 1592, ii.128-31;v.122; Mone, op. cit.ii.61-63,131.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/819, fos.211-3.

3. '...ein ortstat dreyer land anstossig....', the imperial fiscal to the emperor, 29 Aug. 1496, Urkunden, Briefe und Actenstücke zur Geschichte Maximilians I. und seiner Zeit, ed. J. Chmel (Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart,x), 1845, pp.118-9; Ziehen, ii.528; Das Reichsland Elsass-Lothringen, i (publ. Statistisches Bureau im Ministerium für Elsass-Lothringen), Strassburg, 1898, p.274; R. Lossen, 'Pfälzische Einigungspolitik am Oberrhein', Festgabe Heinrich Finke gewidmet, Münster, 1925, pp.285-6.

4. H. Witte, Der letzte Puller von Hohenburg, Strassburg, 1895, pp.29-36,55; Reichsland Elsass-Lothringen, iii, 1908, p.519; Lehmann, Dreizehn Burgen, pp.211-2.

The feud was continued by some of Richard's family, the Hofwart von Kirchheim, but in 1473 they were forced to give Frederick I a quarter of Hohenburg, Löwenstein and two villages, with the right of entry; they became the elector's retainers and were allowed to keep his share of the revenues of the castles[1]. The Elector Philip continued to extend the Amt of Kleeberg by purchase[2] and by maintaining his rights in the upper village of Langensülzbach against the count of Zweibrücken-Bitsch[3].

The city of Weissenburg had meanwhile been hemmed in also from the north by the acquisition under dubious circumstances of half of the lordship of Guttenberg in 1463 and by the redemption during the next decade of the castle of Greventan[4]. As protector of Alsace the elector was protector of the city of Weissenburg, and in 1453 the Benedictine abbot of St. Peter's, Weissenburg, also entered his protection and gave him the right of entry to the abbey's five castles[5]. In 1464 the abbot abandoned his ancient claims that Weissenburg was not an imperial city, but belonged to the abbey[6]. Many of the citizens even had a community of interest with the abbey, because they

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.48V; Kremer, ii, nos.176-7, pp.479-82; Witte, op. cit., pp.52-55.

2. No.196.

3. 1483, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1662, fos.352-4; Reichsland Elsass-Lothringen, iii,554.

4. Nos.167-8.

5. St. Paul, St. Remy, Berwartstein, Scharfenberg and Edesheim, Lehmann, Burgen, i.37.

6. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fo.273V.

held its fiefs or had revenues from its property[1]. Therefore, when the elector sought to reform the abbey in 1469, the city rose in tumult against his commissioners and drove out the new monks[2]. Frederick I blockaded Weissenburg and refused, after it had reintroduced the old abbot, to accept the arbitration of the other cities of Alsace, as he was obliged to do as their protector[3]. He even wrote to the city that he had the right as its territorial prince to punish its citizens as his subjects[4]. Weissenburg might well fear that it would suffer the fate of Sels and be detached from the protectorate of Alsace. It was able, however, to withstand the elector's two-months siege in 1469, and later joined forces with Louis of Zweibrücken[5]. After Louis's defeat in 1471, Weissenburg had to make peace and recognize Frederick as protector of Alsace, but it retained its imperial status and continued to enjoy the safe conduct of the Palatinate, just as before the war[6].

The old abbot of Weissenburg also made a favourable peace and was allowed to remain in office[7], but minor disputes continued between the

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1. A.W. Strobel, Vaterländische Geschichte des Elsasses, iii, Strassburg, 1843, pp.267-8.

2. Eikhart Artzt, Vom Weissenburger Krieg, ed. C. Hofmann (Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, iii), pp.261-5; Strobel, op. cit.iii.265-6,268-9; Häusser, p.386.

3. Artzt, Weissenburger Krieg, pp.266,270-1; Strobel, op. cit. iii.269.

4. 24 Dec. 1469, Ville Strasbourg, AA258, fo.5.

5. Artzt, Weissenburger Krieg, pp.269-79,281-2,285-91; Häusser, pp.387-9.

6. Kremer, ii, no.166, pp.449-52; R.Friedrich, pp.469-70.

7. 29 Jan. 1472, Kremer, ii, no.169, pp.460-1; R.Friedrich, p.475.

unreformed abbey and the elector's official, the cellarer (Keller) at Kleeberg[1]. Frederick I shortly gained possession of the abbey's castle of Berwartstein from the Eckbrechte von Dürkheim, owners of the nearby castle of Drachenfels, who had seized Berwartstein from the abbey[2]. The elector and his successor promised that, as soon as the abbey obeyed the papal instructions to allow its reformation, they would restore the castle, and also the village of Niederschlettenbach and other property, which Frederick I's cellarer at Berwartstein had forcibly added to the castle[3]. The Elector Philip introduced personal animosities into the issue in 1480 by granting Berwartstein, together with Greventan, as a fief to Hans von Dratt[4], who was the brother of the bishop with whom the new abbot of Weissenburg had engaged in bitter struggles before his resignation from the abbacy of Merseburg, in north Germany. Von Dratt's letter of investiture had not specified the appurtenances of Berwartstein, but he took possession of Niederschlettenbach and the adjoining forests, and later seized the abbot's tithes at Niederschlettenbach and Bobenthal. The abbot's numerous protests gained force after the abbey had been reformed in 1482[5]. To relieve himself of the pressure of these claims, the

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1. L.A. Spach, L'abbaye de Wissembourg, Strasbourg, 1857, p.28.

2. Oct. 1472, Lehmann, Burgen, i.38-51.

3. Ibid.i.56; E. Krause, Der Weissenburger Handel, 1480-1505, Greifswald, 1889, p.14; T.W. von Trotha, Vorstudien zur Geschichte des Geschlechtes von Trotha, Neuwied, 1860, pp.65-66.

4. Ibid., pp.63,213-4; Lehmann, Burgen, i.58; Krause, op. cit., p.15.

5. Ibid., pp.16-18; Lehmann, Burgen, i.58-62; von Trotha, op. cit., pp.64-68.

elector made a fictitious sale of Berwartstein to von Dratt in 1485 for the 1,000 guilders which von Dratt had lent him already before 1480. The appurtenances were now listed as including the properties which von Dratt had seized. To give the whole an air of legality, the castle of Greventan was included in the sale, although this alone had been redeemed by Frederick I for 1,400 guilders[1]. Two months later, von Dratt received all his newly acquired possessions again as a fief of the elector[2], who by these elaborate means sought to conceal Frederick I's illegal retention of the castle.

Philip was all the while increasing his other possessions about Weissenburg; in 1485 he bought from the abbey at Klingenmünster the shares in the castle of Landeck and over fifteen villages which had escheated on the death of George, lord of Ochsenstein[3]. Hans von Dratt, Philip's marshal since 1484, strengthened his own position and that of his master by fortifying Berwartstein and gradually purchasing the whole valley in which it lay and the villages in the Lauter valley above Niederschlettenbach[4]. The abbot took his case to Rome, and in 1493 the elector, his marshal, and other nobles who had aided them were excommunicated. In 1496 von Dratt was also subjected to the imperial ban, after he had seized the abbey's castle of St. Remy and other property. Philip secured his own temporary absolution and papal

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1. 21 Feb. 1485, ibid., pp.69,210-3; Krause, op. cit., pp.18-19; Lehmann, Burgen, i.62-63.

2. 25 April 1485, ibid.i.63; von Trotha, op. cit., p.70; Krause, op. cit., p.19.

3. Nos.203,206,213.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/825, fo.1; Lehmann, Burgen, i.64-65,121,211; von Trotha, op. cit., pp.68,71,219; Krause, op. cit., p.19.

permission to convert the abbey into a lay collegiate chapter, but this consent was withdrawn when the emperor refused to endorse it and the city of Weissenburg insisted that secularization of the abbey would endanger its own imperial status. The elector nevertheless ordered his officials in 1497 to carry out the secularization. The city also came into conflict with von Dratt over forest and other rights which belonged jointly to the abbey and city and which he had seized[1].

Trithemius attributed all these outrages to the almost demonic influence of von Dratt on the elector[2]. Yet there can be little doubt that Philip supported his marshal in order to break down the enclave formed within his principality by the lands of the abbey and by the jointly owned immunity (Mundat) of the abbey and city, which everywhere cut across his own rights in the newly acquired Ämter of Kleeberg and Guttenberg. The immunity surrounded Weissenburg, extending twenty miles from west to east and nine from north to south, and contained at least twenty-five villages[3]. The peasants in these villages, no matter who were their lords, paid special dues to the abbey and city for the use of the forests, meadows and streams of the immunity. The size of this communal organization enabled it to maintain its privileges against the electors and the other lords of the villages[4]. The immunity had its own court for civil matters

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1. Ibid., pp.22-28,30-35.
2. Annales Hirsaugiensis, ii.541.
3. M. Mohr, 'Die Grenzen der Weissenburger Mundat', Pfälzisches Museum, x, 1893, p.17.
4. K. Regula, Die Allmenden der Pfalz in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Würzburg, 1927, pp.6-10; Krause, op. cit., p.52.

(Staffelgericht) and, although the elector was protector of the whole immunity with the right to a third of the fines levied by its court[1], appeals from this court lay to one appointed by the abbot of Weissenburg alone[2]. Already before Kleeberg came into the elector's hands, Richard Puller von Hohenburg had claimed that its villages were not part of the immunity[3]. The abbot later complained that the elector's officials at Kleeberg had forbidden the inhabitants of four villages from having recourse to the court of the immunity, imposed dues on them contrary to its customs, and deprived the abbot of the heriot to which he was entitled in the villages[4]. Similar charges were levied against von Dratt for five other villages. Three more villages of the immunity were in the Amt of Guttenberg, where both Philip and the abbot claimed to inherit from bastards who died intestate[5]. Philip and his marshal had common interests, which clashed with those of the abbey and city in the immunity.

In the end, the emperor's military successes in the vicinity of Weissenburg during the Bavarian Succession War made the elector agree in 1504 to receive Berwartstein as a fief of the abbot. The appurtenances of the castle were to be narrowly defined and the abbot was to be restored to all his rights in the immunity and receive

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/820, fo.4V.

2. Strobel, op. cit.iii.65.

3. Witte, Puller von Hohenburg, pp.33-34.

4. O.R. Landsmann, 'Wissembourg, un siècle de son histoire, 1480-1580', Revue Catholique d'Alsace, N.S.xxi, 1902, p.147.

5. Spach, op. cit., p.43; Krause, op. cit., p.52.

15,000 guilders in compensation from the elector[1]. Entirely ill-fated for the Palatinate, the whole conflict had been magnified out of all proportion. Nevertheless, its significance was not merely local[2], for the attack on the enclave within Philip's territories was part of his policy to maintain the lines of communication for his thrust of expansion into Alsace.

(ix) The Overall Policy of the Electors.

It would not be correct to say of the electors in the fifteenth century, as has been said of their predecessors in the fourteenth[3], that they had no overall policy of expansion and simply acquired what territories they could. Certainly no scheme for territorial expansion was too fantastic to receive the electors' attention, especially that of Philip. He even bought the claims of the deposed duke of Württemberg to his duchy[4]. There was, moreover, expansion in almost every Amt and every direction[5], but there was also a sense of purpose in most of the gains made. In a number of villages and estates, fractional shares were acquired at widely separated dates during the century. This piecemeal expansion was a sign of continuity of aims, not haphazard growth. Enclaves and strategic points within the territories of the electors, like the lands of the counts of Leiningen

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/825, fos.137-44; GHA Munich, Urk.2840; Krause, op. cit., pp.61-63.
2. Contrast ibid., p.64.
3. Schütze, Entwicklung, pp.246-7; 'Ziele', loc. cit., pp.1-2.
4. Württembergische Landtagsakten, 1498-1515, p.97. In 1483 the elector entertained an abortive proposal to take over half of the revenues of the lucrative salt pans of the see of Metz, Dep. Strasbourg, C81,no.9.
5. E.g., in the Amt of Heidelberg (nos.14,44,45,54,65,83,84,89,98,122, 150,154-6,198) and the eastern Ämter (nos.183,199,210,219-20,226-8, 232,239-40,246).

and the counts palatine of Zweibrücken, were proceeded against with special intensity. Gains were made with most effort and greatest ruthlessness in the Amt of Alzey and in the direction of Alsace. These lines of expansion often followed the main highways[1]. Although the electors wished to add to their lands wherever possible, they showed markedly greater interest in some directions than in others.

In two areas the spheres of influence of powerful neighbouring princes set limits to the expansion of the Palatinate, but the Elector Philip seemed intent on trying his strength against them. In 1488 he nearly went to war with the archbishop of Trier, before giving up the attempt to gain control of the castles of Beilstein on the Mosel, Winnenberg and Schöneck from the nobles who held them as fiefs of the see[2]. Both Frederick I and Philip made strenuous but vain efforts to absorb the lands of the counts of Katzenelnbogen, which extended from the Bergstrasse, past Frankfurt and towards Hesse, and which everywhere complemented the territories of the Palatinate[3]. Count Philip was a vassal, ally and close adviser of Frederick I, who in 1456 arranged the marriage of his nephew, Duke Philip, to the count's granddaughter and heiress, Ottilie[4]. In 1457 the count pawned

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1. M. Schaab, 'Strassen und Geleitswesen zwischen Rhein, Neckar und Schwarzwald im Mittelalter und der früheren Neuzeit', Jahrbücher für Statistik und Landeskunde von Baden-Württemberg, iv, 1959, pp.73-74.

2. Ziehen, i.259,269-70.

3. K.E. Demandt, 'Die letzten Katzenelnbogener Grafen und der Kampf um ihr Erbe', Nassauische Annalen, lxvi, 1955, p.108; Ziehen, i.151-2.

4. Kremer, i.405; Demandt, loc. cit., pp.96,108.

to Frederick a quarter of his castle of Lichtenberg and other fiefs of the Palatinate, probably as a means of securing in advance to the elector the lands which were to be Ottilie's dowry[1]. In 1463 the count ordered his Amtleute to swear to hand over to the elector on his death the upper county of Katzenelnbogen, south of the river Main[2]. The elector was thus aiming to annex the whole upper county (and perhaps the lower county as well[3]), even if the count were to die before the proposed marriage had taken place. A rude check was given to these plans by Duke Philip's refusal in 1467 to marry Ottilie, because she was not of princely descent. Frederick I made it clear that the failure of the marriage plan was not his fault[4] and arranged to obtain the succession to the fiefs which the count held of the see of Cologne[5]. In 1470, however, the administration of the upper county was given to Count Philip's son-in-law, Landgrave Henry of Hesse, who succeeded to the entire inheritance, with the consent of the Elector Philip, on the count's death in 1479[6].

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1. Regesten der Grafen von Katzenelnbogen, 1060-1486, ii, ed. K.E.Demandt, Wiesbaden, 1954, no.4971; Demandt, loc. cit., pp.108-9.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fos.30-31; R.Katz.ii, no.5225.

3. Ibid., no.5126; also the customs post of St. Goar, on the Rhine, R.Friedrich, p.353.

4. 9 Sep., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fos.224-5; R.Katz. ii, no.5462; Kremer, i.405-6; Ziehen, i.152-3.

5. 30 Sep. 1467, Codex diplomaticus Rheno-Mosellanus, iv, ed. W. Günther, Koblenz, 1825, pp.595-7; R.Katz.ii, no.5464.

6. Ibid., nos.5607,5928,5938; Demandt, loc. cit., pp.119-20; Ziehen, i.153-4.

The elector sought to rectify the mistake of his youth by marrying his daughter, Elizabeth, to William III of Upper Hesse in 1498. Her marriage settlement was based on the revenues of Darmstadt and other parts of the upper county of Katzenelnbogen[1]. When William III died in 1500 and was succeeded by William II of Lower Hesse, who reunited Hesse, the elector claimed Darmstadt and the other places as Elizabeth's jointure and maintained that the valuable castle fiefs held at Oppenheim and Lindenfels by the counts of Katzenelnbogen had escheated to the Palatinate[2]. The disputes over Elizabeth's jointure were partly settled in 1501[3], but Philip continued to press his claims to the escheated fiefs and in 1503 made preparations to attack the landgrave of Hesse with a large army[4].

(x) Losses in the Bavarian Succession War.

War had become imminent in the Palatinate at the same time as the elector's excessive territorial ambitions had given rise to a similar situation in the Upper Palatinate. In 1496 Duke George of Lower Bavaria bequeathed his duchy to his daughter, Elizabeth, who was to marry one of the elector's sons[5]. Long before Philip's son, Rupert, married Elizabeth in 1499, Duke Albert of Upper Bavaria had secured an imperial guarantee of his rights under the Wittelsbach family

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1. GHA Munich, Urk.2875; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/77, fos.105-24; Ziehen, i.155;ii.427,577-8.

2. GSA Munich, Blau 435/5, fos.200-1; Ziehen, ii.595,615.

3. GHA Munich, Urk.2877-8; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/77, fos.87-88,151-75.

4. 'Reissbuch', Z.G.O., xxvi, 1874, pp.211-2; Ziehen, ii.680-2,705-6.

5. Baierische Landtags-Handlungen in den Jahren 1429 bis 1513, xiv, ed. F. von Krenner, Munich, 1805, pp.63-85.

treaties to inherit his cousin's lands[1]. When George died in 1503, the emperor invested Albert with the duchy and laimed large parts of it for himself. The Estates refused to accept Rupert as their ruler, but he and his wife took possession of Lower Bavaria by force. In the ensuing Landshut Succession War, the elector and his son were opposed not only by the emperor, Brandenburg, the Swabian League and other allies of Duke Albert, but by Hesse, Württemberg, Zweibrücken, and the counts of Leiningen in the Rhineland[2]. The last two still harboured grievances from Frederick I's reign, but Duke Ulrich of Württemberg had been freshly antagonized by Philip's support of the deposed Duke Eberhard and of nobles engaged in private feuds against Württemberg[3]. Unlike his predecessor, Philip believed that he could augment his territories at the expense of all his neighbours simultaneously. He was uncompromising and unable either to control his ambitions or to divide his enemies, yet lacked Frederick I's qualities as a military leader[4].

The war broke the spirit of the elector and brought defeat on all fronts and the loss of many of the territories won by Frederick I. The emperor himself seized the protectorates of Alsace and the Ortenau

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1. S. Riezler, Geschichte Baierns, iii, Gotha, 1889, pp.570-2,574; Häusser, pp.464-5.

2. Ibid., pp.466-9.

3. Württembergische Landtagsakten, 1498-1515, pp.97,101; Ziehen, ii.581-3; Häusser, p.472; Kolb, p.131.

4. Ziehen, ii.744-5; Stenzel, Strassburg, p.64; Krause, Weissenburger Handel, p.64; Kolb, p.154; Steinmetz, Ludwig V., pp.10-13; Ritter, p.465.

and all the elector's lands there, except Lützelstein[1]. Among the conquests made by the duke of Württemberg were the four eastern Ämter of Möckmühl, Neustadt am Kocher, Weinsberg and Löwenstein, and also Besigheim and the protectorate of the abbey of Maulbronn[2]. In the final settlement of 1521, the landgrave of Hesse retained of his conquests half of Umstadt and the fiefs in the upper county of Katzenelnbogen and the lordship of Erbach formerly held of the Palatinate[3]. The elector also lost considerable parts of the Upper Palatinate to the imperial city of Nuremberg[4]. Nevertheless, the Mosbach inheritance and Frederick I's conquests from the see of Mainz remained intact, as did most of those from the counts palatine of Zweibrücken and the counts of Leiningen[5].

Another result of the war was a financial crisis so severe as to cause the immediate pawning of many more of the elector's possessions between 1504 and 1508. Philip relinquished to other rulers half of the lower county of Sponheim (which left him with one fifth), the Amt

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1. HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 217 II,218 I; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fo.25; Wormser Chronik des Friedrich Zorn, ed. W. Arnold (Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, xliii), 1857, pp.208-9; Becker, pp.81-82; Häusser, p.472.

2. Also the feudal lordship of Marbach, Gochsheim and three castles, ibid., pp.491,507; Stälin, Wirtembergische Geschichte, iv.70; O.A.B. Weinsberg, pp.260,292; O.A.B. Heilbronn, ii,494,505.

3. C. von Rommel, Geschichte von Hessen, iii, Kassel, 1827, pp.163-4; Häusser, p.491.

4. No.290.

5. But see nos.308,322; also nos.291,305.

of Lauda, Rotenberg, Neuenburg and Weingarten, and the Amt of Vilseck in the Upper Palatinate[1]. Members of the leading noble families of the Palatinate --- Sickingen, Hirschhorn, Gemmingen, Handschuhsheim, Kämmerer von Dalberg and others --- came to the rescue of the elector in his straits and at the same time enlarged their own lands by receiving pawnings from him[2]. During these four years Philip raised over 180,000 guilders from pawnings.

The electors had made similar pawnings during the fifteenth century, but only a few of their lands had previously been permanently alienated[3]. When the cost of wars and territorial purchases made pawnings necessary, the electors had tried hard to make them temporary and confine them to their own nobles and officials, so that the lands would not be used in feuds against them and could be redeemed at any time. Higher jurisdiction and other rights were sometimes not pawned with the revenues, or a pawning would be redeemed from one noble and pawned to another, in order to prevent anyone obtaining too firm a hold on what were still regarded as the elector's possessions[4]. Very often the electors reserved in such pawnings the rights of entry, of receiving the homage of the subjects, hunting, military service and,

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1. Nos.294-5,299,307, see also 298,302; 296, see also 318-21.

2. Nos.292-3,297,300-1,303-4,306,309-17,323-30,332.

3. Nos.253,260,264,274.

4. As in the fourteenth century, Schütze, Entwicklung, pp.237,277-80.

above all, extraordinary taxation (Landschatzung)[1]. Among the lands which were in and out of the elector's hands as temporary pawnings were several of the newly acquired Ämter on the eastern frontier and in Alsace and the Ortenau[2].

These pawnings had done little to check the rapid growth of the Palatinate until 1500. The electors had incorporated extensive territories of the sees of Mainz, Worms and Speyer and of the counts palatine of Zweibrücken, whole or part of the inheritance of ten families of the higher nobility[3], and many of the lands of the large monastic foundations at Klingenmünster, Hornbach and Kirschgartshausen. The capital value of the net acquisitions made between 1410 and 1500 may be estimated at 1,000,000 guilders, which represents an increase in revenues of 50,000 guilders[4]. The purchases for which no price is known and the conquests on which none was put were probably worth more than the amount by which the value of the other conquests was exaggerated. Therefore, although no allowances can be made for these quantities, 1,000,000 guilders is a low estimate. According to Duke Philip, Frederick I's acquisitions until 1471 were alone worth

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1. E.g., GHA Munich, Akten 959 (27 July 1489); GLA Karlsruhe, 67/866, fos.305-7; Hessische Urk.iv.171-2; Mannheimer GeschichtsblÄtter, x, 1909, p.111; Mitteilungen der Badischen Historischen Commission, xxxvi, 1914, p.58.

2. App. III(4).

3. The Raugraves, the counts of Löwenstein, Sponheim, Hohenburg, Lützelstein, Leiningen and Hohenlohe, and the lords of Weinsberg, Ochsenstein and Hohengeroldseck.

4. App. III(3).

over 400,000 guilders[1], a figure which corresponds closely to their estimated value. Since the revenues of the whole principality were probably not much more than 100,000 guilders at the end of the century[2], the territories had approximately doubled in size since 1410, an exceptional rate of growth for such a large principality. Yet at the beginning of Louis V's rule, the regular revenues had fallen again to 50,000 guilders. The territorial expansion of the fifteenth century had to be undertaken once more by the electors of the sixteenth, especially Frederick III (1559-76)[3]. The Bavarian Succession War had been a turning point in the history of the Palatinate. If the expansion of the sixteenth century had begun at the point reached in 1500, instead of 1508, Frederick V might have entered the Thirty Years War as the ruler of a powerful state capable of supporting European ambitions.

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1. 24 Jan. 1472, GHA Munich, Urk.2784, fo.2R.

2. See chapter 3(iv).

3. Widder, i.456;ii.212.

CHAPTER THREE. FINANCIAL RESOURCES.

(i) The Ransoms of 1463.

The increase in revenues brought about by the territorial expansion of the Palatinate cannot have matched the additional expenditure on wars and the purchase of lands. Faced with inadequate evidence on the sources of the electors' wealth, historians have exaggerated the 'exorbitant ransoms' paid by the three princes captured at Seckenheim[1]. They may have been misled by four contemporary chronicles, which gave detailed but erroneous estimates of the ransoms varying between 260,000 and 435,000 guilders[2].

A good proportion of the ransoms was in fact met by the cession of territories, which either were feudal lordships with no revenues or yielded revenues below the value placed on them[3]. The margrave of Baden ceded territories in lieu of all but 20,000 guilders of his ransom[4]. In 1464, moreover, the three princes fulfilled the condition of their ransom that they secure Frederick I's release from the papal and imperial bans, and he therefore freed them from their obligations

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1. E. Gothein, 'Die Landstände der Kurpfalz', Z.G.O., N.F.iii, 1888, p.5; Häusser, p.402; Kolb, p.6; Carsten, Princes and Parliaments, p.342.

2. Eikhart Artzt's Chronik von Weissenburg, ed. C. Hofmann (Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, ii), pp.197-8; Kemnat, p.44; Beheim, pp.180-1; Speierische Chronik, p.483.

3. See chapter 2(iii).

4. Paid, 1463-5, R.Baden, iv, nos.9034,9055,9095, pp.169,172,178; R.Friedrich, p.400.

to pay a total of 50,000 guilders[1]. By 1465, the elector had received 23,000 guilders from the bishop of Metz. The remaining 20,000 guilders of the bishop's ransom were paid in four equal instalments between 1469 and 1484; interest at 5% was meanwhile paid on the outstanding amounts[2]. Frederick received from the bishop 56,000 guilders in all, of which about 13,000 guilders were interest payments. The largest contribution in ready money was made by Count Ulrich of Württemberg. After he had paid 15,000 guilders, a quarter of his own ransom, in 1463, the archbishop of Mainz assumed liability for a further 37,000 guilders, in order to recompense Ulrich for his assistance in the war[3]. The remaining 8,000 guilders seem to have been paid, since the Württemberg chancery later noted that the full 60,000 guilders had been accounted for[4]. Ulrich had also become obliged to pay 40,000 guilders as guarantor for Louis of Zweibrücken, who had broken his pledge of 1460 to make peace with the elector[5]. Annual interest of 2,000 guilders was paid on this sum until Count Eberhard was allowed to pay it off in yearly instalments from

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1. Ibid., pp.393,400,402,416-7; Kremer, i.366-7;ii, no.112, pp.324-7. It did not affect the issue, that the emperor later repudiated the promise of his representatives to absolve the elector.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fo.90;892, fos.6-13,18-20,26-27,29,32; R.Friedrich, pp.393-4.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/883, fos.52-54;77/8073; R.Friedrich, pp.401,417; Württ.R.i, nos.4943-4,4952, p.181.

4. c. 1476, Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart, Pfalz und Baiern Feindschaft, B.17; Württ.R.i, no.4612, p.167.

5. HSA Stuttgart, Kanzlei, Pfalz, B.2; GLA Karlsruhe, 77/8073; R.Friedrich, pp.350,359-63,401; Württ.R.i, nos.4946-7, p.181.

1482 to 1489[1]. The counts had paid directly to the electors some 103,000 guilders, of which approximately 40,000 guilders were interest. Margaret of Savoy also had to restore the jewellery which she had taken from the Palatinate on marrying Count Ulrich[2]. The chronicles may have exaggerated when they declared it to be worth 100,000 guilders[3].

The see of Mainz also became indebted to Frederick I as a result of the wars. Archbishop Diether promised on his defeat in 1460 to pay 600 guilders annually, which could be redeemed for 12,000 guilders[4]. Archbishop Adolf assumed liability for 37,000 guilders of Count Ulrich's ransom, but this was reduced by 20,000 guilders on Frederick's absolution by the pope[5]. In 1465 Adolf pawned Pfeddersheim to Frederick in lieu of 7,848 guilders of the see's outstanding debts[6], and in 1467 granted him an annuity of 1,000 guilders until a further 20,000 guilders should be paid[7]. A quarter of this capital sum was paid in 1472 and a reduced pension of 750 guilders for three more years[8]. The archbishop meanwhile spent 4,000 guilders to redeem the

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1. HSA Stuttgart, Pfalz und Baiern Feindschaft, B.17; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/892, fos.126-8; Württ.R.i, nos.4956-7,4959-60,4965, p.181; V. Ernst, 'Die direkten Staatssteuern in der Grafschaft Wirtemberg', Württembergische Jahrbücher, 1904, ii.97.

2. HSA Stuttgart, Pfalz und Baiern Feindschaft, B.17; R.Friedrich, p.402; Württ.R.i, nos.4942,4950,4953, pp.180-1.

3. Trithemius, Annales Hirsaugiensis, ii.437; Kremer, i.140-1.

4. Ibid.ii, no.72, p.211; R.Friedrich, p.344.

5. Ibid., p.417.

6. U.B....Pfeddersheim, pp.103-4,277,279-82.

7. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/883, fos.54,61-63.

8. Ibid., fo.72.

castle of Niederolm, which had originally been pawned to him by Louis of Zweibrücken, but which fell to Frederick I in 1471[1]. The financial relationships between Mainz and the Palatinate were further complicated because, when Archbishop Diether had renounced his rights over the princes captured at Seckenheim, Frederick I had undertaken to pay Diether his share of the ransoms if Adolf were to be recognised as archbishop[2]. In 1463 Diether sold his claims to Adolf for 30,000 guilders[3], but Adolf kept them in reserve until Diether became archbishop again in 1475[4]. The electors palatine at first refused to pay Diether's share of the ransoms, but in 1482 Philip made payments to the see or abandoned its debts to him for a total of 31,000 guilders[5]. The archbishops had paid the Palatinate only about 28,750 guilders, of which 7,848 guilders represented the pawning of Pfeddersheim and 8,250 guilders interest payments.

The electors had received as a consequence of Frederick I's wars approximately 207,750 guilders, of which 146,500 were the actual ransoms and 61,250 interest payments. Count Ulrich and Margrave

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1. Ibid., fos.74,280-2; GSA Munich, Rot 38/89-90; Kremer, i.456-7; ii, no.163, pp.446-7; Lehmann, Zweibrücken, pp.141-2.

2. 30-31 Oct. 1462, K. Menzel, 'Urkundliche Mittheilungen zur Geschichte des Erzstifts Mainz während der ersten Regierung Diethers von Isenburg (1459-1463)', Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Alterthumskunde und Geschichtsforschung, xii, 1873, nos.179-80, pp.204-5; R.Baden, iv, no.8981, p.162.

3. Menzel, Diether von Isenburg, p.209.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/883, fo.68; R.Baden, iv, no.9379, p.209.

5. GSA Munich, Rot 38/91; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/819, fo.1;820, fos.1-2, 182-3;883, fo.68;1662, fo.350.

Charles also paid the expenses of their imprisonment[1] and Margaret of Savoy restored her jewels to Frederick I. During his reign 151,750 guilders were paid, but not all of this money was available to finance his wars. He lent his brother, Archbishop Rupert of Cologne, 35,000 guilders in money and provisions before 1468, 10,670 guilders in 1472, and another 3,650 guilders later; half of these debts were outstanding in 1478 and Rupert's successor paid the last of them between 1482 and 1485[2].

The ransoms paid by the three princes were large, but not enormous. To them may perhaps be added the ransoms of unknown amount which two chroniclers maintained were paid by the nobles captured at Pfeddersheim and Seckenheim, and the 1,400 guilders received from a noble supporter of Louis of Zweibrücken in 1460[3]. The other spoils of war were relatively insignificant. Although considerable[4], the booty was invariably divided among the troops; the elector retained only the

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1. Württ.R.i, nos.4930-1,4936-7, p.180; Mone, Quellensammlung, i.148.

2. GHA Munich, Urk.2819; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.153-5,164-5; 814, fos.250-1;819, fos.23,59;864, fos.178-81,185-7;1662, fos.310-2, 348,351.

3. Trithemius, Annales Hirsaugiensis, ii.438; Aegidii Tschudi Chronicon Helveticum, ii, Basel, 1736, p.625; F.X. Remling, Geschichte der Bischöfe zu Speyer, ii, Mainz, 1854, p.113.

4. E.g., armour and weapons worth over 11,000 fl. at Seckenheim, Chroniken der deutschen Städte, Nürnberg, iv, 1872, pp.269-71; Tschudi, ii.625; Roder, Seckenheim, p.41; other examples, Speierische Chronik, pp.441-2,444.

valuable cannon captured in various castles[1]. Several ecclesiastical foundations[2], towns and villages[3] also had to pay levies to avoid being pillaged by Frederick I, but the total amount cannot have been more than about 20,000 guilders. The profits of war were modest and the ransoms were paid with such delay that they were of little service in meeting the far greater expenses of Frederick I's wars.

(ii) The Price of War.

The only available means for appreciating the cost of Frederick I's campaigns is to examine the size of his forces and to compare them with the estimates of military expenditure made by other German princes. It was estimated in 1481 that 100,000 guilders would maintain an imperial army of 1,500 mounted men for one year[4]. Frederick I often had an army of this size in the field for several months. Lützelstein was invested for eleven weeks in 1452 with a mixed force of 6,000 cavalry and infantry[5]. At least 1,000 cavalry in an army of over 2,000 suppressed the rebellion of Amberg in 1454[6]. The elector besieged Bergzabern in 1455 with over 1,400 cavalry of his own and an

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1. GSA Munich, Rot 38/89-90; Kemnat, p.57; Kremer, i.443,464.

2. E.g., in 1460 the archbishop of Mainz guaranteed payment of half of the 15,000 fl. demanded from the foundation of St. Victor, Kremer, ii, no.72, p.213.

3. E.g., Monzingen, 100 fl., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.205; Lambsheim, 2,000 fl., Kemnat, p.64; other examples, ibid., pp.55-56,66; Speierische Chronik, pp.439,466.

4. Würdinger, Kriegsgeschichte, ii.366.

5. Speierische Chronik, p.385; Häusser, pp.340-1.

6. Speierische Chronik, p.411; Kemnat, p.27; O. Bezzel, Geschichte des Kurpfälzischen Heeres, Munich, 1925, p.7.

equal number as auxiliaries from his allies[1]. In 1458 he massed an army of 2,000 cavalry and 12,000 infantry to prevent an invasion by the count of Württemberg[2]. The military alliances of this period stipulated that a ruler had to pay for the troops brought by an allied prince, if they exceeded 100 or 200 in number[3]. The elector had 1,100 Hessian auxiliaries among his cavalry in April 1460, later received 600 more from Louis of Bavaria, and in July fielded 600 Hessian mercenaries, about 1,800 other cavalry, 300 Swiss mercenaries and approximately 2,100 other infantry at the battle of Pfeddersheim[4]. At Seckenheim Frederick himself had only 600 or 700 cavalry, but no less than 2,000 Swiss mercenaries, who were paid promptly after the battle[5]. His commander-in-chief received a fief worth 2,000 guilders and two of his captains 1,300 guilders between them[6]. At this time Louis of Bavaria spent 400,000 guilders on soldiers' pay alone in 1460, 300,000 guilders on the war in 1461, and 300 guilders every day in 1462 to maintain about 2,700 cavalry and 6,500 infantry, a force perhaps twice the size of Frederick I's[7].

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1. HSA Munich, Pfalz Neuburg (Literalien) 2023, fo.21.

2. R.Friedrich, p.299.

3. Kremer, i.552.

4. HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 173a; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, at front; Speierische Chronik, p.439; Trithemius, Chronicon Sponheimense, p.372; Kremer, ii, no.69, pp.199-201.

5. Tschudi, ii.624; Roder, op. cit., p.17.

6. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fos.59,69;876, fo.329.

7. Riezler, Geschichte Baierns, iii.416; Würdinger, op. cit.ii.47.

Only a few examples have been quoted from the period of Frederick's major wars, and even at other times he hardly ever laid down his arms. Between 1465 and 1469, for instance, he led or sent his forces on six campaigns[1]. The wars of 1470 and 1471 again involved large forces. The elector had 2,000 cavalry and at least 12,000 infantry at the siege of Wachenheim in 1471[2]. The chancery listed nearly 300 nobles and squires (Knechte) who took part with their followers[3]. This was not, as has been maintained[4], merely a feudal host which contained no mercenaries. The Counts Craft of Hohenlohe and William of Rappoltstein, who brought their retinues, had recently been appointed as retainers of the elector at salaries of 300 and 600 guilders, respectively[5]. Kemnat mentioned that Frederick paid all his mercenaries in cash at the end of the war[6]. It had moreover been primarily a war of sieges, for which costly artillery and gunpowder were used. Albert Achilles could write in 1472 with some confidence that he had no fear of a major attack by Frederick I, who would need

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1. Kemnat, pp.48-49; Kremer, i.388,398,414-5; Ernst, p.154.

2. Chroniken der deutschen Städte, Nürnberg, iv.322; Spaierische Chronik, p.503; Kemnat, p.61; Beheim, p.227.

3. Ibid., pp.217-27; Kremer, ii, no.161a, pp.440-3.

4. Kremer, i.449,543; Würdinger, op. cit.ii.88.

5. 12 and 15 March 1471, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fos.89-91; Rappoltsteinisches U.B.iv, no.1242, pp.605-6.

6. p.67.

peace after so many wars in order to 'replenish his money-bags'[1]. Both Frederick himself in 1474 and his successor's Hofmeister in 1479 admitted that the long and heavy wars had increased the great debts of the principality[2].

There was little military activity in the first decade of Philip's rule, but after 1486 he engaged in warfare which in the end exceeded that of his predecessor in scale and expense. Philip's chancery expected that his siege of Hohengeroldseck with about 2,100 cavalry and 9,000 infantry would cost well over 20,000 guilders[3]. Whereas the pay of infantry remained constant at 4 guilders per month, that of cavalry had risen by the end of the century to 9, 10 or 12 guilders[4]. From 1486 onwards the elector recruited large numbers of retainers and squires, who received an annual pension and served with a fixed number of mounted men when summoned[5]. The muster of 1504 listed over 170 retainers; although the salaries of many of them were not recorded, 3,141 guilders were being paid annually to the others, and continued to be paid into Louis V's reign[6]. The whole Palatinate was put in complete readiness for war against the see of Mainz in 1492 and 1494, and against Württemberg in 1499, even though in none of these cases

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1. 1 Jan., Politische Correspondenz des Kurfürsten Albrecht Achilles, i, ed. F. Priebatsch, Leipzig, 1894, p.304.

2. Instructions for Erkinger von Rodenstein, n.d., GHA Munich, Akten 959; Dep. Strasbourg, C93, no.2.

3. 4 Sep. 1486, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/7480, fo.68.

4. Ibid., 67/818, fos.273-4;819, fos.95-96,202-3,329.

5. Ibid., 816, fos.309,316,322-33,344,347;818 and 819, passim.

6. Ibid., 907, fos.81-82; 'Reissbuch', Z.G.O., xxvi, 1874, pp.232-5.

did it actually come to a conflict[1]. Full dispositions were made in 1503 to raise over 2,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry against Hesse, and an army of 1,000 cavalry and 18,000 infantry was proposed for the campaign of 1504[2], but it is not possible to judge how many troops the elector actually put into the field in this war or how much they cost. Among Philip's opponents, however, the duke of Württemberg paid his cavalry alone 122,000 guilders, and one of the two Rentmeister of Duke Albert spent nearly 120,000 guilders on the war in Bavaria[3]. There seems to be little exaggeration in the comment of Friedrich Zorn, who wrote in the 1560s that the war had cost the elector 1,000,000 guilders, besides the territories which were conquered or pawned[4].

Frederick I began early in his reign to meet the additional expenses of his wars by laying special contributions on his subjects (Reisegeld), which were derived from his right to their military service (Reise). Ever since the preparations for repelling the Armagnacs in 1444[5], the practice grew of calling to the colours one quarter or a smaller proportion of those obliged to serve. Those left behind were held liable to pay for the arming and provisioning

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1. Pfälzer U.B. xv.50; GLA Karlsruhe, 77/3006, Amt Kreuznach; U.B. Heilbronn, ii, nos.1633,1691, pp.512,549-50; Bezzel, op. cit., p.14; Ziehen, ii.450-1,583.

2. GHA Munich, Akten 2385, fo.171; 'Reissbuch', loc. cit., pp.143-71,209.

3. HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 216; Würdinger, op. cit. ii.238.

4. Wormser Chronik, p.208.

5. Deutsche Reichstagsakten. Ältere Reihe, xvii, ed. W. Kämmerer, Göttingen, 1956, p.536.

of the infantry in the field. The result was a trained infantry, paid for by the subjects, instead of larger but unwieldy, untrained and poorly armed levies[1]. The military contributions were very soon related to the holding of land and not merely based on personal liability to service: in 1455 the foundation of St. Andreas at Cologne contributed 120 guilders for its property at Bacharach, the third payment of this kind in recent years[2]. In 1459 and 1460 the town of Wachenheim collected taxes in excess of its ordinary Bede in order to finance the small groups of infantry, complete with arms and provisions, which it sent to join the elector's forces[3]. This practice was universal in the major towns of the Palatinate by the end of the century[4]. After 1471 Reisegeld was paid on the income of craftsmen as well as on immovable property in Heidelberg[5]. The equivalent of over 200 guilders was collected in one of the nine hundreds of the Amt of Heidelberg for the siege of Wachenheim in 1471, and 250 cows were demanded for the army from the whole Amt in the following year[6]. It was not always easy to raise the money for the

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1. Würdinger, op. cit.ii.306; similar developments took place in Bavaria, W. Beck, 'Bayerns Heerwesen und Mobilmachung im 15. Jahrhundert', Archivalische Zeitschrift, N.F.xviii, 1911, pp.54-60.

2. The archbishop of Cologne to Frederick I, 14 Aug., GLA Karlsruhe, 77/3006, Amt Bacharach.

3. Weiss, Weinheim, pp.151-2,351-2.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/894, fo.51.

5. Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.508.

6. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/3007, no.1.

number of men required by the elector. In 1492 the towns and hundreds in the Amt asked to be allowed to pay for a much smaller number of soldiers than that demanded of them, and there was similar recalcitrance in the town of Kreuznach in 1494[1]. Even when Reisegeld was paid in full, it only supported the picked levies of infantry, and nothing was left for the more expensive cavalry, artillery and Swiss mercenaries.

The castles had also to be kept in good repair. The electors built several new castles[2], fortified old ones more heavily[3], and also engaged in non-military building. In the castle of Heidelberg, Frederick I rebuilt the chapel and either undertook from the beginning or completed the rebuilding of the main hall; its interior decoration was completed by Philip, who also added a new tower to the defences and erected six stone pillars brought from the former imperial palace across the Rhine at Ingelheim[4]. It cost 5,000 guilders to rebuild the castle at Ortenberg between 1475 and 1478[5]. The expenses of

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1. Ibid., no.4; 3006, Amt Kreuznach (8 May 1494); Bezzel, op. cit., p.14.

2. E.g., Friedrichsburg, north of the Neckar, 1465-70, Kremer, i.649.

3. E.g., Germersheim and Neustadt, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1662, fo.127; F.J. Dochnahl, Chronik von Neustadt an der Haardt, Neustadt, 1867, pp.73-74,84-85.

4. M. Huffschmid, 'Zur Geschichte des Heidelberger Schlosses', Neues Archiv für die Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg, iii, 1898, pp.19-20,22,24,37-38,46,175.

5. 2,740 pounds (Strassburg) or approximately 4,996 fl., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fos.197-200.

defence were singled out as being especially grievous by the elector in 1474 and by the Hofmeister in 1479. The wars cannot be said to have paid for themselves.

(iii) Special Expenses.

There were other expenses additional to the regular costs of the administration. The pensions of the electors' family sometimes consumed several thousand guilders annually. Nor could the electors curtail their court entertainments, if they were to 'maintain their estate' before their nobles and neighbouring rulers. Philip's marriage was attended by about 400 nobles and several princes, and was nearly as magnificent as the marriage of a Bavarian princess in the following year, which cost 60,000 guilders[1]. During the tournament held at Heidelberg in 1481, the elector maintained 820 counts, lords and nobles with their horses at his expense and gave a banquet for some 400 persons; the five princes present were served with twenty courses, mostly off gold platters[2]. Philip kept open court for all who passed through the town; Antoine de Lalaing, accustomed to the splendour of the court of Archduke Philip of Burgundy, visited Heidelberg with his master in 1503 and marvelled at the gold and silver plate of the elector, whose castle he declared fit to house a king[3].

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1. Buchner, 'Amberger Hochzeit' Z.G.O., N.F.xxvi, 1911, p.102; Riezler, Geschichte Baierns, iii.445.

2. Georg Ruexner, Anfang Ursprung und Herkommen des Thurniers inn Teutscher Nation, Simmern/Hunsrück, 1532, pp.181-4; another example, Speierische Chronik, pp.423-4.

3. Huffschmid, loc. cit., pp.81-82.

The electors also took as many as 400 or 600 mounted followers to imperial diets and other assemblies at their expense[1]. Louis V's chancellor told the Estates in 1517 of the 'unbearable expense' of the elector's recent attendance at several imperial diets[2]. Diplomatic missions to Rome were among the most costly. The bishop of Worms was sent in 1485 with Count Bernard of Eberstein, the humanist Rudolf Agricola, the dean of St. Peter's, Wimpfen, and sixteen mounted men[3]. The elector's representative was instructed to inform the pope in 1494 that Philip had already spent 30,000 guilders on his dispute with the abbey at Weissenburg[4]. Sent to Rome in 1498, the humanist Johann Reuchlin told the pope that Frederick I alone had spent 200,000 guilders to secure the reform of the abbey, though this seems exaggerated[5]. Reuchlin wrote to Heidelberg to ask for more money for his expenses, to which the elector's chancellor exclaimed, 'God help all those who have to send to Rome'[6]. Undoubtedly a large part of the electors' resources was devoted to various forms of irregular expenditure.

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1. E.g., Speierische Chronik, p.410; Chroniken der deutschen Städte, Augsburg, iii, ed. F. Roth, 1892, p.147; Ziehen, i.223,245,251,281. Philip also contributed small sums to imperial aids, ibid.i.238 n.285,294;ii.505,542.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/5927.

3. Horneweg, Dalberg, pp.92-95.

4. Krause, Weissenburger Handel, p.30.

5. J.H. Majus, Vita Jo. Reuchlini, Durlach, 1687, p.198.

6. Dép. Strasbourg, C39, no.9 bis.

(iv) Total Revenues and Expenditure.

No accounts have survived of the regular annual expenditure and income in the fifteenth century, except those of a few individual Ämter. Nevertheless, the Secreta Palatinatus, a complete survey of the revenues and expenditure of the Ämter in the early years of Louis V, makes it possible to estimate their size under Louis's predecessors[1].

According to the Secreta Palatinatus, the total expenditure in money and kind was approximately 63,500 guilders, of which, after minor adjustments, 26,500 guilders are to be attributed to interest payments and 37,000 guilders to the cost of governing the principality. There is every reason to believe that expenditure was far greater under the Elector Philip than in the time of enforced economy after the Bavarian Succession War, and that it was scarcely less under Frederick I than under Philip. The expense of salaries and building in the Ämter must have been higher when there were more Ämter in the elector's possession. The interest payments, as will be shown, were hardly lower in 1476 than in the Secreta Palatinatus. Besides the additional expenditure in the fifteenth century on wars, castle building, diplomacy, lavish entertainments at court and the pensions of the elector's family, there were regular payments of several thousand guilders annually for the purchase of new territories[2].

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1. For what follows, see App. IV.

2. App. III(3).

Although the available sources do not provide firm evidence, there are likely to have been many years in the second half of the century when considerably more than 100,000 guilders had to be found, and few when a sum much lower than this was spent.

The most obvious reason for the compilation of the Secreta Palatinatus was the excess of expenditure over revenue. The total revenues were approximately 52,500 guilders, if the interim totals in the accounts are added, but only 50,500 guilders by addition of the individual entries for the Ämter. About half of this amount was money revenues in the Ämter, a quarter the receipts of the Rhine tolls, and a quarter revenues in kind. The revenues under Philip were far higher. Louis V's counsellors calculated in 1516 that the loss in revenues as a result of the Bavarian Succession War was 40,000 guilders, besides the reduction in the Rhine tolls[1]. This estimate is credible, since information from other sources accounts for over 26,000 guilders of additional revenue from an incomplete list of the Ämter held by the Elector Philip, but not included in the Secreta Palatinatus. Confirmatory evidence is provided by Italian sources. The Venetian ambassador Quirini stated correctly in his relation of 1507 that the elector palatine's revenues were 50,000 guilders, but added that before the Bavarian Succession War they had been greater than those of any German prince, except the archduke of Austria. Since Quirini put the revenues of the duke of Bavaria and the archbishop of Cologne at 100,000 guilders, he clearly thought that Philip's revenues

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1. Gothein, p.7.

had been as high, if not higher[1]. The ambassador Sanuto, whose estimates of 1496 were all lower than Quirini's by 20,000 guilders, reported that Philip's revenues were then 80,000 guilders[2]. It would thus be safe to say that Philip's regular revenues, at their height, lay between 80,000 and 100,000 guilders. This strong position arose from the especially high revenues of the Ämter, which had steadily increased with the territorial expansion by purchase and conquest during the century. Since most of the revenues in the Ämter came from various sources of taxation, taxation of the subjects was the primary source of revenue, and the Rhine tolls, dues from safe conduct and other revenues formed the smaller part of the electors' income[3]. Nevertheless, there was throughout the fifteenth century a gap between the regular revenues and the total expenditure. It therefore remains to be seen whether the financial policies of the electors exemplified the tendency, which is said to have characterized the German principalities in this period, of concentrating more on retrenching expenditure than on opening up new sources of revenue[4].

(v) The Bede.

The basic tax was the Bede, which was levied on property, had

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1. Le Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato durante il Secolo Decimosesto, ed. E. Alberi, Serie I, vi, Florence, 1862, p.13.

2. I Diarii di Marino Sanuto, i, ed. F. Stefani, Venice, 1879, p.408; also quoted by Ziehen, i.163 n.188.

3. Contrast Schütze, Entwicklung, p.27.

4. Ernst, p.75.

always been closely connected with rights of jurisdiction, and may have originally been derived from them[1]. By the end of the fifteenth century it had become established as the right especially of the territorial prince, and the electors palatine had been receiving fixed contributions from both towns and villages for over a century[2]. In addition to the original Bede, paid in the spring and at Christmas, a new Bede, known as Michelsteuer because it was paid at Michaelmas, was later introduced; this took place at Weinheim well before the middle of the fourteenth century, but at Mannheim only after 1369[3]. In the later fifteenth century the electors were still formally entitled to raise or lower the Michelsteuer at will, though not the Bede. In 1496, however, the town council of Weinheim doubted whether the elector could increase the Michelsteuer any more, since Frederick I had raised it during his wars and promised to lower it when peace came, but had not done so[4]. Philip even reduced the Michelsteuer payable by

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1. G. von Below, 'Geschichte der direkten Staatssteuern in Jülich und Berg', Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins, xxvi, 1890, p.1; A. Thoelke, 'Die Bede in der Kurpfalz von ihren Anfängen bis ins 16. Jahrhundert', Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher, xvii, 1913, pp.94,97. Thoelke by no means used all the evidence available on the Bede in the Palatinate and based some of his conclusions on the accounts of Ämter of the see of Speyer, as if they were part of the electoral lands, cf. ibid., pp.105,119-20,134-7.

2. Ibid., pp.86-91,105.

3. Weiss, Weinheim, p.149; F. Walter, Geschichte Mannheims, i, Mannheim, 1907, p.63.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, Abt.66 (Beraine), vol.3486, fos.54-55; a similar statement, ibid., fos.127-9.

the villages of the Amt of Dilsberg[1]. In country districts the Bede was paid partly in kind, especially wine, but the fixed dues in wine were generally reduced in years when there was a poor crop[2], or were converted by the elector into a monetary payment because of the difficulty of collecting good quality wine for taxes[3]. Although the Bede and Steuer could therefore not normally be increased by the elector and on occasion were reduced, they formed a considerable proportion of the revenues of the Ämter; for example, nearly one third of the 2,270 guilders in revenues of the Kellerei of Heppenheim (a subdivision of the Amt of Starkenburg) in 1480[4].

The Bede was collected in the Palatinate, as in other principalities, by a method which caused the ruler no expense[5]. A fixed tax was payable by the individual communities, two or three of whose members apportioned the burden among the inhabitants. With the assistance of these assessors, the bailiff (Schultheiss) in the villages or towns collected the tax and passed it on to the Amtleute[6]. The

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1. Ibid., fo.133V.

2. Ibid., fos.153-85; Thoelke, loc. cit., p.128; other Bede in kind was also reduced, e.g. GLA Karlsruhe, 66/3486, fos.246V,256,282.

3. E.g., at Wachenheim, 1479, ibid., 67/816, fo.102; Lehmann, Burgen, ii.438-9.

4. Bede, c. 319 fl. and 494 pounds (Heller); total revenues, c. 977½ fl. and 1550 pounds, SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Starkenburg 47a, fos.3-39.

5. E. Bamberger, 'Die Finanzverwaltung in den deutschen Territorien des Mittelalters, 1200-1500', Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft, lxxvii, 1923, pp.190-2.

6. Thoelke, loc. cit., pp.120,124,130.

prince did have some control to ensure proper collection of the Bede: his officials established rules for, and often supervised, the method of assessment, by which individual taxpayers declared the value of their property on oath before the assessors. Frederick I's officials laid down in 1466 that the Bede at Umstadt should be assessed annually by the burgomasters and other officials of the town in the presence of the Amtleute; those who had no immovable property were to be taxed on their movables[1]. Frederick and Philip introduced this method of assessment wherever it had not previously existed[2]. Although towns and villages often disputed the right to tax a particular piece of property, the elector's revenues did not suffer, nor were they affected when he granted exemption from the Bede to his officials and other individuals[3]. In these cases the rest of the community merely had to pay higher taxes.

This fixed payment of Bede by the communities cannot be said to have automatically guaranteed certain collection of the tax[4]. The electors had to be constantly vigilant, if they were to receive the full Bede to which they were entitled. Philip allowed freedom of immigration into the town of Barr in Alsace, so that it might become more prosperous and better able to pay its Bede and other taxes[5].

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1. Ibid., pp.124-5.
2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fos.212-3;829, fos.254,282-3.
3. Thoelke, loc. cit., p.121.
4. Contrast Ernst, 'Staatssteuern', Württembergische Jahrbücher, 1904, i.69; Bamberger, loc. cit., p.192.
5. 1481, F. Hecker, Die Herrschaft Barr, Colmar, 1914, p.96.

The electors took measures against evasion of their obligations by individual taxpayers[1], who, like the burghers of Landau, often had taxable property in the Palatinate, but did not live there[2]. In order to ensure that the owners of taxable property were able to pay their taxes, Philip issued an ordinance that no taxable property in his lands was to be encumbered with debts without the consent of the elector or his Amtleute[3].

The privileged orders of the clergy and nobility almost entirely escaped the obligation to pay Bede. Since at least the beginning of the fourteenth century, however, the tendency in the Palatinate, as elsewhere, was for the prince to restrict their privilege to property which had been explicitly freed from taxation[4]. The greater part of the property of the Church in the Palatinate had already been exempted from tax in previous centuries, but four judicial decisions in Philip's reign helped to secure payment of taxes on those properties of the great monastic houses which had not received exemption[5]. The private property of beneficed clergy was also held to be liable to taxation[6]. In 1458 Frederick I ordered the members of the university

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fo.176; U.B.Heilbronn, ii, no.1646, p.521.

2. GSA Munich, Blau 398/1,I, no.4, fo.121.

3. In or before 1483, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fo.255.

4. Weiss, op. cit., pp.149,637; R.Pfalz.ii, nos.5001,5015,5346,6630, pp.371-2,399,505; Thoelke, loc. cit., pp.111-4; Ernst, loc. cit. i.65-67; von Below, loc. cit., pp.14 et seq.

5. Zell (1478), Otterberg (1479), Sels (1485) and Eusserstal (1484), GLA Karlsruhe, 67/829, fos.68-69,75,325-7; Würdtwein, Monasticon Palatinum, iv, 1795, pp.449-52.

6. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fos.212-3.

and of its church to pay Bede on taxable property which they had bought[1]. Nevertheless, at the end of the century the university was apparently successful in its claim that taxable property became exempt when acquired by its members as privileged persons[2].

The electors sought similarly to limit the privileges of their nobles. In 1467 the owners of the castle of Rheinberg were declared exempt from all services and taxes 'as other nobles of the elector', but were to pay Bede or Steuer on property on which they had previously been paid[3]. This principle was upheld by the Elector Philip's officials in a case of 1490[4]. Although some nobles were specifically granted exemption from Bede on their property as a reward for their services[5], it seems from a pleading before the supreme court in 1469 that others at times enjoyed exemption from taxation on property which was not exempted[6].

It is probable that many clergy, ecclesiastical foundations and nobles evaded the Bede when they were liable to pay it. In 1473 the community of Neckarau sought to ensure itself against such abuses at its expense by obtaining Frederick I's confirmation of its privilege

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1. U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, i, no.116, p.174; Ritter, p.96.
2. Universitätsarchiv, Heidelberg, I, 3, 3, fo.375; see (xiii), below.
3. Kremer, ii, no.137, p.385.
4. Pfälzer Urk. vii, no.1984.
5. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fos.87-88.
6. Ibid., 951, fo.229V.

that no one was to have tax-free property within its boundaries, except the elector and those exempted by him[1]. The Bede by no means fell equally on all classes, and it had numerous other disadvantages for the electors. The long-established, fixed rates of taxation no longer corresponded to the wealth of the towns and villages. The tax was levied on landed property only and did not tap the resources of those engaged in commerce and crafts or receiving annuities. Since the Bede was as a rule collected in one, two or three instalments, the Amter received payments of fluctuating size during the course of the year. Above all, the Bede fell more heavily on the villages and market towns than on the larger towns[2]. In the Amt of Kreuznach, for instance, the town of Kreuznach paid about 150 guilders for Bede in 1476, but the villages of Sprendlingen and S. Johann together paid 500 guilders and an additional Bede in kind to the value of about 78 guilders, and other villages paid similar amounts[3]. There were therefore further reserves of untapped wealth in the towns.

(vi) The Development of the Excise.

The electors supplemented the Bede by developing an excise (Ungeld) in the towns. This excise had been levied on the chief towns since the middle of the fourteenth century and on others by the

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1. Walter, Mannheim, i.64.

2. Thoelke, loc. cit., pp.106-10,126-8.

3. Fabricius, pp.2,18-19,22,25,34,38,45,51.

beginning of the fifteenth[1], but Frederick I and Philip extended it to a larger number of commodities at higher rates and imposed it on more lands of their principality. As a tax on sales and consumption, from which there were fewer exemptions even among the privileged orders, the excise had most of the advantages which the Bede lacked.

Frederick I's ordinance for Alzey in 1458 set the pattern for the later excise ordinances. It established three forms of tax: Schenkungeld on wine sold in inns or consumed by innkeepers and their households, Hausungeld on wine drunk at home by the burghers, and Leggeld on wine which the inhabitants bought outside the town to cask and store in their cellars. Excise rates were also laid down for the grinding and weighing of different kinds of grain at the town's mills and for the sale of bread baked outside the town and of other wares, whether perishable or not. Foreigners who owned property in Alzey were to continue to pay the old rate of Bede. The elector retained two thirds of the proceeds and the town one third, which was to be used for keeping its defences in repair. Alzey was freed from all other taxes, including the Bede and Schatzung, but not from aids for the ransom of the prince or the marriage of his daughter[2].

The chief purpose of Frederick's first excise ordinance for Heidelberg was to introduce Leggeld in addition to the existing excise

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1. R.Pfalz.i, nos.2240,2265,3018,3512,5048, pp.135-7,181,209,302;ii, nos.2913,5001,5015, pp.199,371-2; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.391.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.21-23.

on the sale of wine. The provision that the excise was to be paid weekly to an official of the elector ensured for the latter a regular income throughout the year[1]. Hausungeld was shortly afterwards introduced to Heidelberg in an ordinance of 1465[2], which also gave more details of the rates of excise on wine and many other commodities and of the tolls on goods imported into the town. The elector was to receive three quarters of the revenues. Nobles, clergy and members of the university were exempt from Hausungeld and Leggeld, but had to pay Schenkungeld if they kept a tavern. The earlier exemption of Heidelberg from the Schatzung was extended to include Bede and Steuer, but not three forms of reasonable aid. The electors introduced measures to improve the collection of Schenkungeld in Heidelberg in 1471 and of Leggeld in 1478, when the presentation of frequent accounts by the collectors was introduced. It was emphasized that no one should normally be excused from paying the excise without a written privilege. Penalties were laid down for members of the university who sold wine illegally over the counter without paying the excise; similar injunctions were issued to the university again in 1479[3].

In 1464 the elector supplemented the existing excise on the sale of wine in Neustadt an der Haardt with a Leggeld, in an ordinance

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1. Bibl. Heidelberg, Pal. Germ.158, fos.132-4; n.d., but probably before 19 April 1464, cf. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fo.82.

2. Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.484-94; Z.G.O., iv, 1853, pp.387-99.

3. R.Friedrich, p.458; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.503,515-9; U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, i, no.133, pp.192-3.

which was almost identical with that for Heidelberg a year later[1]. The Elector Philip's ordinance for Neustadt slightly reduced the rate of Leggeld, but contained a remarkable clause that all burghers who did not already own over 6 Morgen of vineyards were to engage in viticulture within a year, on a scale according to their means, and to pay Leggeld on what they grew[2]. The elector was making strenuous efforts to increase his revenues from the excise, but at Weinheim the additional revenues from a new, more extensive excise did not make up for the exemptions from other taxes which Philip granted in his ordinance of 1489, and he later reverted to collecting his Bede and other dues and half of a reduced excise[3].

Philip stated in 1478 that the excise and Leggeld were the best revenues he had in Heidelberg[4], but the receipts from the excise in the four major towns are not known. Their rates of excise and Leggeld varied, but were approxi ately 20% on wine casked and then sold over the counter and slightly less for wine stored and consumed privately. At Kreuznach about 200 guilders of excise were collected in 1476, more than the Bede of 150 guilders[5]. Philip received one

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.44-49; summarized, Pfälzisches Museum, xi, 1894, pp.27-28; Lehmann, Geschichtliche Gemälde, iii, Das Neustadter Thal, 1841, pp.52-53.

2. N.d., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/894, fos.41-43.

3. Z.G.O., iv, 1853, pp.306-11; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.394-8; Weiss, Weinheim, pp.149-50,214 et seq.,228 et seq.

4. Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.515.

5. Fabricius, p.3.

quarter of the excise of 200 guilders at Agersheim, which was exceptionally a fixed tax[1]. A further development was the extension of the excise throughout the Amt of Heidelberg. When the rent-roll of the Amt was compiled in 1476, the elector had the right to collect excise in only one of his villages in the Amt, Plankstadt, close to Heidelberg itself, and also at Schriesheim and the villages of Sachsenheim, which he had recently gained by conquest[2]. The rent-roll of 1496, on the other hand, declared that almost every village in the Amt rendered the excise on the sale of wine, mostly at a rate of 10%, and several village courts protested that this was an innovation[3]. The excise was probably extended to the whole Amt between Schwetzingen's rent-roll of 1485, which did not mention it, and that of 1494, which did[4]. Frederick I had similarly introduced the excise for the sale of wine into the villages centred on Sohren, in the county of Sponheim[5].

The trend has been for the excise to increase, especially with the introduction of Leggeld and Hausungeld, and to become more widespread, while the Bede had become immutably fixed, or was even reduced, or was replaced by the excise in the towns; direct was giving way to indirect taxation. The end of this development was

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fos.149-50.

2. Ibid., 66/3484, fos.86,114-47.

3. Ibid., 3486, fos.76-129; Walter, op. cit.i.64.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/7953.

5. Fabricius, p.116.

reached in 1549, when the excise was extended to the whole of the Palatinate and the rates were increased[1]. In the fifteenth century, however, the excise had not become a general tax, as it was for a time in the Bavarian duchies, nor did it yield such large revenues as the elector of Saxony derived from an excise levied with the consent of his Estates[2]. The electors palatine, moreover, received neither Bede nor excise from the former imperial cities, outside Alsace, which had recently been pawned to them. Instead, the cities paid small, fixed, annual imperial taxes —— Oppenheim and its surrounding imperial cities and villages 254 guilders, Kaiserslautern the equivalent of 183 guilders and Sels of 61 guilders[3]. Nevertheless, the Bede and the excise, the direct and indirect taxation of the electors' subjects, held their places as the main regular revenues and those least likely to fluctuate widely.

(vii) The Rhine Tolls.

The electors sought to increase their revenues from the Rhine tolls wherever possible. Thus they gained possession, by purchases

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1. E. Kauw, Das Finanzwesen der Kurpfalz am Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts, Cologne, 1914, pp.56-58; Carsten, Princes and Parliaments, p.344.

2. Baierische Landtags-Handlungen, viii, 1804, pp.116 et seq.; E. Rosenthal, Geschichte des Gerichtswesens und der Verwaltungsorganisation Baierns, i, Würzburg, 1889, p.396; J. Falke, 'Bete, Zise und Ungeld im Kurfürstenthum Sachsen bis zur Theilung, 1485', Mittheilungen des Königlich Sächsischen Vereins für Erforschung und Erhaltung vaterländischer Geschichts - und Kunstdenkmale, xix, 1869, pp.53-54; 'Die Finanzwirtschaft im Kurfürstenthum Sachsen um das Jahr 1470', ibid., xx, 1870, p.82.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fo.7;819, fo.125;821, fo.115; Z.G.O., viii, 1857, pp.297-8.

and other means, of the residual rights of others in the customs of Oppenheim and Bacharach[1]. The great value of the tolls in earlier centuries is summed up in the medieval ditty:

'Hett ich den Zol am Rhin,
wer mecht mir gelich sin?' [2],

but it was no longer appropriate in the later fifteenth century. Louis V's counsellors said in 1516 that old people would have heard from their parents that the tolls had once yielded between 30,000 and 40,000 guilders annually, but already under Philip their revenues had sunk to a quarter or a fifth of this sum and later to far less[3]. The decline from the former heights had probably set in early in Frederick I's reign, if not before. Philip was informed in 1476 that the tolls were yielding about half of their previous revenues and were still declining[4]. No account books of the tolls in the fifteenth century have survived, but a few partial figures indicate that the report of 1516 may have exaggerated the decline. The average annual revenues from all the Rhine tolls may be estimated at approximately 13,500 guilders for the eight years 1467-70, 1472, 1474-5 and 1480, and were still about 12,500 guilders, or a quarter of the elector's revenues, early in Louis V's reign[5]. In 1490 the

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1. App. III(1), nos.37,75,173,236.
2. Bassermann-Jordan, Geschichte des Weinbaus, ii.591; Seyfried, Schwetzingen, p.106.
3. Gothein, p.8.
4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/338, fo.54V. Frederick had complained in similar terms in 1474, Kremer, ii, no.183, p.502; H. Fliedner, Die Rheinzölle der Kurpfalz am Mittelrhein, in Bacharach und Kaub, Trier, 1910, pp.33-34.
5. See App. V.

elector still described his tolls as his best single source of revenue[1].

The general level of traffic on the Rhine diminished when trade was interrupted by wars and by the manipulation of the tolls as a weapon in conflicts between neighbours. At their height these interruptions brought trade temporarily to a standstill and the tolls to an abnormally low level. In the war of 1459-60 the roads were closed, there was no safe conduct, and it was not possible to travel by land or water, so that the Frankfurt Fair had to be cancelled[2]. There was a similar suspension of trade during the war over the see of Mainz, after which the Rhenish electors jointly sought to encourage merchants to use the Rhine again by assuring them of protection and promising them a rebate on the tolls[3]. A chapter of the electors' representatives agreed in 1468 to reduce the tolls themselves in order to encourage the return of several commodities which had recently ceased to be transported on the Rhine; the chief of these were English wool in sacks and English glassware[4]. When an imperial army assembled in 1474 to relieve the siege of Neuss, Frederick I did not give military assistance to his brother, the archbishop of Cologne, or to Charles the Bold, but he refused to exempt the imperial forces from the Rhine tolls and even blocked the Rhine completely at the end of

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/883, fo.58.

2. Speierische Chronik, p.440.

3. 1464, Codex diplomaticus Rheno-Mosellanus, iv.582-6; Z.G.O., ix, 1858, pp.28-31.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/884, fo.302; in 1469 the electors similarly urged Italian merchants to resume trade on the Rhine, Z.G.O., ix, 1858, pp.34-35.

the year[1]. The elector's revenues from the tolls fell to about 7,000 guilders, but rose to 19,500 guilders in 1475, after the imperial forces had agreed to pay his tolls[2].

The emperor granted the city of Cologne permission to set up a new customs station on the Rhine to recoup its expenses on the relief of Neuss. The owners of the other tolls feared for their revenues and took counter measures. Frederick I compelled merchants of Cologne to pay tolls at treble the normal rate at Bacharach and Kaub in 1476, and forced other merchants to swear not to take their wares to Cologne or pay tolls there[3]. This policy was continued by Philip; both the new tolls and the measures against them discouraged merchants from using the Rhine and reduced Philip's own revenues[4]. After 1489 an alliance of the Rhenish electors with other princes and several nobles imposed a complete blockade on Cologne. Only in 1491 did the city agree to stop levying the tolls after three years and to pay its opponents compensation of 15,000 guilders[5]. Early in 1490 the

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1. Correspondenz des...Albrecht Achilles, i.769-70; Fliedner, op. cit., p.34.

2. Johannis Knebel Capellani ecclesiae Basiliensis diarium, ed. W. Fischer and H. Boos (Basler Chroniken, ii), Leipzig, 1880, p.215; Correspondenz des...Albrecht Achilles, ii, 1897, pp.11,85,106; App. V.

3. Quellen zur Geschichte des Kölner Handels und Verkehrs im Mittelalter, ii, ed. B. Kuske, Bonn, 1917, pp.365-7; W. John, 'Der Kölner Rheinzoll von 1475-1494', Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, xlviii, 1889, pp.9-10,13-14; Fliedner, op. cit., p.34.

4. The clerk at the customs of Bacharach to the elector, 23 Sep. 1480, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/7116, fos.369-71.

5. John, loc. cit., pp.14-18,69-72; Fliedner, op. cit., pp.34-35; Häusser, pp.454-5.

Elector Philip had complained that his customs stations had been 'laid waste' for over a year already, as a result of the blockade[1]. In 1492 the Rhenish electors again promised safe conduct on the Rhine to all towns and merchants, reduced some rates of the tolls, and increased the rebates, in order to encourage trade[2]. Yet Philip's revenues soon suffered from his conflict with the see of Mainz, which brought trade to a halt in 1493[3]. Even after the settlement of this dispute, the archbishop of Mainz continued to exercise his recently acquired right of staple at the city of Mainz, which was estimated in 1502 to cost Philip 2,000 guilders annually in lost revenues[4]. After the total disruption of trade in the war of 1504, the Rhenish electors again lowered the tolls and increased the rebates on numerous wares[5]. Philip himself was also compelled to agree no longer to take double tolls from the subjects of Baden[6].

The Rhenish electors not only encouraged the use of the Rhine by lowering the tolls, but took measures against the evasion of their

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1. 6 Feb., HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 200.

2. 2 Jan., GSA Munich, Rot 29/121; Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins, iv, ed. T.J. Lacomblet, Düsseldorf, 1858, pp.564-5; Ziehen, ii.412-3.

3. Ibid., p.438; see chapter 2(vi).

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/884, fo.273.

5. 1506, Seyfried, Schwetzingen, pp.104-5.

6. Wielandt, 'Markgraf Christoph I.', Z.G.O., N.F.xlvi, 1933, p.587.

customs posts. Until their treaty of 1464 forbade the transport of wares over the Hunsrück, the archbishop of Trier allowed Frederick I to levy tolls there on merchants who had avoided his Rhine tolls by taking the land route[1], but this form of evasion was still common in 1480. Revenues suffered especially from the privileges of exemption which had been granted to ecclesiastical foundations and nobles for the transport of wine and other goods for their own use. Repeated agreements between the electors not to grant such exemptions had little practical effect[2]. The other means by which the electors palatine sought to arrest the decline in their revenues from the Rhine tolls also had limited success; they included an increasingly rigorous central control of the customs administration and the punishment of defaulting officials (who were another frequent cause of losses in revenue)[3].

(viii) Land Tolls, Dues from Safe Conduct and Protection, and Profit from Mines.

The land tolls of the Palatinate were more numerous than those on the rivers. In 1484 Philip listed eighteen main land customs posts at his principal towns[4]. The electors also maintained several subordinate stations in villages near each of the main ones, in order to control the highways and prevent the bypassing of their customs; there were seven small stations in the Amt of Heidelberg and four in

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1. Fliedner, op. cit., pp.107-8.

2. Ibid., pp.74-79,84-85.

3. See chapter 6(vii) and (viii).

4. Häusser, p.454; Fliedner, op. cit., p.86.

that of Germersheim[1]. The electors tenaciously upheld their rights to tolls in border conflicts with their neighbours throughout the century[2]. In 1490 Philip sought to prevent the transportation of wine overland from Alsace, thus avoiding his tolls at Kestenholz, Einartshausen and Lützelstein (as well as those on the Rhine)[3]. The land tolls at these three places alone yielded about 1,783 guilders in thirteen months during 1476 and 1477[4]. The tolls in the Palatinate itself were probably not very profitable; only about 100 guilders were collected in the Kellerei of Heppenheim in 1480[5]. Smaller revenues were received from the safe conduct of merchants and travellers. The elector claimed that the alteration of the highway route from Württemberg to the Frankfurt Fair in 1485 would cost him several hundred guilders annually[6]. Tolls and safe conduct money also benefited from the numerous new market privileges granted by the electors to their towns in the later fifteenth century. Philip claimed in 1497 that the market which he had set up at Münster had brought him over 600 guilders annually[7].

From the fifteenth century onwards the electors derived revenues

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 66/3486, fos.56,75,100,106-8; Staatsarchiv, Speyer, Kurpfalz Akten 122a (rent-roll of 1494), fo.41.

2. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/865, fos.310-21;883, fos.123-5,188-9;886, fos.7,11-14; GSA Munich, Blau 398/1, I, no.4, passim.

3. Dép. Strasbourg, C81, no.36.

4. Ibid., C99 (28 Feb. 1477). Barr in Alsace also had valuable land tolls, ibid., C82, no.83; Hecker, Barr, p.47.

5. SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Starkenburg 47a, fos.3-36.

6. 400 pounds, currency not stated, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/7480, fo.85.

7. Ibid., 67/887, fos.219-20.

from their position as protectors of the weak[1]. For villages and ecclesiastical foundations the protection of the elector was valuable in wars and feuds; for merchants and town councils it could be a reinforced form of safe conduct; and for all it provided a powerful supporter in lawsuits. Several protected free cities made sizable contributions to the electors' revenues: Speyer paid 400 guilders annually from 1443 until 1449 and again after 1467, this sum being raised to 500 guilders in 1488[2]; Worms made a single payment of 5,000 guilders in 1483 and thereafter paid 300 guilders every year[3]; and Weissenburg paid 200 guilders from 1467 until the sixteenth century[4].

Many ecclesiastical foundations were in the protection of the Palatinate as a favour of the electors or after having granted them part of their lands, but others paid annual sums for their protection. The abbey of Maulbronn was paying 100 guilders at the end of the

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1. Schütze, Entwicklung, p.244; Hüsser, p.453; Boos, Geschichte der rheinischen Städtekultur, iv, 1901, p.17.

2. Pfälzisches U.B.xi.59; GSA Munich, Rot 143 m.14-15; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/826, fos.76-77,131-6; Christophori Lehmanni Chronica der Freyen Reichsstadt Speier, 4th edn., ed. J.M. Fuchs, Frankfurt/Main, 1711, pp.842-4; Kremer, ii, no.138, pp.386-7.

3. Morneweg, Dalberg, p.77; receipts, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fos.163V, 326,350;818, fos.45V,466;819, fo.72.

4. Ibid., 816, fos.273-5;819, fos.137-8; Kremer, ii, nos.134,166, pp.375,451; Sittler, Décapole Alsacienne, p.50. Mainz contributed 300 fl., 1442-52; 100 fl., 1453-60; 50 fl., 1461-2, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/862, fo.272;883, fos.267-9; Chroniken der deutschen Städte, Mainz, i, 1881, p.165.

century[1] and several other foundations in the Palatinate, besides those in Alsace, made smaller payments[2]. The villages of many noblemen and of a few ecclesiastical foundations were in the electors' protection for payments of between 10 and 100 measures of oats or other cereals, or occasionally of money[3]. Among individuals in the electors' protection, the Jews contributed the largest sums, nine of them promising to pay a total of 134 guilders annually for several years after 1464[4]. Several merchants, printers, priests and others entered Frederick I's protection for small annual dues[5], but it was not until Philip's reign that large numbers every year sought the elector's protection for a period of years and annual payments of between ½ guilder and 10 guilders per person[6]. Income from this source was being deliberately increased and must have provided several hundred guilders annually by the 1490s. In Alsace alone, 6 guilders were collected in 1456 and 1457, about 27 guilders in 1476, and approximately 173 guilders at the end of Philip's reign[7].

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1. K. Klunzinger, Urkundliche Geschichte der vormaligen Cisterzienser-Abtei Maulbronn, Stuttgart, 1854, p.59; Beilage, p.57.

2. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fo.277;818, fos.123-4;895, fo.449; Lossen, p.147; see chapter 2(vii).

3. E.g., GSA Munich, Rot 30 g.2,46 k.14; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.169;814, fo.118;816, fo.2;819, fo.77;821, fos.213-4; Widder, ii.361.

4. R.Friedrich, pp.409,420; Löwenstein, Juden in der Kurpfalz, p.25.

5. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fos.36,181,292;814, fos.24V, 172,233.

6. Ibid., 816,818,819, passim.

7. Dép. Strasbourg, C98-99; HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 963, fo.61.

Another of the electors' prerogative rights, the claim to all mines found in their territories, was used for their financial benefit. They derived several sources of revenue from the mines worked by groups of entrepreneurs, the chief of which was the tithe on all metals mined[1]. A larger share, and sometimes all, of the gold and silver mined was reserved to the prince, but there were probably only small finds of these precious metals in the Palatinate[2]. The electors occasionally had one or more of the sixteen shares into which each mine was divided[3]. Approximately 167 guilders were collected in the Kellerei of Heppenheim in 1480 from the sale of timber to the mines, which required charcoal for the extraction of the metals from their ores[4]. The elector had the first option of buying all the quicksilver, which was the chief product of the mines of the Palatinate; a syndicate of Nuremberg merchants paid Frederick I's financial official 2,288 guilders for quicksilver in 1464[5]. New arrangements for collecting the elector's share of the profits were made in the general mining ordinance of 1487. Philip was to have one tenth of the ore, one sixth of the profits in lieu of his option

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1. Silberschmidt, Regelung des pfälzischen Bergwesens, pp.18-19 and passim.
2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.192; Silberschmidt, op. cit., pp.39,42.
3. Ibid., pp.29,37.
4. SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Starkenburg 47a, fo.39; Silberschmidt, op. cit., p.26.
5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fo.106V; Silberschmidt, op. cit., pp.21,23,25.

to buy the metals, and, if the profits were more than double the expenses of mining, another one-twelfth share. In the case of quicksilver, copper, tin and lead, however, the elector was to receive his tithe after the metal had been extracted from the ore, but no further share of the profits[1].

Although there were many new mines at the beginning of Philip's rule, several mines declined in productivity in later years. The main quicksilver mines in the Palatinate, at Deimbach, had to be closed in 1476, and successive attempts to revive them failed; in 1493 the elector temporarily renounced his right to the tithe as an encouragement to the entrepreneurs[2]. In the 1480s the silver and copper mines at Rheingrafenstein became uneconomical and in 1490 Philip renounced his tithe for a number of years[3]. Since Frederick I had acquired many of the mining lands and the mining boom began in the 1470s, the mines were a major source of revenue only from about 1470 until 1490[4]. Even then, the revenues can hardly have been as great as those of the mines in Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, let alone Saxony and Austria.

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1662, fos.459-60; Silberschmidt, op. cit., p.58.

2. Ibid., pp.21-22,34-36,55.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fos.118,306; Silberschmidt, op. cit., pp.47-49; also at Ebernburg, 1482, ibid., p.49.

4. L. Blasse, Die direkten und indirekten Steuern der Churpfalz, Rochlitz, 1914, p.9; Kolb, p.135.

(ix) Dues Rendered by the Peasants.

The electors had some success during the fifteenth century in increasing the dues of their peasants and commuting those rendered in kind. The Heidelberg rent-roll of 1496 noted that in most villages of the Amt four chickens were due from each household, but there were many complaints that the elector's officials were demanding six, eight or more chickens[1]. Between 1476 and 1496 the practice for the villagers to pay for the upkeep of the elector's wine-press spread from a single entry in the rent-roll to almost the entire Amt of Heidelberg[2]. It was found convenient to convert the elector's monopoly to sell wine over the counter in some villages during a limited period in the year (Bannwein) into a money payment in villages held jointly with another lord, as in the Amt of Kirchberg, where 90 guilders were collected in 1476[3]. Moreover, as landlords of most of their subjects in both towns and villages, the electors took steps to prevent the division of land holdings among several heirs from impairing their rights to rents and heriots[4].

When the abbot of Schönau leased some of his estates and reduced the number of the abbey's horses and oxen, he was accused by the Elector Philip of seeking to diminish his rights to labour service

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 66/3486, fos.367-86.

2. Ibid., 3484, fo.85; 3486, fos.20,23-24,26-27,30-46.

3. Fabricius, pp.104-7; other instances of commutation, SA Speyer, Kurpfalz Akten 122a (1494), fos.75-77; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/890, fos.173-4.

4. Ibid., 66/3486, fos.29-30,57-75.

and Atzung --- the provisioning of the prince, his officials and hunting dogs[1]. On the whole, however, the electors exercised these rights with moderation. In 1463 Frederick I and Louis of Zweibrücken agreed to make labour services easier in their joint lordship of Guttenberg and replaced the burdensome Atzung and payments for messengers by a small money payment[2]. The Amtmann at Bretten was enjoined in 1459 not to burden subjects of the elector with labour services and Atzung for his private affairs and those of his friends[3]. Yet the subjects never ceased to complain that excessive burdens were being imposed on them by the officials[4]. It was in the interests of the subjects as well as of the prince, whose rights were apparently exercised by the officials for their own benefit, to agree to the commutation of these services into money payments. By 1476 Atzung was permanently commuted throughout the Amt of Kreuznach, and several other instances of commutation occurred under Frederick I[5], but they did not become numerous until the later part of Philip's rule. Thus

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1. N.d., GSA Munich, Blau 435/5, fo.198; complaints against Philip's use of these rights, F.X. Remling, Urkundliche Geschichte der ehemaligen Abteien und Klöster im jetzigen Rheinbayern, i, Neustadt/Haardt, 1836, p.40-41,101.

2. Lehmann, Zweibrücken, p.154.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 43/Spec., Konv.17, no.2; see also Jacob Wimpfeling, Agatharcia, id est Bonus Principatus vel Epitoma boni principis, Heidelberg, 1498 (in M.A. Pitsillius, De instruendo Principe, Strassburg, 1606), p.202.

4. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 66/3486, fos.26,31,47-48;77/8769, fo.27; Zimmermann, Weistümer, pp.79-80,97-98.

5. Fabricius, pp.18-59,225; Lossen, pp.22,147,169,173.

the village of Biblis had its services commuted in 1490 for an annual payment of 115 guilders, as much as its annual Bede[1]. Nevertheless, this useful means of increasing the elector's revenues in money was not adopted systematically during the fifteenth century and only became general throughout the Palatinate in the financial reforms of 1549[2].

Serfdom in south-west Germany at this time has been described as 'nothing other than a special form of taxation'[3]. The Leibesbede, an annual money payment, was very small or non-existent when the serf lived in one of the elector's villages and contributed to the ordinary Bede, but larger when he lived outside the elector's lands. This source of revenue grew as the electors made efforts to increase the numbers of their serfs. The Leibesbede paid in the Amt of Kleeberg rose steadily from approximately 7½ guilders in 1465 to 34 guilders in 1499[4]. In 1494 the officials in the Amt of Alzey received 833 guilders in Leibesbede and protection money from the serfs of the elector outside his lands and a few serfs of other lords who were in his protection[5]. The officials declared that the elector had the right to demand Leibesbede at will and they fixed the amounts

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1. SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Starkenburg 47a, fos.33-34; other examples, ibid., fo.38; Salbücher Rheinhessen 5b, fos.103-4; Hecker, Barr, pp.47 et seq.

2. Kauw, Finanzwesen, p.54; Gothein, p.19.

3. T. Knapp, Neue Beiträge zur Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des württembergischen Bauernstandes, i, Tübingen, 1919, p.136; see chapter 4(ii).

4. Dép. Strasbourg, C97; a smaller increase took place in the Amt of Germersheim, SA Speyer, Kurpfalz Akten 122a (1455), fo.57; (1480), fos.116,134-8.

5. From SA Darmstadt. Salbücher Rheinhessen 5b.

payable according to what they thought were the means of the serfs. The serfs of one village in the Amt complained about their high Leibesbede[1]. Again an existing source of revenue was being exploited to the full.

(x) The Electors' Demesne Lands.

At the time of the Secreta Palatinatus revenues in kind were a quarter of all the revenues and a third of the revenues from the Ämter. In addition, some revenues in kind were sold in the Ämter and only the money remitted to Heidelberg[2]. Perhaps more than half of these extensive revenues in kind came from the elector's estates and other demesne lands. The Secreta Palatinatus listed thirty-four estates; before the Bavarian Succession War there had been many more, ten alone in the Amt of Umstadt[3].

Many arable estates in the fertile plain of the Rhine had been bought in the first half of the fifteenth century, but few of them were for long cultivated by farmers paid by the electors. The large estate at Kirschgartshausen was let out for five years in 1435 at a rent of half the crop; although it was being cultivated during the 1460s as demesne land, it was let on a lease of thirty years in 1504[4].

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1. Ibid., fos.2,5-6,8-10.

2. E.g., Dep. Strasbourg, C97.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fos.1-34; SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Starkenburg 86f., fos.50,52-53.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.65;819, fos.334-5;866, fos.249-52. Other arable estates at Schwetzingen, Dirmstein, Gundheim, Gimbsheim and Gross were leased, ibid., 814, fo.236;820, fos.331-43;1662, fos.379-81;66/7953 (1458); Bühn, Alzey, pp.158-9; Seyfried, Schwetzingen, p.136.

The rent-roll of 1496 listed only one estate in the Amt of Heidelberg which was cultivated as demesne land, the estate of 208 Morgen of arable and 27 Morgen of meadows at Heidelberg itself[1]. To this should be added the estate at Rheinhausen, which in 1369 had 369 Morgen of arable and 91 Morgen of meadows and which was still under demesne cultivation early in the sixteenth century[2]. In the remainder of the Amt, 1,216 Morgen of arable and 73 Morgen of meadows were leased out, mostly for shares of the crop ranging from one fifth to a half[3]. In the Amt best situated to supply the court with provisions and where the demesne lands were therefore most likely to have been cultivated intensively by the elector himself, two thirds of his arable land and one third of his meadows were leased. Moreover, all but 6½ of the 150 Morgen of vineyards in the Amt were leased; the elector's share of the crop was usually one third[4]. The Secreta Palatinatus noted only one large estate, outside the Amt of Heidelberg, which was being cultivated as demesne[5]. In the previous decades, the electors had converted several estates from demesne cultivation to leases[6]. The tendency in the Palatinate was the same as in Hesse, where the landgraves, the Church and the nobility increasingly leased their demesne lands in order to make them

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 66/3486, fo.201.

2. Ibid., 67/907, fo.34; Walter, Mannheim, i.68.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 66/3486, fos.201-97;7953 (1458); Walter, op. cit. i.70.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 66/3486, fos.150-85; leases for arable and vineyards were equally predominant in 1476, ibid., 3484, passim.

5. Ibid., 67/907, fo.35.

6. E.g., ibid., 812, fos.226-8,268-73;820, fo.381.

financially more rewarding[1].

The electors' sheep farms, on the other hand, were more often managed by their officials than leased. At least three sheep farms in the Amt of Heidelberg remained in their hands[2]. Whereas the estate at Seckenheim was devoted half to arable and half to sheep in 1466, it was given over entirely to sheep-farming after 1476. Before 1496 the elector also converted part of his estate at Dossenheim from arable farming to sheepland[3]. Only two small sheep farms in the Amt of Heidelberg seem ever to have been granted as leases[4]. The revenues from fleeces in the Amt were estimated at 332 guilders in 1509[5]. The growth and profitability of a sheep farm are best illustrated from the accounts of the farm at Hemsbach, in the Amt of Kleeberg[6]. The average annual yield of the fleeces was about 67 guilders between 1477 and 1482, and then rose to about 108 guilders after 300 additional sheep had been bought for just under 100 guilders; the income declined to an average of 69 guilders in the last decade of the century. There had also been annual increases of 786 in 1484 and 736 in 1487 in the number of sheep and lambs in the flock, of

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1. L. Zimmermann, Der Hessische Territorialstaat im Jahrhundert der Reformation, Marburg, 1933, p.179.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 66/3484, fo.54;3486, fos.28,38-39;67/812, fos.88-89; Seyfried, op. cit., pp.120-1.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 66/3484, fos.62-63,94-113;3486, fos.203-97.

4. Ibid., 67/814, fo.233;1662, fo.227.

5. Ibid., 907, fo.161R.

6. Dép. Strasbourg, C97.

which the shepherd received only one third, and the elector the remainder. Furthermore, over 500 sheep and lambs were slaughtered every winter. This method of farming was so profitable that the electors felt no desire to lease out their larger sheep farms.

Sheep farming was undertaken on an extensive scale only in the eastern Ämter. The Elector Philip extended his rights of pasture and started at least one new farm in the Amt of Weinsberg[1]. In 1499 one sale of wool in the Amt of Mosbach brought the elector 1,235 guilders[2]. In 1501 he appointed a supervisor for all his sheep farms in the Mosbach lands and the Ämter of Möckmühl, Neustadt am Kocher and Weinsberg. This official was to safeguard the elector's rights of pasture, ensure that the shepherds did not take the best lambs as their wages, observe the fluctuations in the price of wool, and sell only on Philip's instructions[3]. The electors were as active to organize their sheep farming on a commercial basis as they were content to lease out their arable farms and vineyards.

The demesne forests were a source of revenue, as well as providing hunting for pleasure, game for the table and timber for building. The sale of part of the forests for conversion to arable was highly profitable, especially in Alsace, where it averaged about 400 guilders from 1453 until 1457 and brought between 1,100 and 1,200 guilders in 1497[4]. The cellarer at Heppenheim expected 300 guilders

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1. GSA Munich, Rot 36 k.3; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/820, fos.130-6.
2. Ibid., 818, fo.410.
3. Ibid., 819, fos.102-4.
4. Dép. Strasbourg, C98; HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 963, fo.62; also c. 924½ fl., 1445; 742 fl., 1500, Becker, p.232 n.6.

from the sale of forest land in 1480 and the equivalent of 317 guilders from other forest revenues. Over half of this latter amount came from charcoal burning and the remainder from fines for trespasses in the forest and the sale of waste timber[1].

The demesne lands included many fishing grounds, several of which were artificially constructed lakes bought or built by Frederick I and Philip[2]. The fish from lakes as far away as the Ämter of Bretten and Kaiserslautern were usually brought to court for Lent, but whenever this proved impossible they were sold --- those from one weir for 4,000 guilders in one year --- and the proceeds remitted to the master of the elector's kitchens; in the Secreta Palatinatus he estimated the average annual revenues from this source at about 942 guilders[3]. Only the smaller weirs seem ever to have been leased out[4]. The natural fishing grounds of the Rhine and Neckar were also a source of revenue, though less profitable and usually granted to lessees[5].

The administration of the demesne lands is but one example of the electors' efforts to develop their existing resources to the full. Revenues were also improved by the slow development towards the commutation of labour services, Atzung and some of the dues rendered in kind. Above all, the electors deliberately planned to increase

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1. SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Starkenburg 47a, fo.39.

2. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/820, fos.406-7; Z.G.O., iv, 1857, pp.86-87; Lehmann, Burgen, v.59; Seyfried, op. cit., pp.179-80.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fo.160.

4. E.g., ibid., 814, fos.43-44.

5. E.g., ibid., 907, fos.159-61;77/5740; J. Probst, Geschichte der Stadt und Festung Germersheim, Speyer, 1898, pp.287,289-92; Walter, Mannheim, i.68.

their income from the excise, military contributions, the exercise of their right of protection, and dues from the peasants. There was considerable initiative to increase revenues, even though it was confined within the framework of existing sources of revenue and evident in the details of administration, rather than in sweeping plans for new forms of taxation.

(xi) Losses in the Regular Revenues.

In many years the regular revenues fell below their normal level of between 80,000 and 100,000 guilders. Frederick I's wars and Philip's economic rivalry with his neighbours severely reduced the receipts from the Rhine tolls. Because the electors were partly dependent for their revenues on the transit of merchandize through their territories, they needed peace to ensure their maximum income[1]. Yet war was at times thrust upon them and at others sought and welcomed by them. It interfered especially with mining activity and discouraged fresh investment until after 1471[2]. The pillaging and plundering war of that age destroyed the crops, farms and villages from which the electors received their dues, so that the revenues of the Ämter suffered for several years. It has been estimated that over sixty villages in the Palatinate were destroyed or plundered between 1450 and 1460, over seventy in 1460, and others again in 1470-1, though many were sacked more than once; about 500 villages

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1. Steinmetz, Ludwig V., p.22.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.56-58; Pfälzer Urk.vii, no.2090; Silberschmidt, Regelung des pfälzischen Bergwesens, p.56.

were burnt out in the course of seventy-five years[1]. Frederick I released his subjects in some of his villages from their Bede for a number of years because of the damage they had suffered in wartime[2] and both electors granted a larger share of the excise to those of their towns which had become indebted during the wars[3]. The joint council of Bacharach and three neighbouring villages claimed in 1507 that it was unable to pay the Bede of 150 guilders for the previous year; it also owed a further 454 guilders to the elector[4].

Like the Bede, the imperial taxes of the cities of Alsace could at times not be collected in full. The cities were supposed to contribute the equivalent of 1,934 guilders, or between a fifth and a quarter of the revenues of the protectorate[5]. In the first place, the electors received little of Mülhausen's annual tax of 100 guilders, since a noble family's hereditary fief of about 80 guilders annually was guaranteed on it and Frederick I also excused the city from its tax for ten years in 1469[6]. When, moreover, the emperor had deprived

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1. Kristek, Bauernlage, pp.32,34-35,37,40.

2. E.g., GSA Munich, Blau 398/1, I, no.4, fo.122; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fo.214V.

3. Ibid., 814, fos.128V,210,217,230V;816, fo.63;882, fos.125-6; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.512-3; H. Gredy, Geschichte der ehemaligen Reichsstadt Odernheim, Mainz, 1883, p.349.

4. 16 Jan., GLA Karlsruhe, 77/3006, Amt Bacharach.

5. Ibid., 67/813, fos.9-12;819, fo.183; HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 963, fo.61. Becker, p.224, and Sittler, Décapole Alsacienne, p.100, have inaccurate figures.

6. Cartulaire de Mulhouse, ii, no.878, pp.385-6;iv, nos.1826,1836, 1845, pp.254-5,283,307-8.

the elector of the protectorate in 1470, confusion arose because the cities were legally bound to pay their taxes only on the production of imperial receipts, which the emperor was no longer prepared to send to Frederick I[1]. Nor would Frederick III later recognize the Elector Philip as protector of Alsace, because he wanted Philip to renounce the protectorate as the price of investiture with his electoral regalia[2]. In the meantime, Colmar complained that, although the emperor had originally ordered it to pay the tax to Frederick I on his receipt alone, he had promised the city after 1470 to make the elector renounce his rights. Colmar had therefore paid the taxes for several years to Frederick III, but the elector had refused to give up his rights and the city had to pay a double tax[3]. Thereafter the cities paid their taxes to neither claimant, but deposited them with the city of Frankfurt. In 1479, however, they paid part of the taxes to the emperor, who also received the whole amount from 1481 until the beginning of 1486[4]. Although the emperor agreed in 1486 that Philip should be protector, he sought unsuccessfully to prevent the cities from recognizing the elector as their protector and managed to block their taxes by withholding the imperial

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1. Becker, pp.74-75,77-78; Sittler, op. cit., pp.53-54.

2. Ibid., p.62; Ziehen, i.190; Becker, p.79.

3. Sittler, op. cit., pp.60-62.

4. Chmel, Regesta...Friderici...III., no.7816, p.723; Ziehen, i.231 n.260; Sittler, op. cit., pp.62-64.

receipts; Philip only received the full taxes from 1490 onwards[1].

Apart from the few years during which the cities seem to have paid double taxes, the only way in which the electors could recoup their losses was to punish Hagenau, the only one of the cities to adhere to the imperial cause. Hagenau entered Frederick I's protection for four years in 1472 and paid him a total of 6,000 guilders. The city also promised to pay 500 guilders annually from 1476 and again for twelve years in 1481, when it also agreed that, if the elector's conflict with the emperor was settled during this period, it would pay 250 guilders annually over and above the imperial taxes[2]. Even so, the electors did not receive the imperial taxes of the cities for fifteen years or longer; their net losses probably lay between 15,000 and 20,000 guilders, or an annual average of over 1,000 guilders while the conflict lasted.

(xii) Extraordinary Revenues.

The falling off of the revenues in many years made the discrepancy between income and expenditure greater than appears at first sight. The deficit was made good in part with various extraordinary sources of revenue. The more unusual of these were of dubious character and showed that the electors were eager to augment their finances by any means. Frederick I had acquired half of the

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1. Ibid., pp.65-68; Ziehen, i.251; Becker, p.79. In 1495 Philip renounced the large arrears of the taxes, Müller, Reichs Tags Theatrum...Maximilians I.i.515.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fos.156-7; Becker, p.79; Sittler, op. cit., p.58.

county of Leiningen by champerty and Philip used the same method to enrich himself at the expense of the duchy of Württemberg. In 1499 the deposed Duke Eberhard sold to the elector his claims to the duchy and to a pension of 6,000 guilders, in exchange for his maintenance at the Heidelberg court and an annual grant of 2,000 guilders, and pledged his jewellery and silver as a guarantee of payment[1]. The Württemberg Estates refused to pay the pension and Philip entrusted the pledges to the safe keeping of Duke George of Lower Bavaria. The elector was informed by his representatives at the Diet of Augsburg in 1500 that they were worth about 80,000 guilders[2]. In 1503 they were seized by Philip's son, Rupert, who also found in the castles of Landshut and Burghausen a hoard of 400,000 guilders accumulated by the Bavarian dukes; he was therefore largely independent of his father's assistance in financing the war there[3]. Philip had not been averse to engaging in champerty when smaller gains were to be made. In 1497 he obtained two thirds of the inheritance of his former Amtmann at Lützelstein in exchange for collecting it for the heirs[4].

The elector seems also to have made himself the residuary legatee of his Hofmeister, Hermann Boos von Waldeck. In 1491 Hermann bequeathed to Philip a debt of 2,000 guilders owed to him by

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1. Württembergische Landtagsakten, 1498-1515, p.97.
2. GSA Munich, Blau 103/4a, fos.3-4.
3. GHA Munich, Akten 2385, fo.414; Steinhofer, Neue Wirtembergische Chronik, iii, 1856, pp.896 et seq.; Riezler, Geschichte Baierns, iii.223.
4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fo.490;819, fos.42-45; Ville Strasbourg, 12 J 39.

the elector and his own share in the Rhine tolls at Engers, later valued at 1,700 guilders[1]. As executor of his wealthy Hofmeister, Philip took possession of all Hermann's property in 1501 and afterwards satisfied the claims of various relatives[2], but kept the lion's share for himself, including the valuable pawnings of Fankel, Stralenburg and Schriesheim from the Palatinate and of Manderscheid from the see of Trier[3].

The elector had a more legitimate claim to the property of suicides[4] and, at any rate in Alsace, of executed criminals; the forfeited property of several burghers of Oberehenheim was sold for him in 1464[5]. Another prerogative which could be turned to profit was the elector's right to impose restrictions on the movements of Jews. Three Jews had to ransom themselves for 1,000 guilders in 1483 and fourty-four celebrants at a Jewish wedding at Münster paid 2,500 guilders in 1495 to secure their release from prison after they had broken the rules for their safe conduct[6].

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1. GSA Munich, Rot 45 k.5; GHA Munich, Urk.2834.

2. Ibid.2838; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/821, fos.92-94,198-200; 822, fo.141;825, fos.206-7,284-5; Lehmann, Burgen, iv.232-3.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/77, fo.86;819, fos.35,126-7,384-5;820 fos.446-50,493-4; Regesten der Erzbischöfe zu Trier von Hetti bis Johann II. 814-1503, ii, ed. A. Goerz, Trier, 1861, p.301.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fos.101-3.

5. For 400 fl., Dép. Strasbourg, C43, no.38;39, no.2; another instance, Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, ii.424-5.

6. Monumenta Wormatiensia, p.612; Löwenstein, Juden in der Kurpfalz, pp.28-29,287-9.

The electors obtained more substantial extraordinary revenues through their relations with foreign powers in the first half of the century. They cherished foreign brides at least partly for the sake of their dowries, which were several times the size of those brought by German princesses. In 1402 Louis III's dowry with Blanche, daughter of Henry IV of England, was 100,000 guilders, for which King Rupert pawned the imperial lands about Oppenheim and Kaiserslautern to his son[1]. In 1420 Louis III also earned himself a life pension of 1,000 marks sterling for leading 500 mounted troops to assist his brother-in-law, Henry V, at the siege of Melun[2]. Payment was exceedingly tardy, but by 1444 the English alliance had brought the full amount of the dowry and 11,500 marks, or 57,500 guilders, of the pension; it is probable that the remaining 4,500 marks or 22,500 guilders of the pension were also paid[3].

After Blanche of England's death, Louis III contracted a second marriage in 1417 with Mathilda, daughter of Count Amadeus of the Piedmont branch of the house of Savoy. Louis was to receive a dowry of 60,000 guilders and all Mathilda's lands, the chief of which, Rumilly, was sold for 70,000 guilders to Duke Amadeus VIII of

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1. R.Pfalz.ii, no.2463, p.166; W. Holtzmann, 'Die englische Heirat Pfalzgraf Ludwigs III.', Z.G.O., N.F.xliii, 1929, p.14.
2. Ibid., p.17; Eberhard, Ludwig III., pp.118-9.
3. Lists and Indexes, xlix, List of Diplomatic Documents, P.R.O., London, 1923, pp.42-49; Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, iii, ed. N. Nicholas, London, 1834, pp.76-77; iv, 1835, p.294; v, 1835, p.315; T. Rymer, Foedera, x, London, 1710, p.634; Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, i, ed. G. Williams, Rolls Series, London, 1872, nos.132-5, pp.180-5; Holtzmann, loc. cit., pp.12-18.

Savoy[1]. The duke ordered payment of the first 25,000 guilders and raised 30,000 guilders in taxes for the purchase of Rumilly, but later became remiss in his payments[2]. Nevertheless, it seems probable that a large part of the 130,000 guilders was eventually paid, since the elector's son would hardly otherwise have made another marriage alliance with the house of Savoy with similar financial provisions. In 1444 Louis IV was betrothed to Margaret, daughter of Duke Amadeus VIII (now Pope Felix V) and widow of Louis III of Anjou[3]. The elector was promised a dowry of 125,000 guilders and the claims to Margaret's pension from her first husband. Payment was slow and incomplete, but by 1448 the elector had received 75,000 guilders, and Frederick I later collected another 4,167 guilders[4]. These payments may have been used to buy the Ämter of Möckmühl and Löwenstein, which were later given to Margaret as her jointure. Without the dowry, Louis IV would not have been able to increase his territories by so many purchases in these years.

On the other hand, dowries for the daughters of the electors or

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1. GHA Munich, Urk.2640; J. Du Mont, Corps universel diplomatique, ii.2, Amsterdam, 1726, p.98; E. Cornaz, 'Le Mariage Palatin de Marguerite de Savoie (1445-49)', Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire de la Suisse Romande, Seconde Série, xv, Lausanne, 1932, p.21; J. Camus, 'La Cour du duc de Savoie Amédée VIII à Rumilly en Albanais', Revue Savoisienne, xlii, 1901, pp.295-300,331-7.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/810, fo.119; Camus, loc. cit., pp.300-2.

3. Cornaz, loc. cit., pp.27-28,96 et seq.

4. Ibid., pp.39,41-42,48-49,51-52,63-65,69-72,288 et seq.

jointures for their widows were not a heavy financial burden. 30,000 guilders were paid in the 1430s for the marriage of Louis III's daughter to Count Louis of Württemberg[1]. Frederick I paid Margaret of Savoy little of her jointure and seized Möckmühl and Löwenstein after her husband's capture at Seckenheim. The first dowry of Philip's daughter, Elizabeth, was raised by a reasonable aid from the elector's subjects; her widow's jointure served as the dowry for her second marriage.

Even before the ransom of the princes captured at Seckenheim, Louis III had released ex-Pope John XXIII from his imprisonment in the Palatinate for just over 30,000 guilders, and Louis IV received ransoms of 21,000 guilders from three of the twelve Armagnac captains he took prisoner in 1445[2]. Only during Frederick's rule, however, did ransoms take the place entirely of the dowries of foreign princesses and the foreign pension. Philip again sought to become the pensionary of a foreign power, but it was not until 1489 that he exchanged promises of military aid with Charles VIII of France and received from him a gift of silver plate worth 7,000 guilders[3]. The French king promised the elector a pension of 12,000 francs in

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1. E. Martin, 'Erzherzogin Mechthild', Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Beförderung der Geschichts-, Alterthums- und Volkskunde von Freiburg, ii, 1872, pp.151,227-41,251-2.

2. Eberhard, op. cit., pp.104-5; Würdinger, Kriegsgeschichte, i.333.

3. M.G.H., ii, 1902, pp.64-65; Z.G.O., xvi, 1864, pp.79-81; G. Zeller, 'Alsace, France et Palatinat au temps de Wimpheling', Revue d'Alsace, lxxxvii, 1947, p.34; Ziehen, i.277.

their full military alliance of 1492, but ceased to pay it after making peace with the emperor in 1493[1]. Louis XII repudiated his predecessor's arrears, but in 1500 promised instead a pension of 8,000 francs to maintain Philip's son at the French court[2]. The pension was worth 5,800 guilders, but during his two years in Paris Louis fell into the hands of usurers and his father had to send him over 4,000 guilders[3]. The elector expected to contribute 3,000 guilders annually towards the maintenance of another son, Frederick, at the Burgundian court, in addition to the pension of 3,000 guilders granted him by the Archduke Philip in 1503[4]. Neither pension covered completely the additional expenses of the elector which it was designed to meet. Philip, more than his predecessors, had to turn to the extraordinary taxation of his subjects to supplement his revenues.

(xiii) Extraordinary Taxation.

The Steuer or Schatzung, later called Landschatzung, was usually a capital levy of 5% and was imposed in the Palatinate six times

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/825, fos.114-6; HHusser, p.427; H. Ulmann, Kaiser Maximilian I., i, Stuttgart, 1884, p.228 n.2.

2. Ibid.ii, 1891, pp.584,629; Zeller, loc. cit., pp.35-37; Ziehen, ii.617.

3. GHA Munich, Akten 2385, fos.64,342-3,352,364,410,421-2.

4. Ibid., Urk.2880; GSA Munich, Blau 435/5, fos.202,206,213.

during the fifteenth century, in 1405, 1422, 1439, 1449, 1480 and 1495-7. As in Württemberg, the territorial prince had the right to levy the Schatzung, as well as the Bede, by virtue of his position as supreme judicial lord over his subjects. Although the Schatzung was an arbitrary tax, the prince always took pains to explain through his officials there there was a definite need for it, usually to pay for wars or to reduce the burden of debt; hence the common alternative name of Notbede[1]. Rupert II had even promised to use the proceeds of the Steuer of 1395 (the third since 1350) to redeem his debts and pawnings[2]. Rupert III's instructions for the tax of 1405 provide the best picture of the method of assessment as used with only slight changes for the rest of the century. Those assessed were to declare on oath the value of their property, after deduction of their debts; revenues from interest payments were to be included, but not the armour, weapons and clothes of the taxpayers and their families, nor the harness of horses fit for military use. Householders with property worth less than 20 guilders were still to pay 1 guilder. Servants, lodgers and merchants resident in the Palatinate were also to contribute[3]. Similar instructions in 1439 showed that the Schatzung had a wider incidence than the Bede; it fell not only on

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1. Ernst, 'Staatssteuern', Württembergische Jahrbücher, 1904, ii.98-100.

2. R.Pfalz.i, no.5648, p.341.

3. Ibid.ii, no.4152, p.298; Deutsche Reichstagsakten. Ältere Reihe, v, ed. J. Weizsäcker, 1885, no.460, pp.667-8; Frankfurts Reichscorrespondenz, i, no.1224, pp.778-80.

land and houses, but on movables, and not only on capital wealth, but on revenues from land rents, pensions and wages, which were all capitalized at 10%. The officials in the towns and the bailiff and one or two inhabitants of each village assessed and collected the tax and passed it on to the Amtleute[1].

There are no figures for the total yield of the Schatzung in the Palatinate, but those of other principalities where it was a similar 5% tax provide a useful comparison. About 120,000 guilders were collected in Württemberg in 1425 and 127,000 guilders in Bavaria in 1507[2]. These proceeds exceeded one year's ordinary revenues, so that in the Palatinate, too, each Schatzung probably yielded over 100,000 guilders. This estimate receives some support from the fact that 1,332 guilders were collected for the Schatzung of 1480 in the Amt of Kleeberg, at a time when the annual revenues of the Amt averaged about 740 guilders[3]. The few other partial figures which have survived are also relatively high. In 1423 the Ämter of Bacharach and Kaub still owed 5,000 guilders towards the tax of 1422[4]. In 1439 the town of Heidelberg was assessed for 5,010 guilders, of which the elector received 4,011 guilders, after 500 guilders had gone to the town council and 499 had to be written off; the rest of the

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1. K. Christ, 'Das Steuerwesen von Kurpfalz im Mittelalter', N.A.G.S.H., iii, 1898, pp.200-3,211-3.

2. V. Ernst, loc. cit.ii.90; L. Hoffmann, Geschichte der direkten Steuern in Baiern, Leipzig, 1883, pp.44-45.

3. Dép. Strasbourg, C97.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/810, fo.103;884, fo.182v.

Amt of Heidelberg was assessed for just over 13,000 guilders[1]. In 1495 about 4,085 guilders were expected from a 2% levy on the Ämter of Möckmühl, Neustadt am Kocher and Weinsberg, with the town of Besigheim[2].

After collecting a 5% Schatzung in his own lands and probably throughout the Palatinate in 1449 and 1450[3], Frederick I levied no other Schatzungen and indeed exempted the towns of Alzey, Neustadt an der Haardt and Heidelberg from all extraordinary taxation, except the three aids to ransom the prince, provide a dowry for his daughter, or pay for a lost war[4]. Nevertheless, Neustadt made a voluntary contribution of 1,500 guilders to the Schatzung of 1480[5]. Similar grants were received in 1496 from the imperial villages of Odernheim and the Ingelheimer Grund, the town of Lindenfels and the village of Horkheim, none of which were liable to taxation; in 1499 the equally privileged city of Oppenheim gave 1,000 guilders[6].

When the elector had made plans at the end of 1479 to impose a

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1. Christ, loc. cit., p.264; 'Registrum exaccionis oder Landschatzung von 1439', ibid., v, 1903, pp.1-67.

2. Z.G.O., xix, 1866, pp.14-20; Kolb, p.138 n.9.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 43/Spec., Konv.203, no.1; 67/812, fos.21 (und auch uns bissher),44,65;883, fo.202;884, fo.182V; R.Friedrich, pp.225-6,257.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.23; Lehmann, Neustadter Thal, p.53; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.491; Christ, 'Steuerwesen', loc. cit., pp.207-8,210.

5. Ibid., p.207; Pfälzisches Museum, xi, 1894, p.35.

6. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fo.355;1662, fos.372-4;77/6209, fos.330,332; O.A.B. Heilbronn, ii.383.

Schatzung, there had been general murmurings among his subjects that he wished to ruin the Palatinate[1]. It may be for this reason that Philip obtained the consent of his Estates at the end of 1494 before levying an aid (Hilfgeld) throughout his lands[2]. Whereas the Schatzung was a princely imposition, the voluntary nature of the aid was stressed, although pressure was brought to bear to ensure its collection, once agreed. This voluntary basis and the consultation with the Estates were probably designed to encourage contributions from the privileged orders. Apparently for the first time, the monastic foundations and clergy contributed and some nobles allowed their serfs to contribute to extraordinary taxation. A capital tax of 2%, not 5%, was levied on the elector's own lands[3]. The serfs of the nobility also paid 2%, if they lived in the elector's villages, but only 1% in the nobles' villages. The elector's serfs in the villages of the nobility also paid 1%, but were liable to the full rate for their property outside their own village[4]. Nobles like the Hirschhorner and the HelmstÄdter may have been willing to agree to the taxation of their serfs, because Frederick I had several times allowed them to impose a 5% tax on his serfs living in their lands[5].

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1. Dép. Strasbourg, C93, no.2.

2. See chapter 5(iv).

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/6209, fo.326; Kolb, p.136 n.5; Blasse, Steuern, p.9.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/6209, fos.326,330.

5. Ibid., 67/813, fo.7;814, fo.61;77/8399 (1474); Widder, i.407.

In 1495 the elector sent instructions for the collection of the aid of 1% to seventy-three nobles, who had villages in ten Ämter of the Palatinate[1]. Their serfs were to assess their own property under oath; others on whom the tax fell were craftsmen who did not own a house, those who had property in the village and lived in towns which were not contributing to the aid, and clergy whose property was liable to the Bede. Similar measures may have been taken in Philip's own lands to ensure the widest possible incidence of the tax. The taxation of the villages of the nobility was not an unqualified success. The nobles who allowed their villages to be taxed were entitled to a letter from the elector confirming their privilege of freedom from taxation, but the list of those to whom such letters were addressed has the names of no more than thirty-one nobles, including only seventeen of the seventy-three who had been sent circulars. The elector corresponded during 1495 with the Raugraves and several others who had been slow to levy the promised aid[2]. Collection was slow also in the Ämter of Bacharach and Kaub, where the towns, villages and clergy asked to be taxed lightly because of their financial straits; the Amtmann at Kaub made his assessments, but received no further instructions from the elector, who was too busy at the Diet of Worms[3]. Nevertheless, some of the tax was collected throughout the Palatinate, especially during 1496.

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1. 12 Jan., GLA Karlsruhe, 77/8511, III.

2. Ibid., 6209, fos.316,321-2,324-5,329-30; Kolb, p.137.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/6209, fos.317-8,320.

Individual clergy were assessed on their property with the other inhabitants of the Ämter, as at Kaub and Weinsberg, but the ecclesiastical corporations agreed separately with the elector on their contributions; the largest, 3,000 guilders, came from the abbey of Maulbronn[1]. The university of Heidelberg agreed to pay an amicabile subsidium of 1%, as did the other privileged orders, on their property which was not exempt from taxation, but the professors objected to the assessing of their property by laymen; when they met to assess their own obligations, however, many were absent or had excuses for not paying, and under 14 guilders were collected[2].

A sufficiently large sum does not seem to have been obtained from what was only an aid of 2%, and already in 1497 the elector levied another Schatzung. Its declared purpose was to pay the dowry of his daughter on her marriage to the landgrave of Hesse; contributions could therefore be required from the towns which were only liable to the three reasonable aids. A rate of 3% was levied, so that a full tax of 5% was raised by the two levies of 1495 and 1497. The ordinance for the new Schatzung[3] stressed that all property on which Bede and Steuer were paid were liable to the Schatzung, even if owned by clergy or nobles. Contributions were

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1. Klunzinger, Maulbronn, p.59; Beilage, p.58; other examples, S. Walpurg in Alsace, 250 fl., Schönau, 250 fl., and the see of Speyer, 200 fl., Dép. Strasbourg, G62; Z.G.O., xix, 1866, p.16; Lossen. p.76.

2. Arch. Heidelberg, I, 3, 3, fo.347; U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, ii, nos.534,539-40,542, p.60.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/894, fos.24-25.

insisted on also from the elector's officials, his serfs living abroad, and wage earners who had no property, and stringent measures were devised to prevent tax evasion. Since the rate of Schatzung was only 3%, Bede and Steuer were to be paid as normally, although they were not collected whenever there was a full Schatzung. The elector sought to extend the tax to Alsace in 1498, but the deputy protector reported that only 22 guilders could be collected, the imperial lands were exempt from this kind of taxation, and no good would come from trying to force it on them[1]. The nobles and monastic foundations were not approached again, except for St. Philip at Zell, which had probably not contributed to the previous aid[2]. The proposal to tax the university at the rate of 3% was met with stiff resistance, which was apparently successful, since the last record of this tax in the university annals was an instruction from the university for its representatives to maintain before the elector that, when unprivileged property came into the hands of privileged persons, it became free from liability to taxation[3]. The attempts to extend the incidence of extraordinary taxation to the serfs of the nobility, the protectorate of Alsace, and the members of the university had been largely unsuccessful; only the Church made sizable payments. Nevertheless, a greater sum was collected between 1495 and 1498 than from any previous Schatzung.

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1. Dép. Strasbourg, C82, no.84; C84, no.59.
2. 17 Oct. 1497, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/6209, fo.332V.
3. 27 Dec. 1497 and 1 Feb. 1498, Arch. Heidelberg, I, 3, 3, fos.369, 374-5; U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, ii, nos.553,558, pp.61-62.

The taxes of 1480 and 1495 and even to some extent the marriage aid of 1497 were levied in order to redeem loans which had been raised on interest. Philip declared that this was his intention in 1479, and in 1480 used the money to redeem his loans at 5% interest in Alsace and replace them by others at 4%[1]. Immediately after taking over Otto of Mosbach's debts in 1490, the elector levied a 5% tax in the Upper Palatinate; voluntary contributions were requested from Amberg and two other privileged towns[2]. Thereafter Philip's revenues in the Palatinate declined as a result of the slackening of mining activity and the losses in the Rhine tolls. The elector wrote to the emperor in 1496 that he would use the aid of 1495 firstly to redeem some of his loans, then to provide his daughter with a dowry, and lastly for the necessary expenses of government[3]. Some of the aid was used to pay part of the large arrears which the elector owed his wife for the annual payments of her marriage settlement[4]. Another tax had to be levied specifically for Elizabeth's dowry, but some of this was also used to redeem debts[5]. The Schatzung had become a tax levied at regular intervals to reduce the debts which had accumulated as a result of annual deficits.

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1. Dép. Strasbourg, C93, no.2; see below, (xiv).

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1662, fo.407a.

3. GSA Munich, Blau 103/2b, fo.289.

4. 4,000 fl., 14 July 1496, GHA Munich, Akten 959; Buchner, 'Amberger Hochzeit', Z.G.O., N.F.xxvi, 1911, p.126 n.2.

5. E.g., 1,401 fl., GLA Karlsruhe, 43/Gen., Konv.26, no.2.

The financial crisis brought on by the war of 1504 was met by a more extensive system of extraordinary taxation than the previous Schatzungen. A capital tax of 4% was levied for several years; at first raised quarterly, with payments even from poor servants, it became a weekly tax and was established for a period of two years in 1505[1]. A weekly tax was a common form of aid for ransoming a prince or paying for a lost war, from which the privileged towns were not exempt. Some of the smaller towns of the Palatinate preferred to pay a fixed annual sum instead of weekly dues[2]. The bishop of Speyer gave the elector 4,000 guilders and the see of Worms also made a contribution[3]. The elector declared in 1507 that the financial assistance given him by three of his noble counsellors did not impair their freedom from tax obligations[4]. The aid was thus paid by the privileged orders; the voluntary nature of their contributions was stressed again when the abbey of Klingenmünster made its payment[5]. In 1509 Louis V reintroduced a quarterly tax in the form of an annual capital levy of 1% for six years, but the university of Heidelberg once more stood by its privileges and the imperial lands of Oppenheim

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1. Ibid., 67/819, fos.433-4; M.B.H.G., xxix, 1907, p.47; Baierische Landtags-Handlungen, xviii, 1805, pp.475,477.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/819, fos.433-4,448-9.

3. Ibid., fos.371-2; Remling, Speyer, ii.220; Lossen, 'Einigungspolitik', Festgabe...Finke, p.284.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/822, fo.143V.

5. Lossen, p.115.

and the Ingelheimer Grund also refused to contribute[1].

When the six-year capital tax came to an end, the elector tried in vain in 1516 and 1517 to persuade his subjects to relieve the burden of his debts by means of a tax controlled by the Estates[2]. The electors had been entitled to impose the Schatzung as an arbitrary tax, but in order to ensure favourable conditions for its collection, they acquired the habit of explaining and justifying it, until they became virtually dependent on the consent of their subjects before they could levy it. This development was furthered by the existence of privileged orders, whose consent was always needed for their taxation. Furthermore, the Schatzung was traditionally a 5% tax which could be levied occasionally in years of need, but, apart from the fixed Bede, a regular annual capital levy was not among the rights of the territorial prince and required the consent of his subjects.

When consent to taxation was withheld from the electors, they had to rely on windfalls to supplement their ordinary revenues. From 1512 onwards Louis V received over 200,000 guilders as compensation for the territorial losses in the Bavarian Succession War. In 1518 the emperor also gave him the right to levy new internal tolls, the Guldenzoll. The elector collected over 200,000 guilders in ransoms and subsidies during the Peasants' Revolt[3]. He

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1. Baierische Landtags-Handlungen, xviii.476-7; U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, ii, no.631, p.69; Häusser, p.545; Gothein, p.7.

2. Ibid., pp.8-9,11-12; Carsten, Princes and Parliaments, p.344.

3. Steinmetz, Ludwig V., p.119; Häusser, pp.507,512,537,573.

also imposed a tax on the clergy to finance the war against the peasants. The dissolution of the monasteries in the 1560s provided further funds from the Church lands. The excise and quit-rents for labour services and Atzung were extended throughout the Palatinate in 1549. Therefore, apart from a large property tax levied for six years under Frederick II, the electors retained their solvency without recourse to extraordinary taxation, until their expensive foreign policy at the end of the sixteenth century made them entirely dependent on financial subsidies from their subjects[1].

(xiv) Measures of Economy and the Administration of the Debts.

The measures taken by the electors to economize on expenditure were more immediately apparent than those to increase revenues, but do not appear to have been emphasized to any greater extent. Successive electors enjoined economy on their sons, when the latter were away from Heidelberg, but both Duke Philip, at Amberg, and later his son, Louis, in Paris, heavily supplemented their allowances with money from other sources[2].

It was easier for the electors to economize on their money fiefs, many of which were castle fiefs payable annually on the revenues of the Rhine tolls. Under Frederick I, the money fiefs of four nobles escheated and were not granted out again, a saving of 250 guilders annually[3]. Most such fiefs were redeemable for about ten times their

1. Gothein, pp.13,17-20,22,24; Carsten, op. cit., pp.344-5.
2. See above, (xii), and chapter 1(v); Wimpfeling, Agatharcia, p.202.
3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1057, fos.15-16,52-54; J.G. Lehmann, 'Urkundliche Geschichte der Herren und Grafen von Falkenstein', M.H.V.P., iii, 1872, p.116.

annual value; in case of redemption, the vassal was obliged to reinvest the capital in property situated within or near the elector's lands, which was to be held as an ordinary fief. It was therefore in the elector's interests to redeem money fiefs, for the vassal would become more tied to the territory and interests of his lord, and expenditure would be cut by half without any effort, since the prevailing rate of interest on ordinary loans was 5%. A systematic policy of redeeming money fiefs[1] was not begun until the reign of Philip, who in 1477 redeemed for 3,245 guilders a large number of fiefs which had hitherto cost 322½ guilders annually[2]. More money fiefs were redeemed or reduced in later years[3], but many still continued to be paid.

Examination of the administrative system will show that economy was also stressed in all the regulations for the Ämter and household. Methods of accounting were improved in order to obtain better control over the local financial officials. Greater use was made of the central treasury and the practice of assigning payments directly on the revenues of the Ämter and Rhine tolls was curtailed[4].

The electors were by no means passive in the face of increasing financial difficulties; this is shown most of all in the management of their debts. A decisive point was reached in the development of the finances of many German principalities, when their credit became

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1. Cf. R.Katz.i, 1953, p.65.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1007, fos.43,54-55,59-60,70,88,92-93,98-99, 121-3,127,135,204.

3. E.g., ibid., fos.420-1;1057, fos.251-4;816, fo.104.

4. See chapter 6(vi)-(ix).

great enough for them to obtain loans without pawning their revenues or lands; in Württemberg this point was passed about the year 1419[1]. Although the pawning of lands continued intermittently throughout the fifteenth century in the Palatinate, this expedient was used sparingly, and mainly at times of especial strain, for instance after the wars of 1462 and 1504. The electors had the advantage that their Rhine tolls could be pawned without loss of territory, thus providing a financial reserve[2]. In the early fifteenth century the interest on loans was guaranteed on, and paid from, the revenues of Bacharach and Kaub, but after 1467 it was paid directly from the treasury, though the towns of Alzey, Bacharach and Kaub continued to act as guarantors for the loans[3]. The transition from pawnings to loans was therefore very easy in the Palatinate.

On the other hand, the electors often borrowed money in order to buy lands and revenues, or paid those from whom they bought lands with life or hereditary annuities, instead of capital sums. According to the available evidence, over 80,000 guilders, or 16% of the money paid for purchases during the fifteenth century, was paid in the form of annuities[4].

Territorial purchases could not alone account for the volume of debts contracted by the electors, which represent mainly the

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1. Ernst, pp.66-67.

2. Schütze, Entwicklung, pp.252-3; 'Ziele', Pfälzer Heimat, ix, 1958, p.2.

3. See chapter 6(vii).

4. App. III(1), nos.13,74,83,88,106,108-9,116-7,135,145,201,212-3,219; a similar policy was pursued in the fourteenth century, Schütze, Entwicklung, pp.269-70; 'Ziele', loc. cit., p.4.

extraordinary expenditure on wars and other costly projects and, at least in the second half of the century, the regular annual deficits. Louis III's registers of debts illustrate the circumstances under which the electors were forced to take up large loans throughout the century. The dates of his most intensive borrowing coincided with his participation in the Council of Constance, his assistance at the siege of Melun, the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and the purchase of Rappoltsweiler in 1427[1]. Exact records have survived of 260,000 guilders, or just over half of the debts outstanding in 1508; 51,690 guilders of these had been contracted during Louis IV's rule[2]. It was said in 1445 that the elector had during one year raised 230,000 guilders on loan in the city of Cologne[3]. Frederick I's and Philip's complaints that they had inherited a large volume of debts from their predecessors can only be taken at their face value.

The accumulation of debts was probably the cause of the Schatzung at the beginning of Frederick's rule, as of all later Schatzungen. Frederick redeemed many of the old debts, as Kemnat reported[4], but numerous fresh loans were taken up throughout his reign; in 1474 he attributed his heavy indebtedness equally to the

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/810, fos.16-24,221-8,246-51,253-6;816, fo.312; 866, fos.21-26;867, fos.1-23.

2. See App. VI(1) for details of these debts.

3. J. Voigt, Geschichte des Deutschen Ritter-Ordens, i, Berlin, 1857, p.586.

4. p.24.

inheritance from his predecessors and to his own military expenditure[1]. In 1476 the two bishops impressed forcefully on the new elector that the outstanding loans exceeded 500,000 guilders; the annual interest payments must have been at least 25,000 guilders. The bishops advised that means should be found to reduce the debts and above all to prevent the pawning of lands; interest should be paid punctually to avoid piling debt on debt[2]. Yet of the recorded loans not repaid by 1508, 50,310 guilders had been contracted in the 1480s, in spite of the Schatzung of 1480. According to Louis V's chancellor, Philip had been forced to take up so many new loans because of his lower income from the Rhine tolls[3]. On the first day of 1504 the elector complained that his lands were heavily indebted because of the preparations for war against Hesse[4], and the war produced a crisis in which he was unable for some years to pay his mercenaries their wages, his creditors their interest on loans, the count palatine of Simmern his share of the tolls at Bacharach, or the Vizdum at Amberg his full salary[5]. Philip had recourse to the stopgap measure of

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1. Instructions for Erkinger von Rodenstein, GHA Munich, Akten 959.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/338, fos.54-55; M. Buchner, 'Die Stellung des Speierer Bischofs Mathias Ramung zur Reichsstadt Speier, zu Kurfürst Friedrich I. von der Pfalz und zu Kaiser Friedrich III.', Z.G.O., N.F.xxiv, 1909, p.293.

3. 20 March 1517, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/5927.

4. GHA Munich, Akten 2385, fos.421-2.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 43/Spec., Konv.125, fo.45;227, fo.25; Ziehen, ii.746; Häusser, p.493; Fliedner, Rheinzölle, p.35 n.3; Steinmetz, Ludwig V., p.54.

seeking loans from friendly neighbouring rulers[1]. In 1507 he was still paying all the interest guaranteed on the revenues of Alsace, although he had lost the protectorate[2]. The chancellor explained in 1517 that the elector still honoured many debts payable on the lost territories, since otherwise he would lose the right to redeem his pawnings; at this time Louis V was not yet able to satisfy his creditors[3].

The financial position of the electors had nonetheless been basically sound until 1504. The total state of indebtedness had not increased since 1476. According to the earliest in time and lowest of several estimates in the Secreta Palatinatus, annual interest of 23,646 guilders was payable on loans totalling 487,988 guilders[4]. Only the loss of territories and so of revenues precipitated the severe crisis of the early sixteenth century. The burden of debt did not compare unfavourably with that in other German lands. Principalities like Brandenburg, Württemberg and Bavaria had the advantage, however, that although their indebtedness rose more rapidly and their deficits were greater than in the Palatinate, their Estates periodically took over or paid off the debts[5]. The

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/819, fos.415-8,420-1; GSA Munich, Blau 435/5, fos.351-2,381-2; 'Reissbuch', Z.G.O., xxvi, 1874, p.214.
2. GSA Munich, Blau 435/5, fos.384 et seq.
3. 20 March and 22 Dec. 1517, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/5927.
4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, between fos.54 and 55, verso.
5. A. Kotelmann, 'Die Finanzen des Kurfürsten Albrecht Achilles', Zeitschrift für preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde, iii, 1866, pp.284-5,287-8,291-4; Ernst, pp.73-74; H. Hamburger, Der Staatsbankrott des Herzogtums Wirtemberg...1503-31, Schwäbisch-Hall, 1909, pp.1-4,7-10,13,16; Carsten, Princes and Parliaments, pp.12,359-60.

attempt to follow these precedents failed in the Palatinate.

The stability in the volume of the electors' debts in the second half of the fifteenth century seems to belie their repeated statements that they had inherited a heavy burden of debt and were continually being forced to take up new loans. The undoubted tendency for the debts to increase was in fact vigorously countered, not only by the redemption of loans with the aid of Schatzungen, but by good administration of the loans and interest rates. The electors were eager to ensure that their territorial acquisitions were as free as possible from old debts. They assumed only limited liability for the debts of over 30,000 guilders which burdened the conquests made from Zweibrücken in 1471, and satisfied the creditors but partially and with considerable delay[1]. The debts on Leiningen and Guttenberg were only honoured if they had originally been contracted with the consent of the feudal lord, so that many creditors were disappointed or had to accept a reduced rate of interest[2].

A rate of 5% was regarded as normal for hereditary annuities[3], the form in which nearly all long-term loans were made in the later fifteenth century. Not all loans were raised at this rate, and the firm policy of the electors was to secure the most favourable terms.

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1. GHA Munich, Urk.2829-30,2832,2855,2859; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/892, fos.124-9.

2. Ibid., 812, fo.48;820, fo.213V;1662, fos.132,182,258; R.Friedrich, p.408; Lehmann, Zweibrücken, pp.153-4,192; Burgen, i.244-5.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1662, fo.182; U.B. Heilbronn, ii, no.1133 uu, p.94.

There must be a strong suspicion that they used the same sharp practices, such as refusing to pay any interest until the weaker creditors agreed to a reduced rate, which Bishop Matthias of Speyer, chancellor of the Palatinate, used with such success in his see[1]. Already under Frederick I, some of those who were entitled to interest of over 5% were either persuaded to reduce it to 5% or had their loans redeemed by the elector[2]. In 1479 Philip borrowed 5,400 guilders in order to redeem loans and money fiefs on which 6 2/3 % or 10% had been paid[3]. The Hofmeister wrote that loans at over 5 % interest had been taken up at unfavourable moments during Frederick I's wars[4].

The next step was to obtain a rate of interest lower than 5 %. Frederick I raised two loans amounting to 5,600 guilders at 4½ %[5], but this development only become widespread under his successor. In 1479 Philip's revenue collector (Zinsmeister) in Alsace consulted a wealthy Strassburg merchant in the elector's service, who promised to raise 30,000 guilders or more at 4 %, if the interest was paid and guaranteed as it had been on the many loans obtained in Strassburg by

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1. M. Buchner, Die innere weltliche Regierung des Speierer Bischofs Mathias Ramung, 1464-78, Speyer, 1907, pp.35-37.

2. E.g., Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Cod. Germ.1649, fo.469; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/920, fo.27; Fliedner, op. cit., p.143.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fo.104.

4. Dép. Strasbourg, C92, no.3.

5. 4,000 fl., 1455, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/920, fo.32V; SB Munich, Cod. Germ.1649, fo.433; 1,600 fl., 1468, App. VI(1).

the margrave of Baden. The burghers were no longer willing to invest merely on the guarantee of nobles or town councils, but would require the revenues of the electors' lands and towns near Strasburg as pledges. Furthermore, the interest payments would have to be made early in the year to the city's Mint, from which the individual creditors could collect their interest when it was due[1]. The elector agreed to these measures to ensure prompt and certain payment, which had been lacking in the past. Philip hoped to raise 60,000 guilders at 4 % and to redeem 41,200 guilders of existing loans at 5 % from the patrician families of Strassburg and other nobles of Alsace[2]. Within a year, many loans at 4 % had been taken up and the last of those at 5 % were being redeemed, or the creditors were induced to accept a rate of 4 %[3]. The city council of Strassburg itself lent the elector 8,000 guilders at 4 % in 1483. After 1486, however, there were difficulties in obtaining fresh loans at 4 % in Strassburg; until 1494 some were raised at 4½ %, but thereafter none were to be had for less than 5 %[4]. Philip meanwhile had some success at securing lower rates of interest elsewhere. Between 1479 and

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1. The revenue collector to the elector, 23 Nov. 1479, Dép. Strasbourg, C93, no.2.
2. 27 Nov., 11 and 23 Dec. 1479, ibid., nos.2-3.
3. 29 Dec. 1480 and 12 Jan. 1481, ibid., C47, no.5;97, no.8; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fos.135V,140-1,152. In the second case, the new contracts were made out under the dates of the original loans, e.g., Dép. Strasbourg, H2115, no.1.
4. Ibid., C79, no.3;93, nos.4-6.

1503, loans were taken up from various ecclesiastical foundations and burghers, especially at Frankfurt, at 4 %, 4½ %, 5 % and intermediate rates; even the clergy and burghers of Strassburg resumed their loans at 4 % in the first years of the sixteenth century[1].

It seems likely that the Schatzung of 1480 and the lower rates of interest appreciably reduced the total of interest payments and probably also of debts, but that they increased again after the poor revenues and renewed expenses on war from the late 1480s onward. The aid of 1495 and the Schatzung of 1497 may have checked this rise, but the preparations for the war of 1504 and the financial crisis of its aftermath brought the volume of loans to its former level again. Because of his reduced territories and consequent loss of income, the Elector Philip could not pay for this war, which therefore nullified his earlier and at least partly successful measures to increase revenues and reduce expenditure.

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1662, fo.169V; App. VI(1).

CHAPTER FOUR.

PREROGATIVE RIGHTS.

(i) Landesherrschaft: the Rights of the Territorial Prince.

The political development of the Palatinate was retarded in comparison with that of many German principalities. The elector was almost the sole bond uniting the various territories. Only in the fifteenth century was the work of internal unification begun[1]. In the previous century the territories had remained scattered and interspersed with those of several princes and powerful noble families. The fifteenth-century expansion formed the central electoral lands into a more compact unit, but also added new, far-flung possessions. Whole counties remained separate entities within the principality or were regarded as outside the main body of the county palatine. The 'principality' was distinguished in several documents from the other 'lands' of the electors[2]. The Elector Philip still had one feudal book for the fiefs of the Palatinate and another for those of the lordships of Weinsberg, Löwenstein, Starkenburg and fourteen more. The vassals paid their homage to Philip as the lord of Weinsberg and so on, and not primarily as elector and count palatine[3].

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1. Gothein, p.9; Zimmermann, Weistümer, p.19.

2. E.g., 1420, U.B. Speyer, ii, no.51, p.98.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1006, fo.30 and passim; a similar distinction was made for letters of presentation to benefices, R. Lossen, 'Pfälzische Patronatspfründen vor der Reformation, aus dem Geistlichen Lehenbuch des Kurfürsten Philipp von der Pfalz', Freiburger Diöcesan-Archiv, N.F.xi, 1910, p.181.

This distinction was reinforced by differences in the laws of the territories, as implied in Philip's ordinance for the supreme court: the judges were to decide according to the traditions of his lands, especially those of the county palatine[1]. The contrast in local customs between the new acquisitions and the original electoral lands is seen in the differing provisions of their feudal laws[2]. There were also variations in feudal law within the principality itself; thus male fiefs descended only in the direct male line to the west of the Rhine, but to the nearest male heir to the east[3]. The laws concerning marriage settlements, dowries and jointures were also different on the two sides of the Rhine[4]. Formidable barriers had to be overcome before the Palatinate could be fully united.

The electors' rights over their subjects and the latter's obligations were also not uniform, since some towns and Ämter were the fiefs of neighbouring sees and others imperial pawnings. The former imperial cities paid only a small imperial tax, claimed exemption from military service, and exercised greater control over their internal affairs and jurisdiction than did the other towns of the electors. The electors were protectors, not rulers, of the ten imperial cities of Alsace, which enjoyed even greater privileges and formed their own

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1. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fo.90.

2. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/953, fos.263-9.

3. Ibid., 1911, on the first leaf; Widder, iii.10; other examples, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fos.362-4;1007, fo.XVI.

4. Ibid., 814, fos.266-7.

independent league[1].

One way in which the electors sought to unify their lands was to stress the prerogative rights, everywhere the same, to which they were entitled as Landesherren. Landesherrschaft is an umbrella definition both for rights exercised over the subjects --- higher jurisdiction, military service, Bede, Schatzung, Atzung and labour services --- and for the prerogative rights, or regalia, like tolls, mining and hunting rights, the exercise of safe conduct, and the right to mint coinage. These component parts of Landesherrschaft were defined in the testimonials of the hundreds and villages[2]. They were also listed in the documents of sale drawn up when the electors bought lands[3] and in the rent-rolls, especially that of Heidelberg for 1496. Although these lists included rights which were derived from the other forms of lordship exercised by the electors, such as their nomination of the village courts[4], the Elector Philip was aware that only certain of his numerous rights in a particular area were the hallmarks of Landesherrschaft (or Obrigkeit). He claimed in 1488 that the higher jurisdiction of the hundred and the rights of safe conduct, tolls, coinage and others which he possessed in the Kraichgau were the

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1. See chapters 3(vi), 4(iii), and 5(iv)(a) and (b).

2. Zimmermann, op. cit., pp.100-1.

3. E.g., Kremer, ii, no.111, p.320; see Schütze, Entwicklung, pp.41-42.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 66/3486, fos.1,11-51; SA Darmstadt, Saalbücher Rheinhessen 5b, fos.100-5.

criteria from which to conclude that he was Landesherr and that the Kraichgau was part of his Kammer[1]. The term Kammer was used on several other occasions to denote the territories in which the elector was Landesherr[2].

The growing volume of border conflicts and arbitrations is evidence of the new emphasis placed by the electors on Landesherrschaft during the course of the fifteenth century. It was stressed that the prerogatives of the territorial prince were very ancient rights[3]. Schatzung, the right to military service and hunting rights were often retained in lands which he pawned or gave away[4]. The electors maintained their rights as territorial princes in villages in their lands which belonged to other lords, to the exclusion of the latter. Thus Philip's Burggraf (or Amtmann) at Alzey secured a testimonial in 1496 that the elector and not the noble owners of the village of Fels had military service, Atzung, labour services and other rights there[5].

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1. K.F. von Günter, 'Etwas von dem Verhältnisse des Adels im Kraichgau gegen die Kurpfalz', Acta Acad. Palat., v, 1783, p.496; Kolb, p.72.

2. E.g., Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.512; R. Sillib, 'Stift Neuburg bei Heidelberg, seine Geschichte und Urkunden', N.A.G.S.H., v, 1903, p.194; vi, 1905, p.16; F. Ritsert, 'Urkunden zur Geschichte der Landschaden von Steinach', A.H.G., xiv, 1875, pp.319-20. Kammer more usually meant the central treasury of the prince.

3. SA Darmstadt, Saalbücher Rheinhessen 5b, fo.2; GSA Munich, Blau 398/1, I, no.4, fos.9-10.

4. See chapter 2(x).

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/820, fos.482-3. Similar examples, ibid., 66/3484, fo.54; 3486, fos.28,43; Böhn, Alzey, pp.70,83-84,179-80.

The lordship of the hundreds in the Amt of Heidelberg enabled the elector to extend his rights as territorial prince at the expense of the noble lords of the villages and, until 1460, of the see of Mainz[1]. In these ways, enclaves within the electors' lands were partly absorbed or neutralized .

Prerogative rights were also upheld beyond the boundaries of the principality and far into the territories of neighbouring princes and the higher nobility[2]. As a means of preparing the way for territorial expansion or widening their sphere of influence, the electors furthered all their rights with especial vigour outside their own lands, but none more than their powers over their serfs and the exclusive right to give safe conduct.

(ii) The Electors and their Serfs.

The control which the electors exercised over their serfs was greatly increased by the labour services, military service, Schatzung and Atzung to which they were entitled as Landesherren. Nevertheless, the serfs had rights as well as obligations; thus most of them had complete freedom of movement, and Frederick I and Philip held that their serfs had the right to reside in the electors' lands and to enjoy their protection and grazing and fishing rights on the commons in exchange for their obligation to render services and dues[3]. In

1. Zimmermann, op. cit., p.20.

2. Ibid., p.65; Günter, loc. cit., p.473; G.F. Böhn, 'Die Alzeyer Ausfautei', Mitteilungsblatt zur rheinhessischen Landeskunde, iv, 1955, p.113.

3. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.150, fos.51-52;151, fos.1-3; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/953, fo.384.

spite of this and of the light burdens borne by the serfs, the electors made sure that all dues were rendered and that no serf escaped his status by emigration or by eluding the watchfulness of the officials.

The electors could claim as their serfs not only the children of their female serfs, but other serfs called Wildfänge and Königsleute, and all the bastards within their lands, many of whom were the children of priests or noblemen[1]. In 1495 the emperor confirmed the elector's right to bastards born or living in his principality; Philip also had the more valuable right to inherit the property of bastards who died in his lands without leaving either children or a will[2]. Although the electors often left part of these inheritances to the next of kin, the payments they received were considerable, as much as 150 guilders from one estate in 1475[3]. Philip also exercised the rights which he claimed to the inheritance of childless bastards outside his own territories, in the cities of Speyer, Landau and Weissenburg, the see of Speyer, the margraviate of Baden, and other neighbouring lands[4].

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1. E.g., SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Rheinhessen 5b, fos.11-14 and passim; Salbücher Starkenburg 75a, fo.90; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fo.204.
2. Ibid., 820, fos.359-60; GSA Munich, Rot 24/59.
3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.82V; other examples, ibid., 812, fo.67V; 818, fo.475; 1662, fo.340.
4. SA Speyer, Kurpfalz Akten 122a (1494), fo.42; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/829, fo.144; examples, ibid., 820, fos.178-9, between 359 and 360; 77/4482, fo.1; SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Rheinhessen 5b, fo.2.

The number of Wildfänge increased even more rapidly in the fifteenth century than the number of bastards, because of the greater freedom of movement which serfs now enjoyed. The elector was entitled to take as his serfs all strangers who settled in his lands a year and a day after their arrival, unless their former lords publicly claimed them in the village where they lived. The royal obligation to protect strangers had devolved entirely upon the electors, who used it to make the Wildfänge just like their other serfs[1]. In 1518 the first imperial confirmation of this privilege recognized the elector's right to Wildfänge --- and now also to bastards --- in the neighbouring free cities and ecclesiastical and lay territories, as well as in his own principality[2]. Earlier, however, the Elector Philip had been compelled to renounce the fifty Wildfänge whom he had taken from the margrave of Baden's court of Stauffenberg, near Ortenberg[3]. Philip effectively exercised the right over Wildfänge only in his own territories and the lands surrounded by them, especially in the Amt of Alzey and the lands of the see of Mainz to the west of the Rhine[4].

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1. F. Kolde, Über die Wildfänge und das Wildfangsrecht der Pfalzgrafen bei Rhein bis zum laudum Heilbronnense (1667), Berlin, 1898, pp.1,7,12-15,19-31; Bühn, Alzey, pp.28-30; 'Alzeyer Ausfautei', loc. cit., pp.111,113.

2. Deutsche Reichstagsakten. Jüngere Reihe, i, ed. A. Kluckhohn, Gotha, 1893, p.101 n.4.

3. R.Baden, iv, no.10686, pp.359-60; Wielandt, 'Markgraf Christoph I.', Z.G.O., N.F.xlvi, 1933, pp.576-7.

4. SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Rheinhessen 5b, fos.2,90-91,102; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/886, fos.6-9; (at end), fos.48-50,61; Fabricius, p.427.

The Königsleute, or strangers who became serfs in the former imperial lands belonging to the electors, had slightly fewer burdens to bear than other serfs. All serfs, bastards and Wildfänge who immigrated to any of fifteen villages in the Amt of Germersheim from the rest of the Palatinate, the margraviate of Baden, the see of Speyer, or the lordship of Guttenberg became Königsleute after a year and a day. They paid Bede according to their means, rendered a chicken in lieu of labour services, and were obliged to military service and the payment of heriots and Schatzung[1]. The Elector Philip used force to make serfs immigrating from the see of Speyer his Königsleute[2]. In 1480 he upheld his claim that anyone who came from Baden to settle in the Amt should thereafter contribute permanently to the Königsbede, even if they returned to Baden[3]. Frederick I, however, had already lost part of these revenues, because some of the serfs refused to pay and others could not be traced[4]. When some of the Königsleute in the Amt of Heidelberg went to live in Heilbronn, Philip's cellarer at Dilsberg asked the city council to induce them to pay the Königsbede[5]. Although small in numbers and privileged

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1. According to an undated testimonial written in the style of the fifteenth century, J. Grimm, Weisthümer, v, Göttingen, 1866, pp.559-60; J. Mayerhofer and F. Glasschröder, 'Die Weistümer der Rheinpfalz', M.H.V.P., xvi, 1892, p.69. The Königsleute in the Amt of Heidelberg had similar obligations, Seyfried, Schwetzingen, p.51.
2. GSA Munich, Blau 398/1, I, no.4, fos.93,187,273.
3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/829, fo.137.
4. SA Speyer, Kurpfalz Akten 122a (1455), fo.57.
5. U.B. Heilbronn, ii, no.1580, pp.479-80.

compared to other serfs, the Königsleute appear to have been more than usually inclined to evade their obligations to the elector.

The electors made strenuous efforts to ensure that immigrating serfs either became their own serfs or rendered some of the services, even if they did not assume the status of serfs. Philip gained possession by grants, purchases and other means of large numbers of serfs in the Palatinate who had another acknowledged lord and could not be made into Wildfänge[1]. A group of nobles in the Amt of Heidelberg complained in 1489 that the elector's officials were exercising rights over their serfs, to which the lord of the village and not the lord of the hundred was entitled; the serfs had been made to serve in war as well as pay military contributions, were burdened with excessive carting services and Atzung, and had been supported by the elector's officials in disputes with their own lords[2].

The reverse of this medal was the hold which the electors retained over their own serfs who left the Palatinate. Six imperial cities of Swabia promised Frederick I not to make any of his subjects non-resident burghers, nor to accept his defaulting officials and other renegades as resident burghers[3]. In 1503 Philip claimed as his serfs all children born to his women serfs in the city of Landau,

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1. E.g., SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Rheinhessen 5b, fo.2; 35 serfs in 1484 and 79 in 36 villages in 1489, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/820, fos.198-201,484-5.

2. Ibid., 77/4147, fos.228-31; similar examples, Zimmermann, Weistümer, pp.34,38-40.

3. 1452, Kremer, ii, no.12, p.38.

which was pawned to the see of Speyer; the elector's representatives maintained that the cities of Speyer, Worms and Cologne all admitted this to be Philip's right; in the past, when a serf of the elector had emigrated to England and died there, leaving a fortune of several thousand guilders, the elector had recovered the inheritance and compounded with the heirs for the heriot[1].

The majority of emigrating serfs went only to villages in the adjoining territories. Together with the bastards and Wildfänge claimed by the electors outside the principality, they were known as Ausleute. Several officials in each of the main Ämter were concerned solely with supervising the Ausleute in neighbouring villages and towns and with collecting their dues. The Ausfaut, head of these officials, usually lived in the chief town of the Amt. Under him, and often residing in villages where there were many Ausleute, were several Hühnerfaute, so named because they collected (besides the money dues) the chicken which was the symbol of the serfdom of a woman and her children[2]. The increasing number of surveys and lists of Ausleute towards the end of the century are further evidence of the importance which especially the Elector Philip attached to his rights over the Ausleute. In 1494 a register of Ausleute in the Amt of Alzey listed the names of

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1. GSA Munich, Blau 398/1, I, no.4, fos.89-91.

2. Böhn, 'Alzeyer Ausfautei', loc. cit., pp.111-2; Alzey, pp.28-30; Fabricius, pp.228-30. Neustadt had a Hühnerfaut in 1449, Pfälzer U.B.xi.106; Heidelberg since at least 1466, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.156;813, fo.207;814, fos.206-7; Alzey an Ausfaut in 1473, ibid., 814, fo.212; Germersheim two Ausfaute and one or more Hühnerfaute, SA Speyer, Kurpfalz Akten 122a (1480), fos.103,116,135.

nearly 3,000 serfs, who had about 2,700 children, and recorded in detail their annual dues, which totalled over 800 guilders[1]. The 914 Ausleute of the Amt of Germersheim included eighty in the city of Landau and fifty-three in other neighbouring cities[2]. The rapid rise in the number of Ausleute in several Ämter benefited the revenues of the Palatinate. There were about eighty Ausleute in the Amt of Kleeberg in 1468 and 150 in 1484, and there was a further increase by 1499[3].

Ever since Louis III's disputes with the see of Mainz[4], the electors insisted that there was to be one law for foreign serfs living in the Palatinate, but another for their own serfs living abroad. The nobles in the Amt of Heidelberg, who complained in 1489 of interference with their serfs by the officials of the hundreds, also pointed out that these officials were exercising jurisdiction over the elector's serfs living in their villages, where they alone were entitled to the lower jurisdiction[5]. Frederick I used the labour services of foreign serfs residing in his villages, but protected his own serfs from

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1. 2,934 serfs and 2,683 children, by addition from SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Rheinhessen 5b.

2. SA Speyer, Kurpfalz Akten 122a (1480), fos.103-38. Other lists, GLA Karlsruhe, 66/7623; SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Starkenburg 47a, fos.84-94; 75a, fos.81-90; Dép. Strasbourg, C98.

3. Ibid., C97; see chapter 3(ix).

4. Zimmermann, op. cit., pp.28-32,40.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/4147, fos.227-33.

similar duties abroad[1]. Military contributions and Schatzungen from the Ausleute were especially prized by the Elector Philip. He maintained that his rights over Ausleute in the lands of the archbishop of Mainz included labour services, Schatzung, and military service and contributions, as well as the Leibesbede and other dues. The Ausleute in the Amt of Niederolm contributed to the Schatzung in 1480, but were subsequently prevented by the see's officials from paying either military contributions or Schatzung to the Palatinate[2]. In 1497 Philip instructed his officials to collect a higher Leibesbede from the Ausleute, instead of levying the Schatzung directly on them, in order to forestall claims that they were being taxed on their property[3].

At the same time, the electors prevented the archbishops of Mainz and other lords from levying military contributions and Schatzungen on their own serfs living in the Palatinate or on serfs of the electors living abroad[4]. The custumal of Alzey contained the clause that the elector, because of his duties as imperial vicar, had the special privilege that his subjects living under other lords were exempt from Notbede[5]. In 1503 the bishop of Speyer objected that Philip would

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1. E.g., ibid., 67/813, fo.268; Badische Weistümer, i.1, no.91, p.305.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/886, fos.7-9,11,30-31;884, fo.7.

3. Ibid., 894, fo.25.

4. Ibid., 886, at end, fos.7,10-11;77/8399 (8 Dec. 1475); Pfälzisches U.B.xv.208; Zimmermann, op. cit., pp.67-68.

5. 1494, G. Schenk zu Schweinsberg, 'Weisthum des Pfalzgräflichen Hofes zu Alzei', A.H.G., xiv, 1879, pp.713,717.

not allow him to levy military contributions and Schatzungen on the elector's serfs living in the lands of the see, but taxed the bishop's serfs in the Palatinate. The bishop's advocates declared that the right of taxation belonged to the territorial prince where a serf lived, the elector's representatives that it was derived from a lord's right over his serf[1]. On the other hand, the elector claimed the exclusive right to tax all foreign serfs living in the Palatinate, even if the property on which they were taxed lay elsewhere; he maintained that this was a special privilege enjoyed by the electors for hundreds of years, ever since Germersheim, Neustadt and other Ämter had been imperial possessions[2]. The elector refused to retreat from this extreme position until, at the moment of weakness after the Bavarian Succession War, he gave the bishop permission to tax his serfs in the see and the see's serfs in the jointly held Amt of Landeck[3].

There were also disputes over serfs with other princes and with numerous nobles. The tendency grew to overcome what were often conflicting rights, incapable of resolution, by the exchange of equal numbers of Ausleute between the two parties[4], but this was often only

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1. GSA Munich, Blau 398/1, I, no.4, fos.2-8.

2. Ibid., fos.9-10,20-27,31-33,42-44,161-3,179,194-6,238-40,256,265, 282-4.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/338, fo.41V;821, fos.124-5;825, fos.155-6.

4. E.g., ibid., 812, fo.177V; GSA Munich, Rot 75 e.32; W. Müller, Hessisches Ortsnamenbuch, i, Darmstadt, 1937, p.673; Wielandt, 'Markgraf Christoph I.', Z.G.O., N.F.xlvi, 1933, p.576.

a temporary solution. Thus Frederick I and the count of Hohenlohe had exchanged all their serfs in one another's lands in 1471, the elector paying a sum of money to balance the larger number of the count's serfs living in the Palatinate, but in 1503 there were again many serfs sitting on the wrong side of the fence, and the Elector Philip and Count Craft agreed to compile lists of their Ausleute, the first step towards a further exchange of serfs[1]. More effective were the agreements made by Frederick I with Louis of Zweibrücken and by Philip with, for instance, the landgraves of Hesse and of Leiningen-Westerburg and the count of Löwenstein: serfs who changed their residence automatically became serfs of the new lords under whom they lived[2]. These measures did not, however, become the general rule during this period, nor were they to diminish the conflicts over Ausleute and Wildfänge in subsequent centuries.

(iii) The Electors as Protectors.

All subjects were equally bound to the territorial prince as their protector. Protection was the vital link between the prince and the Church. It helped the electors to extend their territories and increase their revenues, and enabled them to intervene in the affairs of noble families and gain the right of entry to their castles

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1. GSA Munich, Rot 36 k.1; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.88;825, fos.18-31.

2. Ibid., 865, fos.310-21;1007, fos.314-5;1662, fos.281-4,287-90, 416-22. Other examples, after the Bavarian Succession War, Pfälzer Urk.vii, nos.2092,2101; Krebs, 'Emich VIII. zu Leiningen', M.H.V.P.xxiii, 1899, p.15.

in wartime. More than any other prerogative right, protection carried the influence of the electors beyond the confines of their lands and provoked disputes with neighbouring rulers[1]. But the warning of Otto Brunner should be heeded, not to attribute all other rights of the territorial prince to his position as protector, in the way that seventeenth-century theorists held the sovereignty of the prince to be derived from it[2]. Protection was the mortar binding together the bricks with which Landesherrschaft was built, but it was not the clay from which those bricks were made.

Nevertheless, one small group was entirely dependent on the elector in his capacity as protector - the Jews. The electors observed faithfully the letter of the oath they swore at their accession, never to allow Jews to reside in the Palatinate. Thus the Jews expelled from the city of Mainz in 1462 were not permitted to enter Frederick I's lands[3]. The electors did make the distinction, not noticed by the historian of the Jews in the Palatinate, that although the Jews were excluded from the hereditary lands, they might live in Oppenheim and the other imperial lands, which were only pawned[4]. Furthermore, Frederick I gave Jews from the free cities of the Empire

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1. See chapters 2(v), 3(viii), and 5(ii)(d) and (iii)(b) and (c).

2. O. Brunner, Land und Herrschaft, 4th edn., Vienna and Wiesbaden, 1959, p.387.

3. Speierische Chronik, p.479.

4. E.g., 1463, von Hasselholdt-Stockheim, Albrecht IV., pp.273-4; R.Friedrich, pp.416-8; 7 Dec. 1479, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fos.107-8.

individual letters of protection and safe conduct allowing them to pass through, but not reside in, the lands of the electoral principality itself[1]. In 1464, however, the elector raised the rate charged for the safe conduct of Jews from 1 silver penny to 1 guilder per German mile, a twenty-four fold increase[2]. In 1469 he abandoned even this limited toleration and forbade his officials to protect or safe conduct Jews or their servants any longer[3]. Until the later sixteenth century, few privileges were granted, except to physicians and converted Jews[4].

Before 1505, when Jews of the Empire were again allowed to pass through the elector's lands, only the Jews of Alsace were entitled to safe conduct in the Palatinate[5]. In Alsace the Jews traditionally had greater privileges, and the policy of the elector, as protector of Alsace, was more favourable to them than it was in the Palatinate, from which they were theoretically banned. Louis III had confirmed the ancient privileges of the Jews, especially those concerning jurisdiction in cases between them and Christians, and made new regulations for the trial of cases between Jews by an elected Jewish rabbi and three

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1. Ibid., 813, fos.70,158,210,218,244;814, fo.46; R.Friedrich, pp.409, 420,429; Löwenstein, Juden in der Kurpfalz, pp.25-27.

2. Some protected Jews were later allowed to pay at the old rate, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fo.101; Löwenstein, op. cit., pp.26-28.

3. U.B. Heilbronn, i, ed. E. Knupfer, 1913, no.859, p.483; Löwenstein, op. cit., p.28.

4. Ibid., p.29.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fo.19V;819, fos.413-4; Dép. Strasbourg, C78, no.73. Philip also tolerated some Jews in the Mosbach lands, HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.157, fo.224.

assistants, who could also excommunicate or otherwise punish religious offenders; only the execution of punishment and the collection of fines and forfeited property were left to the elector and his officials[1]. Frederick I added further clauses in 1464 guaranteeing that the Jews would not be molested by malicious pleas, arbitrary imprisonment, confiscation of their property, or excessive fines, but would be able to appear before the court of the town where they resided, swear by the special Jews' oath, and be convicted only on the evidence of at least two witnesses[2]. Yet Frederick later extended his less tolerant policy to Alsace, for in 1469 he forbade the Jews at Kaiserberg to take immovable property as pledges for loans, build their own houses, or work in partnership with Christians[3]. On his accession, however, Philip confirmed the enlarged privilege of 1464[4], and was later active as protector of the Jews in Alsace. The Swiss forces in the wars against Charles the Bold severely pillaged the houses of Jews in several cities. The Jews fled and were refused readmission by the cities, which feared Swiss reprisals. Philip's officials were eventually able to persuade the league of the cities to allow the permanent resettlement of the Jews in 1500[5]. The diverging policies

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/810, fos.42-43,263.

2. Ibid., 813, fos.89-89a.

3. Ibid., fo.295V; Bibl. Heidelberg, Handschriften 435, Lehmann, Pfälzer Urk.vi, no.1695. The measure was enforced, e.g. Dép. Strasbourg, C78, no.44.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1662, fos.42-43.

5. J. Gyss, Histoire de la Ville d'Obernai, i. Strasbourg, 1866, pp.270-3.

of the electors towards the Jews illustrate the differences between their imperial pawnings and other lands and, among the imperial lands, between the protectorate of Alsace and the Amt of Oppenheim, which was in effect permanently pawned.

The electors were protectors also of a brotherhood of Kesaler, who had the monopoly to work in copper and other metals over an area far larger than the Palatinate. The first royal privilege of 1405 confirmed the earlier claims of the electors that the protectorate over the Kessler was a fief of the Empire and that all Kessler in their circle were serfs of the electors, even if they lived in free imperial cities[1]. The principal obligations of the Kessler were military service and the delivery of pots, kettles and cauldrons to the electoral court. The electors were thus able to secure their skill as smiths and harness makers for the army[2]. The Kessler were assessed for twenty-five men in Philip's military muster of 1504[3]. The chief task of the electors as protectors of the Kessler was to safeguard their monopoly of travelling about the country to take orders for making pots and pans, especially against incursions by smiths living in the imperial cities[4]. The Kessler held annual chapters at

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1. F. Hornschuch, Aufbau und Geschichte der interterritorialen Kesslerkreise in Deutschland, Stuttgart, 1930, pp.55-57.

2. Ibid., pp.60,62,64,223; Ziehen, i.230.

3. 'Reissbuch', Z.G.O., xxvi, 1874, p.232.

4. Ibid., xiii, 1861, pp.160-2; E. Gothein, Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Schwarzwaldes, i, Strassburg, 1891-2, p.412; Hornschuch, op. cit., pp.57-59,155.

Alzey, at which they regulated their own affairs, but the electors received half of the fines imposed, remained supreme arbiters in disputed cases, and executed decisions of the Kessler against individual members of the gild[1].

The circle of Kessler under the electors' protection extended over the entire lands of the sees of Mainz, Speyer and Worms and included some of the territories of Trier, Hesse, Baden and Zweibrücken, and many imperial cities[2]. The electors were concerned to maintain their rights over the Kessler and to uphold the privileges of the Kessler against rival smiths throughout these areas. An arbitration decision of 1454 upheld the claims of Frederick I that the archbishop of Mainz had no right to prevent the Kessler living in the see's towns in the area of Frederick's protectorate from performing military service and other duties for him[3]. Philip intervened with the archbishop of Mainz to ensure that the Kessler in the see would be allowed to attend the annual chapter at Alzey, and with Heilbronn to protest against the invasion of the monopoly of the Kessler by the coppersmiths of the city[4].

The potters had a similar but smaller circle in the Palatinate,

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1. Z.G.O., ii, 1851, pp.6-8; C. Wimmer, Geschichte der Stadt Alzei, Alzey, 1874, pp.314-6; Hornschuch, op. cit., pp.58,60-62.

2. Ibid., pp.XXV-XXVI, gives the boundaries.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/883, fos.222-3; Z.G.O., ii, 1851, pp.4-6; Wimmer, op. cit., pp.313-4; Hornschuch, op. cit., pp.59-60.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/7002, fo.35; U.B. Heilbronn, ii, no.1243, pp.213-4.

which included the towns of Speyer, Worms and Oppenheim and the see of Speyer[1]. Potters living outside the circle and under other lords could also join the gild. It was under the joint protection and higher jurisdiction of the elector and the bishop of Speyer. The potters were obliged to supply the elector with his needs when he went to war; a force of twenty men was required in 1504[2]. There were three other gilds under the electors' protection and economic control in the combined area of the Palatinate, the see of Speyer, and the cities within these territories —— the ropemakers, tinsmiths and makers of wooden shoes[3]. In each case, the electors' influence extended over the whole of an area which was more of a geographical entity than were their own scattered possessions.

(iv) The Exercise of Safe Conduct.

The territorial prince acted as protector both within his territories and beyond their limits by granting safe conduct to travellers. Control of the main highways by these means was a valuable instrument of territorial expansion and political influence. It was necessary also to maintain communications between the electors' possessions and to ensure maximum revenues from all sources, especially from the land and water tolls and mines.

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1. Philip confirmed the gild's ordinance in 1480, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1662, fos.262-3.

2. 'Reissbuch', loc. cit., p.232.

3. See chapter 9(ix).

In association with their exercise of safe conduct, the electors were conscious of their duty to prevent robbery and preserve law and order on the highways[1]. They claimed jurisdiction over crimes committed on roads on which they had the right of safe conduct, even if these lay outside their territories[2]. They also fulfilled their obligations to travellers under their protection by intervening on behalf of those captured on the highways[3], and by ensuring that the victims of attacks received compensation, either paying out of their own treasury or forcing the attackers to pay[4].

Provisions for keeping the highways open and safe were prominent in the alliances of the electors for their Rhine tolls and in other treaties with neighbouring princes and free cities[5]. With the margraves of Baden and other rulers they made Landfrieden directed against individual mounted highwaymen[6]. Criminals and robbers were to be pursued from the lands of one prince to those of another by means of an organized hue and cry, accompanied by the ringing of church bells[7].

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1. E.g., 1435-6, Windecke's Denkwürdigkeiten, p.432; Pfälzisches U.B. x, fos.338V-339R,342R; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/865, fos.119-20; and in the memorandum of the two bishops, 1476, ibid., 338, fos.54V-55R.

2. Böhn, 'Alzeyer Ausfautei', Mitteilungsblatt zur rheinhessischen Landeskunde, iv, 1955, p.114.

3. E.g., Rappoltsteinisches U.B., v, 1898, no.553, p.266.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fos.190,379;819, fos.6-7;1662, fos.338-40, 363-4.

5. E.g., Kremer, ii, nos.3,10,12, pp.8-9,22,32;i.637.

6. R.Baden, iii, nos.5544,6059,6147, pp.64,116,124;iv, no.10334, p.315.

7. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/865, fos.119-20;883, fo.171; R.Friedrich, p.437; Kremer, ii, nos.110,139, pp.315-6,388; R.Baden, iii, nos.5422,6635, pp.51-52,174;iv, no.9507, p.224.

These treaties were on the whole vigorously enforced. Frederick I destroyed the robber castles belonging to some of the lesser nobility: Hohkönigsburg in Alsace, Klingenberg (near Heilbronn), Montfort (near Kreuznach), Schüpf, Boxberg and six more in the Palatinate and Alsace[1]. Philip took punitive measures against three others in the Kraichgau[2]. The electors punished individual noble brigands with exile or imprisonment[3]. In the last years of his rule Frederick I maintained a permanent force to keep the highways of the Rhineland and Franconia free from robbers and murderers, but in 1504 an anonymous pamphleteer complained that Philip had abandoned this practice[4].

The territorial prince exercised safe conduct as a monopoly of which all travellers had to make use, although it was usually refused during wars and other dangerous times. Pilgrims, messengers, Jews and gypsies often only received a written safe conduct; their passage was uninteresting to the territorial princes, since it was not linked with revenues from their tolls. On the other hand, armed guards always accompanied princes, foreign armies, mercenaries and especially merchants, who were not allowed to use any but the proper roads, nor to avoid the tolls. Merchants had originally been free to request safe conduct or not, as they chose, but by the fifteenth century there

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1. Kemnat, pp.29-30; R.Friedrich, p.265; Kremer, i.64-65,86-88, 429-31,473-5,638.

2. U.B. Heilbronn, ii, nos.1358,1515, pp.291-2,430-1.

3. E.g., Bibl. Heidelberg, Pal. Germ.158, fos.156-7; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fos.190,315-6;819, fos.6-7.

4. Ville Strasbourg, Wencker, Argentoratensia historico-politica, III, 6b.

was a stronger compulsion for them to accept it[1].

The electors' rights of safe conduct went beyond the boundaries of their territories, partly because neighbouring princes agreed that safe conduct routes should run between the chief towns of their adjoining Ämter instead of stopping short at the frontiers, but more especially because safe conduct was a prerogative right independent of the possession of the lands in which it was exercised. As a result, mounted guards of the electors were stationed in cities outside their lands, in Landau[2], Wimpfen, Mergentheim, Mainz, Worms and Speyer. The greater princes, like the rulers of Mainz and the Palatinate, gained the ascendancy over lesser territorial rulers in the exercise of safe conduct in the same way as they secured extraterritorial rights to Wildfänge, by using sheer force to expand the rights conveyed by earlier imperial privileges[3].

The disputes between the electors palatine and the bishops of Speyer illustrate the trend towards the establishment of exclusive electoral rights of safe conduct. To the east of the Rhine, the bishops had rights of safe conduct on the roads in their lands between Wiesloch or Hockenheim and Bruchsal; they therefore controlled traffic between the electors' Ämter of Bretten and Heidelberg[4]. In 1495, however, the bishop complained that the elector's officials were

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1. Schaab, 'Geleitswesen', Jahrbücher für Statistik und Landeskunde von Baden-Württemberg, iv, 1959, pp.55-56.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/7486, fos.29-30.

3. Schaab, loc. cit., pp.55-57.

4. Ibid., pp.57,59-60; Lossen, p.77; Seyfried, Schwetzingen, p.227.

giving safe conduct from Ladenburg, via Hockenheim, as far as Graben or Bruchsal[1]. Elsewhere, the electors retained control of the communications between their Ämter, even though the route ran through the lands of the see of Speyer. They had the safe conduct from Germersheim, via Wersau and Udenheim, to Heidelberg, the route commonly used by merchants travelling from Strassburg to the Frankfurt Fairs[2]. From at least 1496 onwards, the elector was infringing the bishop's safe conduct from Germersheim southwards to Rheinzabern; from there the continuation of the road to Weissenburg had always been entirely under the electors' safe conduct, as had been the road northwards from Germersheim[3]. In 1496 Philip's clerk at Neustadt reported that in his Amt the bishop had the safe conduct only from Speyer to Bruchsal, and even there the elector's officials were claiming rights on the first part of the road from Speyer to the Rhine crossing; the elector's safe conduct ran from Speyer in the directions of Wiesloch, Heidelberg, Landau, Weissenburg and Neustadt, and through all the villages in the Amt of Neustadt, including those belonging to the see of Speyer; the safe conduct from Speyer to Worms and from both Worms and Neustadt in all directions were likewise Philip's[4].

Countless other disputes over the delimitation of safe conduct

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/7482, fo.6.

2. Ibid., fos.29-30; GSA Munich, Blau 398/1, I, no.4, fos.153-4; Lossen, p.224; Schaab, loc. cit., pp.59-60.

3. GSA Munich, Blau 398/1, I, no.4, fos.35-37; GLA Karlsruhe, 77/7482, fos.19-20; Schaab, loc. cit., map.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/7482, fos.20-23,292-3,300-1;7520, fos.172-4.

rights were settled during the course of the fifteenth century, for instance with the princes of Baden and Mosbach[1]. The electors suffered only one major setback, which was something of a curiosity. The main highway from the Netherlands to Italy had originally passed from Wiesloch via Sinsheim and Riechen to Cannstatt in Württemberg, under the safe conduct of the rulers of Mosbach and Württemberg. In 1450 Frederick I arbitrarily changed the route to run from either Speyer or Wiesloch to Bruchsal, Bretten, Maulbronn and then Cannstatt; traffic from Swabia to Frankfurt was compelled to travel under the elector's safe conduct through either Speyer and Worms or Heidelberg. In 1485 the Elector Philip consented, as a favour to Otto II of Mosbach and at some financial loss, that the old route through Otto's customs station at Riechen should be made obligatory on all merchants. The imperial cities of Swabia, supported by the count of Württemberg, objected strongly and were able, by means of a favourable arbitration decision in 1487, to retain Frederick I's route via Bretten[2].

In several directions the safe conduct of the electors extended at a great distance from the Palatinate. One route ran from Neckargemünd over the Kraichgau and through the lands of the Teutonic Order, between Wimpfen and Weinsberg, eastwards beyond Löwenstein and through the territories of the counts of Hohenlohe and the lords of

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1. Schaab, loc. cit., pp.61-65,68,72.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/2458, fo.56; Ernst, pp.183-4; Schaab, loc. cit., pp.65-66.

Limburg, as far as the free city of Schwäbisch-Hall[1]. In the north the electors' safe conduct continued from Worms via Oppenheim and through the lands of the see of Mainz to the city of Mainz[2]; from Oppenheim through the county of Katzenelnbogen to Frankfurt; over almost the entire direct route from Worms to Frankfurt[3]; and, since 1461, from Heidelberg along the Bergstrasse to Frankfurt, as part of the trade route from Italy to the Low Countries[4]. In 1496 the elector caused a volume to be compiled of reports by the Amtleute on his rights of safe conduct: he had control over the lines of communication from the Palatinate to Alsace, the Ortenau and the lordship of Hohengeroldseck; everywhere his officials were maintaining his rights to the full[5].

(v) Coinage.

The minting of coinage might have had the makings of a powerful weapon for unifying the principality and extending its influence abroad. Nevertheless, although the gold guilder of the four Rhenish electors was the standard currency for the whole Empire, the open frontiers between the German principalities encouraged the introduction into

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.66-67;814, fo.87; U.B. Heilbronn, iii, ed. M. Rauch, 1916, no.1940, pp.55-56.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/883, fos.120,145; Franck, Oppenheim, pp.77,491-4, 520-1; Kremer, ii, no.31, p.93; Zimmermann, Weistümer, p.66.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1662, fos.322-3;77/7482, fos.23-25.

4. Kremer, ii, no.111, p.320; Schaab, loc. cit., pp.57,61,66,71.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/7482, passim.

each of a whole spectrum of different currencies. There were also several official currencies minted by the electors themselves: the gold guilder, the silver penny (Weisspfennig or Albus), and the separate silver Pfennig and Heller currencies. The shifting relationship between the gold and silver coinage was aggravated by the flood of poor silver coins from other mints, which foiled all the attempts of the electors to maintain a stable currency.

The Rhenish electors were therefore compelled to reduce the precious metal content of their coins in numerous treaties, especially those between the see of Mainz and the Palatinate. As laid down in the treaties, the gold content of each guilder was in 1490 barely 75 % of what it had been in 1417[1]. From the 1430s to the 1450s the official standard was so high that practically no guilders could be minted[2]. The gold content was later reduced by official treaties, by secret agreements between the electors, and by minting below the standards set up in the treaties. In 1475 the duke of Saxony complained that the Rhenish guilder was being minted with too small a gold content; it was in fact lower than was allowed by the subsequent secret agreement of 1477, and as low as was officially allowed only in 1488[3].

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1. See App. VII for the precious metal content of the coinage.

2. W. Diepenbach, 'Der Rheinische Münzverein', Kultur und Wirtschaft im Rheinischen Raum. Festschrift...Christian Eckert, Mainz, 1949, pp.107-8.

3. 70 fl. were being minted from each Cologne mark of alloy, which contained 18½ carats of gold, 26 Jan. 1475, Correspondenz des... Albrecht Achilles, ii.87.

The decline in the silver content of the smaller coinage was even greater. An index of the silver content of the silver pennies, compiled from the treaties of the electors with 1444 as the base year, shows a decline to 86.67 in 1477 and 77.12 in 1509; as a result, the number of silver pennies to one guilder was in practice increased from 24 to 26 in the last decade of the fifteenth century, a rate which was recognized by the treaty of 1509[1]. A similar index for the Pfennige, with 1459 as the base year, marks a decline in silver content to 96·6 in 1461, 89·49 in 1488 and 82·17 in 1509; the silver content of hoards of Pfennige which had survived corresponds closely to this index. The silver content of the surviving Heller pieces likewise bears out the decline in the index from 100 in 1454 to 88·88 in 1455, 78·34 in 1488 and 74·55 in 1509. The Heller currency shared the slight devaluation of the silver pennies, since 12 Heller were always equivalent to 1 silver penny, but the fall of the Pfennig currency was more rapid, one guilder representing 150 Pfennige in 1424, 192 from 1459 onwards, and 208 after 1488.

The introduction of baser currencies into the electors' lands forced down the value of their smaller coinage even below the official rate. To counteract this trend, Frederick I and the archbishop of Mainz not only reduced the silver content of their Pfennige in 1459, but made the old coins invalid; their subjects were to receive only four new Pfennige for five old ones and sixteen new shillings for

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1. Würdtwein, Diplomataria Maguntina, ii.171; H. Buchenau, Untersuchungen zu den spätmittelalterlichen Münzreihen von Pfalz, Mainz, Elsass, Hessen, Halle, 1925, p.120.

twenty-one old ones[1]. Their treaty of 1461 again reduced the silver content of the Pfennige and made an exchange of four new for five old coins obligatory[2], but it may well have remained unfulfilled because of the war over the see of Mainz. Archbishop Adolf renewed the treaty in 1464, when a fresh exchange of four new for five old coins was set in motion; the officials and nobles of the electors ensured that wages and prices remained stable until the exchange was completed[3].

The electors sought furthermore to remedy the depreciation of their silver coinage by prohibiting the circulation of foreign coins in their territories, by arranging for the exchange of inferior currencies for their own, and by inducing neighbouring free cities to accept the prohibition. There were such prohibitions for gold coinage in 1454, 1464 and 1477[4], and for silver coinage in 1459 and repeatedly from 1465 onwards[5]. The cities of Worms, Speyer, Heilbronn, Wimpfen, Landau and Weissenburg agreed to use only the currency of Mainz and the Palatinate, although the threat of economic blockade was at times

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/872, fos.42-45; Würdtwein, op. cit.ii.324 et seq.; Buchenau, op. cit., p.102.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/872, fos.46-50; Würdtwein, op. cit.ii.326 et seq.,333 et seq.; U.B. Heilbronn, i, no.785, p.420; Buchenau, op. cit., p.103.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fos.95-100; Würdtwein, op. cit.ii.341 et seq., 346 et seq.; U.B. Heilbronn, i, no.785, p.420; Buchenau, op. cit., p.105.

4. Speierische Chronik, p.398; U.B. Heilbronn, i, no.785, p.421; ii, no.1153, pp.128-9.

5. Ibid., i, nos.729,785, pp.389,421,423-4;ii, no.1153, pp.126-9; Kremer, ii, no. 142, pp.393-4.

necessary to ensure their compliance. These measures failed to secure uniformity and stability of the currency. The electors fought a losing battle against the constant stream into their territories of small coins with a poor silver content, which were minted for their own profit by the counts palatine of Zweibrücken and Simmern, the rulers of Berg, Hesse and Trier, the free imperial cities of Cologne and Frankfurt, the abbies of Wörth and Bassen, and many others. Illegal money-changers within the Palatinate exploited the situation by obtaining the heavier coins of the electors and sending them to be reminted at the pirate mints. The electors in vain laid down severe punishments for these activities and prohibited the exchange of coins by anyone except money-changers licensed by themselves. Because the silver Pfennige were circulating below their official value in relation to the guilder, Mainz and the Palatinate had to suspend the minting of their new coins for a number of years in 1466[1]. When the minting of currency did take place, it was by no means profitable for the electors[2]. The establishment of a predominant currency, a most valuable means of economic regulation and therefore of territorial unification, remained beyond their powers.

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1. Ibid., pp.393-5; U.B. Heilbronn, i, no.785, pp.421-4; ii, no.1153, pp.126-9; Würdtwein, op. cit. ii.341 et seq.; R.Friedrich, p.441; Buchenau, op. cit., pp.108,110,122; Diepenbach, loc. cit., p.110.

2. See App. VII(6).

(vi) Mines and Hunting Rights.

As territorial princes the electors exercised the right of investing entrepreneurs with shares in the mines found within their territories and of issuing mining ordinances. On the basis of the regalia granted in the Golden Bull, they sought similar control over mines in the neighbouring lands of the higher nobility. The latter never easily admitted these claims; the electors therefore had to make special treaties and ordinances with them, as they did also for mines in territories ruled jointly with other princes. In 1471 Frederick I allowed the Rhinegraves only one third of the proceeds of the mines discovered at Rheingrafenstein in their territory, but in 1478 Philip agreed to receive only half of the tithe and in 1483 the counts obtained half of the mines as a fief. Frederick's and Philip's attempts to grant out the mines at Imsbach were opposed by the owner of the lordship of Falkenstein, Wirich von Dhaun, who twice secured an agreement leaving him the iron mines and dividing the other mines equally between him and the electors. The electors were able, however, to issue ordinances, which hardly diverged from one another, for the running of these mines and of those of the Sickingen family at Ebernburg and of the counts palatine of Zweibrücken at Lichtenberg and Alsenz, of which the electors also received half of the tithes[1].

Within the Palatinate, the electors' powers over the mines were

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1. Silberschmidt, Regelung des pfälzischen Bergwesens, pp.14-15, 30-32,43-44,48-53.

absolute. Their ordinances for the whole principality or for individual mines ensured for the entrepreneurs efficient exploitation of the mines on proved Saxon and Austrian lines, gave the prince and his officials the ultimate administrative and judicial control, and established rules for the collection of the tithe and other regalian dues. In 1472 an ordinance was issued for the chief mining area about Kreuznach: the permission of the Amtleute was required before a mine shaft could be sunk or pithead buildings were erected; the presiding judges of the special miners' courts were appointed by the elector and the assistant judges by the entrepreneurs, but capital crimes could come only before the elector's courts; and the elector nominated other officials to supervise the collection of his tithe. An ordinance of a few months later for the mines about Otzberg had the same tenour[1]. Frederick I's efforts to secure uniform regulation of the mines continued with the appointment of an expert from the Upper Palatinate as supervisor of all mines in the principality, with a special mandate to safeguard the elector's financial interests and advise on the issuing of further mining ordinances[2].

In 1487 Philip issued a general mining ordinance for the entire Palatinate, which was not, however, to apply to the numerous mines for which special ordinances already existed. It incorporated many provisions of the earlier ordinances and also laid down that, as in Saxony, a single Bergrichter was to secure the observance of the

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1. 4 Jan. and 3 April 1472, ibid., pp.26-27.

2. 1 Oct. 1472, ibid., p.18.

ordinance throughout Philip's territories. The ordinance also marked the apogee of the special jurisdiction of the miners' courts, since the Amtleute were to have no power over the mines. Nevertheless, the special courts were encouraged to ask the advice of Philip and his counsellors before giving their decision in doubtful cases; a final appeal also lay to the elector[1]. However, Louis V's ordinance of 1509 for the combined mines at Deimbach and Mörsfeld restored jurisdiction to the Amtleute of Alzey at the expense of the miners' courts[2]. With the decline in mining activity at the end of the fifteenth century, centralized control of the mines was no longer an important means of unifying the Palatinate.

In the fifteenth century, the increasing indulgence by the German princes in their passion for the chase marked a growing consciousness of their elevated status. Hunting rights were originally a royal prerogative, to which the territorial princes now laid claim; the rulers of Austria and Bavaria even claimed it in the lands of their prelates and higher nobility[3]. Equal emphasis was laid on this prerogative in the Palatinate. One of the solemn promises made by the league of nobles in 1435 was to protect Louis III's hunting preserves and to allow no one but the elector's hunters to use them[4].

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1. Ibid., pp.55-58.

2. Ibid., pp.62-63.

3. A. Schwappach, Handbuch der Forst- und Jagdgeschichte Deutschlands, i, Berlin, 1886, pp.198,202; Riezler, Geschichte Baierns, iii.782 et seq.; Rosenthal, Verwaltungsorganisation Baierns, i.365.

4. Pfälzisches U.B.x, fo.339R.

As in Bavaria, the increase in hunting by the electors and their hunters led to complaints by their subjects of the heavier burden of Atzung and of damage to crops[1].

In their conflicts over hunting rights with the nobility, the princes made a distinction between the 'greater hunting' of deer, wild boar, bears, wolves and wildcats (Hochwild), and the 'lesser hunting' of wildfowl and hares. The territorial princes would allow the nobility only the lesser hunting, and granted some only of the two kinds of hunting to their officials for the duration of their appointments[2]. Frederick I's steward of the household was granted the castle of Mörlenbach in 1471, but was only allowed to hunt hares in areas where Hochwild was not to be found[3]. On pawning the castle of Elbstein to a nobleman, Frederick permitted him to hunt hares and deer, but no other Hochwild[4]. By 1489, the nobles of the Kraichgau were complaining that their right to hunt Hochwild on their own property in forests about Wimpfen was being infringed by the elector's hunters[5]. The hunting privileges of the electors were maintained with an even firmer hand against their non-noble subjects. The village of Bischweiler was forbidden in 1501 to hunt game, hares, wild

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/8769, fo.27; Seyfried, Schwetzingen, p.183; see chapter 3(ix); Riezler, op. cit.iii.782 et seq.

2. L. Eid, 'Der Hof- und Staatedienst im ehemaligen Herzogtume Pfalz-Zweibrücken von 1440 bis 1604', M.H.V.P., xxi, 1897, p.134.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.81.

4. Ibid., 866, fos.305-7.

5. Ibid., 77/4147, fos.227-9. Other hunting limitations placed on the nobility, ibid., 67/920, fo.29V; Fabricius, pp.156-7.

boar or other wild animals[1].

The efforts of the electors to extend their hunting preserves were evident in many conflicts with neighbouring rulers and nobles. The margrave of Baden was finally compelled to abandon his claims to hunting in the Michelfelder Au in 1463[2]. After taking possession of the Bergstrasse, Frederick I made it clear that the count of Katzenelnbogen might only hunt in his own part of the Hüuser Wald as a favour, and not by right. Shortly before his death, Frederick secured Count Philip's written admission that his hunting rights had only been granted for the duration of his life. In this way Frederick sought to retain his game preserves when the forest in which they lay would be inherited by the landgrave of Hesse[3]. The electors' largest holdings of forest were in their four eastern Ämter, where lengthy disputes over hunting rights took place with the city of Heilbronn and the rulers of Mosbach and Württemberg[4]. A nobleman was appointed chief forester for the Amt of Weinsberg in 1493; during the next eight years, he and the Amtleute conducted a series of surveys and set up boundary stones to divide the elector's forest lands from those of numerous noblemen, towns, villages and ecclesiastical foundations[5].

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1. A. Uhlhorn, 'Die Jahrssprüche von Bischweiler im Elsass', Z.G.O., N.F.xli, 1928, p.552.

2. R.Baden, iii, nos.7207,7268,7415-20, pp.267,274,296.

3. R.Katz.ii, nos.5856,5858-9,5871-2;iii, no.6407.

4. U.B. Heilbronn, i, nos.772,832, pp.413,471;ii, no.1179, pp.155-7; Zimmermann, Weistümer, pp.56-58,62-63; Kolb, pp.38-41.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fos.439-42;821, fos.21-37;910, fo.168; Württ.R.ii, nos.11326-8,14571.

The forests not only provided the electors with lucrative sources of income, but enabled them, by stressing their exclusive hunting rights, to demonstrate once more to all their subjects and neighbours the overriding powers wielded by the territorial prince by virtue of his prerogative rights.

CHAPTER FIVE.

THE ELECTORS' RELATIONS WITH THEIR SUBJECTS.

The might of the electors did not depend solely on their territorial holdings, private financial resources and powers of taxation, and on an effective administrative system. These assets could be fully exploited only if the electors retained the willing cooperation of their subjects. Since the Estates met infrequently and did not become a vehicle for expressing the grievances or organizing the strength of their members, any estimate of the electors' success in gaining the support of their subjects must be sought, in the first place, in an examination of their relations with the separate groups within the Estates.

(i) The Church.

(a) Relations with the Papacy and the Bishops.

During the century before the Reformation, the Church in the Palatinate became completely dependent on the electors[1]. They did not require the favour of the Papacy in order to obtain this control, but cultivated good relations with the popes whenever their standing with neighbouring princes and in imperial affairs would allow. Unlike the emperor, Nicholas V recognized the Arrogation, but Frederick I later supported the anti-papal policy of other German princes, probably because it was associated with the imperial reforming movement directed

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1. Most, but not all, of the significant evidence for this development has been assembled by Richard Loessen.

against Frederick III. The elector came under the papal ban in 1462, when he had been led by his territorial policy to support the anti-papal candidate in the see of Mainz. Neither the bishop of Worms nor the clergy in the Palatinate implemented the papal interdict on Frederick's lands. After 1464 the elector and his successor remained on cordial terms with the popes, until Philip was excommunicated for a few years during his dispute with the abbey of Weissenburg. This conflict, too, was inflamed to such proportions mainly because of the elector's territorial ambitions and did not reflect a policy inimical to the Church or the Papacy. The electors respected the papal supremacy and used the threat of recourse to a general council only as an instrument of diplomacy, but questions of territorial policy always overrode their obedience to the head of the Church[1].

The Palatinate lay mainly in the sees of Worms and Speyer, but these extended into other lay principalities and also had their own territories. The electors could not therefore obtain complete control over them, but were able to apply indirect influence to make the bishops and chapters amenable to their wishes. The episcopal lands were surrounded by those of the electors, who in the end shared the ownership of all the fortified castles and most of the territories of the bishops of Worms and had the right of safe conduct on the principal highways of both sees[2]. The two chapters were filled with members of the

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1. Lossen, pp.28-30,38-43,181.

2. Chapters 2(v) and 4(iv).

Sickingen, Helmstädt, Venningen and other leading noble families of the Palatinate, whose loyalty to the electors was such that the princes of the Zweibrücken family, who sat in every other chapter in south-west Germany, never gained access to Worms and Speyer[1]. The bishops were elected almost exclusively from the same families and were therefore predisposed towards the electors, but the latter also made more certain by occasional direct intervention in episcopal elections. Bishop John II was, exceptionally, a noble from Württemberg; after his defeat by Frederick I in 1462, he had to resign his see in 1464 to the elector's chancellor, Matthias Ramung, who remained bishop and chancellor until his death in 1478[2]. King Rupert's chancellor had been a bishop of Worms and Bishop Raban of Speyer was for long Louis III's leading adviser; the tradition was continued by Bishop John of Worms, who was elected in 1482, shortly after becoming chancellor of the Palatinate, and who held the two offices together until 1497. According to a later chronicler, the Elector Philip had strongly recommended John's election to the chapter[3]. The electors were also on terms of friendship with most of the other bishops in the fifteenth century and employed them and the leading officials of the chapters as diplomats and in the administration of the Palatinate. Because of this personal influence of the electors over the occupants of the

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1. Lossen, pp.50-51; 'Pfälzische Einigungspolitik', Festgabe...Finke, p.284.

2. Lossen, pp.157-8,206-7; Remling, Speyer, ii.132,135; Buchner, 'Mathias Ramung', Z.G.O., N.F.xxiv, 1909, pp.261-2.

3. Wormser Chronik, p.191; Morneweg, Dalberg, pp.58-59; Lossen, pp.45,58-59.

highest offices, the policies of the sees in imperial and religious matters were similar to those pursued by the Palatinate[1].

The electors sought formal justification for their intervention in the affairs of the two sees in their position as protectors (Vögte), which had also enabled them to extend their territories at the expense of the bishops. The bishops became more dependent on the electors as their conflicts with the free cities of Worms and Speyer developed. The see of Worms had been in the protection of the Palatinate since 1349, when the chapter promised always to elect bishops well-disposed towards the electors. As protector of the see, the Elector Philip supported Bishop John in an attempt to mediatize the city of Worms, which was forced to avert this catastrophe in 1483 by also entering the elector's protection[2]. It was more difficult to obtain the exclusive right to protect the see of Speyer, but on the military defeat of Bishop John II, Frederick I took the bishop, his chapter and the four ecclesiastical foundations of Speyer into the perpetual protection of the Palatinate[3]. Frederick also gave Matthias Ramung his special protection before Matthias's election as bishop[4]. In 1466 the bishop and chapter came into conflict with the

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1. Ibid., pp.59-64; Ritter, p.516.

2. Lossen, pp.45,65-72; Morneweg, op. cit., pp.77-78.

3. Later bishops recognized the protectorate of the electors in 1465 and 1478, U.B. Speyer, ii, nos.169-71, pp.314-24; Lossen, pp.55-56,73-74,220-1.

4. U.B. Speyer, ii, no.178, pp.336-8; Lossen, pp.206-7.

city of Speyer, which had sought to instal a canon appointed by the emperor. Matthias gave all his lands, except the fortified castles, to the elector to hold; the bishop retained his revenues and jurisdiction, but had entered into a bond of protection so close that Frederick wrote to the city that all members of the chapter were now to be regarded as subjects of the Palatinate[1]. Frederick imposed an economic blockade on Speyer, which could only preserve its status as a free city by agreeing to withdraw its support for the emperor's nominee and to pay the bishop compensation[2]. Similarly, the see was almost incorporated into the Palatinate during Frederick I's war against Zweibrücken in 1470, when the city of Speyer informed the emperor that the elector had the whole see in his power as if it were his own principality[3]. Matthias's successor, Bishop Louis, was less closely associated with the Elector Philip and would not support him fully in his disputes with Württemberg in 1490, but nevertheless gave him financial aid in the Bavarian Succession War[4].

The bishops of Worms and Speyer had almost become subjects of the Palatinate; not only did they participate in the assemblies of the Estates, but in a political memorandum addressed to Philip on his accession they styled themselves 'members of your principality who

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1. U.B. Speyer, ii, no.184, pp.346-8; Buchner, loc. cit., pp.37-40,44-46; Lossen, p.75.

2. Ibid.; Buchner, loc. cit., pp.53-58,61-63,68-76,81.

3. Chronica...Speier, p.883.

4. Kolb, pp.90-97.

belong under the wing and shadow of your protection'[1].

The electors also exercised considerable influence in other cathedral chapters of south-west Germany and were able to place many of their close relations in benefices, notably Frederick I's brother in the archiepiscopal chair of Cologne[2]. Other appointments were managed on occasion even in the chapters of the electoral principalities of Mainz and Trier, which were often hostile to the Palatinate. In 1467 Frederick I furthered the expulsion from the see of Mainz of a coadjutor who was in league with the enemies of the Palatinate, Count Henry of the ruling family of Württemberg[3]. Papal consent was obtained in 1482 for the succession of the elector's dilectus, Oriel von Gemmingen (later archbishop of Mainz), to the cathedral benefices vacated at Mainz by John Kämmerer von Dalberg on becoming Philip's chancellor[4]. The electors exerted strong political pressures to bring the see of Strassburg into their orbit of power, since the two principalities had adjacent lands in Alsace, and the Ortenau was jointly ruled. Louis of Zweibrücken's brother, Rupert, was bishop from 1440 until 1478, and his quarrels with the city of Strassburg were exploited by Louis IV and Frederick I to make him dependent on them. Frederick took the cathedral chapter and other

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/338, fo.53R; Lossen, 'Pfälzische Einigungspolitik', loc. cit., p.284.
2. See chapter 1(v) and (vii).
3. I. Most, 'Schiedsgericht, Rechtlicheres Rechtgebot, Ordentliches Gericht, Kammergericht', Aus Reichstagen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, pp.119-20,123-4,140,151.
4. T.J. Scherg, 'Palatina aus dem Vatikan, 1464-84', M.H.V.P., xxxii, 1912, no.221; the elector made Dalberg give up his canonry at Trier because the chapter insisted on residence, Morneweg, op. cit., p.57.

ecclesiastical foundations in the city into his protection and sent military expeditions to make Rupert desist from aiding his brother in the wars of 1456 and 1470. Thereafter relations became more cordial, especially when the Count Palatine Albert of the Mosbach line held the see from 1479 until 1506[1].

Not political and military force, but personal friendship and service bound successive German Masters of the Order of Teutonic Knights to the electors. Before the middle of the fifteenth century, the residence of the German Masters became fixed at Horneck, on the river Neckar, and the Order had houses in the Palatinate at Heidelberg, Oppenheim, Weinheim and Weissenburg. The German Masters had become independent of the High Masters of the Order and were recognized in the second half of the century as princes of the Empire in their own right, ranking only just below the bishops[2]. The electors treated them in every way as they did the bishops of Worms and Speyer. Between 1420 and 1510, most of the German Masters were nobles from the Kraichgau and all but one were prominent advisers of the electors[3]. In 1478

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1. Stenzel, Strassburg, pp.25-27,37,119-20,126-35.

2. Voigt, Geschichte des Deutschen Ritter-Ordens, i.154-5,160,162-3, 180-1,187,190-1,240-1; R. ten Haaf, Deutschordensstaat und Deutschordensballeien, 1st edn., Göttingen, 1951, pp.35-37,60-61, 68-69,72-73; H. Eberhardt, Die Diözese Worms am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts nach den Erhebungslisten des 'Gemeinen Pfennigs' und dem Wormser Synodale von 1496, Münster, 1919, p.179.

3. They are listed in Voigt, op. cit.i.655-7; examples of their activities as counsellors, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/821, fo.330; 951, fos.67-83;952, fos.244,251; GHA Munich, Urk.2881; GSA Munich, Blau 398/1, I, no.4, fo.286; R.Friedrich, pp.311,406-7; Cartulaire de Mulhouse, ii, no.701, pp.217-8; Franck, Oppenheim, no.192, p.495; Ritter, p.317; and see chapter 1(ii) and (iii). Other members of the Order were also counsellors of the Palatinate, e.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fos.271-2;814, fo.55; R.Friedrich, pp.424-5.

Philip ordered his Amtleute not to harbour enemies of the German Master, since the Order was 'related' to him[1], a phrase often used to describe priests or ecclesiastical foundations under the elector's protection[2]. Reinhard von Neipperg even resigned as German Master in 1489 because he did not wish to commit the Order to the cause of Philip's enemies in the Swabian League[3].

Finally, successive bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg were associated with Frederick I and Philip in political and military alliances[4]. The arc of the Wittelsbach system of alliances therefore passed through several ecclesiastical principalities and at times extended from Bavaria to the French border. The electors also had some means of influencing every see which had part of its province in the Palatinate.

(b) The Control of Lay Benefices and Monasteries.

The electors intervened little in matters of doctrine and the cure of souls within their territories. Although concerned that the cure of souls should be properly exercised, especially in their sumptuary ordinances[5], they usually left the determination of how priests should perform their duties to the officials of the sees of Worms and Speyer. Nevertheless, the electors established the order

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fos.67-68.

2. E.g., ibid., fos.58,163,169-70.

3. Kolb, pp.73-74.

4. Kremer, i.612-3; Ziehen, i.392.

5. E.g., Pfälzer Urk., i, no.1767.

of services in the collegiate churches founded by themselves and their ancestors, created new cures of souls, and added revenues to existing benefices; Frederick I also endowed court chapels at Heidelberg and Germersheim by incorporating other benefices[1]. Towards the end of his reign he issued a proclamation making the elector's consent obligatory when new benefices were founded by anyone in the Palatinate[2].

The electors themselves held the ius patronatus to relatively few benefices. In 1498 Philip compiled a list of ninety-six benefices to which he presented in the Palatinate and seventy-nine in his other lands[3]. Even taking into account Philip's additional benefices in the university church and those of his son, Philip, at Kirchberg, the total cannot have exceeded 200 in all the elector's lands. Less than one tenth of the benefices of the see of Worms were in his gift[4], and his share of the benefices in the province of Speyer was similar. Although the electors acquired the count of Württemberg's rights to present to benefices in Bretten in 1463 and other rights of patronage by purchase or gift[5], they gave some of their patronage to the university and to nobles in their service.

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1. Lossen, pp.84,108-9,125-7,133-5.

2. Before 23 March 1473, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/952, fos.69-70.

3. Lossen, 'Pfälzische Patronatspfründen', Freiburger Diöcesan-Archiv, N.F.xi, 1910, pp.218-43,245.

4. Eberhardt, loc. cit., pp.103 et seq.,115.

5. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.162;821, fo.491.

Nonetheless, they were keen to maintain and extend their patronage. In 1493 Philip's ecclesiastical counsellors advised that he could not with justification pursue his intention of presenting to benefices at Bürstadt which fell vacant in thepapal months reserved in the Concordat of Vienna of 1448[1]. In 1501 Philip reserved for his secretary the next vacant canonry in the collegiate church of St. Cyriak at Neuhausen, near Worms; although not patron of the benefice, the elector imposed his request on the reluctant dean and chapter by insisting that they obey him as their territorial prince[2].

The ordinances in Philip's register of ecclesiastical fiefs manifested a new spirit of rigorous princely control and the elector's desire to make the administration of his patronage uniform throughout the Palatinate. From 1497 onwards, every occupant of a benefice to which the elector presented had to swear an oath of loyalty, in which he also promised to reside in the benefice and not to engage in pluralism, nor resign without permission; he was to give all documents concerning the benefice into the safe keeping of the Amtleute. The elector was beginning to wield some of the powers which more properly belonged to the ordinary[3]. Several clauses in this ordinance reinforced the complete control which both electors had already exercised over the property attached to benefices in their gift[4].

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1. Ibid., 883, between fos.100 and 101; see Du Mont, Corps diplomatique, iii.1, pp.163-4.

2. Lossen, 'Pfälzische Patronatspfründen', loc. cit., pp.209,247.

3. Ibid., pp.180-1; Lossen, pp.101-2,227-8.

4. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/820, fo.244; R.Friedrich, pp.415-6; Lossen, p.142.

Under further instructions of 1499, the Amtleute acquired almost the entire financial administration of the benefices. They were ordered to send to Heidelberg a list of the ecclesiastical fiefs in the elector's gift and of their revenues and property. The incumbents of the benefices were now also to render annual accounts to the Amtleute[1], and thus became subject to the same control as lesser officials of the prince.

The electors were engaged most actively of all in the field of monastic reform, working in cooperation with the Papacy, the bishops, the reforming monastic orders, and the nobles and towns in the vicinity of declining monastic foundations. Among the many communities reformed with the assistance of Frederick I and Philip were the Franciscans at Heilbronn, the Augustinians at Heidelberg and Neustadt, and the Cistercian nunneries at Lobenfeld and Neuburg. Reforms were undertaken with their aid in the Benedictine abbies of Sponheim, Limburg and, after years of difficulties, Weissenburg, but the nobility had become so entrenched in Klingenmünster, Odenheim and eight other Benedictine foundations that the Elector Philip had perforce to preside over the conversion of these houses into lay collegiate churches. The reforms were not always complete and abuses sometimes returned after a few years, but the electors made a valuable contribution to the revival of the monastic orders by their zeal for reform, by giving economic support to declining foundations, and by establishing a new Dominican

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1. Ibid., pp.105,229-30; 'Pfälzische Patronatspfründen', loc. cit., pp.182-3.

house at Heidelberg and a Franciscan one at Kreuznach[1]. The basis of all this activity was the obligation of the electors as Vögte to protect the monasteries. They were protectors of nearly all the foundations, approximately eighty, within their territories. The abbey of Schönau and several others had extensive lands and were of greater antiquity than the rule of the Wittelsbachs in the Palatinate, but one and all sought the electors' protection, even foundations like those at Maulbronn and Frankental, which on geographical considerations might have been expected to enter the protection of Württemberg and the see of Worms[2].

The electors not only provided protection for the monasteries in wartime and feuds[3], but supervised the administration of their property and their jurisdiction. Philip's ordinance of 1501 for the Servite monastery at Germersheim arrogated to the protector all the rights of the prior's superior, the provincial of the Saxon province of the Order: the protector's consent was required for the appointment or punishment of monks and for all alterations in the monastery's property and finances; the monks could appeal from the prior only to the elector and not to the provincial[4]. The elector had earlier

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1. Lossen, pp.137-8,142-4,150,153-80.

2. Ibid., pp.138-40,150.

3. E.g., Dép. Strasbourg, C67, no.3; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/829, fo.309V; U.B. Heilbronn, i, nos.766,810, pp.411,445; R.Friedrich, p.454; Lossen, p.141.

4. Ibid., pp.179-80; Probst, Germersheim, pp.157-9.

saved the declining monastery at Ingelheimerhausen from the dissolution set in motion by the head of its Order[1]. Both electors issued numerous permits for foundations like the abbey of Klingenmünster to borrow money or sell their lands[2].

The rights which the electors enjoyed as protectors were not limited to the annual protection money, labour services and Atzung. Protection was often paid for by the supply of carts for annual service in the elector's nearest Amt[3]. Carts with horses were the chief contribution of the monasteries to the electors' military campaigns. In 1504 seven carts were expected from the abbey of Maulbronn, six each from Schönau and Eberbach, and altogether eighty-four carts from over fifty monastic houses[4]. Complete obedience was demanded of the protected houses in wartime; the monks of Hussersta1 were punished by Frederick I for submitting to Louis of Zweibrücken in 1455[5]. The monasteries were on occasion used as fortifications; the Elector Philip converted the abbey of Maulbronn into a fortress and repeatedly strengthened it as an essential link in his defences against

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fos.320-1.

2. Ibid., 818, fos.30-31,72V; Lehmann, Burgen, i.295; Lossen, pp.143-4.

3. E.g., Würdtwein, Monasticon Palatinum, ii, 1794, pp.133-4.

4. 'Reissbuch', Z.G.O., xxvi, 1874, p.216. Some monasteries occasionally sent armed men, Pfälzer Urk.vi, no.1565; Z.G.O., vi, 1855, p.439.

5. Lossen, pp.148-9.

Württemberg[1]. The wealthier houses loaned money and provisions during the wars, Maulbronn contributing 900 measures of corn and 20 tuns of wine in 1471[2]. Frederick I used his influence over the monasteries to implement the blockade of Speyer in 1466, ordering the heads of ten houses not to supply corn and wine to the city[3]. Many of the material resources of the monasteries were thus at the disposal of the electors in an emergency.

Nevertheless, the exercise of jurisdiction over the clerical orders and their taxation were the most important aims of the electors in their relations with the Church. As in Württemberg and Bavaria[4], the jurisdiction of the princely courts expanded with the support of clerical litigants and without serious opposition from the church courts, until it embraced nearly all ecclesiastical causes. Although the bishops passed ordinances and insisted in their treaties with the electors that ecclesiastical causes belonged before ecclesiastical courts, they took few practical steps to resist the widespread invasion of their jurisdiction[5]. Monasteries and clergy who had lawsuits, whether their opponents were laymen or clergy, sought the

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1. Klunzinger, Maulbronn, p.81; E. Paulus, Die Cisterzienser-Abtei Maulbronn, Stuttgart, 1882, p.8.

2. R.Friedrich, p.457.

3. Speierische Chronik, p.491; R.Friedrich, p.430; Lossen, p.149.

4. J. Wülk and H. Funk, Die Kirchenpolitik der Grafen von Württemberg bis...1495, Stuttgart, 1912, pp.12-14,18-19,23-24,75; Rosenthal, Verwaltungsorganisation Baierns, i.36-40.

5. Lossen, pp.79-81,87-88.

mediation or arbitration of the electors' courts, because they preferred their sound and speedy judgments and effective sanctions to the ineffective and dilatory ecclesiastical jurisdiction[1]. Philip's ordinances for his supreme court laid down that cases concerning ecclesiastical matters were to be referred to the ecclesiastical courts, but made a significant exception for parties who preferred and agreed to appear before the supreme court[2].

The supreme court came to exercise such jurisdiction partly because the bishops and ecclesiastical advisers of the electors sat in it or could be formed into a separate ecclesiastical commission[3]. Some monasteries were especially inclined to submit to the jurisdiction of the electors, who were their protectors and had control of the higher jurisdiction in their villages. Appeals from the village courts were therefore sometimes heard by the elector's court[4]. Other ecclesiastical causes came under the compulsory jurisdiction of the courts of the Palatinate through the rule that disputes concerning immovable property and the dues on it had to be brought before the court of the place where the property was situated. Tithes, benefices and their revenues were treated as property and

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1. Ibid., pp.81-86,88-89.
2. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fo.94; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/819, fo.168.
3. Lossen, pp.83,88; see chapter 6(i).
4. Lossen, pp.89,145-6.

lawsuits over them became subject to this rule[1]. The local village and town courts normally had jurisdiction in these cases, and not the court of the territorial prince[2]. Cases concerning the debts of laymen had similarly to be brought in the court of the place of residence of one of the parties, and not in an ecclesiastical court[3]. Proceedings concerning debts were prominent among the cases which the electors prevented from being brought in ecclesiastical courts outside their territories[4].

It was more difficult to tax the wealth of the Church. The monasteries and collegiate chapters paid protection dues, but their goods were mostly exempt from the tolls on the Rhine. The electors' efforts were directed towards restricting the exemption of church property from the Bede to monastic property which was specifically privileged and only that property of the secular clergy which was attached to their benefices. The excise was successfully developed as a supplementary tax partly designed to place some of the burden of taxation on the privileged members of the Church, especially those who sold wine. The clergy were also persuaded to contribute

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1. Ibid., pp.90,188-93.

2. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fo.95; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.34-35;813, fos.50-51; contrast Lossen, p.89; Wülk and Funk, op. cit., p.19.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.227-8. Frederick I also exempted clergy from the ecclesiastical courts for debts, e.g., ibid., 812, fos.34-35.

4. Chapter 6(ii).

handsomely to the extraordinary taxation of 1495, 1497 and 1505[1]. The electors sought not merely to make land newly acquired by the Church liable to the Bede, but to limit the flow of property into the 'dead hand'. Although there were no general laws against amortization, permission was always required for the sale of land to the Church; several judicial decisions of the electors' courts restricted the inheritance of property by monastic houses on behalf of their members; and public collections for church purposes also needed the electors' consent[2]. Frederick I's ordinance prohibiting the foundation of benefices without princely approval was a further limitation on the movement of money from lay to clerical hands. There may even have been some stricter laws against amortization. Thus the Elector Philip's ordinance for Neustadt an der Haardt forbade the sale of property by a layman to a canon or vicar, unless the latter had no house attached to his benefice; masses might not be founded with property as a pledge, but only with money or movables[3]. The electors could intervene, if they chose, in every sphere of the spiritual life of their subjects or of the economic affairs of the Church.

(c) The University of Heidelberg.

The university was from its foundation a creation of the electors

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1. Chapter 3(v)-(viii), (xiii).

2. Lossen, pp.117-9,144.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/894, fo.56.

and dependent on them for its finances. They gave it a share in the Rhine tolls of Bacharach and Kaiserswerth and the revenues of over thirty canonries and benefices, including two incorporated by Frederick I[1]. The obedience of the 'territorial university' of Heidelberg to the electors became more marked in the second half of the fifteenth century. Despite the increasing opposition by the university to some of the Elector Philip's demands, he was as much justified as Frederick I had been in his proprietary references to 'our university' of Heidelberg.

An ancillary motive of Rupert I's original foundation had been to train lawyers for his service. From the outset, doctors of law had to swear a special oath to the prince. Louis III and his successors made increasing use of them both as envoys and in the administrative service[2]. According to the surviving records, nearly 50% of the students who matriculated were clerici at the beginning of the century, but under 10 % at the end. The proportion of graduates in law to those in other subjects was increasing all the while, the canon lawyers remaining in the majority until they were overhauled by the civil lawyers at the beginning of the sixteenth century[3]. The electors were influenced in the way they controlled the university above all by the desire to produce loyal administrators, trained in

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1. Ritter, pp.132,148-9,391.

2. Ibid., pp.41,222,244,429; see chapter 6(iv).

3. Ritter, pp.78-80,440-1.

the law, and only secondarily by the need for competent beneficed clergy.

The thoroughgoing reform of the university in 1452 came after twenty years of argument between the university teachers on the merits of the via moderna and via antiqua, and after repeated attempts by the electors to ensure better administration of the university and more practical courses in law and medicine[1]. Frederick I imposed an ordinance which abolished the old struggle of the professors for the best academic benefices, by assigning benefices and houses of residence according to seniority. The new constitution narrowed the membership of the governing body of the university by excluding most of the tumultuous young masters. Two new chairs in civil law and one in medicine were founded and the funds raised at the expense of the arts and theology faculties; further regulations governed the rendering of accounts, methods of teaching, promotion, and residence qualifications[2]. When the faculty of arts refused to accept the ordinance, Frederick I secured its submission by demanding through his chancellor that all who would not comply should leave Heidelberg[3]. The elector shortly afterwards settled the dispute between the viae by ordering the tolerance of both schools side by side in the teaching of the university[4].

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1. Ibid., pp.375-9.

2. 29 May, R.Friedrich, pp.234-40; Ritter, pp.384-7,439.

3. U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, ii, no.369, p.42; Ritter, p.387.

4. R.Friedrich, pp.247-8; Ritter, pp.387-9.

Frederick also set precedents for the intervention of the electors in every aspect of university life[1]. He settled the numerous brawls between students and members of the electoral court, thus bypassing the combined academic and secular jurisdiction to which the university was subject[2]. The jurisdiction of the bishop of Worms over clerical members of the university had given ground to the jurisdiction of the rector of the university over all criminal and civil causes involving its members. The rector in turn was utterly dependent on the lay power and lay courts for the enforcement of his decisions; the trend was for both lay and clerical members of the university to seek the protection and jurisdiction of the prince for secular and ecclesiastical causes alike[3].

The electors demanded and enforced the utmost loyalty from the university during dangerous times and wars. In 1436, 1444 and 1452, and between 1460 and 1462, the members of the university swore a special oath of loyalty to the elector, in which they promised not to communicate with the outside world nor to approach the defences of Heidelberg, in order not to arouse suspicions that they were spies[4].

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1. E.g., U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, i, nos.127-8, pp.186-8; ii, nos.452,457, pp.50-51; Kremer, ii, nos.116-7, pp.339-40; R.Friedrich, p.392; Ritter, p.391.

2. Ibid., pp.108,408; Hautz, Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg, i.317.

3. Ritter, pp.97-106,109,112.

4. U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, i, no.119, pp.117-8;ii, nos.323,373,406, pp.37,42,46; Ritter, pp.109,371; see chapter 1(iii).

During the war over the see of Mainz, Frederick I prohibited foreigners from coming to the university[1], which took on the additional obligation to warn him of any danger to his cause of which it became aware and to assist in the defence of Heidelberg; during the spring of 1462, the students were mustered under their professors and according to their halls of residence[2]. The university had become an instrument of the territorial policy of the prince and fell under the papal ban, in spite of the pleas of the professors that they could not remain neutral because their revenues were controlled entirely by the elector[3]. However, when the Elector Philip required additional guard duties from the university in 1504, it agreed to perform them only on condition that their voluntary nature be recognized.[4]

Philip lacked his predecessor's power of command and of soothing the ruffled spirits of his subjects. Frederick I had secured papal permission for a lay medical professor to hold a benefice, but when Philip sought to fill the post, the university resisted for three years and appointed a cleric instead. The compromise reached in 1482 confirmed both professors in their posts and salaries, but the layman was not allowed to draw the revenues of a benefice[5]. Philip

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1. Hautz, op. cit.i.318.

2. U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, i, no.121, p.179;ii, nos. 416,420, p.47; Ritter, pp.109,371-2.

3. U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, i, no.122, pp.180-1;ii, no.425, p.48; Ritter, pp.367-8.

4. Arch. Heidelberg, I, 3, 4, fos.23-28; U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, ii, no.613, p.67; Ritter, p.372.

5. U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, ii, nos.467,482,490-3, pp.52,54-55; Ritter, pp.446-7; Hautz, op. cit.i.345.

put an end in 1498 to the tiresome disputes over academic dress between the faculties of law and arts, but the university was only brought to obdedience after the elector had reminded it, in characteristically harsh tones, that he had control of the professors' benefices and that the university was not self-governing, but subject to his unfettered rule[1]. The university was also reprimanded for not having presented its accounts to the elector for a number of years[2]. It disobeyed Philip's order to pay additional lecturers in law out of existing funds[3]. Philip then founded a third chair in civil law without consulting the university. The new professor had to qualify his oath to the rector with a clause reserving his obligations to the elector. On the other hand, Philip's plan to establish a separate hall of residence for law students never came to fruition[4]. His recurrent measures to secure more diligent attendance by the professors of law at sessions of the supreme court were unsuccessful, and the professors were also able to evade the full payment of Schatzungen and to maintain their claim that property bought by them was no longer taxable[5]. The electors could benefit fully from the dependent position of their subjects only if the interests of ruler and ruled

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1. U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, i, no.144, pp.199-200; Ritter, p.491.
2. U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, i, no.143, p.199.
3. Ibid.ii, nos.543-7, pp.60-61.
4. Ritter, pp.444-5.
5. See chapters 3(xiii) and 6(iii).

were more or less in accord. Nowhere is this more apparent than in their relations with the university and with the nobility.

(ii) The Nobility.

(a) Vassals.

The nobles were a small but important group, though of all the electors' subjects the least amenable to control. Their number is difficult to gauge, since many were not vassals of the electors, but the most feasible overall estimate for the fifteenth century is that there were about 600 noble families in the Palatinate, whether vassals of the electors or not, compared with about 1,000 families in Bavaria[1].

As in the fourteenth century, it is doubtful whether feudal obligations alone, except in the case of castle fiefs, sufficed in the fifteenth century to secure military service[2]. Nevertheless, there was one formal rule which provided an effective political bond between lord and vassal. A vassal could not make war on his lord without first renouncing the feudal bond; on making this renunciation he usually had to pay a sum of money if he wished to retain the fief as an allod[3]. Thus Frederick I's vassals renounced their fiefs held of other lords while serving in the elector's wars against them[4].

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1. Kristek, Bauernlage, p.25; Riezler, Geschichte Baierns, iii.666.

2. Schütze, Entwicklung, p.240. See chapter 3(ii) for evidence against Kremer's view that Wachenheim was besieged by a feudal host in 1471.

3. Kremer, i.556.

4. E.g., Flersheimer Chronik, p.113; Kremer, ii, no.153, p.424; Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, ii.338.

Frederick held it against Louis of Zweibrücken and Charles of Baden that they made war on him in 1462 while still bound by their feudal oaths, and therefore confined Charles more harshly in the stocks than the other prisoners captured at Seckenheim[1].

Feudal lordship was thus more of a political than a military asset, especially as it was also a weapon of territorial expansion. The electors acquired lands from their vassals on the grounds that homage had not been paid for a fief within a year of a change of either vassal or lord[2], or because a fief had escheated, as in the case of the county of Pfeffingen and part of the Leiningen inheritance[3]. The notes on feudal law which Frederick and Philip kept up to date in several feudal registers dealt exclusively with the different conditions under which fiefs escheated in their lands[4]. Many of the smaller escheated fiefs were however granted out again[5], and numerous fiefs were given to nobles for their services and to align them politically with the electors[6]. The Elector Philip often redeemed money fiefs for financial reasons, but also granted some new ones as a reward for

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1. Speierische Chronik, p.472; Kremer, i.307.
2. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1007, fos.194-5; Z.G.O., xiii, 1861, pp.43-44.
3. Chapter 2(iv), (vii)-(ix).
4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1007, fo.XVI;1057, fo.42;1914, at the beginning.
5. E.g., ibid., 1006, fos.110-1; Pfälzer Urk.vi, no.1845.
6. E.g., Lehmann, 'Falkenstein', M.H.V.P., iii, 1872, p.117; Burgen, ii.295-6.

service[1]. The electors prized the feudal relationship with their nobles to the extent of sometimes preferring it to their own financial or territorial interests, and were keen to acquire new feudal lordships, even on a small scale[2]. Frederick I's finely illuminated and bound feudal register was compiled from 1471 onwards for the expressed purpose of making the vassals more loyal and avoiding loss of rights as in the past, when many fiefs had not been received through failing of memory, or had been subinfeudated without the electors' consent[3]. The electors continued to uphold their jurisdiction over vassals for feudal matters, with trial by their peers for the higher nobility. The feudal court of the Palatinate remained in existence after the foundation of the supreme court, though many feudal cases came before the supreme court by agreement of the parties.[4]

The feudal nexus was thus not without importance in the territorial state, and was in part the basis of the intervention of the electors in the private affairs of their nobles. The lord's consent had to be and was sought for the sale of fiefs, for which equivalent lands had to be made fiefs of the elector[5]. Permission

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1. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1007, fos.144,303-4.

2. Chapter 2(v).

3. von Weech, Lehenbücher, p.4.

4. Chapter 6(i).

5. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1006, fos.20,31;1007, fos.137,358-9; Z.G.O., xiii, 1861, pp.43-44; J. Hagen, Urkundliche Geschichte des Landauer Gebiets, Landau, 1937, p.103.

was similarly required for the pawning of lands, which the vassals often promised to redeem within a short time, as a further safeguard of the elector's rights as feudal lord[1]. The electoral consent was sought for the granting of fiefs as dowries, for their division among several members of a noble family[2], or for the use of their revenues to guarantee loans taken up by the nobles[3]. Every alteration that a vassal made to his fief needed the elector's permission, whether it was the setting up of a new court[4], the hereditary lease of estates, the building of houses, or agreements between nobles and their villagers and other treaties concerning fiefs[5].

(b) Retainers and Nobles in the Electors' Protection.

The feudal relationship did not by itself secure precisely defined military service or complete political loyalty. For these purposes the electors appointed retainers, and in this way also strengthened their ties with their vassals and office holders and obtained political influence over other nobles. The common features of the German form of 'bastard feudalism' were that a retainer promised to serve his lord for life, or for a period of years, with

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1006, fos.354-6; GSA Munich, Rot 46 i.10-12; Z.G.O., xxiv, 1872, p.75.

2. E.g., Müller, Hessisches Ortsnamenbuch, i.43,506.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fos.75,143-4;814, fo.71;77/8559, fo.407; Württ.R.ii, no.10693.

4. E.g., M.G.B., iii, 1902, pp.165-6.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1006, passim.

a fixed number of horsemen and whenever he was summoned; he swore an oath of loyalty similar to that of a vassal, but might refuse in advance to serve against his own feudal lords or other persons. Under a more developed version of the contract, the retainer allowed his lands to be used in wartime by the forces of the prince, who took them into his protection. If the retainer wished to call upon the protection of his lord in a feud or lawsuit, he had first to accept the jurisdiction of the lord's court. Noble retainers were thus brought into a relationship of dependence on the princes they served[1].

Frederick I augmented the number of his retainers partly by developing the practice of appointing as retainers noble enemies with whom he had become reconciled or whom he had defeated. These appointments were especially common in Alsace after 1452, when the Lichtenberger became retainers, and in the years following the victory of Seckenheim, when Frederick I's prestige was so high that retainers flocked eagerly to enter his service[2]. After their feud in Alsace, Count Hans of Lupfen promised in 1466 to serve the elector with 100 mounted men for fifteen years, and was present with his full complement at the siege of Wachenheim in 1471[3]. The punishment of a noble who had committed a trespass by appointing him as a retainer was regarded

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1. Kremer, i.544-6; Kolb, pp.7-8.

2. Ibid., p.6; see chapter 2(iv) and (vii).

3. Kremer, ii, no.128, pp.365-7;i.389; R.Friedrich, pp.432-3; Beheim, p.218. Other examples, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fos. 87-88; Pfälzisches U.B.xii.304;xiii.6; Kremer, ii, nos.115,133, pp.338,374; R.Friedrich, p.422; Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, ii.338.

as common practice by the Elector Philip[1].

The electors were able to obtain even firmer influence over many noble families by creating hereditary retainers. Louis III had already taken seventeen nobles of the Ortenau, all vassals and retainers, into the hereditary protection of the Palatinate[2]. A retainer was often more strongly bound to the elector by his additional appointment as a counsellor (Rat); although he had to swear a special oath of secrecy, his advice might in practice be sought only rarely or not at all. Prominent among such counsellors and retainers were members of the higher nobility, like the counts of Hohenlohe and Wertheim[3], and several of the captains who recruited cavalry in 1504[4]. Many retainers were summoned only when required for service in war and not for attendance at the electors' court. Like their counterparts in Bavaria[5], these nobles were not usually resident in the electors' lands and were called Diener von Haus aus because they had their expenses paid when summoned for service, as

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fo.37; Rappoltsteinisches U.B.v, nos.361,369, pp.180,183.

2. 1435, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.124V; later examples, ibid., 814, fos.90,181; Kremer, ii, no.2a, p.5.

3. Appointed in 1463 and 1465, R.Friedrich, pp.398,422; other examples under both electors, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fos.89-91, 166;816, fos.8,19-20; Rappoltsteinisches U.B.iv, no.1242, pp.605-6; Kremer, ii, no.193, pp.526-8.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/819, fos.337-41,343-4,357-8,366-7,370-1.

5. Beck, 'Bayerns Heerwesen', Archivalische Zeitschrift, N.F.xviii, 1911, pp.61-63.

in the case of the counts of Hohenlohe. The Elector Philip extended this practice so much that by the time of the Bavarian Succession War an appointment as Diener von Haus aus had become merely a retaining fee for mercenaries[1].

Even nobles of the highest rank greatly valued the protection they received as retainers from the electors. In 1454 the Lichtenberger in vain sought a decision from the elector's court that Frederick I was obliged to protect them[2]. Like the lord of Hohengeroldseck[3], many nobles were willing to become retainers of Frederick I for his protection only, and others for his protection and payment for service in war[4]. Some became retainers of the electors and in payment received merely protection for their villages[5]. The employment of retainers for the elector's protection only was the most common form in Philip's Dienerbuch of 1477[6] and such appointments continued to be

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1. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fos.38-39;818, fos.18,357; 819, passim; Bezzel, Geschichte des Kurpfälzischen Heeres, p.13.

2. R.Baden, iv, no.7682, p.10; Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, i.294-5; Kremer, i.61-63. A similar case under Philip, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/953, fos.286-93.

3. Kremer, ii, no.2a, p.5; other examples, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fos.73,164; Kremer, ii, nos.133,193, pp.374,526-8; Lehmann, Burgen, iv.267.

4. E.g., Kremer, ii, no.115, p.338; also under Philip, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fo.72;823, fos.7,9.

5. E.g., ibid., 816, fos.2,194;823, fo.8.

6. Ibid., 823, passim.

made for several years to come[1]. In 1493 Count John of Nassau-Dietz took the initiative, as probably happened on other occasions, and asked the elector for an appointment as retainer, because he wanted his lands to be in Philip's protection[2]. Nevertheless, most retainers from this time onwards received a salary in addition to the elector's protection, and Philip's reserve of retainers became an expensive burden[3].

The electors occasionally took all the lands and subjects of a nobleman into their protection even without securing a right of entry for the forces of the Palatinate, as in the case of the counts of Hanau[4]. More often, all the lands of the protected nobleman were made available in time of war or feuds for the use of the elector, who thus acquired a powerful means of defence in disputed frontier lands and might receive an oath of loyalty from the nobleman's subjects[5]. The electors ensured that as many of the nobility as possible in frontier areas like Alsace, especially those of higher rank, entered the protection of the Palatinate and placed their lands at its disposal[6].

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1. E.g., ibid., 816, fos.23-26,117;818, fos.60,357;889, fo.82.
2. Ibid., 823, fos.35-36.
3. Chapter 3(ii).
4. 1472-3, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fos.155-6; Kremer, ii, no.175, pp.478-9; other examples, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fo.33; 816, fo.300; Kremer, ii, no.193, pp.526-8.
5. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/876, fo.40.
6. E.g., in Alsace, ibid., 823, fo.5; Rappoltsteinisches U.B.iv, no.1242, pp.605-6; elsewhere, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fos.16-17; 816, fo.139;818, fos.41-42.

Protection cemented a multitude of relationships between the electors and their nobles. The latter sought protection for their lands when engaged in territorial disputes[1] or were granted protection for their past services as Amtleute and in other ways[2]. Many nobles' villages were protected for payment[3]. The owners of the castle of Meienfels were promised Frederick I's protection when they gave him the feudal lordship of the castle; in 1491 they threatened to renounce the feudal bond if Philip did not protect their hunting rights against the count of Hohenlohe's attacks[4]. Philip took Rudolf Beyer von Boppart into protection for his services and the grant of the right of entry to all Rudolf's castles in the vicinity of the Palatinate[5]. It was more common for a nobleman to open just one or two strategic castles in exchange for the elector's protection[6]. The electors sometimes reinforced their influence by acquiring a nominal quarter of a castle and renouncing their share of its revenues and expenses. Frederick I and Philip obtained fractional shares or

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1. E.g. Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, i.352; I. Wagner, Geschichte der Landgrafen von Leuchtenberg, iv, Kallmünz, 1953, pp.1-6.

2. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.194;816, fo.19; E.J. Zimmermann, Hanau, Stadt und Land, Hanau, 1903, p.694.

3. Chapter 3(viii).

4. GSA Munich, Blau 96/5, VI, fos.1-2.

5. 1479, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fos.98-99.

6. E.g., ibid., fos.185-6;818, fos.75-77; GSA Munich, Rot 46 k.4; Kremer, i.544 n.4; Lehmann, Burgen, i.260.

the right of entry, or both, in numerous castles throughout their lands[1].

In most of these castles, the electors concluded a Burgfriede with the other owners, as they did in possessions ruled jointly with nobles and other princes[2]. Besides regulating the administration of the castles, the Burgfrieden guaranteed the military advantages which the electors sought and strengthened their influence over the nobles. War could not be made on the Palatinate from these castles; although it was a regular feature of Burgfrieden that strangers were admitted on swearing to uphold the peace, the electors insisted that their enemies might not find shelter in castles in which they had a share, and they generally had to be consulted before anyone else could be admitted to a Burgfriede[3]. Most of these castles were on the frontiers of the Palatinate, in Alsace or facing the principalities of Baden, Mainz and Trier[4]. The history of the castle of Rheinberg, near Kaub and the territories of the sees of Mainz and Trier, illustrates how the influence of the electors developed over a growing number of nobles in the Burgfrieden. In 1467 Frederick I entered into a new Burgfriede for Rheinberg with four nobles, who received the castle from him as an hereditary fief[5]. Four months later, Frederick introduced ten more nobles into joint possession of the

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1. E.g., ibid.v.9,58; chapter 2(vii)-(viii).
2. And as in the later fourteenth century, Schütze, Entwicklung, p.267.
3. Kremer, i.606;ii, nos.11,187, pp.30,383.
4. Ibid.i.605-8.
5. 11 Aug., ibid.ii, nos.136-7, pp.377-80;i.404,608.

castle[1] and by 1491 there were seventeen nobles in the Burgfriede[2]. In 1489 the Elector Philip added new clauses to the agreement to regulate the responsibilities of the nobles for the castle and increase the influence of his Amtmann at Kaub in its administration[3]. In most of the castles, the nobles and their guards and servants swore an oath of loyalty to the electors[4]. A further advantage of the Burgfrieden was that, as at Rheinberg, the nobles had to accept the jurisdiction of the electors' court before they might use the castle against their opponents. Provision was also made for the arbitration of their disputes with the electors; in 1494 the nobles of Waldeck convicted Philip Boos von Waldeck for breaking the Burgfriede by doing violence to the elector's subjects on the highways[5]. Like the retainers, the nobles in the Burgfrieden were willing to accept considerable control by the electors for the sake of the protection they enjoyed.

(c) Landsassen.

The chief characteristics of Landesherrschaft over a territory were the compulsory jurisdiction and rights of taxation of the electors, and these are the most obvious criteria which might have

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1. 11 Nov., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1057, fos.257-61;1911, fos.130-1.
2. Ibid., 1006, fos.218-21.
3. Ibid., 820, fo.202.
4. E.g., Kremer, ii, nos.23,136, pp.76,380.
5. Pfälzer Urk.vii, no.2016; Kremer, i.608-9.

determined whether nobles were subjects of the Landesfürst (Landsassen). However, taxation of the nobility or their serfs was always voluntary in the Palatinate, and the electors usually had jurisdiction over their nobles because the latter were vassals, retainers, or in their protection, and not specifically because they were Landsassen. Nor do the numerous letters in which the prince addressed his nobles as Landsassen, or in which they called him Landesherr, give any account of the actual obligations of the nobles. Nobles who came to their prince with problems or who sought his protection often addressed him as Landesherr to further their cause, and not in recognition of any rights he might have over them; when the prince referred to a noble as his Landsass, it was a statement of rights, but not necessarily of rights recognized by the noble or exercised in practice[1].

Such evidence as is available, however, supports the view that Landesherrschaft over the nobility was the sum of several interrelated rights. In territories where the elector was Landesherr, resident nobles might regard him as their prince merely for geographical reasons; Arnold von Hirschberg styled himself Landsass of Frederick I and added that all his property lay in the Palatinate[2]. Many nobles addressed the elector as their 'natural hereditary lord' because their families had always lived in his territories[3]. The holding of offices

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1. Kolb, pp.9-10.

2. 1 May 1475; other examples, 20 July 1465 and 11 March 1491, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/8399.

3. E.g., ibid., (27 Sep. 1475);8559, fo.2.

at court and in the Ämter made several noble families Landsassen, but many more were brought into this relationship when they became retainers. Thus the status of Landsass was conveyed to noble retainers in the Upper Palatinate during the 1460s. At the renewal of Christoph Nothaft's appointment as Landsass, his oath of loyalty included a promise to do everything to which other retainers and Landsassen of the Palatinate were obliged, in exchange for the protection they enjoyed[1]. In the Palatinate itself, the status of Landsass was less directly linked with that of retainer and for the first time only towards the end of Frederick's rule. He appointed the Hoffwart von Kirchheim as retainers in 1473, with the rider that they should serve him as his other noble Landsassen did[2]. Several noblemen were promised the protection accorded to retainers and Landsassen, as if these were overlapping groups[3]. Similarly, the Elector Philip exempted his Landsassen and retainers from land tolls[4]. Although some documents listed the various relationships of a noble to the elector as Landsass, retainer, vassal, and protected noble, as if they were separate[5], it is possible to infer that retainers who lived in the electors' lands were Landsassen, especially if they were

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1. 1461, Staatsarchiv, Amberg, Staatseigene Urk.2193; HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.149, fos.105-6; similar appointments, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fo.274V;1911, fos.84-85.

2. Ibid., 814, fo.48V; other cases, ibid., fo.237;816, fos.117,130,145.

3. Ibid., 814, fo.51;816, fos.98-99.

4. '...gemeynen adell und Ritterschafft die unser lantsessen und diener sint....', ibid., fo.140V.

5. E.g., ibid., 818, fos.127-8;77/8559, fo.246.

also under the electors' protection or their vassals.

The growth in the number of retainers was largely responsible for the increasing stress laid by the electors on their Landesherrschaft over the nobility and for their recognition as Landesfürsten by larger numbers of nobles[1]. The nobles began to entitle the electors as their Landesherren in letters from about 1450 onwards[2]; already in 1458 Frederick I issued commands to his Landsassen as a group[3]. The number of families whose members are recorded as having addressed the elector as Landesfürst during Frederick's reign is about twenty-seven, and during Philip's sixty-seven, but the actual number who recognised Philip as Landesherr was probably greater, since not all who referred to Frederick as their Landesherr wrote similar letters to Philip which have survived[4]. Philip's nobles became increasingly conscious of their status as Landsassen; Johann von Bellersheim styled himself merely retainer and vassal in a letter of 1482 to the elector, but in

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1. Kolb, pp.10-11.

2. The first recorded instance from 1445, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1084, fo.87; this late sixteenth-century register was compiled tendentiously to aid the electors in their conflicts with the nobility, but many of its entries tally with those in fifteenth-century registers, see Kolb, p.11.

3. R.Friedrich, pp.293-4; at this time Frederick claimed several nobles by name as his Landsassen, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fo.237;814, fo.46V;883, fo.222.

4. The letters from which this and the following information are derived are in the following volumes, ibid., 814, fos.51,191,237;816;818, fos.127-8;820, fos.385-6,484;824, fo.154;952, fos.140-2;77/8398-9; 8559-60;8825, fos.5,9,11,13; 9672; 9685;9691, fo.2; and in Pfälzer Urk.vii, no.1850; von Weech, 'Pfälzische Reg.', Z.G.O., xxiv, 1872, p.270; Lehmann, Burgen, ii.218-9.

1488 called upon Philip as his Landesfürst[1]. The electors were accepted as Landesherren by the leading noble families of all the Palatinate, especially the Kraichgau, where some families continued to use this form of address even during and after Philip's disputes with most of the Kraichgau nobles at the end of his reign. However ill-defined, the Landesherrschaft of the electors was accepted by many of their nobles, so that a favourable climate of opinion existed for the electors to extend their control over the nobility.

The nobles were obliged to a greater or lesser extent to appear before the electors' court. When nobles were guilty of criminal offences, the electors had no compunction in punishing them without trial, whether it was for murder, highway robbery or lesser offences[2]. Vassals had recourse to the electors' feudal courts in matters concerning their fiefs. Retainers and nobles in Burgfrieden with the electors or under their protection came before the central court with their disputes. The jurisdiction clauses in their contracts merely made more rigid the existing practice of the nobles, who since the fourteenth century had sought arbitration by the highly reputed court of the electors and their nobles. This jurisdiction was transferred in part to the supreme court on its creation in 1462[3]. Many nobles

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1. 6 Dec., GLA Karlsruhe, 77/9685.

2. E.g., ibid., 67/819, fos.260-1; GSA Munich, Rot 46 k.7; R. Sillib, 'Zur Geschichte des Augustinerklosters in Heidelberg', N.A.G.S.H., iv, 1901, p.48; and see chapter 4(iv).

3. Kremer, i.546 n.12; Kolb, p.8; see chapter 6(i) and (iii).

continued to seek arbitration by the electors and their advisers, or by the supreme court, even though they were not obliged to accept this jurisdiction[1]. Numerous decisions of the electors' court repeated the formula that it was acting as an arbitration court for cases in which nobles were parties[2]. But probably the majority of the nobles recognized the elector as their 'proper judge'[3], or as the Landesfürst who had jurisdiction over them[4]. The Elector Philip often insisted that he could force retainers to appear before his court[5], but he admitted that he had no compulsory jurisdiction over the von Randeck, although they were his Landsassen[6]. The safest indication that the electors had jurisdiction over a noble was that he was their retainer, not that he admitted to being their Landsass. The importance of the German form of 'bastard feudalism' is once more emphasized.

The supreme court was becoming the court of first instance for lawsuits involving nobles, but they were not entirely free from the jurisdiction of the lower courts, because of the rule that disputes concerning property had to be brought before the court of the place

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1. E.g., 2 June 1488, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/8398.

2. E.g., ibid., 67/952, fos.82-83;953, fos.256-7; Lehmann, Burgen, iv.232.

3. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/820, fos.384-6;821, fos.235-40; 77/9685 (24 Aug. 1499 and 30 Jan. 1502).

4. Ibid., 8559, fos.3,473.

5. E.g., ibid., 67/818, fos.127-8;821, fos.235-40;824, fo.380.

6. 1501, Ville Strasbourg, V 73/7.

where the property was situated. Nevertheless, the electors sometimes gave nobles limited exemption from the village and town courts. When the nobles of the castle of Rheinberg were granted this privilege, cases of debt for provisions were excepted[1]. An alliance of 1469 with Württemberg stipulated that cases between the prelates or nobles of the two princes were to be heard by the ruler in whose territories the disputed property lay[2]. Despite such exemptions, much litigation between nobles concerning property probably still came before the lower courts[3].

Other privileges enjoyed by the nobility were more extensive. They rarely paid Bede on their property and the excise only on wine which they sold. They never contributed to Schatzungen, although they allowed the Elector Philip to levy this tax on their serfs. Some of the nobility were exempt from Rhine tolls on goods transported for their own use and this privilege was extended to the land tolls for all nobles in 1484[4]. The property of nobles was free from the obligation to provide military service, guard duties and labour services[5]. The Elector Philip also forestalled attempts to make the

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1. 1467, Kremer, ii, no.137, p.385; similar exemptions, SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Starkenburg 75a, fo.92; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.25-26.

2. Kremer, ii, no.139, p.389.

3. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 77/8825, fo.4.

4. Ibid., 67/816, fo.140V; see chapter 5(v)-(vii) and (xiii).

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.25-26; Kremer, ii, no.137, p.385. However, the property of nobles and clergy in villages of the Palatinate was assessed whenever levies had to be raised to avoid pillaging by enemy troops, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/953, fo.387.

nobles give financial assistance towards the upkeep of the imperial army, whereas their obligation was only to serve in the army[1].

The nobles were conceded these general privileges and were individually granted many others and new lands, fiefs, pensions and shares in mines, because of their invaluable services. They supplied the majority of the central and local officials and lent support in the political crises of the dynasty and in a military capacity in wartime. They graced the electors' following at diplomatic and representative occasions like imperial diets and tournaments. By accepting lands as pawnings during the fifteenth century and after the Bavarian Succession War, they not only served their own interests, but gave valuable financial assistance to the electors. They also provided a proportion of the loans taken up by the Palatinate, especially short-term ones, and acted as guarantors for other loans[2].

(d) The Intervention of the Electors in the Affairs of the Nobles.

The financial fortunes and hopes of territorial gain of the nobles became bound up with the interests of the electors. The tendency for them to become Landsassen was thus reinforced, but they had such privileges that the advantages of being Landsassen outweighed the disadvantages. The electors for their part came to have considerable influence over the nobles because of their relationships with vassals, retainers and others who had special contracts, and their increasing jurisdiction over the nobility.

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1. Ibid., 77/8560 (1491); von Weech, loc. cit., p.415.

2. See chapters 2(x) and 3(ii)-(iii); App. VI(3): the nobles were creditors for perhaps one third of the electors' loans, and in particular their short-term loans helped to oil the wheels of the administration.

They intervened in the private affairs of the nobles by using their position as Landesfürsten, although such intervention was often at the request of noble families themselves, when they were passing through crises. The electors took these opportunities to further their own influence in the lands of the nobility and to secure their political reliability in disputes with neighbours of the Palatinate.

The electors' power of command over their nobles went so far that they claimed their exclusive military service and legislated for them. In 1458 Frederick I ordered his Landsassen not to serve other lords, but to await his commands[1]. Nobles as well as other ranks were forbidden to engage in abominable eating and drinking competitions in 1480; the penalty for the nobles was simply loss of the elector's favour[2]. Philip's regulation of the law of inheritance applied to the nobility[3]; in addition, the bastard children of nobles were serfs of the electors. The latter were also successful in preserving their exclusive right to hunt Hochwild against the claims of the nobility[4].

The electors intervened, both as feudal lords and as territorial princes, in all aspects of the nobles' affairs, but most of all in appointing guardians for minor noblemen, who had lost their fathers, and administrators for the affairs of widowed noblewomen[5]. The law

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1. R.Friedrich, pp.293-4.
2. von Weech, loc. cit., p.414.
3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1662, fos.401-2.
4. Chapter 4(ii) and (vi).
5. von Günter, 'Verhältnisse des Adels im Kraichgau', Acta Acad. Palat., v, 1783, p.474.

was that the guardians of minor nobles had to be appointed in open court by the territorial prince[1]. In 1506 the emperor urged the elector to do his duty as Landesfürst and not leave minor nobles without a guardian[2]. Philip was said to be 'supreme guardian' of such children in 1499, as Frederick I had been for his own sons[3]. Philip himself took on the duties of guardian of the young counts of Mörs-Saarwerden[4] and otherwise increasingly appointed as guardians his own leading officials, who had to present accounts to the elector or his counsellors. An inventory was often taken of the possessions of the minors at the beginning of the guardianship[5] and Frederick I took the property of noble minors into his protection[6]. Philip dismissed several guardians who had not served the best interests of their wards[7] and appointed curatores in litem to appear in court on behalf of minors[8].

Whether orphans or not, young nobles were frequently educated at court, where they became accustomed to the service of the electors.

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/952, fo.256; examples, ibid., 813, fo.237; 814, fo.119V;816, fos.57-58.

2. Ibid., 821, fo.223.

3. Ibid., 824, fo.350; R.Friedrich, p.481.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fo.73.

5. Ibid., fos.105-6,215,334;818, fos.119V,168V.

6. Ibid., 813, fos.219-20;814, fo.169.

7. Ibid., 816, fos.26-27;818, fos.219-20.

8. Ibid., fos.127-8,168V,240,263-4.

In the hope of educating the nobility for the tasks of administration, Frederick I probably sponsored and financed Peter Luder's school at Heidelberg for teaching Latin to noble youths during its brief existence[1]. Count John of Nassau-Saarbrücken went from Philip's court to that of the duke of Lorraine, but the elector continued his interest in the boy's education and, with a touch of the Renaissance prince, wrote to insist that the count should go to the university of Paris to learn Latin thoroughly[2]. Count William of Henneberg was loyal to the Palatinate in the Bavarian Succession War largely because he had been educated at the Heidelberg court, where he gained the friendship of Philip's son, Rupert[3]. The elector was also eager to have girls from the families of the higher nobility as maids in waiting on his wife, who was attended by eleven of them in 1481[4]; in 1491 Philip asked Count Henry of Zweibrücken-Ochsenstein to send his daughter to Heidelberg[5].

The electors arranged many marriages for these maids of honour and in general between their nobles, particularly the officials and the higher nobility, like the marriage between the count of Fürstenberg

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1. Ritter, pp.459-60.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/8826 (23 March 1482); A. Ruppersberg, Geschichte der ehemaligen Grafschaft Saarbrücken, i, 1st edn., Saarbrücken, 1889, pp.231-3.

3. von Rommel, Hessen, iii.155.

4. Ruexner, Anfang..des Thurniers inn Teutscher Nation, p.181.

5. Pfälzisches U.B.xv.39; Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, ii.311.

and the daughter of the count of Solms in 1488[1]; they also supervised the fixing of dowries and marriage settlements. Philip stated that his aim in fostering such marriages was to promote 'friendship' among his nobles[2]. Some nobles became related to the electors in this way. Shortly after marrying Frederick I's niece in 1470, Count John of Nassau-Saarbrücken allied with the elector against the count palatine of Zweibrücken; after John's death, the electors married off his widow and two daughters[3]. A further political advantage of these marriages was revealed in the accusation levied against Philip, that he had married the daughter of a lord of Eppstein to a count of the Palatinate without the consent of her father, in order to prevent her marriage to a noble of the see of Mainz[4].

The wives and widows of nobles had their marriage settlements and jointures taken into the protection of the Palatinate or the amounts decided by the electors[5]. In order to strengthen the terms

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1. Fürstenbergisches Urkundenbuch, iv, ed. S. Riezler and F.L. Baumann, Tübingen, 1879, pp.73 et seq.; other examples, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fos.93-94;814, fos.266-7; Pfälzisches U.B.xv.67; Ziehen, ii. 418.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fos.502-9.

3. Steinhofer, Neue Wirtembergische Chronik, iii, 1752, pp.186-7; Ruppersberg, op. cit.i.220-4,227-30; Kremer, i.444. Philip similarly intervened in the matrimonial fortunes of the lords of Rieneck, who were related to Otto II of Mosbach, Wagner, Leuchtenberg, iii, 1951, p.146;iv.1-2,4-6,28.

4. Ville Strasbourg, Wencker, Argentoratensia historico-politica, III 6b.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fos.49,61;814, fos.38-40;816, fos.111-2, 130-1;818, fo.448.

of his financial grant to his wife, Hans Bonne made it in the presence of Frederick I as their territorial prince; the elector undertook to protect the wife in her settlement, adding that it was his duty to protect widows and orphans[1]. Widows often asked the electors as their territorial princes to protect them in their jointures[2] and the electors' courts decided many disputes over the portions of noble wives and widows[3].

The nobles sought the mediation or judicial decision of the electors, with or without their counsellors, for many of their innumerable conflicts over the inheritance of property[4]; the supreme court took on the burden of most such cases[5]. Philip's authorization as territorial prince was also sought by two nobles who gave up their property to others[6]. The electors mediated in quarrels within noble families[7] and even more frequently made peace between feuding nobles[8] and calmed their noble followers when they levied charges of insults against one another[9]. The supreme court heard many cases in which

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1. Ibid., 814, fo.191.
2. E.g., ibid., 77/8398 (8 July 1488); Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, ii.315; H. von Massenbach, Geschichte der reichsunmittelbaren Herren und des kurpfälzischen Lehens von Massenbach, 1140-1806, Stuttgart, 1891, pp.40,366.
3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.93-100,223-4;952, fos.18-19,105-8.
4. E.g., ibid., 814, fos.266-7;818, fos.203-5.
5. E.g., ibid., 951, fos.5-8;952, fos.142-3.
6. Ibid., 821, fos.201-4,235-40.
7. Ibid., 829, fos.110-1; Lehmann, Burgen, i.326;iv.202-3.
8. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.90,124,162-3;952, fos.95-96.
9. E.g., ibid., 951, fo.161; Bibl. Heidelberg, Handschriften 503, Lehmann, Pfälzisches U.B.xiv.272.

debts of the nobility were involved[1] or in which nobles disputed with the inhabitants of their villages the amount of labour service due to them[2]. Frederick I allowed the von Hirschhorn to levy a Schatzung on serfs of the Palatinate living in their lands, but insisted that the sums collected should be used only to pay off the most pressing debts, which should be determined by friends of the von Hirschhorn chosen by the elector[3].

Some noble families, like the von Fleckenstein in Frederick I's reign[4] and the lords of Erbach in Philip's[5], were subject time after time to the intervention of the electors in their financial and matrimonial circumstances. Philip was able to gain clear political advantages from his interference in the affairs of the Rhinegraves. On the death of Rhinegrave John VI, the elector and the count of Solms appointed guardians and Amtleute for the minor Rhinegraves in 1500 and made arrangements for their debts to be paid off and for their lands to be administered. Philip then complained that John VI's widow had refused to honour her promise to present her accounts to him and had unjustly accused him of trying to obtain the children's share of the county of Solms and other possessions for himself[6]. The

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.57-60;952, fos.26-27,34-35.
2. E.g., ibid., 867, fos.173-6;951, fos.86-87;953, fos.94-95.
3. 30 Sep. 1474, ibid., 814, fo.61;77/8399.
4. Lehmann, Burgen, 1.321-3.
5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fo.266;818, fos.467-71,488-9;821, fos.195-7; 824, fos.269-81;829, fos.22-23; G. Simon, Die Geschichte der Dynasten und Grafen zu Erbach und ihres Landes, Frankfurt, 1858, pp.337,370; U.B., nos.268,300,303, pp.268,279-81.
6. GSA Munich, Blau 435/5, fos.178-9.

elector later objected to the proposal of the guardians to marry one of the Rhinegraves to a daughter of his enemy, Alexander of Zweibrücken, who was to have had the right of entry to all the Rhinegraves' castles. Philip claimed that the Rhinegraves were vassals and hereditary officials of the Palatinate, which had the exclusive right of entry to their lands, and added the well-tried argument for such occasions, that the bride was supposed to be very ugly[1]. The elector seems to have been successful, for the marriage never took place[2]. Besides such strategic advantages and others secured wherever Philip had rights of entry, he obtained a large share of the Ochsenstein inheritance by siding with the count of Zweibrücken-Bitsch against the lord of Hohengeroldseck, and made himself residuary legatee of Hermann Boos von Waldeck's lands and wealth[3].

In 1495 Rhinegrave John V's widow appealed to both the elector and the duke of Lorraine as her territorial princes and 'proper judges'[4]. Many nobles were liable to fall into this dilemma of divided loyalty. The 'interterritoriality' of feudal and other relationships was linked with the interpenetration of the territorial holdings of both princes and nobles. The result was that noblemen could play off their rival lords against one another to their own advantage, or else that a powerful prince could obtain influence in frontier lands or even in

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1. N.d., ibid., fos.306,328-9.

2. C. Schneider, Geschichte des Wild- und Rheingräflichen Hauses, Kreuznach, 1854, p.153.

3. Chapters 2(vii) and 3(xii).

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/820, fos.324-6; Pfälzer Urk.vii, no.2025.

his rival's territories by securing the allegiance of nobles who had more than one territorial prince[1]. In the later fourteenth century, the electors had sought to win over the vassals and retainers of the see of Mainz by making them their own vassals and retainers, granting them castle fiefs, taking them into the protection of the Palatinate, and using the gift of money fiefs as a political weapon[2]. These practices were continued into the second half of the fifteenth century, which saw the remarkable success of the electors in gaining the loyalty and service of many nobles who were of divided allegiance or who had previously regarded one of the neighbouring rulers as their sole territorial prince. This policy was greatly furthered by the territorial expansion, military successes and increasing prestige of the Palatinate.

The electors of Mainz and the Palatinate shared the feudal lordship of several noble families. Thus the electors palatine were fortunate to secure the service of the Rhinegraves in their wars, because the counts were engaged in disputes with the see of Mainz over their imperial fief, the customs station at Geisenheim on the Rhine[3]. The von Hirschhorn similarly became more inclined to serve the electors palatine exclusively and early recognized them as their territorial princes[4]. Although Philip continued to woo nobles who

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1. Werminghoff, Ludwig von Eyb, pp.58-62; Ziehen, i.162-3.

2. Schütze, Entwicklung, pp.38,66.

3. Schneider, op. cit., pp.83-87,112-3; Ziehen, i.134.

4. 20 July 1465, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/8399; Krieg von Hochfelden, Zwingenberg, p.44. An exception to this trend among the nobility, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/883, fo.222.

remained suspended in their loyalty[1], the war over the see of Mainz had been the watershed for the family of Cronberg and most other noblemen who left the service of Mainz for that of the Palatinate[2]. Moreover, the numerous nobles and mounted squires captured at Seckenheim were compelled before their release to swear never again to oppose the Palatinate. Twenty-eight nobles of the see of Metz each had to promise in addition to obtain a similar undertaking from another nobleman within a year; most of them had done so by 1464[3]. The forty-eight captured Württemberg nobles made the same promises; although the elector had considered revoking their obligation to ensure that another noble bound himself not to oppose the Palatinate, thirty-nine additional nobles swore the oath to the elector in 1464[4]. The nobles of Baden, who had taken the same two oaths, were released in 1464 from the second obligation, but not from the first[5]. The elector had obtained a hold on many of the nobles of his chief rivals.

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1. Ville Strasbourg, Wencker, Argentoratensia historico-politica, III 6b.

2. L. von Ompteda, Die von Kronberg und ihr Herrensitz, Frankfurt, 1899, pp.164,178,180-6,200-1; Ziehen, i.151; other examples, H. Hahn, 'Breidenborn und die Breidenborner', M.H.V.P., xxii, 1898, p.100; Simon, op. cit., pp.342,344,364-5, and passim.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/982, fos.4-6,32.

4. Ibid., 912, fos.97-98,102-3;982, fo.127; R.Friedrich, p.402; Württ.R.i, nos.4923,4939, p.180.

5. Kremer, ii, no.101, pp.298-300; Mone, Quellensammlung, iii.147-8; R.Baden, iv, nos.9051,9053,9221, pp.171-2,192.

The rewards of serving the electors and their military successes even induced several of the leading nobility to change the masters they served. Albrecht Göler von Ravensberg and Hans von Giltlingen, Württemberg nobles captured at Seckenheim, later held office in the Elector Philip's court[1]. Wendel von Remchingen, mentioned as the margrave of Baden's Hofmeister until March 1462, defected to the elector during or just before the war. In 1463 Frederick I gave him a document exonerating him from charges that he had betrayed the secrets of Margrave Charles[2]. Wendel was appointed a counsellor of the elector in 1464, later became steward of his household, and sat regularly in his supreme court until 1481[3]. During the archbishop of Trier's conflict with the Elector Philip in 1488, his Hofmeister, Hermann Boos von Waldeck, left his service for that of the Palatinate, where he became Amtmann and later Hofmeister[4]. The counts of Eberstein divided their loyalty between the Palatinate and Baden, but because their county was ruled jointly with the margraves, they were liable to become dependent on Baden and turned for support to the electors, their feudal lords for Gochsheim. By the end of the century, Count Bernard III was the presiding judge in the elector's

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/819, fos.3-4.

2. R.Baden, iv, nos.8817,9131, pp.138,181.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fos.42,81;951,952 and 953, passim; R.Friedrich, p.457; Simon, op. cit., U.B., no.300, p.279.

4. GHA Munich, Urk.2834; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fo.482; Pfälzer Urk. vii, no.2012.

supreme court and served him almost exclusively[1]. However, other members of the higher nobility, like Wirich von Dhaun, lord of Oberstein and Falkenstein, retained their independence and continued to serve other lords after becoming officials of the Palatinate[2]. Even less powerful nobles could withdraw from complete allegiance to the electors, if there was an equally strong magnet to attract them, as the history of the Kraichgau nobility demonstrates.

(e) The Elector Philip and the Nobles of the Kraichgau.

Throughout the century, the nobles of the Kraichgau were the most outstanding of those who served the electors. The leading Kraichgau families of Sickingen, Gemmingen, Neipperg, Göler von Ravensberg, Massenbach, Flehingen and Bettendorf provided the majority of the central and local officials, many of the nobles who attended the Estates, and most of the members of the chapters and some of the bishops of Worms and Speyer. By the end of Frederick I's reign and during the first years of Philip's, their interests were so bound up with those of the electors that little was left for them to become entirely dependent on the Palatinate as Landsassen[3]. Only the intervention of the Swabian League and the emperor aroused in them the consciousness that they could acquire an independent status as Free Imperial Knights[4].

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/819, fo.253; C.H. Krieg von Hochfelden, Geschichte der Grafen von Eberstein in Schwaben, Karlsruhe, 1836, pp.95,97, 101-3,108-9,115-8,120-5,128; see App. VIII(4).
2. Lehmann, 'Falkenstein', M.H.V.P., iii, 1872, pp.117-8.
3. Kolb, pp.1-3,6,9-11.
4. The following summary is based on the authoritative account by Gustav Kolb.

During the Elector Philip's reign his views on the status of the nobility gradually diverged from those of the nobles. In the period of organized tournaments between 1479 and 1487, the nobles throughout the Empire issued ordinances for their jousting companies, like the Gesellschaft vom Esel in the Palatinate, which was dominated by the Kraichgau nobility. The old noble families sought to preserve their exclusive hereditary privileges by restricting membership of the companies to nobles who had not married out of their rank and whose four grandparents had been of arms-bearing families and had themselves attended tournaments; nobles who had settled in towns were excluded and princes and the higher nobility required a unanimous vote to be elected. The solidarity of the Gesellschaft vom Esel against the elector was reinforced by a statute renouncing the right to appeal from the company's decisions to a prince[1]. Different opinions prevailed at the electoral court, where new noble families had been created since the late fourteenth century as a reward for service. In 1505 the elector stated that all nobles were initially created by the prince, although their nobility could then be inherited; the criteria of nobility were all forms of service to a prince. Unlike the nobles, Philip attached little importance to birth and, by assuming the right to decide all doubtful cases, contradicted their claim to resolve all questions of rank by the laws of the tournament companies[2].

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1. Kolb, pp.12-22; O. Eberbach, Die deutsche Reichsritterschaft in ihrer staatsrechtlich-politischen Entwicklung...bis zum Jahre 1495, Berlin, 1913, p.152; Stenzel, Strasburg, pp.71-72.

2. Kolb, pp.22-30.

The opposition of the nobility was only given coherence by the foreign relations of the elector. The Kraichgau was the area in which Württemberg and the Palatinate fought out their conflicts over the protectorate of the abbey of Maulbronn, rights of safe conduct, customs posts, the building of defences for the Württemberg frontier, the harbouring of renegade nobles, and forest rights. These and other disputes only became more virulent after Philip's treaty of 1485 with the count of Württemberg, at a time when the emperor's formation of the Swabian League presented new dangers to all the Wittelsbach rulers[1]. The elector probably inspired the refusal of the Kraichgau nobility to join the League in 1488 and himself wrote that they belonged directly to the Palatinate. The emperor then commanded twenty-eight nobles of the Kraichgau and their families to enter the League and reminded them that they were directly bound to him. Philip summoned the Kraichgau nobility to Heidelberg, where thirty-eight of them promised to serve him and not to join the League, but there were signs that some of them were in two minds about their relationship to the elector. At the end of 1488, they met independently of him at Speyer. Philip feared that his position as their protector and the jurisdiction of his supreme court would be in jeopardy, if the nobles fulfilled their intention of erecting their own arbitration machinery. He wrote to point out the advantages of his supreme court for the nobles and warned that, if they took up an independent position, they would be forced to enter the League,

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1. Ibid., pp.31-41,44-48.

in which they might lose their freedom from taxation and other privileges; he urged them to recognize him as their territorial prince, as their fathers had done[1]. In their reply, the nobles protested their loyalty to the elector and denied any intention of abstaining from the use of the supreme court or from Philip's service, but they did insist on their right to form an alliance among themselves; they admitted that Philip was their feudal lord and Dienstherr, but not their Landesherr[2].

After the Swabian League had issued mandates to individual nobles of the Kraichgau, the elector called a new meeting to Heidelberg for February 1489, but only eighteen nobles attended and many of the leading families were absent. Unrepresentative of the majority of the Kraichgau nobility, this assembly compiled an appeal to the emperor, which was drafted in terms clearly suggested by the elector's chancery and in accordance with the view expressed by him shortly afterwards to the emperor, that the nobles were his Landsassen and subject to the compulsory jurisdiction of his supreme court. Philip's reasons for claiming them as Landsassen were that they had served the Palatinate, lived in its territories, and sought justice at its supreme court, since the reign of the Emperor Louis IV[3]. The elector even secured the emperor's agreement that no more mandates

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1. Ibid., pp.49-60.

2. Ibid., pp.62-65; Eberbach, op. cit., p.113.

3. von Günter, 'Verhältnisse des Adels im Kraichgau', Acta Acad. Palat., v, 1783, pp.486-90; Kolb, pp.66-73,78.

should be issued ordering the nobles to enter the League[1], but the Kraichgau nobles would not recognize Philip as their territorial prince. In April, thirty-five of them (of whom twenty-six had been at the first Heidelberg assembly of thirty-eight nobles and no less than seventeen at the second, more loyal assembly of eighteen) wrote to the elector that they would support him against the League, but asked for a guarantee of their ancient privileges and for settlement of their countless disputes with Philip's Amtleute, who had impaired their privileges and interfered with their serfs and villagers[2]. In 1490 the Kraichgau nobles replaced the outmoded Gesellschaft vom Esel with a ten-year brotherhood, which introduced compulsory arbitration for all disputes between its members, under the supervision of an elected captain with far-reaching powers. The influence of the supreme court was thus excluded and the elector was mentioned merely as the nobles' feudal lord and Dienstherr and the first prince to whom they would turn, if summoned by the emperor to enter the League[3]. They would sacrifice their independence neither to the League nor to the elector.

In 1490 Philip set two of his retainers to attack two Kraichgau nobles who had joined the League. War between the elector and the League, supported by Württemberg, was only averted when the bishop of Speyer bought out the Kraichgau lands of one of the nobles and

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1. Ibid., pp.76-77.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/4147, fos.227-33.

3. von Günter, loc. cit., pp.503-6; Kolb, pp.81-86.

himself entered the League[1]. Although the emperor regarded the Kraichgau nobles as direct subjects of the Empire but did not press them to join the League, the League's captains relied on Frederick III's earlier mandates and continued to insist that the nobles should become members. Philip was anxious about the strength of the League and feared that he would lose the Kraichgau nobles to it. He therefore held an assembly of his bishops and chief officials and of the nobles under his protection to protest once more to the League. In the following years he concluded alliances against the League with the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, who were only able however to obtain temporary injunctions from the emperor forbidding the Kraichgau nobles to enter the League. Philip was likewise on the defensive in his negotiations with Württemberg, in which he was unable to prove that the Kraichgau nobility were his Landsassen[2]. The nobles had taken up an intermediate position between the elector and the Emperor and made only voluntary contributions to Philip's aid of 1495 and to the imperial Common Penny of 1496[3]. Although many of them fought for the elector in 1504, Württemberg's conquest of the eastern Ämter brought about the surrender of most of the Kraichgau nobles and made it easier for them to establish themselves later as Free Imperial Knights[4].

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1. Ibid., pp.78-81,86-97.

2. Ibid., p.97-116,122-6.

3. Ibid., pp.138-41; Ziehen, ii.495.

4. Kolb, pp.143-5,149-53.

Not only in the Kraichgau did leagues of nobles seek to maintain their independence of the electors. The correspondence of the Wittelsbachs revealed that earlier leagues of the nobles in Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate, and the Palatinate itself had only been prevented because Frederick I had persuaded the leaders not to seal the proposed alliances[1]. The nobles of the imperial Ingelheimer Grund had formed a league at the end of the fourteenth century to uphold their privileges. Successive electors confirmed their claims that they were not included in the pawning of the imperial lands, but were still subject directly to the Emperor and only swore oaths of loyalty to the Palatinate for the offices they held. The league was renewed in 1482, met annually, and was active in arbitrating disputes between its members[2]. The league of the Ortenau nobility shared the fortunes of the Kraichgau nobility under the Elector Philip and later established close links with the Free Imperial Knights of Lower Alsace[3]. In 1463, twenty-five nobles from the borderlands between the Palatinate and Alsace formed the League of the Holy Spirit, with provisions for reciprocal aid, arbitration of their disputes, and annual assemblies[4]. The league no longer existed in 1495, but

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1. Baierische Landtags-Handlungen, x.199,203; Kolb, p.103.

2. H. Loersch, Der Ingelheimer Oberhof, Bonn, 1885, pp.LXIV-LXX, LXXXVI,XCI-II,XCIX,CXXXV-VI,CXXXIX.

3. M. Krebs, 'Politische und kirchliche Geschichte der Ortenau', Die Ortenau, xvi, 1929, pp.120-1; Kolb, pp.77,98,106-7.

4. Hertzog, Edelsasser Cronick, ii.76-82; J. Schlosstein, 'Die Heiligen-Geist-Gesellschaft (1463)', Pfälzisches Museum, ii, 1885, pp.59-61; Eberbach, op. cit., pp.133-6; Lehmann, Burgen, i.119-20.

in 1505 numerous nobles from the same region admitted the emperor to the use of their castle of Drachenfels and accepted his jurisdiction[1], and in 1506 the elector feared that they were forming a secret alliance among themselves[2].

Philip's failure to convert more of the nobility into his Landsassen was largely a result of circumstances beyond his control. On balance, he had not lost all the advantages which he and his predecessors had gained from their nobles. There remained many loyal Landsassen who had never been in any league, for instance those to the west of the Rhine or north of the Neckar. Not all the Kraichgau nobles had broken away completely, since many continued to serve the electors as before. Above all, the electors had during the fifteenth century made considerable territorial purchases from the declining higher nobility, had increased their rights in the villages of the nobles, and had also benefited from their political and military services.

(iii) The Towns.

(a) The Electors' Towns and Former Imperial Cities.

The policy of the electors towards their towns was to foster their economic welfare and privileges, while retaining firm political and financial control. The ordinances of Frederick I for Alzey, Neustadt an der Haardt and Heidelberg, and of Philip for Neustadt and Weinheim, were devoted equally to regulating municipal administration

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1. Ibid.i.123-5;ii.133.

2. GSA Munich, Blau 435/5, fo.399.

for the benefit of the electors and to promoting trade and commerce in the interests of the townsfolk. It is true that the introduction or revision of the excise often provided the occasion for the electors to strengthen their control over the finances and councils of the towns. At the same time, several ordinances had the character of charters for the towns and were explicitly requested by their councils and gilds[1]. The electors also declared in the ordinances that their intention was to ensure both the continued loyal service of the towns and their economic prosperity[2].

The most frequent and signal privilege granted to the towns was the right to hold markets. The more important weekly markets were flourishing in many of the larger towns already before 1450[3], but Frederick I and especially Philip introduced them where there had been none and also established a large number of new annual, quarterly and other special markets[4]. The electors' own interest in the markets was financial and political. They insisted that the normal tolls and safe conduct dues should be paid by all who travelled to and from

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1. Heidelberg, 1471, Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.502; Neustadt, n.d., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/894, fo.26. At the town's request, Frederick encouraged the settlement of foreigners at Weinsberg by reducing their taxes, ibid., 812, fo.140.

2. Ibid., fos.21,44; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.394-5,483-4.

3. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.212; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.393-4.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/820, fo.419;1662, fos.124-5,135,163-6,213,267-9; Württ.R.ii, no.14554; Widder, iv.117; Fabricius, p.94; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.393-4,609-11,741-2,808-9.

the markets[1], and they used some markets as a weapon of economic warfare. During the blockade of Speyer in 1466, Frederick I and his allies prevented their subjects from attending the market at Speyer and encouraged them and the neighbouring clergy and nobles to go to the new weekly markets which they set up in their lands —— in the Palatinate at Neustadt, Germersheim and Agersheim[2].

Trade and commerce were regulated primarily to safeguard the interests of consumers. The Elector Philip's ordinance for Neustadt prohibited butchers from fixing prices in association with cattle merchants and from discriminating between the service given to rich and poor customers[3]. At Heidelberg a ban was placed on forestalling in 1465 and on engrossing in 1471[4]. Heidelberg's ordinance of 1471 laid down rules for the sale of wine and the collection of the excise, for the supervision of the quality of bread and in general of the work of the bakers, millers, butchers and tilers, and for the sale of timber and firewood and the preservation of the town's forests[5].

The privileges of the towns were also recognized and upheld by

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1. E.g., ibid.i.610,741.

2. Kremer, ii, no.127, p.362;i.385; R.Friedrich, p.430. Philip later established markets at Kreuznach and Münster in competition with the market at Bingen, Ziehen, i.294;ii.668; see chapter 2(vi).

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/894, fos.67-68.

4. Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.489,509.

5. Ibid.i.502-10; R.Friedrich, pp.458-65. Philip's ordinance for Neustadt was even more elaborate, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/894, fos.26-70.

the electors. Frederick I's legislation admitted once more the established right of the inalienable towns that their privileges had to be confirmed before they paid homage to a new elector[1]. The existing privileges of conquered towns like Schriesheim and Sobernheim were confirmed[2]. Some towns were granted the privilege that their inhabitants, except clergy and nobles, had to become burghers after a year and a day's residence[3]. Philip laid down that no one living in the town of Neustadt without his own house was to abstain from becoming a burgher for more than a month, unless by special permission of the town council or the Amtleute[4]. In the major towns the burghers enjoyed complete freedom of movement and the right to marry whom they pleased[5]. The administrative functions of the town council of Heidelberg, as set out in 1465, were typical of those exercised by the councils in the other principal towns. The council controlled the sale of wine, money-changing, and the town's rights to common land, forests and meadows; it could punish minor misdemeanours of the burghers and implemented the elector's police and sumptuary laws;

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1. Ibid., 812, fos.24,49; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.494.

2. Kremer, i.467,562; R.Friedrich, p.468; M.B.H.C., ix, 1888, p.116; K. Christ, 'Zur Geschichte von Schriesheim', Z.G.O., xxviii, 1876, p.488 n.8.

3. E.g., Weinheim (1404), Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.389; Kreuznach (1495), Z.G.O., xviii, 1865, p.254.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/894, fos.38-39.

5. Ibid., 812, fos.24,47; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.492; Lehmann, Neustadter Thal, p.53. Burghers of Weinsberg had to pay a 20 % property tax on emigrating, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.140.

it had civil jurisdiction over the burghers; it was given the use of the elector's moat for keeping fish (in exchange for maintaining the defences in repair), and it retained a larger share of the taxes than before, a quarter of the excise instead of one tenth of the Bede[1].

The assumption behind the ordinances for the towns was that their corporate rights were derived from the electors, who, as the Elector Philip emphasized, could change the ordinances at will[2]. The electors made use of their right to the military service of the burghers to develop military contributions in the towns for the support of contingents in their wars. Several towns became indebted as a result of their efforts in Frederick I's wars and had their tax burdens lightened by the elector, and even the towns which were exempted from the Schatzung made occasional voluntary contributions[3].

The political control of the towns by the electors was most apparent in the appointment of the municipal officials. In 1496 the elector's representative, the bailiff, and the members of the council in Heidelberg and Weinheim were appointed and could be dismissed by Philip[4]. The bailiff at Weinheim was also the elector's cellarer, a subordinate official of the Amt, and although the two burgomasters were apparently elected by the council, the elector had the effective

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1. Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.485,489-93; Christ, 'Steuerwesen', N.A.G.S.H., iii, 1898, pp.208,264.

2. Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.398; Z.G.O., xviii, 1865, p.254.

3. Chapter 3(ii),(xi) and (xiii).

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 66/3486, fos.11-13.

nomination of all the town's officials through his right to appoint the council[1]. The bailiffs and Amtleute exercised close supervision over the town councils. At Neustadt the bailiff presided in the town's court and he or his deputy were present whenever the council met. The Amtleute took part in the appointment of officials for the council and Gemeinde and their consent was required for the engagement of armed men in the town's service and for the sale of common land. It was in their discretion to summon special meetings of the council and they assisted at the examination of imprisoned criminals[2].

Largely as a result of the electors' interest in the excise, they confirmed or introduced the rule in most of their towns that the officials had to present annual financial accounts in the presence of the Amtleute and council[3]. For similar reasons, Frederick I took measures to ensure that his towns reduced their indebtedness[4], and loans taken up by the town councils required the electors' consent[5].

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1. Weiss, Weinheim, pp.144-6; in 1471 Frederick I removed a burgomaster of Bretten from office for insulting the bailiff, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.80V.

2. Ibid., 894, fos.27-29,32,38,41.

3. E.g., ibid., 814, fos.210V,230V;824, fos.87,99;894, fos.30-31; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.397,491,509; U.B....Pfeddersheim, pp.109-10.

4. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.44;820, fos.229-30; Z.G.O., viii, 1857, pp.406-7; Lehmann, Neustadter Thal, p.11.

5. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fos.104-5,130;816, fo.166;818, fos.15,347.

There were frequent disputes over taxation and the expenditure of the towns' revenues between the council, an oligarchic body appointed by the elector, and the Gemeinde, the members of the gilds and ordinary burghers. The electors sometimes intervened to secure concord and might also reform the constitution of a town in order to enable representatives of the Gemeinde to participate in meetings of the council when financial decisions were taken, especially when the annual accounts were presented[1].

Inside the towns, the electors made sure that peace was preserved on the streets and at night, particularly in Heidelberg, where the large numbers of clergy, nobles and members of the court were liable to come into conflict with the townsfolk[2]. All major crimes in the towns, including the use of unjust weights and measures, were under the jurisdiction of the electors' Amtleute[3]. Frederick I's sumptuary laws for Heidelberg were introduced in 1465 for a mixture of religious and economic motives: to secure the observance of the laws of the Church and to prevent unnecessary expenses by the common man. The ordinance contained measures against blasphemy, living in sin, and the sale of goods, other than food, or the holding of markets on Sundays

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1. Pfälzer Urk.vi, no.1977; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.511-2; J.G. Lehmann, Urkundliche Geschichte der Bezirks-Hauptstadt Kaiserslautern, Kaiserslautern, 1853, pp.86-89; Gredy, Odernheim, pp.344-50.

2. Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.495-8; U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, ii, no.533, p.59. Also at Neustadt, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/894, fos.51-52,65-66.

3. E.g., ibid., 951, fo.92V; 66/3486, fos.12-14.

and festivals of the Church. It limited the number of guests and the value of presents given at weddings and the expenses at christenings and funerals, as well as the drinking hours of craftsmen and the length of pointed shoes[1]. Frederick's wish to preserve order in his capital city and dignity in church functions was reflected again in two ordinances of 1472 which regulated precedence in religious processions[2].

In sum, the electors' control over their towns was as extensive as that codified for the towns of Baden in 1495[3]. There was also the same trend in the Palatinate towards a uniform regulation of municipal affairs. Great similarity was evident in the privileges of all the towns, in their economic legislation, and in the details of the appointment of their officials and every field of administration. The ordinance establishing Neckargemünd's annual market in 1466 concluded with the injunction that it was to be observed as in the elector's other towns[4]. In 1467 Frederick I enquired of the town council of Heidelberg what were its customs regarding the inheritance of the property of married couples who had made no marriage contract, and issued its reply as an ordinance for the town of Mockmühl[5].

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1. 17 July, ibid., 67/812, fos.78-81.

2. M.G.B., xii, 1921, p.166; U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, ii. no.452, p.50.

3. R. Carlebach, Badische Rechtsgeschichte, i, Heidelberg, 1906, pp.23-24.

4. Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.610.

5. Ibid.i.499-502.

Practices of doubtful value concerning debts and the expulsion of murderers were replaced at Weinsberg by the 'common law' of the land in 1493[1]. Moreover, the sumptuary laws and prohibitions of forestalling and engrossing were soon extended from the towns to become the substantive law of the entire Palatinate[2]. By such means, however slow and incomplete, the internal unification of the territories was advanced.

Uniformity in the constitutions of the towns was closely allied with subordination to the authority of the electors. Any attempts of the towns to make themselves truly self-governing and independent of the Amtleute were curbed. Frederick I annulled practices which the town of Kaub had sought to introduce and insisted that the Amtleute should attend every meeting of the council and on each occasion when the Bede was assessed or accounts were presented; they were to be consulted on the regulations for the cutting of timber, the gathering of firewood and the sale of wine; and they, not the council, were to appoint the officials of the court on the elector's behalf and punish all users of unjust weights and measures[3]. Philip and his counsellors similarly reformed the constitution of Weinsberg: its inhabitants and new burgomasters every year were now made to swear oaths of loyalty to the elector's bailiff; secret sessions of the town's court were to be replaced by open ones; and the council was to obey the elector's

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fo.87.

2. Chapter 6(ix).

3. 1475, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.91-92.

commands[1].

The most violent conflict between a town and the Amtleute broke out over the privilege which all burghers enjoyed of being under the jurisdiction of the town courts. The elector or his officials could only imprison a burgher if he had been convicted by the town court, if he had committed a capital crime or one affecting the elector's person or honour, or directed against his Amtleute, if he was an official who had abused his office, or if he could not obtain guarantors to vouch for his appearance for trial[2]. In Kreuznach the burghers had complained of arbitrary imprisonment by the Amtleute already in 1478. The elector and the count palatine of Simmern, joint rulers of the town, confirmed the privilege of jurisdiction by the town's court, but warned the burghers not to ignore their orders[3]. The elector's Amtmann at Kreuznach wrote to Philip in 1494 that the town council was not satisfied with the reduction it had been allowed in the military contribution to the armament against the see of Mainz. He recommended the punishment of three members of the council, who were conspiring with John of Simmern's clerk of the Amt against the elector[4]. The Amtmann seems to have followed his own advice, and

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1. 1493, ibid., 824, fos.86-88,98-100; further additions, 1500, ibid., fos.418-9.

2. Ibid., 812, fos.23,47;820, fo.499; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.397,492; Lehmann, Neustadter Thal, p.53.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/829, fo.33.

4. 8 May, ibid., 77/3006, Amt Creuznach.

imprisoned a burgher in 1495. According to the chronicler Trithemius (at that time head of the neighbouring abbey of Sponheim), some of the burghers then proclaimed their jus civile and demanded that the prisoner be brought to trial. They broke down the prison to release him, rang the bells, occupied the fortifications and gates of the town, and killed some of the officials. The Elector Philip and the Count Palatine John came in person to impose penalties ranging from heavy fines to severe mutilations[1]. Kreuznach's privileges were later confirmed, but with reservations: although the Amtleute were not to imprison burghers who had just claims against the rulers, they could seize anyone who acted violently against the princes or their officials; the other burghers were to aid in the arrest of such criminals, who were to be tried by the Amtleute within six months; and no one was again to raise the cry of 'burghers' rights' (Bürgerrecht) nor use it as a justification for any action, on pain of death[2].

Neustadt an der Haardt suffered similar disciplining at about the same time. A pamphleteer hostile to the elector wrote in 1504 that burghers of Neustadt had in the past complained to the elector about the duties imposed on them by the Amtmann contrary to their privileges, but instead of receiving a fair hearing they had been

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1. Annales Hirsaugiensis, ii.562-3; Trithemius placed these events in 1496, but the date of the riot, 24 Aug. 1495, and other details were given in the rulers' ordinance of 3 Oct. 1495 for the town, Z.G.O., xviii, 1865, p.251.

2. Ibid., pp.252-4.

thrown into prison[1]. Philip's ordinance for Neustadt may well have been issued as a result of these events: it can be dated not earlier than 1490 and probably nearer the turn of the century[2], and it mentioned conflicts which had taken place between the elector's clerk of the Amt and the council and Gemeinde. In the ordinance, Philip repeated the reservations placed by Frederick I in 1464 on the privilege of jurisdiction by the town court and declared that inhabitants of the town who were not burghers might be punished arbitrarily by the Amtleute for misdemeanours[3]. In future, the bailiff and council were to be bound by oath only to the elector; the officials of the town were to keep the secrets of the council and court only if their deliberations were not to the prejudice of Philip or his Amtleute; the elector reserved his right to punish members of the council if they remained obstinately divided in their counsels; and they were not to conclude any agreement with the burghers without the consent of the bailiff and Amtleute[4].

The electors could not resort to such heavy-handed treatment to bring the former imperial cities recently pawned to them under closer control. Although Kaiserslautern and Oppenheim (with its satellite towns and villages) were soon declared part of the inalienable lands,

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1. Ville Strasbourg, Wencker, Argentoratensia historico-politica, III 6b.

2. It mentioned as dead the elector's clerk of the Amt, whose disputes with members of the Gemeinde were settled by Philip on 31 Dec. 1489, Pfälzisches U.B. xiv.324; a late date is suggested by the details of judicial procedure in the ordinance, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/894, fos.33-38.

3. Ibid., fos.26,70.

4. Ibid., fos.27,29-31,38,57.

they retained numerous privileges as imperial cities and their administration never became uniform with that of the electors' older towns. The Emperor Frederick III confirmed the privilege that they could not be made to guarantee the payment of loans taken up by the Emperor or the elector palatine[1]. They did not therefore appear as guarantors in the contracts for the electors' debts, as did Heidelberg and other towns[2]. Military service to the electors was rendered reluctantly by some of the former imperial cities. Gelnhausen insisted that its new lords could not compel citizens to perform military duties more than a day and a night's journey from the city[3]. Oppenheim refused to send forces to assist at Frederick I's siege of Lützelstein, but had to pay him 4,000 guilders in 1453 for its disobedience[4]. Jews might and did live in the former imperial lands, but not in the principality itself. Perhaps the most valuable privilege of pawned cities like Sels, Kaiserslautern and Oppenheim was that they paid no Bede, Schatzung or excise to the electors, but only a small, fixed imperial tax[5]. The electors therefore had no need

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1. 1453-4, Chmel, Regesta...Friderici...III., nos.3076,3180, pp.310,320. Gelnhausen had the same privilege, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1662, fo.495.
2. The name of Oppenheim slipped into the draft, but was removed before the final version of Frederick I's letter acknowledging his loan from the city of Frankfurt in 1460, StA Frankfurt, Reichssachen Nachträge 1883.
3. 1435, F.W. Junghans, 'Versuch einer Geschichte der freien Reichsstadt Gelnhausen', Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde, N.F.xii, 1886, pp.285-6.
4. The former clerk of the Amt of Oppenheim to the elector, 8 Sep. 1491, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/3006; R.Katz.ii, nos.4816,4832; Franck, Oppenheim, pp.77,498.
5. Chapters 3(vi) and (xiii);4(iii).

to interfere in their administration and tax collection and issued no ordinances for their internal affairs.[1]

In Oppenheim, for example, the electors obtained some influence over the city, but never the absolute power which they possessed in the towns of the electoral principality. They had to promise to uphold the city's imperial privileges in perpetuity[2]. Political control over the municipal administration could only be obtained by indirect means. Since the beginning of the fifteenth century the bailiff was also the elector's Amtmann in the Amt of Oppenheim, but whereas the bailiff at Neustadt, for instance, had only to promise to keep the secrets of the town, the bailiff of Oppenheim took an oath of loyalty to the city and the holders of its castle fiefs (Burgleute), as well as to the elector. During the second half of the century, however, the castle fiefs at Oppenheim were coming to be held almost exclusively by noble vassals of the electors. Like the bailiff, one of the two burgomasters was always during this period a Burgmann of the castle and therefore often a loyal noble or official of the Palatinate. Frederick I mediated in the disputes between the council and Gemeinde over the raising of taxes to pay off Oppenheim's debts, just as he did in his other towns. The inheritance laws of 1484 for the Palatinate were introduced also in Oppenheim. In 1477, however,

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1. It is therefore exaggerated to claim that Kaiserslautern's imperial privileges were meaningless in the fifteenth century, cf. Lehmann, Kaiserslautern, pp.62-64,72-73.

2. E.g., 1436, Franck, op. cit., no.178, pp.464-5.

the elector had to agree to a compromise with the city in their long-standing disputes over safe conduct, fishing rights and tolls[1]. There were renewed conflicts in 1507 between the Amtmann and the city council, which had held court sessions for minor cases in the absence of representatives of the Burgleute, an innovation which should not have been made without the elector's consent[2]. After the 1517 assembly of Estates in the Palatinate, Oppenheim replied to the elector's request for cooperation that it would consider the matter with the other cities at the imperial diet[3]. Oppenheim at least had not yet been fully mediatized, although the other former imperial cities did not enjoy quite such extensive privileges.

(b) The Cities of Alsace and the Ortenau.

The imperial cities of Alsace and the Ortenau retained their privileges during the period when the protectorates over them were pawned to the electors. The Emperor Frederick III's refusal for twenty years to recognise the electors as protectors of Alsace weakened their influence and reduced their revenues there[4]. Frederick I's declared aims in 1454 and 1457 were that the cities should swear loyalty to him as in the past and not claim additional imperial privileges, and that the form of the protector's oath to the cities should be altered[5]. Nevertheless, the oath was unchanged

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1. Ibid., pp.64,80,91,101,106 n.16,222-4; nos.186,202-3,211, pp.483, 518-22,537.
2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/825, fos.267-8.
3. Louis V to Oppenheim, 22 Dec. 1517, ibid., 77/5927.
4. Chapter 3(xi).
5. Kremer, ii, nos.31,51, pp.91-92,146; R.Friedrich, p.274.

when Philip took it before the city council of Hagenau in 1486. He confirmed the city's privileges and swore to protect it, respect its jurisdiction, and not guarantee any debts on his revenues from it[1].

The electors' few military and political interventions in Alsace were made in their capacity as protectors of the cities and villages immediately subject to the Empire, and not as their rulers. When Count Hans of Lupfen attacked the city of Türkheim in 1465, Frederick I's punitive expedition was preceded by an alliance with the other cities of Alsace, similar in character to the military compacts he made with allies in his wars[2]. The elector and the cities of Alsace and the Ortenau were also separate parties to the alliance of 1461 against the Westphalian courts[3]. Mülhausen lay so far south of the other cities of Alsace that it could not rely solely on Frederick I's protection and allied with Berne and Solothurn in 1466. The elector tried to mediate between Mülhausen and Peter Hagenbach, Charles of Burgundy's hated Landvogt in Upper Alsace, who was maintaining the city's importunate creditors, but on the renewal of Frederick's wars in 1470 he neglected Mülhausen's affairs and the initiative in assisting the city passed entirely to the Swiss[4]. Even as protectors, the electors were not always effective in Alsace.

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1. Becker, pp.113-5.

2. Cartulaire de Mulhouse, ii, no.881, pp.408-10; Kremer, ii, no.119, pp.342-4;i.386-9; R.Friedrich, p.422.

3. Rappoltsteinisches U.B.iv, no.711, pp.271-6.

4. H. Brauer-Gramm, Der Landvogt Peter von Hagenbach, Göttingen, 1957, pp.212-7; Sittler, Décapole Alsacienne, pp.68 et seq.

In the dispute over Mülhausen, in Frederick I's conflicts with the emperor[1], and in all important matters concerning the cities of the protectorate, the electors had to act in consultation with the independent League of the cities. The League stressed their imperial status and privileges and became especially active during the protectorate of the electors, meeting regularly at Schlettstadt. It was friendly to the electors, but kept a watch on their policy of extending their influence and territories in Alsace[2]. The cities usually consulted before replying to Frederick I's requests for military assistance and tended not to comply, even if they supported him politically. They refused to supply him with provisions or to allow him to station troops in Hagenau in 1450, on the grounds that as protector he had the right to command their troops only in imperial matters, which included action against brigands, but not his own private feuds[3]. In 1452 Hagenau, Colmar and Oberehenheim assisted Frederick at the siege of Lützelstein only on the understanding that their resources were being used to suppress robbery and violence[4]. Otherwise the cities remained neutral during both electors' wars against the emperors in 1460-1, 1470-1 and 1504[5]. Nevertheless, they

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1. Becker, pp.75-76.
2. Ibid., pp.195-200; Sittler, op. cit., pp.31,95,113.
3. Ibid., pp.29,110.
4. Z.G.O., xvii, 1865, pp.299-300; Cartulaire de Mulhouse, ii, no.770, pp.275-6; Gyss, Obernai, i.226; Sittler, op. cit., p.113. Troops had been refused in 1451, although the elector offered to use them against brigands, ibid., pp.112-3.
5. Cartulaire de Mulhouse, ii, no.845, pp.348-9;iv, 1886, no.1932, p.400; 'Reissbuch', Z.G.O., xxiv, 1874, p.170; Sittler, op. cit., pp.45-46.

did sometimes help with loans advanced on the imperial taxes; all the cities together lent 2,970 guilders in 1457[1].

The cities had the imperial privilege that the proper instance for disputes between the protector and one of them was a court composed of representatives of the other cities, and for disputes between the protector and the whole body of the cities, only the Emperor[2]. However, on the one occasion when this privilege was of importance, during Frederick I's conflict with the city of Weissenburg, the elector ignored his obligation to accept the jurisdiction of the other cities[3]. When individual cities came into conflict with third parties, they frequently sought the arbitration of the elector sitting with his counsellors, or later of the supreme court[4]. This practice was written into Frederick I's treaty of protection with Weissenburg[5]. At other times the cities agreed to arbitration by the deputy protector,

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1. Dép. Strasbourg, C98; three other loans of over 1,000 fl. each, ibid. (from Hagenau, 1456); GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fo.224; R.Friedrich, pp.478-9.

2. Cartulaire de Mulhouse, ii, no.526, pp.52-53; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, iii, Elsässische Rechte, ii.216-7; J.D. Schoepflin, Alsatia...Diplomatica, ii, 2nd edn., ed. A. Lamey, Mannheim, 1775, no.1292, p.339.

3. Chapter 2(viii); at other times the electors did submit to arbitration by the city council of Colmar, J. Becker, Die Reichsvogtei Kayserberg, Strassburg, 1906, p.64.

4. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.44-47,130-1; Cartulaire de Mulhouse, ii, nos.774,892, pp.279,423; Rappoltsteinisches U.B. iv, no.929, pp.418-23.

5. Kremer, ii, no.166, p.449.

but he was not regarded as a final instance[1].

The cities had jurisdiction over cases between their inhabitants. In Hagenau the elector's bailiff no longer had any real share in the government of the city and presided in its court only when cases carrying the death penalty or concerning Jews were heard. The elector's separate court at Hagenau had jurisdiction or arbitrated in cases involving the nobles and other subjects of Alsace, but not in those concerned only with citizens of Hagenau[2]. When the elector's officials claimed in 1487 that treasure found by a citizen on his property was forfeit to the elector on behalf of the Empire, it was the city court which decided in favour of the citizen, who had argued that Hagenau had no lord and that the elector was only its protector[3]. The decisions of the courts of all the cities were final. There is no evidence to support the contention that during the fifteenth century the electors tried to make their court at Hagenau a court of appeal from the decisions of the city courts[4].

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1. E.g., Rappoltsteinisches U.B.iv, no.571, pp.215-6; Gyss, op. cit. i.281-4; L. Ohl, Geschichte der Stadt Münster und ihrer Abtei im Gregorienthal, Schirmeck, 1897, pp.202-5,207-8.

2. Becker, pp.114,120,136-40,221; V. Guerber, Histoire politique et religieuse de Hagenau, i, Rixheim, 1876, p.159.

3. Das alte Statutenbuch der Stadt Hagenau, ed. A. Hanauer and J. Klélé, Hagenau, 1900, pp.237-40. The council upheld other privileges of the city against the deputy protector in 1497, ibid., pp.242-6.

4. Sittler, op. cit., pp.111-2; cf. Becker, p.146, whose references to Gyss, op. cit., do not bear the meaning put on them.

The protector had greater control over the appointment of officials in the cities. He had the right to nominate the bailiffs of all of them, though apparently did not exercise it in Mülhausen[1]. The practice at Hagenau was for the protector to appoint his deputy; the latter introduced the bailiff into office and the bailiff inducted the scribe of the court, although all these officials had to take an oath to the city authorities as well[2]. The protector had effective control over the elections for the city council of Schlettstadt and nominated outright the councils of Kaisersberg, Münster and Türkheim, but not those of Mülhausen, Hagenau, Oberehenheim and Colmar, where he was merely entitled to be present or represented at the elections[3]. The elector's officials also assisted in the reform of Oberehenheim's constitution in 1459[4].

The electors' influence over the administration of the cities was altogether considerable. Hagenau complained to the emperor in 1474 that, because Frederick I had been deprived of the protectorate, the city could not elect its council annually, since the protector or his officials had to be present to receive the oaths of loyalty of the new council to the Emperor. Furthermore, the city could not judge

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1. M. Moeder, Les institutions de Mulhouse au Moyen Age, Strasbourg, 1951, p.20; Becker, p.221.

2. F. Batt, Das Eigenthum zu Hagenau im Elsass, ii, Colmar, 1881, p.158; Statutenbuch der Stadt Hagenau, p.74; Becker, pp.135,144.

3. Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, iii, Elsässische Rechte, i:826-30; Moeder, op. cit., p.20; Becker, pp.215-6.

4. Gyss, op. cit.i.315 et seq.

criminals and had been unprotected and impoverished for three years; and the elector would not tolerate any other protector and was too powerful to be resisted[1]. Frederick also made severe inroads at this time into the city's rights in the Holy Forest of Hagenau, which it owned jointly with him[2]. Nevertheless, in most respects the cities had a large measure of independence. Their taxes to the electors were high, but unalterable, and they were not liable to the Schatzung; the attempt to introduce it into Alsace in 1498 was a failure[3]. The cities had valuable privileges of jurisdiction, were not obliged to render military service to the protectors, and maintained a lively political independence in the deliberations of their League.

The electors were in an even weaker position in their relations with the cities of the Ortenau, which were inclined to side with the emperors and had the advantage that the electors were only joint protectors of the Ortenau with the bishops of Strassburg. The cities did not take part in any of Frederick I's feuds and submitted under pressure to the emperor in 1504, although they remained neutral in his war against the Elector Philip[4]. Throughout the previous fifty years

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1. Sittler, op. cit., pp.59-60; Becker, pp.78,211.

2. C.E. Ney, Geschichte des heiligen Forstes bei Hagenau im Elsass, i, Strassburg, 1888, pp.54-57; Becker, p.78.

3. Chapter 3(xiii).

4. Gothein, Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Schwarzwaldes, i.230; F.K. Barth, 'Der Bairisch-Pfälzische Erbfolgekrieg im Fürstenbergischen und in der Ortenau, 1504', Die Ortenau, xviii, 1931, pp.22-26.

Offenburg, Gengenbach and Zell had been in conflict with the electors over their imperial privileges. In 1452 the emperor granted each city the new privilege that in every year the previous year's council was to have jurisdiction over all civil matters and that the citizens could not be summoned to other courts; in addition, the old council was to adjudicate all questions of what were the imperial privileges of the city[1]. Frederick I several times expressed the wish, though in vain, to have the cities' privileges restricted by imperial decree or other means[2]. The ordinance book of Gengenbach noted that the new council was not to seek to reduce the powers of the old council to uphold the privileges of the city, and that the bailiff was not to be bound by service to any prince, lord or city[3]. The conflict with the cities became acute after the old council of Offenburg had claimed that the Elector Philip's Vogt had violated the privileges of the city by imprisoning two citizens for offences for which they had not been tried by the council. Philip attempted to secure a favourable outcome to the dispute by bringing it before a court composed of himself and his leading advisers, but the hearings from 1492 onwards were inconclusive[4]. The emperor then confirmed Offenburg's privileges, especially the exclusive jurisdiction of the council over the citizens.

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1. Chmel, Regesta...Friderici...III., nos.2957,2962,2964, pp.301-2.

2. Kremer, ii, nos.31,51, pp.92-93,146; R.Friedrich, pp.274,399.

3. c.1460-80, K. Walter, Weistümer der Ortenau, Offenburg, 1899, pp.5,7,10.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fos.31-33;1662, fo.77;77/8781 (July 1494).

He added that in cases brought against the corporate body of the city by parties who were not subject to it, recourse was to be had to arbitration by the council of Strassburg or of Schlettstadt, but not to any supreme court or other court[1]. In 1495 Maximilian declared invalid a decision of Philip's court, which had impaired the privileges of Offenburg and in particular of its old council[2]. During the preparations for the war of 1504 the old council of Gengenbach stated at the request of the new council that the lords to whom the city was pawned had no rights in it except the imperial rights. The cities then wrote to the emperor, who replied that they should use the privileged powers of the old council to abolish the new burdens which their lords had imposed as a step towards their mediatization[3]. When the cities had submitted to him, Maximilian annulled the restrictions which the former lords of Offenburg had placed on the jurisdiction of its council and its pasture rights[4]. Only in the last decade of his rule in the Ortenau had the elector made inroads on the entrenched privileges of the cities, and then without great or permanent effect.

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1. 1494, Walter, Offenburg, i.32-36.

2. Ibid.i.37-39. In the ensuing years the emperor also intervened against the elector in Zell and Gengenbach, 17 April 1497, Ville Strasbourg, IV 33; the Vogt at Ortenberg to the elector, 30 Nov. 1500, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/8781.

3. Barth, loc. cit., pp.20-21; Gothein, op. cit.i.231; Walter, Offenburg, i.46-48.

4. Ibid.i.55-56.

(c) The Relations of the Electors with the Neighbouring Free Cities.

The electors had more influence over several free cities, which were not under their rule, but lay near the heart of their territories and entered their protection, than they had over the distant cities of the Ortenau, of which they held the formal protectorate.

The cities of Worms and Speyer became dependent on the Palatinate largely because the electors intervened in their quarrels with the resident bishops. In 1422 Speyer was nearly mediatized by its bishop with the assistance of the Elector Louis III[1], but the city nevertheless entered Louis IV's protection in 1443, when its old feud with the Vögte of Hunolstein threatened to revive[2]. In exchange the elector obtained a promise of military assistance and the right of entry to the city for his forces[3]. On the renewal of the elector's protection in 1451, Speyer promised to send military aid if the Palatinate was attacked and to pay for these auxiliary troops if it was invaded. The elector was allowed to bring up to 500 armed men into the city, which also undertook to keep fifteen horsemen under arms to assist his Amtleute in patrolling the highways and to have fifteen more in readiness[4]. Troops from Speyer were present at most

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1. Eberhard, Ludwig III., pp.128,131; C. Weiss, Geschichte der Stadt Speier, Speyer, 1876, pp.52-54.

2. Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte...der Vögte von Hunolstein, ii, ed. F. Töpfer, Nuremberg, 1867, pp.436-7.

3. Chronica...Speyer, pp.842-4.

4. Kremer, ii, no.3, pp.6-10.

of Frederick I's campaigns and sieges between 1455 and 1462, though not during the war against the bishop of Speyer[1]. Although the elector had become obliged in 1461 to assist the city against the bishop if requested, Frederick aided his chancellor, Bishop Matthias, in his conflict with Speyer in 1466. The elector's military alliance with the bishop and with Louis of Zweibrücken even provided that, if the city was captured, Frederick was to keep half and his allies to share the remainder[2]. In the end the city was able to preserve its free status only by submitting to the bishop's claims. In 1467 Speyer was relieved of the obligation to keep a small force permanently under arms in the elector's service, but had to pay protection money instead[3]. Notwithstanding the alliance with the Palatinate, the city admitted Louis of Zweibrücken with his troops and supplied him with provisions for his campaign against the elector in 1470, although it was too fearful of its powerful neighbour to give Louis the more active assistance which the emperor had requested[4]. Both Speyer and Worms showed again that they could or would not assist the electors against the Emperor, when they refused Philip's request for aid in

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1. Chronica...Speyer, pp.847,854,856-7,864; Speierische Chronik, p.447; Kremer, ii, no.69, p.201;i.170,290.

2. R.Friedrich, pp.357,370,431; Kremer, ii, no.127, p.363; see (i)(a), above.

3. Chronica...Speyer, p.904; Kremer, ii, no.138, pp.386-7;i.406.

4. Chronica...Speyer, p.883.

the war of 1504. Yet Maximilian and his allies were also angry that these cities would not oppose Philip, whose influence was sufficient to secure their neutrality. The duke of Württemberg had to abandon his plan to join forces with the landgrave of Hesse at either Speyer or Worms[1].

As Speyer had been earlier, Worms was in danger of mediatization by its bishop after 1483, when the elector lent massive support to his chancellor, Bishop John, so that Worms feared the bishop's powerful protector more than it did the bishop himself. Since the complete submission of the city could not be obtained, the elector exploited its plight to impose a sixty-year treaty of protection with the Palatinate. The bishop was left empty-handed, an indication that he had been merely Philip's tool in the attack on the city's status[2]. The freedom of Worms remained in doubt as long as its disputes with the bishop and his clergy continued. The elector informed the city's representatives in 1487 that he was obliged to support the see, since its protection treaty with the Palatinate was a perpetual one and older than that of the city[3]. In 1497 it was

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1. Monumenta Wormatiensia, pp.484 et seq.; Boos, Geschichte der rheinischen Städtekultur, iv.93-97; Würdinger, Kriegsgeschichte, ii.237.

2. Monumenta Wormatiensia, pp.412 n.1,589-93,595,598,610-5; Morneweg, Dalberg, pp.65-78; Boos, op. cit.iv.5-8,10-17; Ziehen, i.195-6; Lossen, p.71; W. Arnold, Verfassungsgeschichte der deutschen Freistädte im Anschluss an die Verfassungsgeschichte der Stadt Worms, vol.ii/, Gotha, 1854, p.463; see (i)(a), above.

3. Monumenta Wormatiensia, pp.484,555; Boos, op. cit.iv.23.

a widely held opinion that the troubles in Worms and Weissenburg would result in their mediatization by the elector[1]. Early in the sixteenth century the bishop secured an imperial ban on the city and again induced Philip to apply pressure with a view to its mediatization, but this was prevented by Bishop John's death and the intervention of the Bavarian Succession War[2].

Weissenburg, which had already escaped mediatization by the abbot of St. Peter's, was the imperial city which came into greatest danger of mediatization by the electors, first in 1469 and then in 1497, when it supported the abbots in their conflicts with the Palatinate[3]. Frederick I also planned with Louis of Zweibrücken to seize Mainz from the archbishop in 1463[4]. The free city of Mainz had actually fallen to the archbishop in 1462, Weinsberg and Gelnhausen to the Elector Louis IV and Sels to Louis III in 1418. Against this background the narrow escapes of Speyer, Worms and Weissenburg heightened the existing uneasiness of the imperial cities, as reflected in the suspicions of Frederick I expressed by the chroniclers

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1. Report of the bishop of Würzburg's representative from Worms, 10 Aug., H. Gollwitzer, 'Capitaneus imperatorio nomine. Reichshauptleute in Städten und reichsstädtische Schicksale im Zeitalter Maximilians I.', Aus Reichstagen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, pp.258-9.

2. Morneweg, op. cit., pp.313-4,340, and passim; Lossen, p.72.

3. Chapter 2(viii).

4. R.Friedrich, p.414; Menzel, Diether von Isenburg, p.211; Lehmann, Zweibrücken, p.155.

of Augsburg and Basel[1]. A later historian has claimed that, under the influence of Bishop Matthias of Speyer, the mediatization of the neighbouring free cities became Frederick I's deliberate policy in the second half of his reign[2]. However, the hostility of Frederick and his successor towards the imperial cities should not be exaggerated. They may have come near to mediatizing three cities which were within the confines of their territories, where special circumstances prevailed, but this did not amount to an overall policy of subjecting free cities.

Frederick I had indeed earlier built up a reputation of friendship towards the imperial and free cities which was far better than that of most contemporary princes. At his accession he was one of the few south German princes not engaged in feuds with the cities of Swabia. The representatives of Nuremberg praised his good will and patience in negotiating peace between the imperial cities and Albert Achilles and his supporters[3]. In the tradition of Louis III's and Louis IV's treaties with large numbers of Swabian and Franconian cities[4], Frederick I concluded military alliances with twelve imperial cities of southern Germany, including Ulm and Nuremberg[5]. Ulm and

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1. Chroniken der deutschen Städte, Augsburg, iii.203,211; Johannes Knebel...diarium, ii.336.

2. Buchner, 'Mathias Ramung', Z.G.O., N.F.xxiv, 1909, pp.53,60,260.

3. 1449-50, Chroniken der deutschen Städte, Nürnberg, ii, 1863, p.392; R.Friedrich, pp.214-8.

4. R.Baden, iii, no.6241, p.135; U.B. Heilbronn, ii, no.1036, p.31; Eberhard, op. cit., pp.37,39,129.

5. 1451-2, R.Friedrich, p.230; Kremer, ii, no.12, pp.32-40.

five sister cities entered the war against Louis of Zweibrücken in 1455 and prepared to send the elector military assistance estimated to cost them 1,300 pounds[1]. During Frederick's later conflicts with the emperor, he sought to remain on good terms with the south German cities by corresponding with them[2]. Frankfurt and Worms evaded fulfilling the imperial injunction to give military aid to Louis of Zweibrücken in 1471 by lending him money instead[3]. Frederick I's representatives explained his reasons for opposing the emperor and were received sympathetically by an assembly of twenty-four imperial cities at Frankfurt in 1471 and by another assembly at Speyer in 1474[4].

According to Frederick's court chronicler, the imperial cities agreed not to oppose the elector in 1471 because he alone in the Empire had given them adequate safe conduct and protection for their merchants travelling in his lands[5]. Frederick had taken pains to foster this trust of the cities by reminding the representatives of five of them in 1462 that the electors had always exerted themselves

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1. HSA Stuttgart, Pfalz, B.21,25; Württ.R.i, no.5729, p.210; R.Baden, iv, no.7927, p.32.

2. E.g., 1466, R.Friedrich, pp.424-5; Kremer, i.626.

3. Inventare des Frankfurter Stadtarchivs, ii, ed. R. Jung, Frankfurt, 1889, pp.126-7,130-1.

4. Frankfurts Reichscorrespondenz, ii, 1872, pp.268-9; Chronica... Speyer, pp.902-3; Kremer, i.496.

5. Kemnat, pp.80-81. The elector was similarly praised by a later chronicler of the free city of Cologne, Chroniken der deutschen Städte, Cöln, iii, 1877, pp.802-3.

to secure peace on the highways, so that trade might not be disturbed[1]. In spite of occasional political differences with the electors (especially Philip), the free city of Strassburg concluded military alliances with Frederick I and alliances without provision for military aid with Philip expressly because the electors kept important highways free from robbers and provided safe conduct for Strassburg merchants travelling to the Frankfurt Fairs[2].

The Elector Philip retained the favour of the majority of the imperial cities in the first years of his rule[3], but did not make the necessary efforts to preserve their friendship, as is illustrated by the way in which he later antagonised Strassburg[4]. In 1485 he also provoked the opposition of the Swabian cities for several years by altering the route of the highway from Württemberg through the Palatinate to Frankfurt[5]. However, it was less the elector's shortcomings than the pressure applied by the emperor, which brought the cities into the Swabian League that was to oppose Philip in the Bavarian Succession War.

Even then, Heilbronn and Wimpfen were Swabian cities so closely allied with the elector that they remained neutral in 1504. Their

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1. Frankfurts Reichscorrespondenz, ii.223-4; Ziehen, i.150.

2. Kremer, ii, no.54, pp.152-62; R.Friedrich, pp.278-83,388-9; Stenzel, Strassburg, pp.38-39,43,45-48,52-55,57-59,65-71,73,251-5.

3. Correspondenz des...Albrecht Achilles, ii.652; Ziehen, i.192.

4. Stenzel, op. cit., pp.64-66.

5. Chapter 4(iv).

treaties of protection with the Palatinate had first been made in 1409 and were renewed almost without interruption until the seventeenth century[1]. During the second half of the fifteenth century both cities were heavily dependent on the Palatinate, since they were surrounded by its territories at the height of their eastward expansion[2]. Frederick I and Philip protected Wimpfen from feuding nobles[3], mediated between Heilbronn and its noble and other enemies[4] and regularly received the military support of Heilbronn's troops[5]. The two cities entered the Swabian League reluctantly in 1488, after pressure had been put on them by the emperor. Heilbronn pointed out the incompatibility of membership of the League with the city's long-standing alliance with the Palatinate, and was allowed to remain allied with the elector as long as he did not oppose the League[6]. In 1499 the emperor permitted the two cities to remain neutral in any dispute of the elector with the League, but excepted conflicts

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1. O.A.B. Heilbronn, i.60.

2. Ernst, p.181.

3. Kemnat, p.30; Beheim, p.165; L. Frohnhäuser, Geschichte der Reichsstadt Wimpfen, Darmstadt, 1870, p.135.

4. E.g., U.B. Heilbronn, i, nos.758,844, pp.405,477;ii, nos.1149, 1322, pp.120-4,259-60.

5. Ibid.i, nos.853,868,870,872, pp.481,488-90;ii, nos.1358,1421,1490, 1515, pp.291-2,356-7,410,430-1; O.A.B. Heilbronn, i.75; Jäger, Heilbronn, i.236-7,243-4,289.

6. U.B. Heilbronn, ii, nos.1465,1469,1474,1481,1493,1500-1,1504, 1508-9, pp.386-7,390-1,393-4,401-3,411,413-6,421-2,425-8.

involving the Empire or Maximilian in his capacity as king of the Romans[1]. Thus the cities did not join the war against Philip in 1504 and Heilbronn even contributed 700 guilders towards his military expenses, although in the end it was forced to grant the duke of Württemberg passage for his troops and sent a sizable force to aid Albert of Bavaria against the elector's son, Rupert[2].

It was a considerable achievement of the electors that most of the neighbouring cities remained neutral and even sympathetic in 1462, 1471 and 1504, when strong imperial mandates commanded them to support the enemies of the Palatinate. At other times they gave the electors active military assistance: at the siege of Hohengeroldseck there were contingents from Offenburg and Gengenbach in the Ortenau, Speyer, Worms, Heilbronn and Wimpfen[3]. When in financial need, the electors received loans from the free imperial cities or their citizens; during wars and bad harvests, officials of the Palatinate went to allied cities like Strassburg to buy corn and provisions[4]. Large sums of protection money were paid for many years by Speyer, Weissenburg and Worms, and for a time by Mainz. Agreements favourable to the electors were concluded with several free cities concerning serfs of the Palatinate who went to live in them. The mounted guards of the electors' safe

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1. Ibid., no.1840, p.660; Frohnhäuser, op. cit., p.136.

2. U.B. Heilbronn, iii, nos.1954-8,1960-1,1965,1969, pp.65-72, 74-76; Frohnhäuser, op. cit., p.142.

3. Hertzog, Edelsasser Cronick, ii.131; Stenzel, op. cit., p.24.

4. Ibid., p.47; App. VI.

conduct were stationed in at least six free cities. The same number agreed in Frederick I's reign, albeit reluctantly, to accept only the silver coinage of the Palatinate and Mainz. Many cities in their own interests joined, and thus strengthened, the alliances which the electors palatine sponsored against the Westphalian courts[1]. The fortunes of several of the cities had gradually become closely aligned with those of the electors. Whereas the cities of Alsace and the Ortenau, and even Oppenheim and other pawned imperial cities, were never represented at the assemblies of Estates of the Palatinate, the free cities of Worms, Speyer, Heilbronn and Wimpfen sent representatives to the Estates of 1505.

(iv) The Estates.

The Estates of the Palatinate met more frequently in the fifteenth century and debated a wider range of issues than is generally supposed. Nevertheless, they did not develop fully enough to become a restraining influence on the electors, and the Palatinate, unlike several other German principalities, never had a constitution in which the Estates had a clearly defined role[2]. In practice, however, the electors took into consideration the wishes of their subjects, though less as a result of financial necessity than of their own inclination and of political circumstances, which partly curbed tendencies they might have to exercise autocratic rule over the nobles and towns. They

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1. See chapters 3(viii);4(ii),(iv) and (v); and 6(ii).

2. Carsten, Princes and Parliaments, pp.340-1.

were therefore hardly more absolute in their rule than the contemporary princes who in effect shared the government of their lands with their Estates. Thus the tradition was firmly established by the beginning of the century for every elector to swear to his subjects on his accession to preserve the inalienability of certain lands, to maintain the privileges of the university, and not to tolerate Jews in the Palatinate[1].

The electors also came to rely increasingly on the advice of their nobles in the affairs of the dynasty, and appointed them to the regency councils in the first half of the century. These extended princely councils then gradually developed into embryonic Estates. A large number of central and local officials, counts, and other nobles had gained experience of government in the councils of four, seven and twenty set up during Louis III's reign[2]. Seven counsellors conducted the regency government for two or three years after 1427. In 1429 they considered the relations of the elector with his brother, Otto, in a large assembly of nobles. It was to some extent in line with these earlier developments that twenty-three nobles (later joined by two more) met in 1435 for at least eight days with Duke Otto, the elector's wife and the bishop of Worms to depose Louis III and make arrangements for a regency[3].

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1. Chapter 1(iii).

2. 20, 1413, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/865, fo.76; 4, 1420, Eberhard, Ludwig III, pp.118-9; 20, 1426-7, GHA Munich, Urk.2621,2623; Bibl. Heidelberg, Handschriften 434, Lehmann, Pfälzer Urk.v, no.1428.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/865, fo.116; see chapter 1(ii)-(iii).

The composition and aims of this assembly are worthy of attention. Its members at first described themselves merely as all bound by duty and loyalty to Louis and his house[1], but later as 'the common counsellors of the Palatinate'[2]. The contemporary chroniclers Windecke and Slecht called them Louis III's counsellors[3], and Trithemius (writing seventy years later) totum Curiae suae consilium[4]. The nobles do appear to have been a large council such as Louis might himself have summoned. Besides the two chief court officials, the Hofmeister and marshal, there were eleven who, or whose close relatives, had been in the Regency of 1426 or the assembly in which Duke Otto made his submission in 1429[5]. Of the six counts in the assembly, three had been appointed with another nobleman by Louis III in 1434 to estimate the damages which he was liable to pay to Count Frederick of Zweibrücken-Bitsch; they completed their task four months after Louis's deposition[6]. Like all these experienced counsellors, the other ten were members of the leading noble families and vassals of the Palatinate, mostly from the Kraichgau, who throughout the century almost monopolized office-holding

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1. Pfälzisches U.B.x, fo.338R.

2. 3 Feb. 1436, StA Frankfurt, Reichssachen 3470.

3. Windecke's Denkwürdigkeiten, p.433; Slecht, 'Fortsetzung der Flores temporum', Z.G.O., N.F.ix, 1914, p.140.

4. Annales Hirsaugiensis, ii.393.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/810, fo.237;865, fo.121; GHA Munich, Urk.2626; Pfälzisches U.B.x.341R.

6. 21 May 1434 and 3 Oct. 1435, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/895, fos.209-11.

at court and locally[1].

These counsellors were not therefore an assembly of the nobility of the country, like those in the Estates of Bavaria and other principalities, but they regarded themselves as more than mere counsellors of the prince. They identified their interests with those of the lordship (Herrschaft), and formed a league and alliance to preserve these complementary interests in the document in which they deposed Louis III. Like the nobles in the minority regencies of Württemberg in the 1420s and 1450s, they saw themselves as an estate of those who shared the lordship of their country with its prince (Mitherrschaftsstand)[2]. Such ideas were expressed in a number of unusual provisions in their alliance. If any of them should be deprived of their rights by an opponent who would not submit to arbitration by the assembly of twenty-six, they were to be aided by the Herrschaft and the other nobles[3]. They determined to ensure that each of them would be left unmolested in his possessions by the Herrschaft itself[4]. They were never to separate from one another, and would resist with all the force of the Herrschaft, if anyone sought

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1. Kolb, p.3; four of them were Amtleute at the time, HSA Munich, Oberpf, Arch.100½, fos.334-5.

2. W. Ohr, 'Die Absetzung Herzog Eberhards II. von Württemberg', Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte, N.F.xv, 1906, p.340; Ernst, p.48; Kolb, p.3.

3. Pfälzer U.B.x, fo.339.

4. Ibid., fo.338V.

to upset their arrangements for the government of the country or to damage the rights of the Herrschaft[1]. Disputes within their ranks, except for feudal matters, were to be arbitrated by the rest of them[2], a clause which further characterized their alliance as a typical league of the nobility seeking to remedy the lack of an efficient enforcement of justice by the prince. Provision was made for future reunions of the assembly, which were to be governed by majority decisions, and entry into the alliance was declared open to anyone who belonged to the Herrschaft, but was not at that time at Heidelberg[3]. These counsellors were claiming to speak for a wider group of nobles, whom they believed to have a special responsibility for the welfare of the principality.

The league of nobles was dissolved by the ordinance of February 1436, which revised the conditions of the Regency. However, the nobles of the Palatinate reassembled at Speyer in March, when the accusations against Duke Otto and his fellow counsellors were discussed[4]. This was primarily a conference of the princes of south-west Germany, accompanied by their noble followers, but within

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1. '...solle sich keyner under uns dar Inn numer von dem andern gescheiden...und weres das yemant...understunde uns daran zu Irren odir davon zu dringen...odir unserm lieben herren...sinen kinden und yre herschaffte das Ir zu nemen...wollen wir alle eynander... widder...die die solichs widder uns und die herschafft understünden ...behulffen...sin mit der gantzen herschafft....', ibid., fo.340R.

2. Ibid., fo.340V.

3. Ibid., fos.338V,339V,340V,341R.

4. Chapter 1(ii).

it there was also a meeting of the notables of the Palatinate, larger in numbers and wider in composition than previous assemblies of the leading counsellors. The six counts in the league of 1435 were joined by eighteen who were with few exceptions vassals, retainers, or very close associates and advisers of the Palatinate, as were also the fifteen lords present[1]. The bishops of Worms and Speyer were in attendance, as in the later assemblies of the Estates. Although it is not known whether these notables, apart from the prelates, played any significant role in the deliberations of 1436, a precedent had been established for them to be summoned during a crisis in the affairs of the principality.

The Arrogation provided a similar occasion. In September 1451, twenty-nine 'chosen counsellors and important members' of the Palatinate gave their advice that Duke Frederick should become elector and ruler of the Palatinate in place of his nephew[2]. In the following January, fifty-one prelates, counts, nobles and counsellors unanimously approved the revised terms of the Arrogation[3]. These assemblies were only partly in the tradition of their forerunners of 1435 and 1436. In 1451 there were present the bishops of Worms and

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1. Windecke's Denkwürdigkeiten, pp.433-4. Many of the 300 knights and lesser nobles mentioned were probably in the following of neighbouring princes.

2. '...trefflichen rete und merglichen gelieder....', Kremer, ii, no.6, p.14; see chapter 1(iv).

3. Kremer, ii, no.16, pp.49-51. Only two such assemblies took place, not the four which Häusser and Gothein read into the evidence, see App. I.

and Speyer, the German Master, the chancellor and two other ecclesiastical advisers, the Hofmeister, marshal and two other noble court officials, six noble Amtleute, six counts and seven other noblemen[1]. This was predominantly an assembly of counsellors, and the larger assembly of 1452 still retained this character[2]. Five of the six counts in the league of nobles of 1435 were present in 1452, and the count of Wertheim was replaced by his son; six other nobles of the 1435 assembly were at those of 1451 and 1452. But the nobility remained in a subordinate position, advancing no claims to be a Mitherrschaftsstand. Even the change in vocabulary in the documents is significant: the word 'lordship' (Herrschaft) was everywhere replaced in the same context by 'principality' (Fürstentum). This is a clear signpost to mark the completed development of a feudal into a territorial state.

The formula whereby the initiative for the Arrogation was attributed to the first assembly of notables may have been a fiction by which Frederick exaggerated the enthusiasm of the nobles for the Arrogation in order to strengthen his position. Nevertheless, on both occasions he sought 'to associate "the country" with his policy'[3]. He even described the Arrogation, in 1476, as a tripartite contract

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1. Kremer, i.32-33.

2. Ibid.ii,no.16, pp.49-50;i.42-43.

3. Carsten, op. cit., p.342.

between himself, Philip and the Palatinate[1]. The assemblies were not merely extended councils of the prince, but had the character of embryonic Estates. It has been suggested that several of the counts present were not vassals of the elector, that some of the nobles were already aiming at the status of Free Imperial Knights, and that the prelates were likewise independent and immune from the elector's jurisdiction, so that proper Estates could never have developed from such assemblies[2]. But eleven of the twelve counts and lords were listed in the feudal books of Frederick and his successor[3]. The other nobles were also vassals and mostly members of the Kraichgau families which did not begin to have aspirations towards independence until after 1480[4]. The two bishops inherited a long tradition of dependence on the electors and of prominence as their closest advisers. The same bishop of Worms and a successor of the bishop of Speyer addressed the Elector Philip as 'members of your principality'[5]. It is not therefore out of place to describe these assemblies of notables and all later ones in the Palatinate as Estates; they were in some measure representative of the country, even though they were purely

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1. '...die arrogation...dar Inn wir und...hertzog philips und die pfaltz gegeneinander verschriben sin....', GHA Munich, Urk. 2788.

2. Gothein, p.4; Caraten, op. cit., p.343.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1007, fos.xx et seq.;1914, fo.13; von Weech, Lehenbücher, pp.7-8.

4. Kolb. p.6; see above, (ii)(e).

5. c.1476, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/338, fo.53R; see above, (i)(a).

consultative assemblies, met irregularly on the summons of their ruler, and developed no constitutional rights or administrative institutions of their own, as Estates elsewhere had done.

The later assemblies of Estates under Frederick I are not well documented, but none the less of importance. After the 'blind judgment' of Nuremberg in 1459, the elector said that he would seek the advice of the princes, counts, lords and nobles who were vassals or otherwise bound to the Palatinate[1]. Albert Achilles later heard that Frederick had hurriedly summoned his 'estates' and had received their unanimous support for not submitting to the judgment[2]. A new meeting of the Estates was called in 1467 to reaffirm their consent to the Arrogation, in order to obtain Philip's assent once again when he came of age[3]. He was allowed to seek the advice of some or all of the members of the assembly of 1452, although of the twenty-nine persons consulted by him, only eight had been present in 1452. Besides the bishops of Worms and Speyer and the new German Master, there were five clerical or legal advisers and nineteen nobles, most of them central or local officials. The representatives of Albert Achilles described them as a special council appointed for Philip by Frederick[4]. Yet it

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1. '...er woltt der fürstenn graven herrn ritter und knechten die der pfalltz gemant und gewant wern underreden und der sachen halb irs rats pflegen....', report of Albert of Austria's chancellor, 26 Feb. 1460, R. Friedrich, p.333.

2. Hasselholdt-Stockheim, Albrecht IV., p.57.

3. 8 Jan., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.100-1; Kremer, i.391-3; HHusser, p.383; see chapter 1(iv).

4. R.Baden, iv, no.9485, p.221.

was not merely an ad hoc session of the princely council, but a conscious renewal to Philip of the advice which had been given to Frederick by the Estates in 1451 and 1452. Financial matters may have been considered by the Estates for the first time in 1472. The elector summoned the bishops of Worms and Speyer and the counts, lords and 'leading members' of the Palatinate to Heidelberg[1]. Frederick sought their advice on the crusade against the Turks[2], which had been proclaimed at the imperial diet at Regensburg in 1471 and for which Duke Louis of Bavaria's Estates had voted taxation[3]; the outcome in the Palatinate is not known. In 1474 Frederick and Philip consulted a large number of prelates, counts and nobles, the 'counsellors and important members' of their principality at Oppenheim, and on their advice rejected the emperor's unfavourable draft treaty for the settlement of their disputes[4].

The Estates had met six times to consider a variety of important political problems during Frederick's reign. On four of these

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1. For 13 April, the bishop of Worms to Louis of Zweibrücken, 4 April 1472, GSA Munich, Rot 75 e.62, no.109.

2. Duke Louis of Bavaria to Frederick, 26 April 1472, ibid., Blau 103/2b, fo.102.

3. Chmel, Regesta...Friderici...III., no.6431, pp.625-6; Baierische Landtags-Handlungen, vii.260.

4. 3 Oct., Frederick to Louis of Bavaria, 5 Oct., Kremer, ii, no.183, p.501; R.Friedrich, p.494; '...der pfalzgrave sein ritterschaft in mercklicher zal beyeinander habe....', 3 Oct., Correspondenz des... Albrecht Achilles, i.715; Carsten, op. cit., p.343; see chapter 1(v).

occasions he referred to them as the 'counsellors and important members' --- or 'limbs' (Glieder) --- of the principality of the Palatinate. Frederick and his successor also acknowledged the advice which they received from the 'important members' of the Palatinate at times when no record of an actual assembly of Estates has survived: in the ordinance of 1465 for Heidelberg, the draft of 1476 in which Frederick gave an apanage to his son, and the ordinance for the supreme court early in Philip's reign[1]. Even when no Estates were summoned, the electors regarded it as important that measures vital to the Palatinate should appear to have the consent of the leading members of the principality, as well as of their own counsellors.

Philip did not at first summon the Estates[2], probably because he was not faced with the same political crises as Frederick I had been. The assemblies of the Kraichgau nobility summoned by Philip were restricted in membership and therefore not Estates of the whole Palatinate. During his conflicts with the Swabian League, however, the elector wrote together with his bishops, his chief officials, and

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1. GHA Munich, Urk.2788; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.483; von Günter, 'Verhältnisse des Adels im Kraichgau', Acta Acad. Palat., v, 1783, p.481.

2. A letter sent in 1487 in the name of the nobles and towns of the electoral principalities of the Palatinate, Mainz and Trier to complain of the increased customs duties at Cologne was probably a device of the princely chanceries to give the impression that support for their policy was widespread among their subjects, Quellen zur Geschichte des Kölner Handels, ii.544 et seq.; John, 'Der Kölner Rheinzoll', Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, xlviii, 1889, pp.69-70; Ziehen, i.259.

the nobles under his protection to protest against the pressure put by the League on the Kraichgau nobility; this is the sole trace of an assembly which had earlier been summoned to Germersheim[1]. Four years later the privileged orders in the Estates gave their consent to an aid levied by the elector. Gothein and other authorities doubted whether there was an actual meeting of Estates, although they reproduced the letter in which Philip asked for a contribution to the aid from two nobles who had been abroad when the 'foremost members and estates of the Palatinate, the prelates, counts, lords and nobles', as well as the towns and other subjects, had consented to the aid[2]. Yet it is clear from a later letter of the elector to the young Raugrave that the aid had been discussed with an assembly of counts, lords and nobles at Oppenheim[3]. In a letter to the village of Heppenheim, Philip repeated that he had decided to levy the aid on the advice of the 'high and low estates and members of the Palatinate'[4]. The 'members of the Palatinate' were now significantly equated with Estates. The towns had also been consulted, but this had taken the form of individual negotiations by the Amtleute, as at Bacharach and Kaub.

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1. Germersheim, 13 Dec. 1490; Kolb, pp.94,99-100.

2. 23 Dec. 1494, Gothein, pp.5,72; Kolb, p.136 n.4; Blasse, Steuern, pp.9-10; see chapter 3(xiii).

3. 30 Jan. 1495, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/6209, fo.316.

4. 3 Feb. 1495, G.L. von Maurer, Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe und der Hofverfassung in Deutschland, iii, Erlangen, 1863, p.569.

The Estates which considered the peace terms proposed at the end of the Bavarian Succession War were the fullest hitherto[1]. As in 1436, the assembly was not restricted to subjects of the elector; it was attended by princes allied with the Palatinate and by the representatives of Worms, Speyer, Heilbronn and Wimpfen, and probably of other free imperial cities under the elector's protection[2]. Nevertheless, the majority of those present were the bishops, abbots, counts, lords, knights and nobles, and the representatives of the towns of the Palatinate[3]; this was the first attested participation of the towns in the Estates. All were summoned to Heidelberg for 23 February 1505[4]. On the following day, the elector sent a message by his vice-chancellor, which was largely devoted to denying the widely current accusations that he had been responsible for bringing about the war that had been so burdensome to his subjects[5]. Philip

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1. There is no evidence that the elector actually convened Estates to consider the imperial Common Penny in 1497, as the emperor thought he might, Frankfurts Reichscorrespondenz, ii.625; Ziehen, ii.547.

2. HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 216, Fasz.134, fos.21R,29; the diary of Reinholt Noltz, who was a regular envoy from the city of Worms to the elector, and probably went to Heidelberg in 1505, Monumenta Wormatiensia, p.502.

3. HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 216, Fasz.134, fos.21R,27,29; Trithemius, Chronicon Sponheimense, pp.422-3; Annales Hirsaugiensis, ii.627; Monumenta Wormatiensia, p.502.

4. Letter of summons to the abbot of Arnstein, 10 Feb. 1505, F.X. Glasschröder, 'Zum kurpfälzischen Ständewesen', Z.G.O., N.F.x, 1895, pp.470-1; see also Gothein, p.6; Kolb, p.146; Lossen, p.61; Kremer, i.28 n.4; Häusser, p.487.

5. HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 216, Fasz.134, fos.21-28; further details in Monumenta Wormatiensia, pp.502-3; Carsten, op. cit., pp.343-4.

added that, had he been intent on war, he would have felt obliged to summon the Estates before embarking on it[1]. If sincere, he was admitting that he could not justifiably engage in an offensive war without the consent of his subjects expressed through the Estates. His main purpose in convoking the Estates, however, was to obtain their promise of continued assistance if the war were renewed against the Palatinate, although he hoped that the armistice and the pending negotiations would lead to the conclusion of peace, as indeed they did. After a friendly discussion between the members of the assembly and the elector on the best means of securing peace, the delegates of the free cities reported back to their principals. The city of Worms wrote to promise aid in case of an invasion of the Palatinate, but Heilbronn and Wimpfen held to their neutrality[2]. No replies have survived from the Estates of the Palatinate themselves, nor from those of the Upper Palatinate, where, in the first recorded assembly of Estates[3], the Vizdum at Amberg made a similar attempt to prepare for an eventual renewal of war[4].

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1. '...wo sin gnad willen oder neygung zum krig gehapt, konnt sin gnad woll bedencken das not gewest, diss versamblung Im anfangk des krigs zu haben alls mit den da sich sin furstlich gnad alls zu Irn vorfarn und eltern alles gutten versehe....', HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 216, Fasz.134, fo.23V.

2. 3 and 7 March 1505, ibid., fos.29,37-38; before Worms left the elector's protection on 29 April, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/826, fos.148-9.

3. F. Mühlbauer wrongly attributed to the electoral Upper Palatinate a meeting of the Estates of the Neumarkt lands in 1488, 'Die Oberpfälzischen Landstände und ihr Einfluss auf das Steuerwesen, besonders das Ungeld', Archivalische Zeitschrift, N.F.xii, 1905, pp.6-8.

4. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.179, fos.96-98.

When the elector made his will in 1506, he had come a long way towards regarding the organized participation of the Estates in the government of the Palatinate as desirable[1]. Philip declared that should his sons, Louis and Frederick, not agree to rule jointly the lands which were not inalienable, he would make an equal partition between them, on the advice of the 'Estates of the Palatinate'. If not completed before Philip's death, this partition was to be undertaken afterwards by four representatives each of the prelates, nobles and towns. Similarly, if the elector did not meanwhile make provision for his three unmarried daughters, his lay sons were to do so with the advice of the Estates. The Estates had not yet performed tasks like those outlined in the will, but Philip was encouraging them to play a more active role. Thus their representatives were not merely to advise on the partition, but to decide on the division of territories and debts between the brothers[2]. In 1410 King Rupert had left this task to seven trusted counsellors. This difference between the two wills indicates the growing recognition by the electors of the share their subjects were expected to have in the making of important decisions which affected them. Nevertheless, Philip's sons continued to transact the affairs of the dynasty with the advice of their counsellors only[3].

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1. The will itself was drawn up with the advice of nine leading clergy, eleven noble officials and two legal advisers, GHA Munich, Urk.2881; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/821, fos.325-31; see chapter 1(vii).

2. Gothein, pp.6-7, considered the body proposed by the elector to have been a purely advisory council.

3. E.g., in 1508, GHA Munich, Urk.2890.

After the Bavarian Succession War, the occasional Schatzungen were supplemented by annual levies on capital, which required some form of consent by the taxpayers. The duke of Bavaria was told that the elector's towns had agreed to a levy for six years in 1509[1], but their consent was probably not obtained in an assembly of Estates, but by peripatetic officials negotiating with the individual towns. This was the method adopted in 1516, when Louis V wanted the towns to assume responsibility for his debts. Although some of them were willing, in many the council and Gemeinde disagreed over acceptance of the elector's proposals[2]. Louis decided to summon the Estates to consider his plans. Nine inalienable towns of the Palatinate, six pawned imperial cities and villages (including Germersheim), and thirteen towns and market towns under the joint rule of Louis and Frederick were asked to send representatives to meet in separate groups at Heidelberg on three days in March 1517. The pawned imperial cities refused to send delegations, although they promised to consider written copies of the proceedings. Ten towns and market towns ruled jointly by the Palatinate with other lords were also not represented, nor were the towns which were pawned by the electors, nor even the villages and Ämter, as may originally have been intended[3]. The chancellor explained the elector's financial plight separately to the

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1. Baierische Landtags-Handlungen, xviii.475-6; see chapter 3(xiii).

2. Speech of the chancellor to the Estates, March 1517, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/5927; Gothein, pp.7-9; Carsten, op. cit., p.344.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/5927; Gothein, p.9; Carsten, op. cit., p.344.

two groups present, who were given a written outline of the project for transferring the electoral debts to the Estates, on the lines of similar arrangements in the sees of Mainz, Cologne and Würzburg, and in the margraviate of Brandenburg. At Heidelberg, the representatives of the towns which were not inalienable generously promised a 50 % capital levy, but by the end of the year Louis had to forgo his main objective. Favourable or partly favourable replies had been received from only ten towns; Heidelberg, Neustadt and other leading towns were among the majority who had not replied. Louis also abandoned his intention of summoning the nobility, since it had been made dependent on the success of his negotiations with the towns[1].

Since there were as many as nine recognizable meetings of Estates between 1451 and 1505, it is worth while to investigate why they did not develop their rights and responsibilities during this period and failed so completely to meet the situation in 1517 that their growth came to a halt for the remainder of the sixteenth century. The Palatinate lacked above all the acute crises in the ruling house and in the finances of the principality, which favoured the growth of Estates elsewhere in Germany[2]. There were no changes of dynasty with rival claimants to the succession, such as enabled the Estates of Bavaria and Hesse to strengthen their position in the early sixteenth

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1. Louis to the towns, 22 Dec. 1517, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/5927; Gothein, pp.9-12; Carsten, op. cit., p.344.

2. The following discussion leans heavily on Gothein, pp.9-12, and Carsten, op. cit., pp.340-2,346-7, while not always agreeing with their conclusions.

century. Although the electoral line was often in conflict with the cadet lines and at war with the counts palatine of Zweibrücken, no wars or violent conflicts occurred within the electors' immediate family. The dangers of partition of the principality, regencies and minority crises had to be overcome, but the electors retained firmly in their own hands the making of decisions in the affairs of the dynasty. With the exception of the period of noble rule in 1435 and 1436, the electors in direct line of descent, Louis IV and Philip, or their relatives, Otto and Frederick I, were such forceful rulers that it was unnecessary for the Estates to take part in the government of the country.

Throughout the century, the financial position of the electors, particularly Frederick I, was relatively strong; only in 1494 was the consent of the subjects required for extraordinary taxation. In the meetings which were summoned for political purposes, there was no pressing reason for the towns to be represented, their political support could be assured individually as in 1452, and the Estates met without them. Yet in several principalities, like Württemberg, the towns were the backbone of the Estates. Nevertheless, Estates could have developed which were largely based on the nobility, as in Hesse. This appeared at first to be the trend in the Palatinate, even though not a large proportion of Frederick I's nobles attended his Estates. After the foundation of the Swabian League, however, the nobility of the Kraichgau could no longer count as subject nobles of the elector. This change accounts for the low priority which the summoning of the

nobility had in Louis V's programme for consulting the Estates in 1517.

For these reasons alone, it was virtually too late to call the Estates artificially to full responsibilities, as Louis wanted to, when the Bavarian Succession War had suddenly thrust dire financial necessity on the Palatinate for the first time. There was substance in the Elector Philip's earlier complaint to the emperor that he did not have as much influence over his nobles and towns as might appear, since they were scattered over a wide territory and some of them were under obligations to other princes or had received great privileges from his predecessors[1]. The towns were intended in 1517 to be the mainspring of the Estates, but lacked homogeneity as a result of the piecemeal territorial expansion of the principality. The three groups of towns and cities varied in the extent to which they were subject to the elector's commands. The differences between them were accentuated by the grant to the elector's brother of a share in the rule of the towns which were not inalienable. The highly privileged pawned imperial cities would not attend the Estates, the towns held jointly with other lords could not. Most of the remainder refused to cooperate, some in all probability because they were passing through a period of strained relations between the council and Gemeinde, and several because they had received generous tax privileges from Frederick I. The principal creditors of the Palatinate were moreover not its own subjects, but the citizens of Cologne, Strassburg,

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1. His representatives at Augsburg to the elector, 16 July 1500, GSA Munich, Blau 103/4a, fos.4-5.

Frankfurt, Speyer and other free imperial cities[1]. The nobles did make numerous short-term loans to the electors, but the townspeople had little direct interest in the state of indebtedness of the principality and therefore no incentive to take over responsibility for Louis V's debts. Only from 1603 onwards, when the wealthy burghers had become the chief creditors of the electors and as Calvinists supported their forward foreign policy, was there a brief flowering of the Estates as an institution sharing in the government of the country, until they were suppressed by the Bavarian conqueror in the Thirty Years War[2].

In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the electors had gradually become eager for some participation of the Estates in government, but it was largely the attitude of the subjects which retarded the growth of Estates. The princes also held firmly to the medieval theory that it was their duty to look after the welfare of their subjects, indeed their highest duty, as Louis III informed his officials and subjects in 1436[3]. Philip felt obliged as the territorial prince to appoint guardians for the orphaned children of the burghers in his towns[4], as well as of the nobility. Frederick I held that he was divinely appointed to rule his lands and subjects,

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1. App. VI.

2. Gothein, pp.23-24; Carsten, op. cit., pp.345-6.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 43/Gen., Konv.14, no.11.

4. E.g., ibid., 67/816, fos.75-76;818, fos.84-85,395-6,407-8,411.

but also to ensure their observance of Christian order and their prosperity[1]. Philip similarly combined the notion of the Divine Right of the ruler with his duty to protect his subjects[2].

Both electors commissioned works in the nature of a mirror for princes. Frederick's was written in 1466 by the Italian, Pietro Antonio, for presentation to Charles of Burgundy[3], Philip's in 1498 by Jacob Wimpfeling as a work of instruction for the elector's eldest son[4]. Wimpfeling's treatise was still of a conventional nature and closely parallel to Antonio's in stressing, for instance, the duties of a prince to God, his obligation to judge the poor fairly[5], and his lack of any right to introduce new customs and taxes on his own authority or to burden his serfs with excessive labour dues. The two authors portray the _princeps christianus_ in the sense of medieval morality; the humanist forms of their writing do not disguise the scholastic content[6]. Wimpfeling concludes with the Pauline injunction that the prince must govern in the knowledge that he has to render an

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1. Ibid., 812, fo.78V; _Oberrheinische Stadtrechte_, i.501.

2. von Günter, 'Verhältnisse des Adels im Kraichgau', _Acta Acad. Palat._, v, 1783, p.480; the Divine Right concept by itself, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/894, fo.26.

3. G. Ritter, 'Petrus Antonius Finariensis, der Nachfolger Peter Luders in Heidelberg', _Archiv für Kulturgeschichte_, xxvi, 1936, pp.95-97.

4. _Agatharcia_, pp.183-205.

5. Emphasized in practice by both electors, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fo.114; _M.G.B._, iii, 1902, pp.165-6.

6. Ritter, loc. cit., p.96.

exact account for his rule on the Day of Judgment[1]. The Elector Philip was well aware of this ultimate account which he had to render for his actions[2], and imposed a similar realization on the judges in his courts[3]. These ideas were not original, but they indicated that the electors and those who ruled on their behalf adhered to principles of justice. In his will, Philip spoke of himself as the administrator or regent (furweser) of his principality and subjects[4]. Duke Eberhard I of Württemberg also wanted to be the 'faithful administrator' of his country[5], and Margrave Bernard I of Baden said in 1420 that he was 'God's simple Amtmann'[6]. Like other German princes, the electors palatine regarded their territories by no means merely as their private property, but as lands which they had to govern for their subjects' benefit as well as their own.

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1. p.205; see Hebrews, XIII.17.
2. von Günter, loc. cit., p.480.
3. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fo.93; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/894, fo.32.
4. Ibid., 821, fo.326R; GHA Munich, Urk.2881.
5. Ernst, pp.105-6.
6. Fester, Markgraf Bernhard I., p.92.

CHAPTER 6

THE JUDICIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

(i) The Origins and Competence of the Supreme Court.

The supreme court was the mainspring of Landesherrschaft, since it guaranteed the success of the prince as protector of his subjects and dependants, and was a focal point of his centralized administration. The Hofgericht of the Palatinate, with its fixed meeting times and procedure, was established in 1462 [1] by Frederick I in the direct tradition of the earlier central court of the electors. At this time the princes of south-west Germany were substituting more formal courts for the courts composed of themselves and their advisers, which had often acted as arbitration tribunals[2]. The new courts retained, however, the procedure which had come to the arbitration courts across the southern frontiers of Germany from Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and which had originally been developed by the canon law on the basis of Roman law[3]. Thus the

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1. Trithemius, Annales Hirsaugiensis, ii.455; O. Karlowa, Über die Reception des römischen Rechts in Deutschland, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf der Churpfalz, Heidelberg, 1878, p.19 n.24. Häusser, p.401, and Ernst, p.97, follow Kemnat, p.57, who gave the date 1472, but there was probably a scribal error in his text, since the entry occurs after others for 1462.

2. E.g., Ernst, p.96; Wielandt, 'Markgraf Christoph I.', Z.G.O., N.F.xlvi, 1933, p.570.

3. K.S. Bader, Das Schiedsverfahren in Schwaben vom 12. bis zum ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert, Tübingen, 1929, pp.30-31; 'Die Entwicklung und Verbreitung der mittelalterlichen Schiedsidee in Südwestdeutschland und in der Schweiz', Zeitschrift für Schweizerisches Recht, N.F.liv, 1935, pp.104-7,111-24.

courts of the electors palatine from at least Louis III's reign were similar to the later supreme court in the composition of the bench, with its sprinkling of trained lawyers and university professors among the noble counsellors, in the rule that the majority view in the court should prevail, and in the forms in which pleas and judicial decisions were made[1]. These courts also heard the same kinds of cases that were to come before the supreme court: appeals from the town courts of the Palatinate[2], judicial or arbitration proceedings between nobles, towns and ecclesiastical foundations, whether subjects of the electors or not[3], and even cases in which an elector was a party[4]. The supreme court continued or reopened numerous hearings formerly held by the court of the electors and their counsellors[5]. This continuity was explicitly mentioned in the Elector Philip's ordinance for the supreme court[6].

Frederick I probably set up the court in order to prevent his subjects more effectively from accepting the jurisdiction of foreign courts, and in particular as a sequel to the alliance with his neighbours against the Westphalian courts at the end of 1461[7].

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1. E.g., Pfälzer Urk.vi, no.1561a; R.Baden, iii, nos.6715,6795,6891, pp.185-6,199,212-3; U.B....des Niederrheins, iv.205 et seq.
2. E.g., Heidelberg, 1425, Bibl. Heidelberg, Pal. Germ.158, fos.154-5.
3. Pfälzer Urk.vi, no.1561a; Windecke's Denkwürdigkeiten, p.432; Kolb, p.8.
4. E.g., 1452, Kremer, i.63-64.
5. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.115-6,157-8;952, fo.65.
6. von Günter, loc. cit., p.481.
7. Karlowa, op. cit., pp.19 n.24,20 n.25.

Frederick's written ordinance has been lost, but parts of it were often quoted in reports of cases[1] and show that it was similar to Philip's ordinance[2], which may be taken as a guide to the court's activities under both electors. This undated ordinance was issued near the beginning of Philip's reign[3], after the bishops of Worms and Speyer had urged him to ensure that the court was held according to his predecessor's ordinance[4]. Philip's many modifications to the ordinance[5] reveal the importance which he attached to the smooth working of the supreme court; a similar ordinance was issued for the supreme court of the Upper Palatinate in 1499[6].

Once it had become a formal institution, the supreme court soon extended its jurisdiction. Appeals from the lower courts of the Palatinate lay to the Elector Philip as Landesfürst, and in his

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, passim.

2. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fos.88-103; commented on by G. Vogelgesang, Kanzlei- und Ratswesen der pfälzischen Kurfürsten um die Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert, typewritten thesis, Freiburg/Breisgau, 1942, pp.105-6,116-8,121-2.

3. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fo.89; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/953, fos.13-14, 28V; von Günter, loc. cit., p.481.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/338, fo.54R.

5. The first emendations were also undated, HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fos.104-7, but several of them were proclaimed at Nabburg in the Upper Palatinate on 9 Jan. 1481 and had therefore probably been issued in the Palatinate during 1480, A. Scherl, 'Verfassung und Verwaltung der Stadt Nabburg bis zum Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts', V.H.O.P., xcvi, 1955, pp.239-40. Further additions, 1483, 1492, 1497 and 1498, HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fos.91a, 107-14.

6. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/819, fos.63-77; Häusser, p.456.

ordinance their appearance before the supreme court was regarded as almost universal[1]. Already under Frederick I the court had considered appeals from Heidelberg, Neustadt and other main towns[2]. The intermediate instance between the village courts and the supreme court was usually the court of the chief town of the Amt[3], but in the Amt of Heidelberg it was the hundred[4]. Cases could pass through as many as five courts[5], since the lower courts often used in lieu of an appeal their right to seek the opinion of a town court (Oberhof) if they were undecided. The electors imposed the jurisdiction of the supreme court on appeals from village courts belonging to ecclesiastical foundations in their protection[6]. In 1480 Philip replaced the court of the see of Cologne with his own supreme court as the sole instance of appeal for the town of Bacharach with its associated market towns, which had once belonged to the see[7]. On the formation of the supreme court, the Oberhof at Ingelheim declined as an independent enclave of appeal jurisdiction, at which more than thirty-seven towns and villages of the Palatinate, including Kaub, Kreuznach and the entire county of

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1. HSA Munich, Oberpf, Arch.100, fo.97; Vogelgesang, p.121.
2. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.12,126-7,239-44;952, fos.3-7, 118-20.
3. E.g., ibid., 820, fo.16;951, fos.136-7; Müller, Hessisches Ortsnamenbuch, i.443.
4. Badische Weistümer, i.1, no.80, pp.271-3; K. Kollnig, 'Die Zenten in der Kurpfalz', Z.G.O., N.F.xlix, 1935, p.39.
5. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/953, fo.204.
6. E.g., ibid., 952, fos.83-84;953, fos.93-94; see chapter 5(i)(b).
7. Wagner, Bacharach, p.11.

Sponheim, had formerly sought advice[1]. Under both electors the supreme court at Heidelberg heard some cases as the court of first instance for nobles of the Upper Palatinate and others on appeal from the supreme court of the Upper Palatinate[2].

Limits were naturally imposed on the supreme court's appeal jurisdiction in lands held jointly with other rulers[3], or in cases where the parties were the subjects of two princes. Appeals from the special miners' courts went to the elector himself[4], and cases concerning property to the court where the property was, unless the parties agreed to the jurisdiction of the supreme court[5]. In 1492 the elector forbade appeals to the supreme court from decisions of local courts concerning the boundaries between property, except by special permission, and reserved cases involving the property of bastards to be heard by himself[6].

The electors' separate feudal court continued to sit for individual cases, but Philip's ordinance made it possible for the supreme court to adjudicate a variety of feudal matters. Questions

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1. Its records cease in 1464, although it was still functioning in 1468, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.101-2; Loersch, Ingelheimer Oberhof, pp.XXXVIII-XLIV,LXXXVI,XCV,CXIV,CXLI,CLXXXVIII,CLXLVII,CCXI.

2. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.81,159-60;952, fos.68-71, 151-3; Scherl, loc. cit., p.262.

3. E.g., Lossen, p.92.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1662, fos.455-6; Silberschmidt, Regelung des pfälzischen Bergwesens, pp.44,57.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/952, fos.120-1; HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fos.89,95.

6. Ibid., fo.107.

of the inheritance and escheating of fiefs and other issues of ownership[1] were still to be referred to the jurisdiction of the feudal lord, but the supreme court might consider the possession of fiefs and their revenues, though without prejudice to the rights of the feudal lord, and it could even hear the more fundamental feudal causes, if both parties and the feudal lord consented. Under both Frederick I and Philip the supreme court entertained feudal cases of the kinds permitted in Philip's ordinance[2]. It refused in 1478 to refer a case concerning possession of a fief to the elector's feudal court[3]. Philip once cited two noble vassals before his supreme court as if it were his feudal court and supplemented the court with several vassals[4]. Even after Philip's ordinance, however, some noble parties preferred the elector's feudal court, perhaps because it allowed them to speak more often than did the supreme court[5] or because it contained no lawyers.

The supreme court encroached in similar fashion and with even greater success on the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, as has already been shown[6]. Moreover, the abbey of Schönau[7], retainers

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1. grund und ursprung der lehen, ibid., fo.95; questio fondi, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/819, fo.169.
2. E.g., ibid., 820, fos.411-3;953, fos.9-10,28-30,194,285,327-8.
3. Ibid., fos.279-80.
4. 1478, ibid., fo.304; the feudal court even issued its decisions under the seal of the supreme court, e.g., ibid., 829, fos.358-63; 953, fo.390.
5. Ibid., fos.263-9; other examples, 1499, ibid., 824, fos.362-4; 77/8559, fo.430; von Massenbach, Massenbach, pp.63-64.
6. Chapter 5(ii)(b).
7. 1468, Z.G.O., i, 1850, pp.425-9.

and other nobles in a contractual relationship with the electors[1], and non-noble retainers like the electors' legal advisers and mounted guards[2] all appeared before the supreme court as a court of first instance, because they were privileged not to be cited to lower courts in the Palatinate.

The supreme court was expanding its compulsory jurisdiction, but also remained open to all parties as the electors' arbitration court; it was valued as such by many nobles who were not obliged to appear before it[3]. Clerical litigants preferred arbitration by the supreme court to a judicial hearing in ecclesiastical courts, especially when the latter's jurisdiction was disputed[4]. The city councils of Speyer and Wimpfen occasionally appeared before the court, since they were among the cities which agreed to accept the electors' jurisdiction before calling on their protection[5]. Many neighbouring rulers who had accepted arbitration by the electors submitted their cases to the supreme court[6]. The court might on occasion mediate an amicable settlement instead of arbitrating between parties[7]. Frederick I sometimes delegated to the supreme court the imperial commissions he

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1. Chapter 5(ii)(c).

2. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.12-13;952, fos.8-10,42-46,120-2.

3. Chapter 5(ii)(c) and (d).

4. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/953, fos.122-3.

5. Ibid., 951, fos.14,106-8;952, fos.74-77.

6. E.g., ibid., 951, fos.119-24,251;952, fos.72-73;953, fo.194; Rappoltsteinisches U.B.iv, no.929, pp.418-23.

7. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/952, fos.12-13,245-6.

received to decide cases between the cities, nobles or princes of south-west Germany[1]. Frederick also agreed to have two of his own disputes with his nobles decided by the court[2]. In these ways the supreme court undertook much of the judicial work by which the electors extended their political influence within and outside the Palatinate.

(ii) Resistance to Foreign Courts.

A corollary of the extended jurisdiction of the Hofgericht was the exclusion of all foreign jurisdictions. The electors based their privileges on the Golden Bull, the eleventh clause of which granted all electors the right that their nobles, vassals, retainers (clientes), burghers and other subjects might not be cited to any courts but the electors' (later known as the privilegium de non evocando)[3], nor might they appeal to foreign courts, except to the imperial court if justice had been denied in the electors' courts (privilegium de non appellando)[4]. Nevertheless, Louis III had already complained to the emperor that these privileges were being infringed[5] and Frederick I was so plagued with the citation of his subjects to foreign courts that his chancery preserved the forms for letters urging the Westphalian courts and three

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1. E.g., ibid., fos.157-8.

2. Ibid., fos.179-80;898, fos.165-6.

3. Originally granted to the electors palatine in 1330, R.Pfalz i, no.2090, p.125; Häusser, p.157.

4. Zeumer, Goldene Bulle, ii.26-27.

5. 1434, von Weech, 'Pfälzische Reg.', Z.G.O., xxii, 1869, p.362.

imperial courts to refer cases brought before them to the elector's court[1]. Frederick's view was that according to law every lord and judge had an exclusive sphere of jurisdiction and that his 'compulsory jurisdiction' over his subjects was being ignored[2]. The Elector Philip made similar general complaints, but the abuses continued into the sixteenth century[3].

The influence of the secret courts of Westphalia (Veme) grew rapidly during the fifteenth century because of the lack of sanctions to enforce the decisions of the imperial courts. Although less effective than it claimed to be, the Veme was a menace to the peace of mind of the territorial princes and towns of south-west Germany. At first the Elector Louis III and other princes sought to neutralize the Veme by becoming members themselves and by bringing cases, which had been summoned before its courts, before special tribunals composed of their nobles who were wissenden admitted to the secret courts[4]. Frederick I continued this practice[5], but it could not prevent the

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1. Bibl. Heidelberg, Pal. Germ.158, fos.160-2.

2. Kremer, ii, no.46, pp.127-8; Hasselholdt-Stockheim, Albrecht IV., Urk., p.278.

3. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fos.105-6; GSA Munich, Rot 46 k.2; Vogelgesang, p.109.

4. E.g., 1438, J. Aschbach, Geschichte der Grafen von Wertheim, ii, Frankfurt, 1843, pp.265-8; T. Lindner, Die Veme, Münster and Paderborn, 1888, pp.507,509.

5. Bibl. Heidelberg, Pal. Germ.158, fos.160-2.

city of Mülhausen from being cited to courts in Westphalia[1]. Frederick I was probably induced finally to support a frontal attack on the Westphalian courts by the persistence with which a schoolmaster of Heidelberg, backed by a papal bull and the threatened interruption of trade between Heidelberg and Frankfurt, sought the jurisdiction of the Veme between 1459 and 1461 for his claims that he had been wrongly dismissed by the town council[2]. In 1461 the elector agreed with numerous princes, nobles and cities of south-west Germany to forbid their subjects to bring cases before the Westphalian courts and to make sure that litigants were not denied justice in the proper courts and thus given an excuse for going to the Veme[3]. The historian of the Veme has claimed that Margrave Charles of Baden was the chief sponsor of this alliance[4], but quotes in evidence only the margrave's inconclusive agreement with the count of Württemberg[5], who did not even join the alliance. Frederick I is more likely to have played the leading role, for it was he who wrote at the end of 1461, though in vain, to ask the city of Speyer to join the alliance[6]. The league

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1. Cartulaire de Mulhouse, ii, no.846, pp.350-3.

2. R. Heinze, 'Magister Conrad Schades Streithändel mit der Stadt Heidelberg', Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher, iii, 1899, pp.199-223.

3. 1 Dec., Rapoltsteinisches U.B.iv, no.711, pp.271-6; Cartulaire de Mulhouse, ii, no.847, pp.354-8. An alliance against the encroachments of the Veme had been made already in 1436 by the imperial cities of Alsace and other cities and nobles of Alsace, the Breisgau and Switzerland, Bittler, Décapole Alsacienne, p.116.

4. Lindner, op. cit., p.527.

5. 7-10 Nov. 1461, R.Baden, iv, no.8703, pp.123-4.

6. StA Frankfurt, Fehmgericht: Generalia B.

was indeed later adhered to by Landau[1], a city surrounded by the elector's territories, and by his sister, the widow of Albert of Austria[2]. The Elector Philip was likewise almost certainly responsible for the renewal of the league in 1488. A draft renewal of 1480 omitted only Philip's name from a list of the participants and therefore probably came from his chancery[3]; and several new adherents to the league in 1488 and 1490 were his followers[4]. The electors also combatted the secret courts by granting safe conduct to citizens of Strassburg oppressed by them[5], by citing cases from the Westphalian courts to the supreme court[6] and by issuing stringent injunctions against their activities in the Upper Palatinate[7]. On occasion, however, even the Elector Philip found the Veme useful when outlaws had escaped beyond the bounds of his jurisdiction, and he allowed some of his officials to remain wissenden[8]. The elector was prepared to

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1. Hagen, Landau, p.116.

2. Kremer, ii, no.146, p.403. The city of Heilbronn refused requests of the electors palatine to join in 1461 and 1479, U.B. Heilbronn, i, no.793, p.437;ii, no.1268, pp.228-9; JÄger, Heilbronn, i.243.

3. Rappoltsteinisches U.B.v, no.1578, pp.563-4.

4. 1488, the Count Palatine Caspar, who was living in Philip's household, and the bishop of Basel, ibid.iv, no.913, p.387; Cartulaire de Mulhouse, iv, no.1899, p.258; HÄusser, p.456; 1490, the counts of Hohenlohe, GSA Munich, Rot 36 k.2.

5. PfÄlzer Urk.vi, no.1700; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fo.289.

6. Ibid., 953, fos.346-7.

7. 1502, ibid., 819, fos.142-5.

8. E.g., ibid., 816, fo.348V;818, fo.419.

tolerate the Westphalian courts when they suited his purpose, but not when his own jurisdiction could be effective.

Although less troublesome than the Veme, the jurisdiction of the imperial Hofgericht at Rottweil was strong throughout Swabia and impinged on that of the electors. The Emperor Frederick III ordered the court not to hear cases involving subjects of the Palatinate and declared any imperial ban placed on them by the court to be void[1]. The Rottweil court even admitted in 1469 that its ban did not extend to the elector's territories[2]. Nevertheless, both Frederick I and Philip had to summon many cases from Rottweil to their supreme court, especially those in which their nobles were parties[3]. Yet some nobles, like George, lord of Ochsenstein, would at times seek the elector's protection and jurisdiction and at others accepted arbitration by the court at Rottweil, according to their convenience[4]. Similarly, Albert Achilles's Landgericht at Nuremberg was so aggressive that Frederick I and Duke Louis of Bavaria allied against it[5]. The elector averted a war on this issue in the Palatinate in 1458, but fought over it by the side of his ally in Bavaria in 1460[6].

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1. 1447-8, GSA Munich, Rot 24/51; Chmel, Regesta...Friderici...III., nos.2363,2502, pp.241,255.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.146-7.

3. E.g., ibid., fos.101-2,187-8;952, fos.140-2,202-4;953, passim.

4. Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, ii.155-6,159-63.

5. 1458, Kremer, ii, no.55b, pp.170-1.

6. Kremer, i.158; see chapter 2(ii).

The encroachments of other courts had also to be resisted. Measures were taken to prevent the citation of cases to the city court of Worms[1], to Jewish rabbinical courts outside Alsace[2] and to foreign ecclesiastical courts. Frederick I and Philip obtained from the bishops of Strassburg agreements that the electors' subjects and dependants would not be summoned to the episcopal court for debts or other civil matters[3]. With few exceptions the electors were able to prevent the citation of their subjects to several other episcopal courts in civil, though not ecclesiastical, causes[4]. In 1500 the Burggref of Alzey imprisoned a messenger of the ecclesiastical court of Worms and threatened that any messengers who brought more letters citing the elector's peasants to ecclesiastical courts would be forced to eat them[5].

In the Palatinate formal appeals could not be made from the supreme court to the ruler in person, as they could in Upper Bavaria[6]. The only substitute for a further court of appeal within the principality was the frequent practice for litigants to ask the supreme court

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1. 1505, Vogelgesang, p.109.

2. 1464, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fo.89V.

3. K. Stenzel, 'Die geistlichen Gerichte zu Strassburg im 15. Jahrhundert', Z.G.O., N.F.xxix, 1914, pp.408,444-5; Stenzel, Strassburg, p.150.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.44;816, fo.31;951, fos.227-8;952, fo.149; GSA Munich, Blau 398/1, I, no.4, fos.17-20,116-8,173,237,256; Ziehen, ii.462.

5. Monumenta Wormatiensia, p.442.

6. Riezler, Geschichte Baierns, iii.691.

to explain its own earlier decisions[1]. The nobles also had the recourse of petitioning the elector as their territorial prince to reverse a decision of his supreme court[2]. Nobles and prelates, however, though not other subjects of the electors, had the right to appeal from the supreme court to the Emperor[3]. Several such appeals were made during Philip's rule[4], but the elector often induced the appellants to abandon their appeals in favour of informal arbitration hearings before his counsellors. Although nobles occasionally pursued their appeals to the Emperor[5], most of them accepted in lieu of the imperial Kammergericht judgment by the elector himself[6], by special tribunals presided over by his leading officials[7] or even in one case by three lawyers who were employed by Philip to sit in the supreme court, but had not been present when that court gave its verdict[8]. To avoid the problems associated with appeals, nobles who agreed to arbitration by the supreme court sometimes waived beforehand the right

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1. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/952, fos.12-13,54-55,105-8,161-4.

2. E.g., ibid., 77/8399 (13 June 1472),8398 (8 July 1488).

3. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fos.97-98,112.

4. E.g., SA Darmstadt, Handschriften 137 BIV, fos.358-60; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/953, fo.229; Scherl, 'Nabburg', V.H.O.P., xcvi, 1955, p.262.

5. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/953, fos.425-33; Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, i.357-60.

6. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/829, fos.20,66-68.

7. Ibid., fos.10,41-43,314-6.

8. Ibid., 824, fos.142-4.

of appeal to the Emperor, but even this did not always preclude appeals[1]. Philip was for a time willing to let some appeals pass to the Emperor from his feudal court[2] and from the supreme court[3], but after the reform of the imperial Kammergericht in 1495 he was anxious lest its jurisdiction should impair his privileges under the Golden Bull. During the following years several cases involving nobles of the Palatinate, which had appeared before the Kammergericht in the first instance[4] or on appeal[5], were referred back to the elector's court at his request. Philip was not entirely successful: in 1501 the Kammergericht reversed a decision of his supreme court[6] and in 1503 all the electors believed their privileges to be so endangered that they threatened to declare the decisions of the Kammergericht invalid[7]. Nevertheless, during the later fifteenth century the electors palatine had made a reality of the notion that their principality was a closed sphere of jurisdiction and immune from the intervention of all foreign courts.

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1. E.g., 3-7 Jan. 1484, ibid., 77/8779.

2. Ibid., 67/824, fos.110-21; GSA Munich, Rot 46 n.5.

3. Lehmann, Dürkheimer Thal, pp.43-44.

4. O. Koser, Repertorium der Akten des Reichskammergerichts. Untrennbarer Bestand, i, Heppenheim, 1933, no.538; Ziehen, ii.477.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fo.232; 72/ Pfalz Generalia, no.11; 77/9685 (24 Aug. 1499 and 30 Jan. 1502).

6. von Weech, 'Pfälzische Reg.', Z.G.O., xxiv, 1872, p.62.

7. Vogelgesang, p.107.

(iii) The Efficiency of the Supreme Court and the Role of the Electors' other Central Courts.

The effective functioning of the court depended on its intricate procedure, as regulated by the numerous ordinances. Although the presiding judge (Hofrichter) was appointed separately for each of the court's four annual sessions[1], there was considerable continuity in the office, which was usually held by a lay nobleman of some standing; Hans von Gemmingen zu Guttenberg was presiding judge with short interruptions from 1468 until 1480[2]. Philip's ordinance provided for six assistant judges to sit permanently, of whom at least two or three were to be qualified in law. Between four and six more counsellors were named each session as assistants to help out in the court[3]. After the litigants and spectators had withdrawn, the presiding judge was to ask each judge in turn his opinion of the case. When all had spoken without interruption, they could discuss and explain their views. Finally, the presiding judge asked each for his decision, giving his own last, and the majority prevailed[4]. The Hofmeister, chancellor and other leading officials did not normally sit in the supreme court, but Philip promised, if a case or the parties were important, to come on the bench himself or send some of

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1. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fo.90.

2. App. VIII(4).

3. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fo.91; exceptions to these rules were allowed in 1483, ibid., fo.91a.

4. Ibid., fos.92-93.

his counsellors employed on daily business in his household[1]. Frederick I's large supreme court, which decided on the inheritance of the landgrave of Leiningen's lands, had included the chancellor of Mainz, as well as several leading clergy and Amtleute of the Palatinate[2]. The court might also seek the advice of the elector and of counsellors who were not sitting on the bench[3]. The size of the court usually fluctuated between eight and thirteen members, but it was not unknown in special cases for there to be fifteen or sixteen[4] and in 1468 there was one court of eighteen and one of twenty-two judges[5].

It is perhaps no coincidence that, of the Elector Philip's permanent supreme court assistants whose names have survived, only five were lay noblemen, whereas thirteen were trained in the law[6]. The lawyers none the less remained in a minority in the court: in the sessions of 1468-9, 1473 and 1477-8 their number varied from one to four per case[7]. It may have continued to rise slowly during Philip's

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1. Ibid., fo.92.

2. Bibl. Heidelberg, Pal. Germ.158, fo.180; another example, Pfälzisches U.B.xiii.274.

3. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fo.23V;952, fos.3-5.

4. E.g., ibid., 951, fo.118;952, fo.57; 953, fos.9-10, 298-9; Pfälzer U-k.vii, no.2071; J. Heckler, Beitrag zu einer Geschichte der Stadt Bensheim, Darmstadt, 1852, p.112.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.28-30,119-24.

6. To the list in Vogelgesang, p.113, should be added meister Bernhard Fröwis and Ludwig and meister Hans Schuwerman, both licentiates in law, 1494, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fo.142.

7. Ibid., 951-3, passim; Vogelgesang, p.116.

reign, but although five lawyers sat in the court on several occasions[1], only rarely were there six, seven or eight, and then in exceptionally large courts[2]. It was however common for the court to contain in addition one, two or more clergy, who may or may not have had a legal training. Moreover, even a few doctors of law could have a decisive influence on judicial decisions through the weight of their knowledge[3].

Ten years before the establishment of the supreme court, Frederick I created two chairs of civil law in the university, where there had been none, and he later paid for Germans to study in Italy, from where they returned to fill the new chairs[4]. At first, however, the lawyers who sat most regularly in the court were not professors, but legally trained advisers of the electors. Throughout 1473, the elector's counsellors, Dr. Johann Vogel, meister Peter of Kreuznach and meister Bernhard Frowis, attended the court more regularly than the professors Dr. Hartmann von Eppingen and Dr. Peter Wacker[5]. Some of the legal advisers of the electors had long years of service in the

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1. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/924, fo.131;951, fos.119-24;952, fo.57;953, fo.154; M.B.H.G., ix, 1888, p.116.

2. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/820, fos.411-3;953, fos.355-6; Pfälzer Urk. vii, no.2071; Heckler, op. cit., p.112. Sometimes there were no lawyers at all, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.21-23;953, fos.82-83,200-2.

3. Riezler, Geschichte Baierns, iii.709.

4. Ritter, p.439; Karlowa, Reception des römischen Rechts, pp.8-9.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/952; similarly, 1477-8, ibid., 953, and later, SA Darmstadt, Handschriften 137 BIV, fos.358-60; Ritter, p.442.

supreme court, Frŏwis from 1468 until 1494[1]. Until the end of the century, none of the lawyers appointed as permanent assistants in the court were professors[2]. The court included several professors only when there was anyway a large number of judges and lawyers to deal with a case of unusual complexity[3].

In the last decade of his reign, the Elector Philip sought to draw the professors more closely into the work of the supreme court. In 1497 the court was enjoined to seek an opinion from the professors of law in cases in which it could not reach a verdict[4]. When the faculty of law apparently failed to cooperate, Philip established a third chair in civil law without consulting the university and appointed a nobleman and doctor of laws, whose oath to the rector was limited by his obligations to the elector[5]. Philip then instructed the professors to form a common opinion when considering cases sent to them by the supreme court, so that each could present his views briefly to the other judges on the day of the trial. In order that they might see the law in action and become more conscientious in their duties, he appointed the five professors of law as permanent assistants in the court; they were to lecture for half of the day and

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fo.142;951, fo.81V.

2. Vagelgesang, p.113.

3. E.g. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fos.119-24.

4. 27 July, HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fos.113-4.

5. Ritter, p.445.

attend in court for the remainder, so that two or three would always be present, and all during university vacations[1]. The elector's measures were largely unsuccessful and the work of the supreme court was held up through the irregular attendance of the professors. Philip's demands became more moderate in 1503, when he asked the university to arrange its vacations to coincide with the sessions of the court, thus ensuring that one professor each in canon and civil law would sit on the bench[2]. By 1504 the university had obtained the concession that only one professor, who had no lectures at the time, was obliged to sit in the court[3]. The university had limited the extent to which the elector could exploit it as a source of supply for trained judges.

Trithemius praised the Elector Philip's supreme court for cutting short many legal disputes[4], but the court itself became so overburdened with work that the number and length of cases had to be restricted. The court sat for an average of nine days in each session during 1468 and 1469, ten in 1477 and twelve in 1478, and heard two or three cases every day[5], as Philip's ordinance required[6]. In 1473 a litigant

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1. 6 June 1498, U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, i, no.149, p.205.
2. 21 Oct., K.K. Wundt, Programma de Origine et Progressu Facultatis Juridica in Academia Heidelbergensis, ii, Heidelberg, 1778, pp.16-17; U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, ii, no.600, p.66; Karlowa, op. cit., p.20 n.26; repeated, 3 Nov. 1503, U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, ii, no.601, p.66; Hautz, Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg, i.338.
3. Ibid.
4. Chronicon Sponheimense, p.376.
5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951;953.
6. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fo.102; Vogelgesang, p.118.

complained of having to wait for more than a week for a hearing; the court itself declared that it was pressed for time[1], and in each of three sessions of that year it sat for about sixteen days and heard three or more cases daily[2]. It may have been this increasing pressure of work which led the Elector Philip to limit sessions to fourteen days[3]. Several hearings proved necessary in many cases. Over half of the 141 causes before the court in 1478 could not be concluded in one hearing[4]. Some delays arose from the rule that the court did not hear witnesses, but appointed a commissioner, usually a local official of the elector, to write down their evidence for presentation at the hearing[5]. The procedure if one of the parties failed to appear in court allowed for two or three hearings in different sessions before the court could decide in favour of the party who had obeyed its summons[6]. Philip's ordinance insisted that his officials should not lightly arrange hearings before the court, but examine whether the Amtleute or other courts were not the proper instance. Restrictions were placed on long speeches and the parties commanded not to obstruct one another's pleadings or cause disorder in court[7]. Although the

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/952, fos.175-6,189.
2. Ibid., passim.
3. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fo.89.
4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/953, fos.165-433.
5. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fo.100.
6. Ibid., fos.95-96.
7. Ibid., fos.89-90; Vogelgesang, pp.117-8.

court had long refused to entertain written pleadings[1], they were admitted in 1497 in order to cut down the length of hearings, and after 1498 the parties had to swear not to ask without cause for postponements[2].

Great efforts were made to limit appeals to the supreme court. Philip prescribed that appellants had to deposit 5% of the amount at stake, forfeitable if the case was lost, and directed appeals where less than 20 guilders were involved before the Amtleute, who were to settle the matter amicably, send the case to the Oberhof of the court of first instance, or punish frivolous appeals[3]. Later, appeals from the intermediate decisions of lower courts and from verdicts concerning the boundaries between holdings of land were forbidden[4]. The appeal jurisdiction of the supreme court was a useful instrument for controlling the Ämter from Heidelberg, but at times it swamped the central court with unnecessary work.

The supreme court took over much of the work of the court of the elector and his counsellors, but it did not entirely supercede this 'chancery court', so called after its place of meeting. Philip's ordinance[5] instructed his officials to arrange hearings in the supreme court for matters sent to the elector and his counsellors for

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fo.95;952, fos.272-6; HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fo.100.
2. Ibid., fos.108,111.
3. Ibid., fos.97-99.
4. Ibid., fos.104,108.
5. Ibid., fo.90.

arbitration, unless the case was of such importance that it should come before a court of counsellors presided over by the elector himself[1] or by a special judge appointed by him[2], or else if the elector separately summoned the case before him. Few differences in procedure and composition existed between these arbitration courts and the supreme court, when reinforced by the elector's leading officials. The chancery courts sometimes used the seal of the supreme court for their decisions[3] and might include the same lawyers[4]. They were able also to mediate between the parties or persuade them to accept the verdict of the elector in person[5]. The survival of the feudal court was another example of the diverse methods by which justice was dispensed. Moreover, during Philip's reign the Hofmeister and chancellor often sat with a small number of counsellors as a court[6]; and in both reigns the chancellor sometimes decided a case with a few other counsellors[7]. Some cases were adjudicated by a

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1. Examples of such courts under Frederick I and Philip, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fos.209-10;953, fos.361-76;77/8769, fos.380-1; Pfälzisches U.B.xiv.246,258.

2. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fos.303-18,379-89;829, fos.233-6; 953, fos.253-5; Würdtwein, Monasticon Palatinum, v, 1796, pp.411-7.

3. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/829, fos.314-6;953, fos.307,425-33.

4. E.g., Simon, Erbach, U.B., no.268, p.268.

5. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/951, fo.90;952, fos.50-51; M.G.B., xv, 1914, pp.67-68.

6. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fo.248;825, fo.41;829, passim; GSA Munich, Rot 36 c.4.

7. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/829, fos.41-43,110-1;951, fos.176-7,205.

small number only of the assistant judges of the supreme court, usually those with a legal training[1]. In 1485 four nobles of Alsace, familiar with its customs, gave judgment in a case referred to them by the supreme court[2]. If clerical litigants disliked bringing ecclesiastical causes before the laymen in the supreme court, they often had them decided by a tribunal of clergy trained in the law, who were usually also judges in the supreme court[3].

The chancery court became exceedingly busy during the fifteenth century, so that the Elector Philip attempted to limit the number of 'supplications' with which it had to deal. These were requests for intervention in disputes which arose in the Ämter, some of which were pending before local courts. In 1497 fines were introduced for serfs whose supplications were found to be unjustified[4], and in 1506 the elector strictly enjoined the Amtleute to deal themselves with the host of trivial supplications which had been coming to his counsellors and chancery, and to send to Heidelberg only cases which could not be settled in the Ämter[5].

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1. E.g., ibid., 824, fo.142;952, fos.183-5,215; Pfälzer Urk.vi, no.1863.

2. Lehmann, Burgen des Unter-Elsasses, pp.51-55,59-60.

3. From 1453 onwards, e.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/824, fos.340-1; 951, fo.30;953, fo.306; F.X. Glasschröder, Neue Urkunden zur pfälzischen Kirchengeschichte, Speyer, 1930, no.158; Franck, Oppenheim, no.195, pp.500-2; Lehmann, Kaiserslautern, p.75; Lossen, p.84.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/820, fo.373V.

5. Ibid., 77/1060, Canzleisache; Vogelgesang, p.121 n.78.

In 1508 Louis V instructed his chancellor to abolish hearings in the chancery during sessions of the supreme court, so that the number of assistant judges in the latter would not be depleted[1]. According to the chancery ordinance of 1557, it had been the custom since the Elector Philip's time for the council to act as an arbitration court only in alternate weeks, in order to reserve time for the elector's own affairs[2]. It is however wrong to regard the chancery court as competing with the jurisdiction of the supreme court, nor is the related distinction tenable, that the supreme court and lower courts issued legal decisions, whereas the chancery and Amtleute only arbitrated and mediated[3]. It is true that the chancery court entertained all supplications and most cases in which the elector was a party and that appeals came exclusively before the supreme court, which could not otherwise consider cases between burghers and serfs of the elector. On the other hand, the chancery alone acted as Oberhof for the miners' courts in the Palatinate and for the town of Neustadt an der Haardt[4], and it even heard what were virtually appeals from decisions of the supreme court. Most of the work of the supreme court arose from cases in which at least one of the parties was exempt from

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1. Ibid., p.112.

2. Ibid., p.89.

3. But cf. ibid., pp.97-99, following A. Stölzel, Die Entwicklung des gelehrten Richterthums in deutschen Territorien, i, Stuttgart, 1872.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/894, fo.33;951, fos.136-7.

the jurisdiction of the lower courts and sought the supreme court in the first instance or as an arbitration court. As in Württemberg, Bavaria and Baden[1], the nobles and other privileged persons seeking the arbitration of the elector were directed to the supreme court or the chancery court as a matter of administrative convenience, or according to the standing of the parties and the importance of the case for the elector's own interests. There were no real advantages in procedure, membership of the court or speed of decision-making to induce litigants to prefer the chancery to the supreme court. It was only natural that all available resources should be used to cope with the burden of judicial work sent from the Ämter. The supreme court had been established to relieve the chancery of many of its arbitration cases, as well as to provide a central court of appeal. The electors created a formal institution for the sake of judicial efficiency, but at the beginning of the sixteenth century departmentalism was not yet entrenched. Jurisdiction could be exercised, as all the tasks of government were fulfilled, by any counsellors who were at hand, irrespective of the nature of their nominal appointments.

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1. T. Knapp, 'Das württembergische Hofgericht zu Tübingen und das württembergische Privilegium de non evocando', Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung, xlviii, 1928, pp.11-14; I. Kothe, Der fürstliche Rat in Württemberg im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, Stuttgart, 1938, pp.18,76; Ernst, p.97; Rosenthal, Verwaltungsorganisation Baierns, i.420 et seq.; Wielandt, 'Markgraf Christoph I.', Z.G.O., N.F.xlvi, 1933, p.571.

(iv) The Council and the Influence of the Counsellors.

The organized council (Hofrat) was already fully developed when its first ordinance was issued in 1557. It was no mere imitation of Austrian and imperial models, but had its origins in the practice of the Palatinate since the fifteenth century[1]. Both the council in 1557 and the Regency government for the Upper Palatinate in 1525[2] had the same characteristics as the permanent councils which had existed in Bavaria, Württemberg and other principalities since the end of the fifteenth century: the council met daily or regularly, even in the absence of the prince; majority decisions normally prevailed, but the will of the ruler was decisive in important matters; and there was an established procedure for discussion and the reaching of decisions[3]. In 1557 the council in the Palatinate had a fixed membership of nine, who could be supplemented by other counsellors, and an inner group dealt with secret affairs and those arising in the chancery; the council members sat in an appointed order and gave their opinions and votes by rota under the supervision of the Hofmeister[4].

The practice of the Elector Louis V's council had corresponded with these regulations since at least the 1520s, and older protocolls

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1. G. Vogelgesang provides useful material, but does not discuss this problem nor pursue her investigations further back than the 1490s.

2. Vogelgesang, pp.78-81.

3. Ibid., pp.76-77,90; Hartung, Verfassungsgeschichte, pp.78-79.

4. Vogelgesang, pp.82-86.

of council sessions show that their procedure did not differ substantially[1]. During several sessions in 1507, fifteen or more counsellors gave their opinions in a fixed order, with the leading officials and the elector concluding the discussion[2]. These and other similar protocolls opened with a list of those present and were entitled Ratschlag, which meant an advisory opinion reached by formal deliberation[3]; this procedure had been familiar to the judges in the supreme court since 1462[4]. Already in 1489 the council was making important decisions: it determined the elector's approach to an assembly of the Kraichgau nobility and his reaction to the emperor's passage through the Palatinate[5]. The council helped the Elector Philip to receive important foreign missions[6] and in 1505 sat during his absence[7]. There may well have already been daily sessions, since the later ordinance stated that it had been the custom since Philip's time to deal in alternate weeks with the elector's own affairs and arbitration cases[8].

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1. Ibid., pp.91-96; Steinmetz, Ludwig V., pp.84-85.

2. HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 963, fos.71-80,188-91; Vogelgesang, p.93, implied that no order was apparent in council sessions before 1510.

3. E.g., 1495, Dép. Strasbourg, C63, nos.24-25; 1502, ibid., C68; similarly, Rat gehalten, 1493, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/887, fo.4a.

4. Vogelgesang, p.117; see (iii), above.

5. Kolb, pp.53-54.

6. Dép. Strasbourg, C63, nos.14,28; J.P. von Ludewig, Reliquiae manuscriptorum, vi, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1724, p.117.

7. HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 216; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/826, fos.148-9.

8. Vogelgesang, p.89.

There are indications that Frederick I's council had already become formalized. In 1456 the elector mentioned that he might invite his brother bey ihme in seinem Rathe zu sitzen[1]; like Ratschlag, Rat usually meant 'deliberation' or 'advice given', but the meaning of a 'council' was well-known in the elector's towns. When an alteration to the ordinance for the supreme court was described in 1498 as In treffenlichem Rate beslossen[2], the reference was to the formal procedure of the council. The related phrase, nach treffenlichem Rate unser Rete, or similar ones, was applied to five decisions made by the electors between 1462 and 1478, and once a list of the most important counsellors present was appended, as in the later protocolls of the council[3]. The formal council had developed gradually from the habit of the electors to summon ad hoc sessions of their counsellors.

The later formal council owed much also to the regency councils and small groups of counsellors who dealt with daily business in the chancery during the fifteenth century. There were regency governments for several years during Louis III's reign and Regents (Statthalter) conducted the administration at Heidelberg during the frequent absences of Frederick I and Philip. These Regents often transacted important business on their own account. In 1453

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1. Codex diplomaticus palatinus, no.216, p.162.

2. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fo.108.

3. Franck, Oppenheim, no.203, p.521; the other instances, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/829, fos.61-62,217; U.B. Speyer, ii, nos.170-1, pp.317,319; Kremer, ii, no.178, p.484.

Frederick I's alliance with the king of Sicily was endorsed on his behalf In consilio, and the endorsement contained the names of the chancellor, the Hofmeister, and two of the other counsellors present[1]. In 1473 Frederick had to annul the investiture of a fief made by his Regents[2]. Very often, however, important decisions were postponed until the elector's return, but at the same time the Regents performed their duties in the manner of the later formal council. On the arrival of envoys from one of the rival archbishops of Mainz in 1461, the Regents consulted with other counsellors of the elector and decided to give waiting replies to both claimants; they then wrote to inform Frederick in Bavaria[3].

The permanent council in Bavaria had its origins in the group of counsellors who met daily in the chancery during the later fifteenth century[4]. Similarly in the Palatinate, the regency governments for Louis III had already included four counsellors specially appointed to despatch 'daily business' in the chancery[5]. Frederick I singled out his leading officials and counsellors as

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1. GSA Munich, Rot 37 g.6; another example, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fos.472-3.

2. Ibid., 952, fos.103-4.

3. Hasselholdt-Stockheim, Albrecht IV., Urk., pp.413-5; other examples, Dép. Strasbourg, C67, no.6; GHA Munich, Urk.2791½; Pfälzisches U.B.xiv.142,163,187,197.

4. Riezler, Geschichte Baierns, iii.675-6; Rosenthal, Verwaltungsorganisation Baierns, i.261-3.

5. GHA Munich, Urk.2621,2623; Pfälzisches U.B.x, fos.339V,340V.

those whom he consulted for most matters every day[1]. The practice of the Palatinate seems to be reflected in the ordinance which Frederick helped to draw up for the chancery of his brother, the archbishop of Cologne, in 1469; Frederick's Hofmeister became Rupert's and a legal adviser of the Palatinate was also among the four counsellors appointed to despatch daily business and to control the archbishop's finances and the size of his household[2]. During Philip's reign the counsellors in daily attendance included the Hofmeister, chancellor, marshal and Vogt at Heidelberg; they supervised the functions of the supreme court and heard supplications from the Ämter[3]. Furthermore, as in Württemberg[4], much of the daily business in the chancery was dealt with after the middle of the fifteenth century by the Hofmeister and chancellor, with or without other counsellors[5]. Besides holding their own judicial hearings, the two leading officials undertook the preliminary formalities for cases in the supreme court[6]. By the beginning of Louis V's reign, they had a free hand with all

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1. Kremer, ii, nos.71,110, pp.207,318.

2. F. Walter, Das alte Erzstift und die Reichsstadt Cöln, Bonn, 1866, pp.405-7,409-11.

3. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fos.92,102; GLA Karlsruhe, 77/1060, Canzleisache.

4. F. Wintterlin, Geschichte der Behördenorganisation in Württemberg, i, Stuttgart, 1902, pp.16-17.

5. E.g., StA Frankfurt, Reichssachen 3685 (1438); GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fo.104;819, fos.428-30;890, fos.165-7; The Travels of Leo of Rozmital, ed. M. Letts, Cambridge, 1957, p.21.

6. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fos.89-90,97-98,100.

'daily minor matters', which were not brought before the full council[1].

In 1557 the counsellors employed on daily business were the only ones present when matters of especial secrecy and importance were discussed[2]. From the beginning of the fifteenth century the electors palatine reserved their innermost secrets for some counsellors only[3]. Actually called 'inner counsellors', they included in Philip's reign the Hofmeister, chancellor and marshal[4], who again participated in the secret council meetings of 1516 and 1517 to prepare for the summoning of Estates[5].

For nearly a century before the ordinance of 1557, the council had acted as a formal institution, its leading members dealt separately with current work in the chancery and with secret matters, and the Hofmeister and chancellor together had a special responsibility. The Palatinate was no exception among German principalities: the formal council had its origins in the middle of the fifteenth century, even though it did not emerge from its chrysalis until much later.

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1. Steinmetz, Ludwig V., p.86; Vogelgesang, p.53.

2. Ibid., p.83.

3. Louis III, 1401, Regesta...Rerum Boicarum, xi, ed. M. von Freyberg, 1847, p.233; LouisIV, J. Hansen, Westfalen und Rheinland im 15. Jahrhundert, Leipzig, 1888, p.125; 1462, Kremer, ii, no.82, p.245; Philip, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/829, fos.15-17; GHA Munich, Akten 2385, fo.382.

4. Morneweg, Dalberg, pp.135-6; Buchner, 'Amberger Hochzeit', Z.G.O., N.F.xxvi, 1911, pp.125-6.

5. Together with the treasurer, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/5927,5929.

These developments may have increased the influence which the counsellors exercised on the policies of the electors. The latter were always willing to place a share of the responsibility for their actions on the shoulders of their advisers. The Estates were consulted because the nobles in them were 'important counsellors' as well as 'leading members' of the principality. The electors emphasized that they had consulted their counsellors when Duke Philip refused to marry the Katzenelnbogen heiress[1] and when ordinances were issued for the towns[2]. The advice of the counselbrs was used to justify representations to the Emperor[3], the pawning of lands or revenues[4] and the taking up of loans[5]. Philip even promised not to alter his ordinance for the supreme court without seeking the advice of the counsellors who had helped to draft it[6].

The most influential counsellors were the bishops of Worms and Speyer, one or other see being occupied by chancellors of the Palatinate for all but three years between 1464 and 1497. Both bishops attended every meeting of Frederick I's Estates, headed the list of his executors[7], drew up the document in which Philip rejected

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1. Ibid., 67/813, fos.224-5.

2. Ibid., 812, fo.44; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.394.

3. E.g., Kremer, ii, no.178, p.484.

4. E.g., Dép. Strasbourg, 12J803-4; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.84.

5. Ibid., 43/Gen., Konv.25, no.1; Bibl. Heidelberg, Pal. Germ. 158, fos.23-27,45-50.

6. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fos.88,103.

7. Lossen, p.215.

the Katzenelnbogen marriage[1], and acted as intimate advisers, either alone or with a few other trusted counsellors, for all the dynastic arrangements made between 1471 and 1476. They presented Philip on his accession with a memorandum of recommendations on all aspects of government, which was probably drafted by the chancellor, the bishop of Speyer, who had earlier compiled similar surveys for his own territories[2]. Some of the administrative reforms in the Palatinate followed closely on those of the see of Speyer. Frederick I's feudal book had the same layout and format as that compiled six years earlier by Matthias Ramung, who also introduced a separate register for debts before the elector and promulgated similar sumptuary laws[3].

The influence of the other counsellors may also be traced. Frederick I was said to have abandoned the defence of Widdern in 1458 because his counsellors advised against it[4]. In 1461 the elector followed the advice of his counsellors not to ally with Archbishop Diether of Mainz, until changed circumstances induced him to depart

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1. R.Katz.ii, no.5462.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/338, fos.53R-56R; Buchner, 'Mathias Ramung', Z.G.O., N.F.xxiv, 1909, pp.292-3.

3. F. von Weech, 'Über das Lehenbuch des Bischofs von Speyer, Matthias Ramung, 1465-7', Vierteljahrsschrift für Wappen-, Siegel- und Familienkunde, xxii, 1894, p.339; Buchner, Regierung des...Mathias Ramung, pp.6-7,11,14,19.

4. Speierische Chronik, p.421.

from this policy[1]. Philip asked his leading counsellors in 1478 how he should punish a breach in the secrecy of his supreme court[2]. Yet the electors were never so divorced from the council, nor was the latter so influential, as was the case in Bavaria already during the fifteenth century[3]. The electors were more like Eberhard I of Württemberg, who took advice readily, but made his own decisions and policies[4]. By Louis V's reign the making of decisions had become painfully slow, because all important matters required the elector's consent, but the influence of the counsellors on his policies remained great[5].

Moreover, the additional influence exercised by the counsellors as executors of the electors' policies was evident in their increased specialization of function. The leading counsellors alone attended to daily business in the chancery, and there was marked specialization in the appointment of supreme court judges and financial officials[6]. The electors' legal advisers in orders heard some ecclesiastical causes and performed such duties as helping to reform the collegiate church

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1. Hasselholdt-Stockheim, Albrecht IV., Urk., pp.413-5; Menzel, Diether von Isenburg, p.162; Feeser, Friedrich der Siegreiche, pp.87-88.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/829, fo.217. He did not follow to the letter the advice of his council in 1489, Kolb, p.54.

3. Rosenthal, Verwaltungsorganisation Baierns, i.256-61.

4. Ernst, p.21.

5. Steinmetz, Ludwig V., pp.84-86; Vogelgesang, p.101.

6. See (iii), above, and (vii), below.

at Neustadt in 1466[1]. A special committee of experienced military captains had already been appointed by Louis IV in 1444 to prepare the defence of Alsace[2]. In 1503 the elector consulted for a whole week with his counsellors on the measures to be taken to meet the danger of war with Hesse[3], and named the Hofmeister, the marshal and six noble counsellors to assist his commander-in-chief. This committee compiled the muster-book, estimated the forces available, arranged for supplies and gave a Ratschlag, not only on military matters, but on how to secure the loyalty of allies and to raise money[4]. Since Frederick I's reign, each of the Rhenish electors had made one or two of their counsellors permanently responsible for securing the observance of their agreements about coinage[5]. As the regular representative of the Palatinate at the chapters of the electors after 1503, the Amtmann at Oppenheim sent Philip his recommendations, as well as reports[6]. The same counsellors were sent again and again on diplomatic missions. From Louis III's reign onwards[7], the bishops

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1. Lossen, p.162; another example, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/883, between fos.100 and 101. However, L. Stamer, Kirchengeschichte der Pfalz, ii, Speyer, 1949, pp.245-6, goes too far in seeing the beginnings of an ecclesiastical department of the administration in 1490.

2. Deutsche Reichstagsakten. Ältere Reihe, xvii.535-6.

3. GHA Munich, Akten 2385, fo.171.

4. 'Reissbuch', Z.G.O., xxvi, 1874, pp.156,209-14.

5. E.g., Kremer, ii, no.142, p.395; Würdtwein, Diplomataria Maguntina, ii.375.

6. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/4846;67/957, fo.84.

7. Ibid., 810, fo.237; GHA Munich, Urk.2621.

of Worms or Speyer or the chancellors, together with the leading officials and several other counsellors, represented the electors at the imperial court and diet and on other important embassies[1]. On lesser missions, however, Philip usually sent only one or two counsellors with a legal education; noble doctores like Diether von Plenningen and Jacob von Ramung went on many occasions[2]. Meister Bernhard Fröwis and other lawyers received special appointments as envoys and combined their diplomatic duties with service on the bench of the supreme court[3].

Ever since the first half of the century, the legal advisers of the electors, like those in Württemberg, had often dominated the missions of which they were members[4]. In a court which arbitrated between the elector and the count of Württemberg in 1486, the president and two of the four other judges were doctors of law; each prince was represented by two Amtleute and one doctor of law, but the latter was invariably the spokesman[5]. The electors had always encouraged the university, especially the faculty of law, as a school for training

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1. E.g., HSA Munich, Rheinpfälzer Urk., no.6363; GSA Munich, Blau 435/5, fo.233; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fo.493;819, fos.204-5; Buchner, 'Mathias Ramung', loc. cit., passim; Morneweg, Dalberg, passim.

2. E.g., GSA Munich, Blau 435/5, fos.5,22,32,42-43,47,57,64,81,92.

3. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fos.273-4,310-1;819, fos.348-9,373-4.

4. GHA Munich, Urk.2640; Akten 1318 II, fos.86-89; Ritter, pp.298-9, 307,317,438-9; Kothe, Fürstliche Rat in Württemberg, pp.28-29.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/7482, fos.50-67; other examples, GSA Munich, Blau 398/1, I, no.4, fo.1; Kolb, p.123 n.89.

administrators. The tenour of Frederick I's circular letter of 12 June 1474 to the estates of the Empire indicates the work of lawyers: the history of the elector's conflicts with the emperor was recounted, with references to the natural and written laws; and the Golden Bull and precedents a century old were cited to prove the legality of the Arrogation[1]. Professors of law not only sat in the courts, but were employed on the electors' other affairs, for which the university excused them from lecturing in the late 1490s[2]. However, the majority of lawyers and those employed most frequently by the electors were not professors, but had appointments as counsellors and retainers[3]. Though few in number, they made their weight felt in the council and on embassies, no less than in the courts and chancery.

(ii) The Chancellor and the Chancery.

The word Kanzlei was used indiscriminately in the later fifteenth century for the writing office and its clerks, the building in which it was housed, or the council and other organs of the central administration which worked in the same building[4]. As in other German principalities, the office of chancellor developed from that of the

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1. Kremer, ii, no.181, pp.487-96.

2. U.B. der Universität Heidelberg, ii, nos.548,564,604,608-9, pp.61-63,66-67.

3. For their terms of appointment, see App. XII.

4. Cf. G. Mehring, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kanzlei der Grafen von Wirtenberg', Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte, N.F.xxv, 1916, p.346.

legally trained protonotary at the head of the writing office[1], but the chancellor came to fill a role which the protonotary had never occupied. Although the first indisputable chancellor appeared in 1450[2], the office only blossomed out with the appointment of Matthias Ramung in 1457. Before procuring Ramung's election as bishop of Speyer in 1464, the elector promised to keep him as chancellor for ten years[3]. In accordance with this agreement, Ramung was in almost continuous attendance at Heidelberg for the rest of his life, and he was granted numerous other favours by the electors[4]. The vice-chancellor, doctor Thomas Dornberg, succeeded in 1478, but was replaced in 1481 by Johann Kämmerer von Dalberg, who like Ramung came of a noble family long active in the service of the electors; he was elected to the see of Worms after being recommended by the Elector Philip[5]. Dalberg's successors, Jacob Kuhorn (1497-1502) and Florenz von Venningen (1503-38), were doctors of law, and indeed all the chancellors were trained lawyers and experienced administrators before being called to office. The electors chose their chancellors carefully, sometimes testing their competence by probationary

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1. Ritter, p.439; O. Herkert, Das landesherrliche Beamtentum der Markgrafschaft Baden im Mittelalter, Freiburg, 1910, p.35; Kothe, op. cit., p.10; Wintterlin, Behördenorganisation in Württemberg, i.16.

2. For the dates and careers of the chancellors, see App. VIII(1).

3. Lossen, pp.206-7; Buchner, 'Mathias Ramung', loc. cit., p.262.

4. U.B. Speyer, ii, no.183, p.346; Buchner, loc. cit., pp.288-90.

5. Morneweg, Dalberg, pp.9,21 n.76,25 n.90,42-43,58-59.

appointments as vice-chancellors or administrators of the office of chancellor, as had become the custom in most principalities by the sixteenth century[1].

The abilities of outstanding chancellors like Ramung, Dalberg and Venningen, all noblemen, greatly extended the scope of the chancellorship. After the middle of the fifteenth century, the chancellor replaced the Hofmeister as the elector's chief adviser. The qualifications of the chancellors as lawyers, clergy and administrators made them the natural leaders of diplomatic missions; the bishops, Ramung and Dalberg, were also of higher rank than the Hofmeister, which enabled them to act as mediators between the electors and neighbouring rulers[2]. They were longer in office than the contemporary Hofmeister and played a more important role in the affairs of the dynasty. During the sixteenth century the chancellors continued to rank in office below the Hofmeister, but were second to none in their influence on the policies of the electors[3].

The chancery and its clerks, on the other hand, were merely a technical instrument at the disposal of the counsellors. The chancery received all correspondence, the council or individual counsellors decided what action should be taken, and the chancery recorded their decisions so that they would be executed[4]. Not only did the chancery

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1. Vogelgesang, p.32.

2. E.g., Buchner, loc. cit., pp.267,279-81.

3. Steinmetz, Ludwig V., p.69.

4. Vogelgesang, pp.25,54; similarly in Bavaria, Rosenthal, Verwaltungsorganisation Baierns, i.272.

prepare all the propaganda for the electors' wars and feuds, but it had to draft their military alliances, arbitration agreements, appointments of retainers, Burgfrieden, ordinances for the towns and other classes of documents according to the prescribed forms, in order to make the most of the electors' rights. Since letters of presentation to benefices were collected from the chancery, it received Philip's ordinance for the holders of his benefices before the Amtleute did.[1] The chancery also collected some of the electors' revenues: fees for the issuing of feudal letters, judicial decisions[2] and treaties of protection[3], and the annual dues of individuals under Philip's protection[4], which became so large that by 1483 one scribe had been specially instructed to collect them[5]. The chancery officials even supplied historical material for Michel Beheim, the poetaster who put Frederick I's exploits into rhyme[6].

This burden of work was shared among one protonotary, two secretaries, six scribes and one messenger at the beginning of Louis V's reign[7]. There cannot have been many fewer in 1478, from

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1. Lossen, pp.227-30.
2. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fo.100.
3. U.B. Heilbronn, ii, no.1135, p.102.
4. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fos.21-22,60-61,277.
5. Ibid., fo.252.
6. Beheim, p.257.
7. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fo.86R.

when the names of one protonotary, one secretary and five scribes are known[1]. There was similar specialization among the scribes at both dates. The Rechenschreiber had compiled all financial records and accounts since the beginning of Frederick I's reign, the Registrator was solely responsible for entering the registers, the Hofgerichts-schreiber attended when the supreme court was in session, and from at least 1487 the elector had a Kammerschreiber to attend on him[2]. The majority of the chancery officials had been to university and many had a legal training; in their status and the wealth they acquired through service they ranked hardly lower than university professors[3]. The chancellor was often a busy bishop, so that the protonotary supervised the day to day working of the chancery[4]. The chancellor and the protonotary thus shared the work undertaken in the first half of the century by the protonotary alone, who now concentrated on running the chancery. However, the protonotaries Heinrich Jeger (1452-71) and Alexander Pellendorfer (1471-1505) were so experienced in the electors' affairs that they were often used on important diplomatic, political, financial and judicial business[5]. The lesser chancery officials

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1. There were seven chancery officials in 1435, ibid., 865, fos.118-9. See App. X(2) for the careers of the chancery officials.

2. The work was similarly divided in the chancery of Baden, Herkert, op. cit., p.43; Carlebach, Badische Rechtsgeschichte, i.16,74.

3. App. X(3).

4. Vogelgesang, p.31.

5. E.g., GHA Munich, Urk.2783; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fo.104; 820, fos.108-10;951, fos.145-6,189-90; R.Baden, iv, nos.9060,9494, pp.173,222; R.Friedrich, pp.418,479; Lossen, p.192.

were also sometimes sent by Philip on diplomatic missions, either alone or with other envoys[1].

No fifteenth-century chancery ordinances for the Palatinate itself have survived, but it may be inferred that they changed as little as did those of Louis V and his successors[2]. The lost ordinance, which a scribe swore to observe in 1503[3], was probably similar to that of 1502 for the Upper Palatinate, which obliged the scribes to attend for six hours daily and to pay special regard to the registering in separate volumes of the various kinds of document issued by the chancery; accuracy and the collation of all written work were emphasized and elaborate measures taken to exclude unauthorized persons from the chancery, preserve the elector's secrets, and keep order among his records[4]. Similar instructions were issued for Philip's secretary in the Upper Palatinate in 1474[5] and for the chancery of Frederick I's brother, Archbishop Rupert of Cologne, in 1469[6]. The scriptorium in Rupert's chancery was next to a room where his counsellors met and gave directions to the scribes. Frederick I was probably the first

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1. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/819, fo.342;872, fos.2-3;890, fos.194-5; Ziehen, ii.394; Kolb, p.121; Vogelgesang, p.33.

2. Ibid., pp.39-52.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/819, fo.251.

4. Ibid., fos.241-3.

5. GHA Munich, Akten 959; Buchner, 'Amberger Hochzeit', Z.G.O., N.F.xxvi, 1911, pp.119-20.

6. Walter, Cöln, pp.412-3.

elector palatine who in this way combined the writing room and the council room in one building; when the chancery at Heidelberg was destroyed by fire in 1462, he replaced it with a splendid stone building on the road from the town to the castle[1].

Although the work of the chancery increased during the next century, its methods did not change appreciably. The distinction between the different registers was the same in 1557 as it had been under Frederick I[2]. The simple chronological sequence of registers introduced in 1356 was replaced during the fifteenth century by a division into separate volumes for perpetual grants, grants of shorter duration, decisions of the supreme court, other arbitrations and mediations, alliances and treaties, and feudal letters[3]. The system was improved during the second half of the century with the introduction of separate registers for appointments of retainers, testimonials, and relations with the see of Mainz, and of duplicate registers for one or more Ämter; the systematic use of special registers for the debts of the electors was probably introduced in 1472[4]. A more useful division according to subject matter had come to supplement the arbitrary division according to length of time. Other volumes besides registers were compiled for the convenience of the administration:

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1. See App. X(1).

2. Vogelgesang, pp.54-55.

3. M. Krebs, 'Die Kurpfälzischen Dienerbücher, 1476-1685', Mitteilungen der Oberrheinischen Historischen Kommission, i, 1942, p.7.

4. Kremer, ii, no.168, p.458.

rent-rolls, Frederick I's formulary, and the military muster of 1503-4. The electors' rights were preserved with the help of the alphabetically arranged feudal book of 1471 and Philip's book of ecclesiastical fiefs. The practice of the chancery was developing within the old framework and therefore enabled it to perform a variety of new tasks.

From 1486 onwards the elector placed increasing confidence in a new official, his personal scribe (Kammerschreiber), Heinrich Grüninger. In 1495 he was one of the elector's three chief advisers approached by the Amtmann of Kaub[1]. Until 1503 Philip employed him as a leading member of the most important diplomatic missions[2]. While the elector's son, Louis, was in France, Grüninger was his chief informant on all affairs of state. In his last letter to Grüninger from Paris, Louis declared that after the death of the bishop of Worms he did not know anyone in whom he could put more trust or who stood closer to Philip than Grüninger[3]. Grüninger's successor as Kammerschreiber enjoyed a similar eminence under Louis V, but the rulers of the Palatinate and other south German principalities did not, as did those in northern Germany, attempt to bypass the council and use their personal scribes to devise and implement major policies[4].

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/6209, fo.320.

2. Ibid., 43/Gen., Konv.26, no.2a;67/819, fo.88; GSA Munich, Blau 103/4a, fos.3-6;341/9, fo.41;435/5, fos.245-8; Baierische Landtags-Handlungen, xiv.63-85; Vogelgesang, p.22.

3. 9 Dec. 1503, GHA Munich, Akten 2385, fo.373; Vogelgesang, pp.35-36.

4. Ibid., pp.5-7,36; G. Oestreich, 'Das persönliche Regiment der deutschen Fürsten am Beginn der Neuzeit', Die Welt als Geschichte, i, 1935, p.232.

For the electors palatine as for other rulers[1], the abilities and trustworthiness of the holder of any office determined the importance attached to his office, whether it was that of a chancery scribe or a household official.

(iii) The Household and its Officials.

In conscious imitation of the imperial court, the household of the electors palatine had the ceremonial offices of steward, marshal (Erbmarschall) and cup-bearer, which were hereditary in the families of Hirschhorn, the Rhinegraves and Erbach, but the actual administration was in the hands of the Hofmeister, chancellor, marshal (Marschall) and other non-hereditary officers[2]. There were also a steward of the household (Haushofmeister), a separate Hofmeister for each leading member of the elector's family, a treasurer (Kammermeister), a master of the kitchens (Küchenmeister)[3] and a cup-bearer or butler in daily attendance[4]. The office of treasurer was the only one of these which was still hereditary in the second half of the fifteenth century, being held by the Gemmingen family[5]. Like most counsellors on active service at Heidelberg, the leading officials were all nobles,

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1. Bamberger, 'Finanzwesen', Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft, lxxvii, 1933, p.199; Ernst, p.16.

2. Häusser, p.400; Ziehen, i.156.

3. Or Hausküchenmeister, e.g., 1452, Kremer, ii.49; 1466, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1911, fo.113; 1492, ibid., 77/8399.

4. Schenk, e.g., 1468, ibid., 67/1911, fo.160; 1475, ibid., 77/8399; 1484, ibid., 67/819, fos.3-4.

5. See App. VIII for the careers of the officials.

usually of the Palatinate. They were richly rewarded with grants from the electors to supplement their salaries and were provided with houses in Heidelberg[1]. It had been usual in the fourteenth century for nearly all the household officials to change when there was a new elector[2], but in the later fifteenth century the association of the officers of state with the personal household of the prince was less close. The chancellor, steward of the household and treasurer continued in office on the accession of both Frederick I and Philip. Nevertheless, Frederick I brought his own Hofmeister from the time before he became elector and Philip his own Hofmeister and marshal.

The Hofmeister had been at the head of the administration since the thirteenth century, and the separation of the offices of Hofmeister and Haushofmeister became established by the last quarter of the fourteenth century[3]. The steward of the household was restricted to the supervision of the household and its supplies and the Hofmeister was left free to deal with affairs of state, diplomacy, judicial work and daily business in the chancery. The Hofmeister appointed in 1514 had control over everything to do with the elector's person, honour, government, status, lands and subjects; he was the chief judge,

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fo.85; see App. XI.

2. Schütze, Entwicklung, pp.35,37.

3. Ibid., p.37, Vogelgesang, p.67; this division of functions had appeared earlier in Bavaria, but was not known in Baden and Württemberg until the fifteenth century, Rosenthal, op. cit.i.239; Herkert, op. cit., p.24; Wintterlin, op. cit.i.15.

supervised both chancery and council, and was the superior of all Amtleute, the guarantor of all ordinances, and the guardian of law and order[1]. Under Frederick I and Philip the Hofmeister, instead of the treasurer, had sometimes handled the finances of the electors[2]. He was also often spokesman for the elector in the latter's presence[3]. In spite of this formal preeminence of the Hofmeister, he usually had less practical influence than the chancellor on the formation of policy. This is reflected in the difference in salary early in Louis V's reign, when the chancellor received 300 and the Hofmeister 100 guilders[4].

The household itself numbered fifty-seven nobles and learned counsellors in 1484[5] and about 400 persons in all when Louis V became elector. The master of the kitchens was in charge of the catering and assisted the steward of the household. At the beginning of the sixteenth century he received directly over 1,900 guilders of the elector's revenues; many of the dues in kind collected in the Amt of Heidelberg were sent straight to court; and some 8,000 guilders were spent annually on the household[6]. Like similar ordinances in Baden

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1. Vogelgesang, pp.68-69.

2. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fo.211; Kremer, ii, no.168, p.458.

3. E.g., 1486, Becker, pp.112-5.

4. The marshal was paid 200 fl., the treasurer 70 fl., and the steward of the household 50 fl., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fo.85V.

5. Ibid., 819, fos.3-4.

6. Ibid., 907, fos.41,161-2; see App. IV(1).

and Brandenburg[1], an ordinance of 1500 for the Haushofmeister and household regulated even the smallest details for the sake of economies in expenditure. It specified the amounts of food to be bought and eaten and insisted that all provisions be used sparingly and exact accounts kept for monthly inspection by the steward of the household. Besides supervising the victualler, the scribe of the kitchens and a hierarchy of specialist cooks, the steward distributed alms to the poor and controlled the personnel of the castle, the elector's fishing rights in all Ämter, and the game which was delivered to court. He was also enjoined to make inventories of the food stocks in every castle or estate in which the elector supplied his officials with provisions[2]. At the time of Frederick I's ordinance for Philip's steward of the household in the Upper Palatinate, the household already had the same large and highly specialized staff and the steward's tasks were prescribed in similar detail[3].

The marshal had originally looked after the stables, but by the fifteenth century he devoted himself to military affairs and left the stables in the charge of a non-noble groom of the stables (marstaller)[4]. The ordinances of 1495 for the groom of the stables

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1. Herkert, op. cit., pp.59-61; Kotelmann, 'Finanzen des... Albrecht Achilles', Zeitschrift für preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde, iii, 1886, pp.290,303-4.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/819, fos.49-64; Hüsser, p.461; Vogelgesang, p.68.

3. 28 Feb. 1474, GHA Munich, Akten 959.

4. E.g., 1463, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.60; 1478, ibid., 816, fos.45-46; 1490, ibid., 818, fos.120-1; there was a similar division of labour in Baden and Bavaria, Herkert, op. cit., p.12.

and the elector's stud farm and stables were similar to the household ordinance in their emphasis on the keeping of exact records, monthly accounts and duplicate registers for the sake of improving economy[1]. The marshal himself was concerned chiefly with the employment of retainers and Amtleute, and acted as arbitrator between them and the elector over the terms of their appointments or in conflicts among members of the household[2]. The frequent turnover in holders of the office of marshal perhaps reduced its importance during Frederick I's reign, but there was more continuity under Philip, whose marshal, Hans von Dratt, had a strong influence on the elector during his sixteen years in office.

From Frederick's reign onwards the marshal, chancellor and Hofmeister developed from household officials into officers of state, on whose political advice the electors leaned heavily. When Frederick appointed a Hofmeister and marshal for Philip in 1474, he ordered them to advise Philip on his duties as a young ruling prince and to secure the execution of the elector's instructions for the government of the Upper Palatinate; they were left to obtain a list of their specific duties as marshal and Hofmeister from the chancery[3]. The actual supervision of the household, chancery and stables in the Palatinate was the preserve of the steward of the household, the protonotary and

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fos.227-35; Pfälzisches U.B.xv.80.

2. Kremer, i.547-8; Vogelgesang, pp.69-70.

3. 1 Jan. 1474, GHA Munich, Akten 959.

the groom of the stables[1]. Although there were no radical innovations in the activities of the household officials, they became more effective as a result of the keeping of full records and accounts and the delegation of less important tasks to enable the leading officials to attend to affairs of state.

(iv) The Financial Administration.

Efficient administration, more than the introduction of new methods, was also responsible for the military successes of Frederick I, for the growth in the electors' revenues from existing sources, and for several economies in expenditure[2]. Moreover, their financial position was favoured by several technical improvements in the administration, notably the diversion of some revenues and expenditure from the customs posts and Ämter to the central treasury, the keeping of accurate accounts, and their inspection by reliable and expert officials.

No proper budget was drawn up in any of the larger German principalities during the fifteenth century[3], partly because the payment of salaries, bills and interest on loans directly from the revenues of the Ämter obscured the overall state of the finances. There was some progress in the Palatinate, however, towards channelling expenditure through the central treasury. By the beginning of

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1. The first two acted only incidentally as advisers of the electors in other fields.

2. See chapter 3(x); App. XIII.

3. Bamberger, loc. cit., pp.219,225; Ernst, pp.68,75.

Louis V's reign, approximately 28,500 guilders of the expenses were paid in the Ämter and 35,000 guilders by the treasury and the household kitchen. All but about 5,000 of the 25,500 guilders paid out by the treasury were for interest payments, money and castle fiefs and life annuities[1], most of which had originally been payable from the revenues of the customs posts, especially at Bacharach and Kaub. The good intentions of Louis III's Regency Council of 1435 to charge no expenses to the customs[2] had apparently not been fulfilled, but in 1467 Frederick I undertook a thoroughgoing reform by making annuities and interest on loans payable only by the treasurer at Heidelberg[3]. It had also been usual since the beginning of his reign for counsellors and retainers, especially those serving at Heidelberg, to receive their salaries at the treasury[4]. Early in Louis V's reign most of the household and chancery officials, the counsellors at Heidelberg and the household servants, as well as several retainers not living in the capital, were being paid by the treasury, but the local officials continued to receive their salaries in the Ämter[5].

The revenues which came to the treasury included, since 1467,

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1. App. IV(1).

2. GHA Munich, Urk.2628.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/892, fos.38,158-9; R.Friedrich, pp.435-6; until at least 1501, however, the contracts for loans continued to state that interest was payable at the customs posts, GLA Karlsruhe, 43/Gen., Konv.26, no.4;77/5934, fo.145.

4. E.g., ibid., 67/813, fos.57-58;814, fos.242-3;816, fos.273-4; 897, fos.94-96.

5. Ibid., 907, fos.79-93,95-117.

the customs tolls, and also the surpluses from the Ämter, like the regular amounts from Kleeberg almost every year since the 1460s[1], or the sums varying between 1,000 and 2,000 guilders annually from the protectorate of Alsace[2]. During the latter half of the century the treasury received the protection money of the neighbouring free cities[3] and of some individuals[4], and probably also the extraordinary taxation and loans taken up by the electors.

Throughout the century the receipts and payments by the treasury were controlled and accounted for by the treasurer, whose duties at the end of Philip's reign also included the keeping of the elector's silver and account books and the payment of most of the household expenses on provisions at the Frankfurt Fairs and elsewhere abroad[5]. The treasurer appointed for Philip in 1474 had been charged with collecting the revenues from the Ämter of the Upper Palatinate and ensuring that no more was spent each year than came in or was necessary; he was not allowed to pay salaries or debts without a note from Philip and a receipt from the payee[6].

In several German principalities the responsibility for collecting and improving revenues in the later fifteenth century was not vested

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1. Usually one third or less of the gross revenues, Dép. Strasbourg, C97-98.

2. Ibid., C98-99.

3. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/883, fos.267-8; Kremer, ii, no.134, p.375.

4. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.215;816, fos.13,17.

5. Ibid., 818, fo.407;865, fo.118;907, fos.163-4.

6. 28 Feb. 1474, GHA Munich, Akten 959.

in the treasurer, but in trained financial officials who were usually not nobles: the Rentmeister in Bavaria, the Landrentmeister in Saxony and the Landschreiber in Baden. They collected the surplus revenues of the Ämter, audited the relevant accounts, reduced expenditure, and sometimes went on annual tours of inspection to curb malpractices among the local officials[1]. A comparable role was played by the Rentmeister who appeared occasionally in the Palatinate from 1464 onwards. Three of the six Rentmeister in office until the end of Philip's reign were nobles, and all were experienced counsellors, chancery scribes or local financial officials. The slow development of this office may be explained by the suspicions of peculation which the electors entertained against three of their Rentmeister, justifiably in one instance.

In 1469 — not for the first time —the Rentmeister Michael Mosbach von Lindenfels presented his accounts to the treasurer and other officials for the money he had collected from the customs posts, the treasurer himself, the steward of the household and others during the past year; his duties had included paying some of the elector's household and other expenses[2]. In previous years he had been responsible for buying and selling the quicksilver to which the elector had first option in the Palatinate[3]. He later supervised the

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1. Bamberger, loc. cit., pp.196-9,215-6,234-5.

2. 17 Aug., GLA Karlsruhe, 43/Gen., Konv.14, no.7a.

3. 1464-5, ibid., 67/813, fo.106V;864, fo.46; Silberschmidt, Regelung des pfälzischen Bergwesens, p.25.

introduction of taxation to restore the solvency of the town of Alzey[1] and other financial measures throughout the country. His successor shared with the treasurer the management of the financial arrangements for Duke Philip's wedding[2]. By the turn of the century the Rentmeister were concerned more than before with auditing accounts[3], but they still collected the revenues from the customs posts[4] and were jointly responsible with the treasurer for some payments made by the treasury[5]. In spite of this confusion between the duties of the Rentmeister and those of the treasurer and the controller of accounts (Rechenmeister), the greatest responsibility rested with the Rentmeister, who collected the customs revenues and the monies which reached other central officials, and who often travelled in the Ämter, where revenues could be improved and expenditure curtailed, while the treasurer remained at Heidelberg as a passive agent, a supreme paymaster, but little more[6].

The auditing of accounts, however, came under the supervision of the treasurer, who usually presided when the Hofmeister and other

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1. Together with the Hofmeister, 1471, Z.G.O., viii, 1857, pp.406-9; other examples, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/958, fos.74-75; U.B. Speyer, ii, no.197, pp.370-1.

2. GHA Munich, Akten 959 (27 Feb. 1474);2381b, fos.22 et seq.

3. E.g., Dép. Strasbourg, C97; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fos.380-1; 77/3006, Amt Bacharach (16 Jan. 1507).

4. 1500, GSA Munich, Blau 435/5, fos.184-9.

5. E.g., 1498, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fos.402-3.

6. Vogelgesang, p.22.

leading officials[1] or the financial officials of Alsace presented their accounts[2]. In 1464 the elector himself inspected the books of the clerk of the Amt (Landschreiber) of Heidelberg[3], but by 1474 he had long ceased to attend audits in person[4]; he instructed Duke Philip's treasurer to check the accounts of the household and Ämter, to make caveats when he saw fit, and to seek the advice of other counsellors on how to reduce expenditure[5]. During Frederick's reign auditing became the task of a specialized branch of the administration. The treasurer obtained as permanent assistants a scribe of accounts (Rechenschreiber)[6], who attended all audits and kept the financial records of the chancery[7], and a controller of accounts. This title was first given after a nobleman had been appointed in 1478 as a permanent member of the household with the obligation to hear accounts all the year round[8], but in practice he

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 43/Gen., Konv.14, no.7a;67/816, fos.211,273-4;819, fos.88,352.

2. Dép. Strasbourg, C81, no.83;C97-99.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.65.

4. Instructions through Erkinger von Rodenstein for the government of the Upper Palatinate, n.d., GHA Munich, Akten 959.

5. 28 Feb. 1474, ibid.

6. Johannes von Ramung, 1453-65; Niclaus Witterstadt, 1469-86; Peter Krebs, 1492-1500; Franz Heyles, 1502-30, App. X(2) a. and 3.

7. Vogelgesang, pp.21-23.

8. Philipp Forstmeister von Gelnhausen, 1478-82, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fos.53-54,211; Eberhard von Gemmingen was controller of accounts in 1484-5, U.B. Heilbronn, ii, no.1249, p.216; Vogelgesang, p.23.

or other counsellors had acted in this capacity since at least 1453[1]. Frederick I also sent two counsellors on a tour of the Palatinate in 1472 to inspect the accounts of every village, estate and hamlet[2]. Later the controller of accounts was the foremost of the Elector Philip's counsellors who had access to the registers of the Rhine tolls[3], and by the end of the reign there were two or more controllers, who travelled every year to the Upper Palatinate to audit the accounts of its Amtleute[4]. Thus the specialized functions of receiver, treasurer and auditing commission emerged during the fifteenth century, even though the distinctions between them were not always clearly drawn[5].

The slow evolution of administrative practice also led to improvements in the keeping of accounts. Although there was nothing like a balance sheet for the whole principality before Louis V's reign, the accounts presented by the Rentmeister in the 1460s may have given the elector an overall survey of his finances. Whereas between two and four years elapsed between audits of the Ämter in many German principalities[6], the annual inspections of accounts which the Elector Louis III had demanded[7] became the rule in the second half

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1. Dép. Strasbourg, C97,99. Vogelgesang, p.21, wrongly compared the Rechenmeister in the Palatinate with the Rentmeister in Bavaria and was unaware of the existence of Rentmeister in the Palatinate.
2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fos.205-6.
3. 15 July 1482, ibid., 77/1460.
4. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.179, fos.92,143,181.
5. Contrast Vogelgesang, pp.23,38.
6. Bamberger, loc. cit., p.214.
7. Windecke's Denkwürdigkeiten, p.431.

of the century, except during Frederick I's major wars[1]. From 1472 the cellarer at Kleeberg began to enter revenues in money and kind separately in his registers[2]. Duplicate registers were kept at the customs posts, in the household and elsewhere, so that one copy was later available for reference in the chancery. The audits were the best means which the electors had of finding out dishonest officials. Especially in Philip's reign, numerous cellarers were punished for misappropriating sums often amounting to thousands of guilders[3]. Several clerks of the customs (Zollschreiber) and other customs officials were brought to account for failing to hand over the balance of their receipts, granting low tariffs to their friends, or engaging in trade themselves without paying tolls[4]. These examples reveal both the value of sound accounting practices and the extent to which the electors depended on the reliability of their local officials.

(v) Control over the Ämter.

Since the thirteenth century the Palatinate had been divided into Ämter, which continually changed in size and number as the territories grew. The electors sometimes altered the fixed boundaries

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1. 1461-2 and 1471, e.g., in the Ämter of Heidelberg and Kleeberg, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.65; Dép. Strasbourg, C97; other annual audits, ibid., C81, no.83;C98.

2. Ibid., C97.

3. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fos.278-80;881, fos.189-92; 889, fo.64; Pfälzer Urk.vii, nos.2038-9; U.B. Heilbronn, ii, no.1217, p.186; Lehmann, Burgen, ii.439.

4. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fos.96-98;819, fos.27-28;1662, fo.354; Fliedner, Rheinzölle der Kurpfalz, pp.93,95.

of the Ämter for administrative convenience[1], but there is no evidence to support the widely accepted view that Frederick I reorganized the principality into eighteen Ämter[2]. From his reign onwards, however, there was a hierarchy of Oberamtleute and Unteramtleute[3]. In 1499 the Vogt at Germersheim was the superior of the Amtleute of Neustadt, Sels, Guttenberg and Kleeberg, and the deputy protector of Alsace had at least six subordinates; altogether there were twelve Oberämter in the Palatinate and fifteen in all the elector's lands[4].

The Amtleute of Heidelberg, Alzey, Oppenheim and other important Ämter came from the same noble families as the household officials, who were indeed often recruited from the Amtleute. Early in Louis V's reign only the chancellor, the marshal, and retainers of the higher nobility had greater salaries than the leading Amtleute[5], whose responsibilities were correspondingly heavy. The Vogt at Heidelberg attended daily in the chancery and most of the other Amtleute were prominent in the Estates and the larger sessions of the council and of the

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fos.54-55;818, fo.175.

2. Based on an arbitrary list in Kremer, i.643.

3. U.B. Speyer, ii, nos.169-71, pp.314-24; R.Friedrich, pp.386-7; Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.398,610.

4. Lossen, 'Pfälzische Patronatspfründen', Freiburger Diöcesan-Archiv, N.F.xi, 1910, pp.182-3. The Palatinate alone had fifteen Oberämter in 1506, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/1060, Canzleisache; the muster-book listed 26 main Ämter in 1503, but some of these may have been regarded as Unterämter at other times, 'Reissbuch', Z.G.O., xxvi, 1874, pp.145-55.

5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fos.81v,82v,85v,98,99v,103,105-6,113-4,115v.

supreme court.

The influence exercised by the Amtleute is manifest in the 'stacks of statutes' which they implemented. They executed the aggressive territorial policies of the electors, enforced economic blockades[1], occasionally gave advice on the conduct of conflicts with neighbouring rulers[2], and supplied the testimonials and information which provided the basis for numerous compromise settlements of such disputes[3]. Moreover the disputes of both electors with Hagenau over the jointly owned Holy Forest and of Philip with Strassburg arose largely because the local officials had exceeded their instructions from Heidelberg[4]. The Amtleute were also enjoined in the alliances of the electors with their neighbours to organize the hue and cry for criminals, enforce regulations on coinage, and bring military aid to allied rulers[5]. They supervised and supplied information about the electors' safe conduct[6], and protected the see of Speyer[7] and the

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1. Kremer, ii, nos.102-3, pp.301-2; R.Friedrich, pp.401-2; Buchner, 'Mathias Ramung', Z.G.O., N.F.xxiv, 1909, p.56.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/883, fo.8; R.Baden, iii, no.7207, p.267.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/884, passim; R.Baden, iv, nos.7583,9143, pp.2,182-3; Ziehen, ii.650.

4. Mey, Geschichte des heiligen Forstes, i.59; Stenzel, Strassburg, pp.69-71. On the other hand, in 1498 the deputy protector of Alsace opposed Philip's policies of levying a Schatzung there and secularizing the abbey of Weissenburg, Dép. Strasbourg, C84, no.59; Spach, Wissembourg, p.38.

5. E.g., Kremer, ii, nos.20,73,110,142, pp.63,220,318,394.

6. Chapter 4(iv).

7. U.B. Speyer, ii, nos.169-71, pp.314-24.

monasteries of the Palatinate. The control by the Amtleute of the electors' benefices and their finances was strengthened in 1499. They commanded the military levies of the towns and Ämter, intervened in municipal administration and finances, implemented the sumptuary laws, and had duties in connection with the demesne lands, the mining ordinances, and all economic regulations[1]. The Amtmann exercised criminal jurisdiction, although until Louis V's reign always in conjunction with the clerk of the Amt[2]. Some monasteries were privileged to appear before the Amtleute as a court of first instance[3]; appeals under the value of twenty guilders also came under their jurisdiction[4] and they sometimes collected evidence for presentation to the supreme court[5]. Probably their largest single field of activity was as arbitrators and mediators, together with their assistants, in the disputes between all ranks of the electors' subjects over a host of property and other matters[6]. They were so overburdened with judicial work that they encouraged litigants to make supplications

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1. Chapters 3(ii),(v);4(vi);5(i)(b) and (iii)(a); and 6(vii) and (ix); App. XIII.

2. Bibl. Heidelberg, Pal. Germ.158, fos.121-3; Pfälzer Urk.vi, no.1668; Vogelgesang, p.14.

3. E.g., R.Friedrich, p.442; Remling, Abteien, i.231; Lossen, pp.142,145.

4. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fos.89,98; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/894, fo.35.

5. E.g., ibid., 953, fos.343,399,405,410,416.

6. E.g., Dép. Strasbourg, C98 (1457); Pfälzer Urk.vii, no.2010; Pfälzisches U.B.xv.152; Lossen, pp.85-86,145,191-2; Lehmann, Kaiserslautern, pp.77-78.

to the chancery at Heidelberg, with the result that Philip threatened to punish fifteen Amtleute in 1506 for not fulfilling the duties for which they were paid[1].

Under the terms of their appointments, most Amtleute received fixed salaries, had to account for their actions, and could be removed from office. The Amtleute appointed at Lützelstein in 1456 and 1481 were placed under the command of the deputy protector of Alsace and enjoined to protect the electors' subjects and to dispense justice impartially; in 1481 the expenses and perquisites of the office were more closely defined than in 1456[2]. The Amtleute were also sent copies of the parts of the electors' treaties with neighbouring rulers which they had sworn to fulfil[3]. Frederick I urged his Amtleute not to overburden his subjects with Atzung and labour services on their tours of the Ämter[4]. The Amtmann at Waldeck was suspended from office for a year in 1465 for oppressing the serfs with dues and labour services, but his Amt was one of the few which were hereditary and therefore more open to abuse[5]. On the other hand, although the office of Amtmann at Bretten had been pawned to the Sickingen family since

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 77/1060, Canzleisache.

2. Ibid., 67/895, fos.308-10; Lehmann, Hanau-Lichtenberg, ii.294-6.

3. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/338, fos.28-29; Dép. Strasbourg, C81, no.6.

4. E.g., Bibl. Heidelberg, Pal. Germ.158, fos.121-3; GLA Karlsruhe, 43/Spec., Konv.17, no.2.

5. Ibid., 67/813, fo.209; W. Fabricius, 'Das pfälzische Oberamt Simmern', Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, xxviii, 1909, pp.101-2.

1447[1], the member who succeeded in 1459 had his duties laid down and his rights restricted as in any other letter of appointment[2]; and on his death the family allowed the Elector Philip to appoint whom he pleased[3]. The pawned Unterämter of Alsace were regularly redeemed and pawned again, no doubt to prevent the nobles from gaining too strong a hold on them[4]. Only a few Amtleute in charge of single castles and their appurtenances were allowed to keep all the revenues of their Amt[5]. Most noble commanders of castles were appointed on similar terms to the Amtleute[6], but a few were granted all the revenues because they paid for repairs out of their own pockets; they were also entitled to remain in office until reimbursed for their expenses[7]. Others were appointed as a reward for service, with apparently hereditary tenure[8], but in practice the commands of castles changed hands as often as the Ämter[9]. The best guarantee of loyal service was the choice of officials from the leading noble families,

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1. GHA Munich, Urk.2665.
2. GLA Karlsruhe, 43/Spec., Konv.17, no.2.
3. Ibid., 67/816, fo.84; Pfälzer Urk.vi, no.1859.
4. App. III(4).
5. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/819, fos.316-7.
6. E.g., ibid., 813, fo.34.
7. E.g., ibid., fos.4-6.
8. E.g., ibid., fos.88,175;816, fos.9,104-5; Pfälzisches U.B.xiii.7.
9. E.g., Lehmann, Burgen, ii.331-2,344-5.

whose ties with the Palatinate were strengthened by the grant of fiefs, mining fiefs, life appointments as retainers and other rewards.

As in most German principalities at this time[1], the local financial administration was left to the clerks of large Ämter and the cellarers in the UnterÄmter and castles. This separation of functions was emphasized by the rare occurrence of noblemen among the financial officials, many of whom were graduates of Heidelberg, especially the clerks of the Ämter, like those of Neustadt an der Haardt[2], and the clerks of the customs at Bacharach and Kaub[3]. The financial officials sometimes acted as arbitrators, were frequently appointed by the supreme court to record evidence[4] and supervised the electors' demesne lands, either in conjunction with or independently of the Amtleute[5]. The clerks of the Ämter collected fines and safe conduct money as well as the ordinary revenues[6], presented annual accounts for their office, and compiled the electors' rent-rolls. Legally trained clerks of the Ämter like Johann Baumann of Oppenheim

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1. Bamberger, loc. cit., pp.181-2.

2. Nicholas Brechtel (1463-70), GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.46; 1911, fo.46; Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg, i.250; Peter Romhart (1470-92), GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.37; R. Schreiber, 'Probleme um die pfälzischen Klosterurkunden', Festschrift für G. Biundo, Speyer, 1952, p.36; Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg, i.265; meister Jost Keppler (1496-9), GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1007, fo.427; 77/7482, fo.20.

3. Fliedner, Rheinzölle der Kurpfalz, pp.51,141.

4. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/953, fos.130,260,337,344,400,

5. E.g., ibid., 812, fos.248-9;813, fos.55-56;814, fo.236.

6. Bibl. Heidelberg, Pal. Germ.158, fos.121-3.

were often sent on diplomatic missions[1] and two clerks of the Amt of Heidelberg were entrusted with important tasks, although neither was a nobleman or trained in the law[2]. In 1479 the elector followed the advice of the revenue collector of Alsace on how to raise loans in Strassburg[3]. However, the clerks of the Ämter in the Palatinate never usurped the duties of the Amtleute, as happened in Bavaria[4].

The cellarers collected the revenues and looked after the forests, property and other rights of the castle to which they were appointed; if there was no commander, they might be entrusted with the defence of the castle[5]. Although centralized on one castle, the Kellerei was often a subdivision of an Amt. During Philip's reign the Amt of Heidelberg had five Kellereien[6] and there were at least three in the Amt of Starkenburg, each containing several towns, villages and estates with large revenues[7]. The cellarer presented his accounts directly to the elector's counsellors and was therefore probably not

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1. E.g., Inventare des Frankfurter Stadtarchivs, iv, ed. R. Jung, 1894, p.62.

2. Conrad Heyden (1442-63), N.A.G.S.H., iv, 1901, p.45; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.65; Asmus Münch (1465-93), ibid., fo.80; 66/3484, fo.160.

3. Dép. Strasbourg, C93, nos.2-3.

4. Contrast Vogelgesang, p.15.

5. E.g., Pfälzer Urk.vi, no.1668; Pfälzisches U.B.xiii.113.

6. GLA Karlsruhe, 66/3486, fos.56,99V,118,308; Kollnig, 'Zenten', Z.G.O., N.F.xlix, 1935, p.29.

7. SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Starkenburg 47a;64a;86f, fo.21.

subordinate in all respects to the clerk in his Amt or to the Amtmann[1]. The Amt of Heidelberg was divided also into hundreds, the units of higher jurisdiction, which in the fifteenth century were the medium through which economic regulations were issued, military levies mustered, and the serfs controlled[2]. The hundred was in many ways intermediate between the Oberamtmann and the village officials. The duties of the Zentgraf overlapped those of the Amtleute, but he and the lesser officials of the hundred were not noble and had become entirely subordinate to the ruler[3]. The larger Ämter had altogether twenty or more officials, including Ausfaute, Hühnerfaute, a scribe, armed guards, farmers and labourers on the estates, and customs officials[4].

The financial accounts of the local officials were subject to annual audits and could be checked against the rent-rolls (Zinsbücher), which were a guide to the revenues and prerogative rights of the electors. Efficient administration depended in part on the thoroughness with which the rent-rolls were compiled and on their being kept up to date, so as to include rights newly acquired by purchase or by imposition on the subjects.

In 1476 the clerk and cellarers in the Amt of Heidelberg were

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1. As in Baden, Carlebach, Badische Rechtsgeschichte, i.9; Merkert, Beamtentum der Markgrafschaft Baden, pp.104-7.

2. Kölnig, loc. cit., pp.30,58-60,65.

3. Ibid., p.57; Schriesheim, pp.6,10.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fos.95-117.

ordered to compile lists of those of the elector's revenues which they collected. The volume of the clerk of the Amt distinguished between fixed revenues and those which fluctuated from year to year, between revenues in money and kind, and between the various sources of revenue[1]. This rent-roll was also a land-register of the demesne lands and contained notes on the elector's jurisdiction and prerogative rights in the towns and villages of the Amt, especially those held jointly with, or belonging entirely to, other lords. The village courts were usually present when the list of their revenues was drawn up[2]. A more exhaustive volume was compiled by the clerk and the scribe of the Amt in 1496, when the bailiffs and village courts supplied the information on oath as the elector's officials toured the Amt. The prologue emphasised that the elector's prerogative rights were at least as important as his revenues[3]; unlike the roll of 1476, that of 1496 listed these rights in full. The later register was much more orderly and contained more details about the new land tolls and excise[4]. Separate sections were devoted to prerogative rights, demesne lands, money dues, tithes, wine revenues and vineyards, grain revenues and other revenues in kind. Within these divisions the revenues and rights were enumerated village by village, whereas in 1476 all the information about each village was

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1. Ibid., 66/3484, fo.V.
2. Also occasionally the Zentgraf, ibid., passim.
3. Ibid., 3486, fo.1; K. Kollnig, 'Weistumsforschung am Oberrhein', Z.G.O., N.F.1, 1936, p.211.
4. Its only references to a previous rent-roll were to a lost one of 1464, which may have been more comprehensive than that of 1476, GLA Karlsruhe, 66/3486, fos.45,48.

listed together.

Similar rent-rolls were compiled for other Ämter, the peaks of this activity falling in the years 1464, 1476 and 1494 to 1497[1]. The rent-rolls of 1455, 1480 and 1494 for the Amt of Germersheim were less well ordered and were concerned to a larger extent with Ausleute[2]. The last of these was drawn up as a result of an 'ordinance' and is therefore probably related to the Salbuch of Alzey of the same year, which had lists of all the elector's Ausleute in the Amt, but only an incomplete survey of his rights in some of its villages[3]. Among the frequent rent-rolls for the Kellereien in the Ämter of Heidelberg[4] and Starkenburg, that for the Kellerei of Heppenheim in 1480 already had the complete separation of revenues in money and kind which distinguished the Heidelberg rent-roll of 1496 from that of 1476[5].

The customs officials on the Rhine were also subject to controls, other than the annual audits. From at least 1464 onwards their tasks were divided between the clerk of the customs, who collected the tolls, and the Beseher, who inspected the ships with his assistant[6]. At

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1. E.g., 1464, Kirchberg, Gemünd and Koppenstein; 1476, Kirchberg and Kreuznach, Fabricius, pp.1-79,102-26; new volumes for Kirchberg and Kreuznach were proposed in 1497, Pfälzer Urk. vii, no.2037.

2. SA Speyer, Kurpfalz Akten 122a.

3. SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Rheinhessen 5b, fos.88-132.

4. Schwetzingen, 1458, 1485 and 1494; Schriesheim, 1484, when there was an ordinance; and Dilsberg, 1494, GLA Karlsruhe, 66/1820, 7764,7953,77623.

5. Also Otzberg, 1454, and Lindenfels, 1488, SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Starkenburg 47a,64a,75a.

6. Also several servants, Codex diplomaticus Rheno-Mosellanus, iv.584; Fliedner, op. cit., p.49; Z.G.O., ix, 1858, p.30.

this time Frederick I prescribed the fees which his officials were to receive from passing ships and gave instructions on the conduct of their inspections[1]. Further regulations of 1482 insisted on the keeping of duplicate registers, in which entries had to be made according to the prescribed form and omit no relevant information about passing ships; in order to prevent collusion between any of the officials and the merchants, as many officials as possible were to be present when the tolls were levied; and the officials were forbidden themselves to trade on the Rhine[2]. At a less important station like Mannheim, the clerk of the customs also supervised the accounts and the duties of the elector's demesne farmer at Rheinhausen[3]. There were similar rules for the collection of the land tolls, where duplicate registers were kept and trade by the officials was prohibited[4].

There were some matters, notably the electors' prerogative rights, on which they were not content to control the local officials from a distance, but gave guidance directly to the Ämter. The central government also decided whether demesne lands should be cultivated by paid officials or leased out, in order to ensure the maximum profit and that the household was supplied with the necessary provisions[5].

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1. Ibid., pp.32-34.

2. 15 July, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/1460; Fliedner, op. cit., p.59.

3. Walter, Mannheim, i.68-69.

4. E.g., Neuenburg, 1496, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fo.287; Pfälzer Urk.vii, no.2026.

5. Chapters 3(x) and 4, passim.

Fishing ordinances were issued for the dual purpose of preserving the electors' rights in the Rhine and Neckar and giving equal opportunities to fishermen working the different reaches of the rivers[1]. Measures to keep the rivers clear were important for the floating of timber and extended geographically beyond the competence of individual Amtleute. The electors therefore made agreements for clearing the rivers with Württemberg and other neighbours[2] and commanded the bailiffs of their villages to ensure that the smaller streams were regularly cleaned[3].

Direct intervention to alter the judicial system in a village or Amt was rare, but not unknown. The manner of holding the court and the duties of the lesser officials were defined in an ordinance of 1484 for the two recently acquired villages of Ingersheim[4]. The administration of the villages was for the most part left to the bailiffs, whose fees were so considerable that they usually paid the elector an annual sum for the privilege of their appointment, and to the general supervision of the Amtleute. In 1490, however, the elector issued an ordinance for the hundred of Kirchheim — and probably for the whole Amt of Heidelberg — which codified and improved the judicial practice and administration of the villages.

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/958, fos.74-77; Z.G.O., iv, 1853, pp.87-92; Probst, Germersheim, pp.288-9.

2. Z.G.O., xi, 1860, pp.263-5; U.B. Heilbronn, i, no.862, pp.484-6; ii, no.1151, pp.125-6.

3. E.g., Z.G.O., iii, 1852, p.181.

4. Ibid.i, 1850, pp.10-14.

The procedure for claiming debts was made uniform; restrictions were placed on the right which near relatives of the seller had to redeem property which had been sold; fees, costs and the use of advocates and attorneys were regulated; and the way in which the village courts were to supervise the setting up of boundary stones was prescribed[1]. This attempt to introduce a uniform and ascertainable administration of justice was parallel to the similar strivings towards uniformity of administration throughout the principality which will presently be noticed.

During the fifteenth century the electors were interested above all in preserving their rights to the common land (Allmend) in their villages and hundreds. Although the peasant communities had long had the right to use the common land, the electors now claimed it as their property by virtue of their position as protectors. These claims were especially important if the commons were forest land in which hunting was possible[2]. The electors often insisted that the entire commons in their villages belonged to them and that they had the right to pasture their cattle and sheep on it, even if they had not done so in the past[3]. They limited indiscriminate pasturing by their subjects when it damaged the commons[4]; and the villagers also required their

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1. F. Walter, K. and G. Christ, 'Weistum der Zent Kirchheim', M.G.B., 1902, pp.252-63; Seyfried, Schwetzingen, pp.60-65; Walter, op. cit.i.95.

2. Kollnig, op. cit., pp.15-16.

3. Badische Weistümer, i.1, no.80, pp.271-3; Walter, op. cit.i.72.

4. E.g., M.G.B., ii, 1901, p.243.

consent if common land was used for purposes other than pasture[1]. A testimonial of the hundred of Schriesheim, north of the Neckar, confirmed in 1449 that Louis IV was lord and protector of the commons with the right to hunt and the higher and lower jurisdiction[2]. Frederick I seized several tracts of this common land and gave one to the monastery on the Heiligenberg. In 1483 Philip returned all but the last, after the peasant community had complained of its loss. Nevertheless, the time had passed when the autonomous community had independent control of the commons. The elector's ordinance of 1483 confirmed his control of the forest, while regulating its economic use to the advantage of the community[3]. Philip made similar ordinances for the Hardt forest, south of Heidelberg, and the communal forest of the lordship of Barr, in Alsace[4]. In the immunity of Weissenburg, however, and elsewhere west of the Rhine, the peasant communities were larger, more closely knit and better able to maintain their autonomy[5]. Like the rulers of Hesse, the electors considerably increased their control over common lands, but their claims to full

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1. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/820, fos.154-5;951, fo.22R.

2. Grimm, Weisthümer, i, 1840, pp.452-4.

3. Z.G.O., i, 1850, pp.434-6; Sillib, 'Stift Neuburg', N.A.G.S.H., vi, 1905, pp.16-18; Kollnig, op. cit., pp.17-19; H. Hausrath, Die Geschichte des Waldeigentums im Pfälzer Odenwald, Karlsruhe, 1913, pp.17-18.

4. 1494-7, Seyfried, Schwetzingen, p.253; J.M.B. Clauss, Historisch-topographisches Wörterbuch des Elsass, Zabern, 1895-1914, p.77.

5. Regula, Allmenden, pp.6-8.

ownership were not achieved everywhere nor recognized in law until the sixteenth century[1].

Although the electors were sometimes able to intervene in the Ämter and to pull short defaulting officials, the success of their local administration depended in the last resort on the energy with which the Amtleute carried out their instructions. The Amtleute furthered the territorial expansion of the Palatinate not only through the recording of the electors' rights and the conduct of their border disputes, but wherever, in jointly held lands, they were more efficient in pressing the rights of their prince than were the Amtleute of the other lords. The territories of the see of Worms had in this way come under the effective control of the electors by the end of the fifteenth century[2]. On the other hand, the joint administration of the county of Sponheim and the Amt of Stromberg with the counts palatine of Simmern, and of the lordship of Guttenberg with those of Zweibrücken, did not result in any permanent territorial advantage for either side, although there were frequent disputes and arbitrations between their Amtleute. The Elector Philip was none the less able to introduce into these lands most of his military levies and Schatzungen and the legislation which he issued for his entire principality[3].

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1. Kollnig, op. cit., pp.19,57,87; Zimmermann, Hessische Territorialstaat, pp.229 et seq.

2. Chapter 2(x).

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1662, fo.252; see chapter 3(ii) and (xiii); and below, (ix).

(vi) Legislation and Uniformity.

The policies of Frederick I and Philip show that they were aware of the need to promote uniformity in territories of such diverse origin, where their rights varied so considerably. Throughout the Palatinate they upheld their rights over their serfs and their regalian privileges, synchronized the administration of the towns, and limited municipal privileges whenever they impaired control by the central government.[1]

Legislation for the entire principality began with economic regulations, notably the mining ordinances, and with sumptuary laws and changes in the law of inheritance. After Frederick I had curbed the forestalling of growing crops and the engrossing of grain in the town of Heidelberg, he took similar measures to prevent inflation and the export of foodstuffs in times of scarcity in an ordinance of 1475 for the whole Palatinate, which severely limited engrossing and regulated the conduct of merchants on market days, 'so that the common man and the commonweal should not be hindered'[2]. In 1491 poor crops and high prices induced the elector, together with the bishops and cities of Worms and Speyer and other neighbouring cities, to limit grain prices and exports and to forbid engrossing entirely[3].

The German princes also kept prices down by buying corn for resale

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1. Chapters 4, passim, and 5(iii)(a).

2. Pfälzer Urk.vi, nos.1767-8; Pfälzisches U.B.xiii.293-4.

3. Kristek, Bauernlage, p.55.

to the poor at reduced rates in famine years. The Elector Philip did this in the Amt of Kleeberg in 1489[1], and in 1498 Wimpfeling instructed Philip's son that it was the duty of a prince to cut the ground from under the feet of the engrossers by acting as they did, but without seeking profit; in recent years, therefore, the elector had placed a price limit of 16 shillings per measure on wheat, which would have reached 1 or 2 pounds in a free market[2]. The elector continued to play his own Joseph at the beginning of the sixteenth century, selling grain to his nobles, the town of Bacharach, and poor subjects in the Amt of Lützelstein[3]. In 1501, however, even Philip's supplies of cheap corn were inadequate to meet the requests of his subjects. He therefore had recourse to the complementary policies of ensuring stricter observance of his sumptuary laws and of enjoining the Amtleute to see that the wages of servants and labourers did not exceed the justified level[4]. The control of prices and wages had become general in the Palatinate by this time, just as in other German principalities. The ordinance for Neustadt regulated the daily wages of casual labourers in the fields and of craftsmen, paid due regard to seasonal variations, and imposed fines on labourers who demanded higher rates[5]. The coinage treaties of the electors with their

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1. Dép. Strasbourg, C97; cf. Ernst, pp.103,105.

2. Agatharcia, pp.198-9.

3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/819, fo.313;77/3006, Amt Bacharach (16 Jan. 1507), GHA Munich, Akten 2385, fo.36.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1570, fos.1-2.

5. Ibid., 894, fo.55.

neighbours were also designed to counteract inflation. Moreover, as protectors of the Kessler, potters, tinsmiths, ropemakers, makers of wooden shoes and other brotherhoods of travelling craftsmen working outside the towns, the electors helped to maintain standards of work and to keep prices stable for the benefit of the consumers as much as of the monopolistic gilds[1].

Sumptuary laws were issued in order to curb inflation as well as for religious motives. Frederick I's legislation for the Amt of Neustadt in 1465, like that for the town of Heidelberg, prohibited blasphemy, concubinage, trade on Sundays and church festivals, excessive entertaining and the wearing of costly clothes[2]. In 1475 the elector issued a more detailed ordinance for the whole Palatinate and justified it on the grounds that restrictions on spending were necessary because some of his subjects had been brought to ruin through competing with one another in the splendour of their entertainments[3]. Prohibitions of gambling were especially stringent and had been introduced into all Ämter before 1465[4]. In 1480 Philip forbade abominable eating and drinking competitions among all classes, since they were not only sinful and physically harmful, but weakened the military capacity of his subjects and put him to shame among other

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1. Ibid., 812, fos.53-54,203-4;1662, fos.46,85-88,162-3; M.G.B., ii, 1901, pp.136-9.

2. Pfälzisches Museum, xii, 1895, pp.6-8; see chapter 5(iii)(a).

3. Pfälzer Urk.vi, nos.1767-8.

4. Pfälzisches Museum, xii, 1895, pp.6-8.

princes[1].

The German princes probably issued sumptuary laws because they believed that overspending was the cause of hardship among their subjects and led to economic unrest like that at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Elector Philip explained to his Amtleute during the inflation of 1501 that the common man had squandered his resources during more prosperous years: farmers had paid labourers too highly and had not dissuaded them from gambling and drinking; others had sold in advance more grain than they grew in the good years, spent all the money and then, in order to meet their obligations, incurred debts to pay for grain at a higher price than that for which they had sold it. The Amtleute were ordered to teach the subjects how to save by punishing all these forms of excessive expenditure[2]. Both before and after the abortive Bundschuh of 1502 in the see of Speyer, the elector and other rulers of south-west Germany took measures to expel from their lands idle rascals who drank and gambled, but would not work, and became involved in peasant unrest[3].

The legislation to improve the laws of inheritance had no such political overtones. In several instances the practice of the new supreme court demonstrated the need for codification. In 1472

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1. von Weech, 'Pfälzische Reg.', Z.G.O., xii, 1869, pp.414-5.

2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1570, fos.1-2.

3. Ibid., fo.3; R. Herold, Der Bundschuh im Bistum Speyer vom Jahre 1502, Greifswald, 1889, pp.39-41.

Frederick I issued an ordinance that gifts to strangers during the life of the donor had to be made in the presence of the nearest relatives, although this law was not to apply where other customs were firmly established[1]. Philip enacted for all his lands in 1484 that grandchildren were to inherit from their intestate grandparents (or from their aunts and uncles) whatever either of their deceased parents would have inherited. This Roman ius representationis was introduced for reasons of equity to replace existing customs and avoid confusion and disputes, such as there had been in the past, and it was to be enforced in every court and among all ranks of the elector's subjects[2].

These laws for the entire principality and the groups of similar ordinances for several towns or Ämter may have been issued by the electors to consolidate their legal rights and revenues on a narrow front[3], but their cumulative effect was to promote the unity of the Palatinate. A further development in several principalities was the promulgation at the end of the fifteenth century of a comprehensive Landesordnung, which combined legal, economic and administrative legislation, but the Palatinate had to wait until 1582 for its first Landesordnung. This does not mean that Frederick I and Philip were less systematic than their contemporaries in unifying their

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/952, fos.6V,7V.

2. Ibid., 1662, fos.401-2;77/2001; HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fos.114-5; Pfälzer Urk.vii, no.1919; Franck, Oppenheim, pp.101,222; later extended to the lower county of Sponheim and the Amt of Lauda, Pfälzisches U.B.xiv.276; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/821, fos.114-5; see also App. IX.

3. Cf. Carlebach, Badische Rechtsgeschichte, i.5.

territories and reforming the administration. In both reigns there were periods of intensive development in the methods of government of the principality. The ten years after the end of Frederick's major wars in 1462 were devoted to consolidating the territorial expansion which had taken place, stabilizing the finances, and strengthening the administration[1]. In 1462 the supreme court was founded and the building of a new chancery begun. The office of Rentmeister appeared first in 1464, when rent-rolls were also compiled for several Ämter. The issuing of ordinances for the towns, which had started in 1458, was now resumed and continued until 1471. After 1467 many payments formerly made directly from the customs revenues passed through the treasury. In 1471 and 1472 a special feudal book and separate registers of debts were compiled, mining ordinances were issued, and legislation was passed concerning gifts between the living and the foundation of new benefices. There was a new spate of activity as a result of the financial difficulties of the mid-1490s. Two extraordinary taxes were levied and a new series of rent-rolls compiled, as well as a volume setting out the elector's rights of safe conduct. The ordinance of 1495 for the stables was followed by one for the household in 1500. A book of ecclesiastical fiefs had meanwhile been produced and regulations were introduced for the benefices to which the elector presented. Although the electors issued no Landesordnung, they realized that reforms had to be made

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1. Buchner, 'Mathias Ramung', Z.G.O., N.F.xxiv, 1909, pp.259-60.

in all branches of the administration, in order to maintain the financial and political strength of the Palatinate. In this as in most aspects of government, the German principalities exhibited great similarity of development, even though their institutions varied in detail and were more advanced in some territories than in others at a given point in time[1].

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1. Cf. Kothe, Fürstliche Rat in Württemberg, p.10.

Appendix I.

Two Supposed Assemblies of Notables of the Palatinate.

According to Häusser and Gothein, these were held at Oppenheim during 1450 and at Speyer in August 1451. Frederick I's assumption of the full powers of an elector are said to have been discussed on both occasions[1]. The Oppenheim meeting is also reported by Kremer[2], but the only evidence adduced by these three authors are two accounts by Frederick himself in manifestoes of 1474, of which the first merely referred in general terms to the Arrogation, without mentioning date or place, and the second described the assembly of notables at Oppenheim in 1474, not 1450[3].

There was indeed a meeting at Speyer from 15 August 1451 onwards of 15 princes, 26 counts, 20 nobles and 32 lesser nobles (only 20 of whom were in Frederick's following)[4]. However, Kremer's statement that this conference of princes and their followers failed to settle the feuds then raging and therefore paved the way for the Arrogation to be proposed in the face of continuing external dangers, was wrongly understood by Häusser and Gothein to mean that the Arrogation itself was discussed there in an assembly of the notables of the Palatinate. Furthermore, the anonymous chronicler of Speyer maintained that the princes at Speyer did not want to accept Frederick as elector[5]. This was only because the chronicler

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1. Häusser, p.336; Gothein, pp.3-4.
2. Kremer, i.28-29.
3. Müller, Reichs Tags Theatrum...Friedrichs...III.i.628,637.
4. Kremer, i.30-32; R. Friedrich, p.222.
5. Speierische Chronik, pp.383-4.

had previously described the Arrogation as taking place in 1450, in similar terms to the actual Arrogation of 1451-2, but with the addition that Frederick was to have an annuity of 5,000 guilders. The same version occurs under the year 1450 in the continuation of Eberhard Windecke's chronicle[1], but the date given by these chroniclers cannot be accepted without corroborating evidence, because their accounts were very similar to the events of 1451-2 and the dating in German chronicles of the time was often inaccurate.

The chronicle of Frederick I's chaplain also related the circumstances of the Arrogation as if it occurred shortly after Louis IV's death, but without mentioning any date[2]. Finally, Michael Beheim turned Kemnat's version into rhyming verse[3]. Thus it is not surprising that some historians have concluded from the confusing accounts of the chronicles that two early assemblies considered the Arrogation. Beheim alone gave 21 Aug. 1451 as the day on which it was decided that Frederick should replace Philip as elector. This too may be inaccurate dating, but together with the other chronicle accounts it does strengthen the probability, natural enough under the circumstances, that the leading counsellors of the Palatinate discussed ways and means of solving the problems of partition and minority rule at some time during the two years before they decided on a remedy in September 1451.

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1. Altmann, Studien zu Eberhart Windecke, p.74.

2. Kemnat, pp.16-17.

3. Beheim, pp.32-33.

APPENDIX II

THE ELECTOR FREDERICK I'S ACCOUNT OF HIS MARRIAGE, 15 OCTOBER 1471.

The following document is in the Fürstlich Löwenstein-Wertheim Gemeinschaftliches Archiv, Wertheim am Main, Pfalz 2. F.H. Haug has established that it is a late sixteenth-century copy, since the watermark is that of a Frankfurt papermaker of this time[1]. The copy is incomplete and the name and titles of the elector are omitted at the beginning. The material part of the text reads:

'...alss unsser lieb getreu dienerin Klar Dettin von Augspurg sich auch bis in das xiiii Jar gedreulich erberlich und freunklich bei unss gehalten hatt, dass wir sollichs angesehen haben; dartzu dass si unser gedreulich mitt vilen fleiss und ernst in unser Kranckeitten zum dickern mall gewartett, vill mhu und arbeit gehabt, mitt unss undr..[Illegible] un gutt handelung gedan hat, dardurch si unser Wesen, Natur und complex und Warten bas und mer erkendt hatt, dan jemandt anders, der und ander vorgemelter Ursach halben, wir ir nitt wolten oder kundten entberen, besunder Schwachaitten und Kranckhaitten halben, so unss deglichen zufiln und besorgen mussten, dass sich die von tag zu tag merten nach gestalt unsers Wesens; dartzu haben wir auch bedraht, so wir si also werden stettigs bei unss behalten, dass sollichs nitt nach dem Cristenlichsten wer, auch nitt unser Sell haill und unserm son hertzog philipsen forgehalten, im beisein beidr unser Hern von Worms und Speir, dess Kusters zu Wormbs, dieters von sickingen, Jacob von Helmstatt, hainrich schribers,

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1. Haug, Familiengeschichte des fürstlichen Hauses Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rosenbergs, p.95.

ir aller gedechnuss, dem Gott allen genadt, also dass [si] unss nitt mer liben wolt, in sollichem Wesen und on ain ehlich Weib zusein, auch solliche an rhatt unser bichtfetter altzeitt funden hatten und dass si unss nitt erlauben wolten zu dem hailigen sacrament zu gen, der Ursach halben, dass wir si nitt wolten elichen, und wass daruff unser vestlich begerung und bett, an unsern vorgenanten son hertzog philips unss gůttlich zu gonnen.....ain elich frauwen zunemen, dass er dan unss mitt wollo....ichtem und gutten freien willen gewilligt u[nd] gu[nst] geben hatt in beisein der forbestimten rhett, und nach Lautt ainen verschribens brieff und sigell darůber deg.....alless auch darin angesehen unsers sons und der Herschafft nutz und miner....so haben wir....[zur] hailigen ee genomen und unss bedt lassen unss unsern Kaplon und pfarrer uff dem berg Haidelberg her hartman.....zusamen geben, nach ordenung der hailigen Cristlichen Kirchen, wi sich sollichs geburt und haben uns auch ge[gen si] gehalten alss zu unser elichen gemalen und si zu Kirchen gefurt und sollichs alless haben wir gedan mitt wissen...und verhenckniss unssers herrn und bisshoff von Worms, under dess bistumbs under den wir datzu moll gewest sein....'

The text continues that Frederick sealed this account on the Tuesday before St. Gallen (15 October), 1471.

Haug modernized the spelling in his transcript[1]; only his suggestions

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1. Ibid., pp.95-97.

for filling some of the gaps in the text have been followed here and placed within brackets. There also exist elsewhere two brief, uncritical summaries of the document[1].

This evidence should put an end to the doubts, which have long prevailed, that Frederick I was married to Clara Tott. The above account corresponds exactly with the rumour of a secret marriage reported by Trithemius:

> 'Sunt qui dicant, eum cum praefata muliere matrimonium in facie Ecclesiae clandestine contraxisse' 2.

The chronicle of the dukes of Bavaria in which this sentence appeared was dedicated to the Elector Philip and written about the year 1504 at his instigation[3]; it was therefore not likely to contain false rumours about the electoral house or anything displeasing to its head. A similar ut ferunt in a later chronicle of Trithemius[4] by itself led Häusser to conclude that a marriage had taken place[5].

The possibility must be considered, however, that the sixteenth-century 'copy' was a forgery, since it would have been an invaluable support for the claims made by the counts of Löwenstein, descendants of Frederick I's younger son, against later electors. Yet this consideration must be rejected, because the document is in style and content

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1. Bibliothekar Krönzler, 'Clara Tettin', Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg, vi, 1879, p.144; Kleinschmidt, 'Clara Tott', Ruperto-Carola, p.184.
2. Chronicon ducum bavariae (Opera historica, i), p.118.
3. K. Silbernagel, Johannes Trithemius, Landshut, 1868, p.159; W. Schneegans, Abt Johannes Trithemius und Kloster Sponheim, Kreuznach, 1882, p.291.
4. Annales Hirsaugienses, ii.397.
5. p.420 n.55.

unmistakably parallel to others of the 1470s, about the authenticity of which there can be no doubt. The language is that of the fifteenth, not the sixteenth century, and certain phrases resemble others in related documents; thus in 1470 Frederick had justified a grant to his mistress on the grounds,

> '...nach dem sich Clare...getrulich und erberclich zu uns und den kinden gehalten hat und noch thut....' [1].

In 1471 the words were,

> '...gedreulich erberlich und freunklich bei unss gehalten hat....'

The five counsellors in whose presence Philip consented verbally to the marriage in October 1471 (omitting the protonotary, Heinrich Jeger, who died shortly afterwards[2]), were the same as those who three months later sealed Philip's written permission for Frederick to set aside the clause in the Arrogation prohibiting his marriage. In both documents the same reason was given for the marriage, that Frederick's confessors had not allowed him to receive the sacraments while living in sin[3]. In his document of 1471, Frederick mentioned a letter of consent already sealed by Philip, but this was probably not executed until later and was in fact the document of January 1472.

Frederick's description of his longstanding and worsening illnesses which required constant nursing tallies with the symptoms enumerated by his own physician in 1465: loss of breath, fever,

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1. GHA Munich, Urk.2783.

2. von Weech, Lehenbücher, p.4.

3. GHA Munich, Urk.2784, Kasten 13, Lade 5, fos.1R,4R.

coughing, vomiting and pains in various parts of the body, all of which resulted from the partaking of meals at irregular hours by day and night and excesses of eating, drinking and violent exercise, '...nec mentem habet quietem, nunc irascitur, nunc gaudet....'[1]. The priest who performed the marriage ceremony was the same Hartmann von Igstatt, chaplain in the castle of Heidelberg, to whom the elector left 10 guilders in his will of 1467 and a further 5 guilders in a codicil of 1476[2].

Even in the unlikely and apparently impossible event of a forger being able to reproduce these details with such fidelity, to secure his aim he would surely have tried to fabricate an 'original' document with seals, not a copy. The gaps in the copy itself are evidence that the original was damaged at the time when the copy was made or — less likely, since fifteenth-century German hands are relatively easy to read — could not be deciphered by the copyist.

The question whether the original document, since there must have been one, was sealed or only remained in draft form is without importance for proving whether there was a marriage or not. The narrative account of past events and of a discussion which had taken place previously is such that it could not have even been drafted until after the marriage.

An interesting parallel was the secret marriage, probably a

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1. Ritter, pp.512-5.

2. Lossen, pp.214,217.

religious ceremony performed before a few witnesses in 1432, between Albert III, son and heir of the reigning Duke Ernest of the Munich line of Bavaria, to Agnes Bernauerin, like Clara from Augsburg, and the daughter of a barber. Ernest was so angered by this threat to the succession of the dynasty that, with the assistance of his cousin, Henry, of the Landshut line, and of his subjects, he caused Agnes to be drowned[1].

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1. Riezler, Geschichte Baierns, iii.314-20.

APPENDIX III.

Lists relating to the Territorial Expansion of the Palatinate, 1410-1508.

The first three lists are an attempt to estimate the overall growth of the Palatinate, and temporary pawnings are therefore given separately in list (4). Although the lists are of necessity incomplete, by far the greater part of the transactions which did take place are recorded. The only items which have been deliberately omitted are those mentioned in secondary authorities of doubtful reliability and not confirmed elsewhere, as well as most purchases and sales which involved sums less than 100 guilders. For many of the sales to the electors, no evidence of the price has survived, even in some cases where the original document of sale is extant. These entries have been included, in order to show that the totals in list (3), which are derived from the individual sales, are considerably below the actual sums which were spent.

The following is a key to the first two lists:

Column 1. The year in which the transaction took place.

Column 2. The chief town, village or type of right involved. Place names are in many cases preceded either by a fraction, to show that this share only of the place changed hands, or by the letter 'r.', to indicate that only certain rights were included in the transaction. The number which sometimes follows the place name, is the number of villages attached to the main possession, where this is known.

Column 3. The person or corporation with whom the elector concluded the transaction; bp. is the abbreviation for bishop, archbp. for

archbishop, and mon. or conv. for the monastery (or abbey or collegiate chapter) or convent at the place named.

Column 4. The price paid, in guilders. When this figure is in brackets, it is either the price for which a conquest might be redeemed, or an estimate of value, which is sometimes derived from a reliable source other than the one in which the evidence of sale or conquest occurs.

Column 5. The manner in which the possession changed hands:

C : taken by conquest
E : an escheated fief
G : given without compensation
P : pawned
Pr: given for protection
R : redeemed
S : sold outright

Column 6. The primary source or secondary authority which gives the fullest information available. This rule has occasionally not been followed when full references have been given in chapter 2, but it does mean that manuscript sources are quoted in preference to less full printed ones. A large number of the items are indeed to be found in the valuable compilation of Widder, but some of his entries are inaccurate and many do not mention the price or whether a possession was sold outright or pawned.

The following additional abbreviations are used:

GLA : Generallandesarchiv, Karlsruhe
Darm. : Staatsarchiv, Darmstadt
Str. : Strasbourg
Mun. : Munich

Secondary works are cited by the names of their authors only, those by J.G. Lehmann with these abbreviations:

B. : Urkundliche Geschichte der Burgen und Bergschlösser ...der bayerischen Pfalz.

H.L. : Urkundliche Geschichte der Grafschaft Hanau-Lichtenberg.

S. : Die Grafschaft und die Grafen von Spanheim.

Z. : Vollständige Geschichte des Herzogtums Zweibrücken und seiner Fürsten.

(1) Lands acquired.

No.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1	1411	r. Weinsberg city	see of Mainz	4667	P	OAB Weinsberg 161
2	1411	r. Lonsheim	Raugrave Otto	1160	S	Scriba iii.3699
3	1411	r. Freinsheim	Dietrich Kolb	1600		Widder iii.207
4	1411	r. Freinsheim	Hund v. Saulheim	1200		ib.
5	1411	r. Imsweiler	Raugrave Otto	100		ib.iv.331
6	1411	¼ feudal lordship of 20 + villages	Fr. v. Leiningen	100		Frey ii.302
7	1412	¼ of 9 villages near Dürkheim	Emich v.Leiningen	4000	P	Scriba iii.3707
8	1412	r. Landsberg	H. v. Landsberg	450	P	GLA67/866,328-30
9	1412	serfs in over 20 villages	B. v. Eberstein			ib.881,242-3
10	1412	¼ of 7 castles & ⅛ of 2 castles in Alsace	lords of Ochsenstein		G	ib.895,152-4
11	1412	½ lordship Weinsberg 9	C. v. Weinsberg	6000	P	ib.866,170-4
12	1412	r. Westhofen	Raugrave Otto	1000	S	Fabricius 464
13	1412	r. Rockenhausen	Raugrave Otto	(c2000)		Frey iii.371
14	1412	Schwetzingen estate	W. v. Angeloch	742	S	Seyfried 120
15	1413	lordship Scharfeneck	lord of Scharfeneck		E	Darm.HS5,34
16	1413	½ Nackheim	V. v.Wachenheim		S	Fabricius 231
17	1413	r. Freinsheim	J.Bremser & others	1200		Widder iii.207
18	1413	r. Winterkasten	H. v.Rodenstein	200	P	Scriba i.1475,2856
19	1413	½ castle Landsberg	R. v.Landsberg	200	P	GLA67/866,325-6

20	1413	½ Eich court	St.Paul's,Worms		Pr	Fabricius 467
21	1413	r. Sels	v. Sauwelnheim			ib.,219
22	1413	½ Ortenberg	bp. Strassburg	3000	P	GLA67/893,89-90
23	1414	½ Gimbsheim 1	v. Hohenfels-Rippoltskirchen	1100	P	Fabricius 465
24	1414	¼ Gundheim	Kämmerer v.Dalberg	400	P	Darm.HS61,280-1
25	1414	Grafenwöhr	v. Leuchtenberg	8000	S	I.Wagner iii.29
26	1414	(Amt Germersheim) 3	W.v.Knittelsheim	350		Widder ii.503
27	1414	½ castle Landsberg	H. v. Landsberg	300	P	GLA67/866,326-8
28	1414	loan added to redemption of imperial pawnings	price	8000	P	Urk....Sigmunds, i, no.1266,p.75
29	1415	Heiligkreuz	Frederick of Austria		C	Clauss 454
30	1415	Imsweiler	Raugrave Otto		S	Widder iv.331
31	1416	1/5 lower county of Sponheim	Countess Elizabeth of Sponheim	(20000)	G	Lehmann,Z.13,17
32	1416	r. Hofheim 7	H.v.Hirschhorn	6000	P	GLA67/866,83-5
33	1416	⅛ Wangenberg	H.v.Wangen	500	S	ib.895,354-7
34	1417	½ Turnos on Bacharach customs	v.Waldeck & v.Landau	700	F	ib.864,64-5
35	1417	½ Ibersheim court	St.Paul's,Worms		Pr	ib.812,235-8
36	1417	7/32 Diemerstein castle	v.Daun-Oberstein	650		ib.881,275
37	1417	2 Turnose on Oppenheim customs	elector of Saxony	5000	S	Franck 425-7
38	1418	½ Eich court	W.v.Füllschlüssel	400	P	GLA67/866,130
39	1418	Stolzeneck/Neckar	v.Erligheim	1000	S	ib.,196
40	1418	Friedelsheim estate	v.Derne & v.Hönberg	2100	S	ib.,61-3

41	1418	Rüdesheim	1	Bock v.Lambsheim			Fabricius 234
42	1419	Dirmstein castle & estate		bp. Worms	3600		GLA67/864,1-6
43	1419	lapsed fiefs of counts of Sponheim		bp. Worms	2100		Schannat i.234
44	1419	Gaiberg	1	H.v.Labern	3500		Widder i.376; iii.173
45	1419	Schwarzach	4	C.v.Weinsberg	4200	S	GLA77/8769
46	1419	r.Rockenhausen		Raugrave Otto	100		Widder iv.321
47	1419	r. Reichenbach		Forstmeister v. Gelnhausen	400 pounds		GLA67/1057,137
48	1420	r. Eich		J.v.Bechtolsheim	100		Widder iii.80
49	1420-1	Hamm		Elsasser v. Erffenstein	300	S	Fabricius 207
50	1420	½ Enkenbach & Alsenborn		conv. Enkenbach	100	Pr	ib.,258
51	1420	r. Dannenberg	7+	J.v.Löwenstein		S	GLA67/878,39-41
52	1420	Dirmstein estate		G.v.Dirmstein	400		ib.,920,84V
53	1421	r. Rockenhausen		Raugrave Otto	400		Widder iv.321
54	1422	r.Kirschgartshausen estate		conv. Kirschgartshausen	(4755)		ib.i.319-21
55	1422	r. Edigheim, Oppau, estate		H.v.Bachenstein	650	S	GLA67/866,104-9
56	1422	¼ Eich castle & village		H.v.Udenheim	975	S	Fabricius 200,467
57	1422	1/5 lower county of Sponheim		Count John of Sponheim	20000	P	Lehmann,S.ii.131
58	1422	Heidelberg house		Bock v.Erffenstein	125		GLA67/866,123-4
59	1422	r.Diemerstein		P.v.Daun-Oberstein	300	P	ib.881,275
60	1422	Heidelberg house		Church of Holy Spirit	300		ib.920,24

61	1422	r. Dirmstein castle	J.v.Utzlingen		G	Frey ii.332
62	1422	r. lordship Falkenstein	count of Virnburg	(c.825)		MHVP.iii.108,117
63	1423	Alsace protectorate & imperial taxes	the emperor	50000	P	Sittler 15-16
64	1423	Waldau 2	Kreiss v.Lindenfels	1700		GLA 67/810,122-3
65	1423	¼ Brühl	J.v.Helmstädt	965		Seyfried 88
66	1423	Weinheim estate	Swende (burghers)	500		GLA67/866,112-3
67	1424	r. estate at Kirschgartshausen	F.v.Fleckenstein	700		GLA43/Spec.113
68	1424	½ Heidelsheim	margrave of Baden	(9000)	C	Fester 113
69	1424	Eppingen	Baden	(10000)	C	ib.
70	1424	r. Agersheim & Freinsheim	count palatine of Zweibrücken	5000	P	Widder ii.356
71	1424	1/6 Stromberg	Zweibrücken	5000	P	Lehmann,Z.33
72	1424	serfs at Dirmstein, Laumersheim	Zweibrücken	2000	S	ib.
73	1424	1/6 Stromberg	archbp. Mainz	4000	P	ib.
74	1424	r. Freinsheim	v.Meckenheim	1500		Widder iii.207
75	1424	r.Bacharach customs	A.Bettendorfer	2500		GLA67/810,154
76	1424	Graben	H.v.Handschuhsheim	1000		ib.,155
77	1426	Hilsberg stud farm	mon. Otterberg	1100		Widder iii.235
78	1426	Mörsfeld	Raugrave Otto			Fabricius 212
79	1427	Otzberg,Heringe & ½ Umstadt	count of Hanau	25000	S	Müller i.270,554
80	1427	¼ Rappoltsweiler	S.v.Rappoltstein	12000	P	Schoepflin ii.341
81	1427	1/8 Gugenheim	the v.Randeck	610		Fabricius 435

82	1428	Dirmstein estate	H.v.Mulen	800		Darm.HS61,265-70
83	1428	Schwetzingen castle	S.R.v.Sickingen	2500		GLA67/810,294
84	1429	r.Schwarzach	S.v.Lutenborn	150	S	ib.878,1
85	1429	r.Waldhilbertsheim	Stumpf v.Waldeck			Scriba iii.367
86	c1429	½ Spiesheim court	F.Wilche			Fabricius 192,219
87	1430	r. Musbach	St. John's Order			Widder ii.257
88	1430	½ Wolfsheim 1	F.v.Montfort	800	P	Fabricius 198
89	1430	Schwetzingen estate	H.v.Erligheim	200		GLA67/866,269
90	1431	¼ Wensheim	Raugrave Otto			Widder iii.185
91	1431	Kaub estate	widow of E.Stampf	165		GLA67/866,100
92	1433	r.Segelrode forest	J.v.Stein	1460	S	ib.,87-8
93	1434	r.Weinheim estate	Swende(burgher)	500		GLA43/Spec.256,1
94	1435	Osthofen village	mon.Hornbach	1500		GLA67/866,336
95	1435-42	Osthofen estate	mon.Hornbach	8500		Fabricius 217
96	1435	r.Rauschloss	noble owners	(1200)		Widder iii.502-3
97	1435	½ Gelnhausen	H.v.Schwarzburg	1000	P	Junghans 285-6
98	1435	Schwetzingen estate	v. Erligheim	975		Seyfried 120-1
99	1437	Neuwolfstein 21	count of Sponheim		E	Widder iv.294
100	1438	r.Rinklingen	Bretten burghers		S	GLA67/866,77-8
101	1438	r.Rockenhausen	Raugrave Otto	1000		Widder iv.321
102	1440	r.Weinsberg, city	C.v.Bebenburg	3300	P	OAB Weinsberg 162
103	1440	r.Altenbamberg	Raugrave Otto	600	P	Baur iv.139-40
104	1440	¼ Löwenstein county	Otto of Mosbach	2500	P	Kremer, 'Loewenstein',347
105	1441	right to succeed to Löwenstein,Heilbronn tithes,20 villages	counts of Löwenstein	9000	S	ib.365-9

106	1441	immediate occupation of Löwenstein, etc.	the same	(19200)		ib.347,350; GLA67/890,90-1
107	1441	r.Hagensau castle	v.d.Weitenmühle	300		Batt ii.349
108	1441	r.Friedberg castle	noble owners	(3000)		Mader i.318-22, 335
109	1441	½ Hofweier, Schutterwald	Hunel v. Stauffenberg	(1700)		Ruppert, Geroldseck,293
110	1441	Alsace imperial taxes	archbp.Cologne	14402		Sittler 25
111	1441	Daschweiler estate	mon.Otterberg	330		GLA67/866,6-8
112	c1442	Vilseck	H.Nothaft	18000	P	ib.819,415-7; 920, 45V
113	1442	1/9 Marlenheim				Clauss 649
114	1443	7 villages near Löwenstein	E.v.Urbach	1500	S	GLA67/890,50-3
115	1444-5	Möckmühl castle and town	counts of Hohenlohe	26000		ib.866,205-10; 890,70-2
116	1444	possession of Löwenstein	A.v.Löwenstein	(100)		Kremer 'Loewenstein', 348,370-1
117	1445	the same	G.v.Löwenstein	(9000)		ib.350;GLA67/ 890,27-8,33
118	1445	⅔ Diemerstein	R.v.Zeiskam	492		ib.881,273-4
119	1445	r.Dienheim	count of Virnburg			GLA77/3006
120	1447	Weiler castle 1	H.v.Remchingen	2000	P	GLA67/866,59-61
121	1448	Neustadt/Kocher 8	lord of Weinsberg	20000		ib.,228-32
122	1448	r.Kirschgartshausen	Blick v. Lichtenberg	800		Darm.HS61,92
123	1399-1449	Neuenheim and Heiligenberg common rights	see of Mainz		C	Schmith 39; GLA67/883,108-12,140

124	1449	Pfeffingen county	J.v.Hohenburg		E	Lehmann,B.v. 209-10
125	1450	½ lordship Weinsberg & part of imperial tax	lords of Weinsberg	13600	P	GLA67/890,93-97
126	1450	¾ Münsterappel	Rhinegraves	2000	P	Fabricius 349
127	1450	½ Schuttern 1	lord of Hohengeroldseck	1000	P	Ruppert, Geroldseck,432
128	1451	Pfeffingen court	Blick v. Lichtenberg		G	Lehmann,B.v.213
129	1451	Burgbühl	M.v.Burgheim	800	S	GLA67/864,353-5
130	1451	r.Stein castle	lords of Weinsberg	880	P	ib.866,188-9
131	1452	¾ Lützelstein & Einartshausen	counts of Lützelstein		C	Kremer i.47-51
132	1452	1/3 lordship Kirchheim	count of Nassau-Saarbrücken	8300	P	Lehmann,B.iv. 131-2
133	1453	½ Sels	Worms chapter		Pr	Widder iii.55
134	1453	Lachen estate	W.Mayenfisch	400	S	ib.ii.279
135	1454	Engelstadt	conv.at Cologne	1200	S	GLA67/866,42-5
136	1454	Rittenweier 3	C.v.Lamersheim	800	P	ib.,70-1
137	1455	r.Michelfelder Au	Baden	(3000)	C	R.Baden,iv. 7930-1
138	1455	r.Weinsberg imperial tax	Speyer burghers	1100	R	GLA67/890,105-6
139	1455	1/12 Waldalgesheim	G.S.v.Sauwelnheim	200	S	Fabricius 156
140	1455	¼ Hohkönigsburg	J.& A.v.Hohenstein		C	Kremer i.65
141	1456	½ Diemerstein	F.v.d.Spare		G	GLA67/881,272
142	1456	½ Minfeld court 2	mon.Sels		Pr	Lehmann,B.i.243
143	1456	r.Ceafftal	v.Heringen	100	S	GLA67/866,16-17
144	1457	¼ Lichtenberg 12	P.v.Katzenelnbogen	12000	P	R.Katz.ii.4971

145	1457	Raugraviate	15	Raugrave Otto		G	Darm.HS61,120-5
146	1457	Kleeberg	6	Puller v. Hohenburg		E	Witte 35-6
147	1457	r. Hunsbach		Heinrich Jeger	500	S	GLA67/866,19-20
148	1457	Heidelberg House		Heidelberg cleric	1300	P	R.Friedrich 270-1, 276-7
149	1458	r. Rinklingen		R.v.Remchingen	310	S	Widder ii.217
150	1460	Schauenburg	2	archbp. Mainz	(20000)	C	Kremer ii, no.72
151	1461	Bergstrasse	27	archbp. Mainz	(100000)	G	ib., no.91
152	1461	r.Kaub & Bacharach		Zweibrücken	(6550)	C	R.Friedrich 367-8
153	1461	Hassloch	2	Zweibrücken & counts of Leiningen		C	R.Krebs 5
154	1462	Rotenberg	15	bp. Speyer	(32000)	C	UB Speyer ii,no. 169
155	1462	Wersau	2	bp. Speyer		C	ib.
156	1462	Asbach		W.v.Helmstädt		C	ib., no.200
157	1462	Bischweiler		L.v.Eschenau		E	GLA67/812,16-7
158	1463	½ Lebertal		bp. Metz	(2000)	C	ib.982,19-20,26
159	1463	Bezigheim, Beinheim	7	Baden	(35000)	C	R.Baden iv.9019
160	1463	3/10 lower county of Sponheim		Baden	(45000)	C	R.Friedrich 399
161	1463	r. Eppingen		Baden	(7000)	C	ib.255-6,400
162	1463	r. Heidelsheim		Baden	(9000)	C	ib.400
163	1463	r. Pforzheim		Baden	(40000)	C	ib.399
164	1463	Möckmühl,Löwenstein		Württemberg	(40000)	C	ib.221,401-2
165	1463	r. Bretten		Württemberg		C	ib.401-2
166	1463	r. Marbach		Württemberg	(30000)	C	Kremer ii,no.192

167	1463	½ Guttenberg 6	count of Lichtenberg	3500	S	Lehmann,B.ii. 243-4
168	1463-72	Greventan	A.v.Zeiskam & Rodder	1400	R	ib.189-90
169	1464	r. Maienfels	G.v.Adelsheim & others		G	Württ.R.ii. 14541-2
170	1464	Bermersheim	Nagel v. Dirmstein		S	Fabricius XXXIX
171	1465	Pfeddersheim	archbp.Mainz	7848	P	UB Pfeddersheim 279-82
172	1465	1/6 Waldalgesheim	Hund v.Saulheim	300	S	Fabricius 156
173	1467	½ county of Leiningen	Margaret of Westerburg, bp. Worms		Pr &E	see chapter 2(iv)
174	1467	Heidelberg house	v. Sickingen	110	S	GLA43/Spec.68,73
175	1468-9	r.Kirschgartshausen & ½ Elbstein court	mon.Frankenthal	500	S	GLA67/812,130;814, 33-7;866,307-9
176	1470	¼ Madenburg 4	F.v.Rosenberg	2000	P	Lehmann,B.i.320
177	1470	½ Weingarten	J.v.Schmalenstein		S	Kremer i.649
178	1470	Schriesheim, Stralenburg	Zweibrücken	(14000)	C	Lehmann,Z.177
179	1470	Armsheim 2	Zweibrücken	(16000)	C	ib.
180	1470	Ruprechtseck	Zweibrücken	(16000)	C	ib.178
181	1471	Wachenheim,Lambsheim & Agersheim customs post	Zweibrücken	(50000)	C	ib.
182	1471	Sobernheim, Monzingen, Waldböckelheim	Zweibrücken	(40000)	C	ib.160; Kremer i.466-7
183	1471	Beringersweiler 10	count of Hohenlohe	exchange		GLA67/814,86-8
184	1472	Münstertal estate	Rhinegrave John	1000	S	SB Mun.C.G. 1649,483

185	1472	Berwartstein	Eckbrecht v. Dürkheim		G	Lehmann,B.i.49-51
186	1473	½ Offenheim	conv. Syon		Pr	Lossen 146
187	1474	½ Kübelburg 1	Mauchenheimer v. Zweibrücken		G	GLA67/920,111
188	1474	2/3 St. Ilgen	mon. Sinsheim	2000	S	M.G.B.ix.57
189	1474	Hornberg 4	Lutz Schott	(3450)	C	F.Krieger 33-7,56
190	1476	r. Eppstein	I.v.Oberstein		G	Pfälzisches U.B. xiii.301
191	1477	Heidelberg house	v.Ramung	750	S	GLA67/1662,63-4
192	1477	Agersheim house	Hans Becker	180	S	ib.,95-6
193	1478	Alzey house	v.Werstatt	800	S	Darm.HS61,99
194	1478	1/3 Rinklingen	H.v.Massenbach	400	S	Widder ii.218
195	1479	Heidelberg house		120		GLA67/1662,114-5
196	1480	r.Hoffen,Buwern	S.v.Sickingen	400	S	ib.,231-2
197	1480	r. Bischweiler	E.& H.v.Neipperg	800	S	ib.,253-4
198	1480	r. Schwetzingen	E.& H.v.Neipperg	1000		GLA67/920,27-8
199	1481	r. Schweigern	M.v.Rosenberg	2000	P	ib.889,123-5
200	1481	½ Rodenbach	Worms chapter		Pr	ib.1662,296-7
201	1481	7 Leiningen villages,Ibersheim estate	R.v.Leiningen-Westerburg	13000	P	ib.,277-92; Häusser 493
202	1483	Horkheim court	villagers there		Pr	GLA67/1662,372-4
203	1484	r. Hagenbach	mon.Weissenburg	1200		Glasschröder, no. 170.
204	1484	r. Ingersheim	Württemberg	1595	P	GLA67/1662,362, 406-7
205	1485	½ Imsheim	conv. Weydas		Pr	Lossen 146
206	1485	¼ Landeck & ½ of15	mon.Klingenmünster	(5000)	G	GLA67/1662,400-4

207	1486	lordship Hohengeroldseck	lord Diebolt		C	Hertzog ii.128
208	1486	½ tithes at Weilerbach, Ramstein	Teutonic Order	800	R	GLA67/820,88-9, 183-4; Widder iv.272-3
209	1487	r. Gundersheim	Truchsess v. Baldersheim	150		GLA67/820,137-8
210	1487	Schillingstadt	G.v.Rosenberg	1000	P	GLA43/Spec.214,7
211	1489	¼ Dietersheim/ Nahe	L.v.Andernach	190		Fabricius 285
212	1489	right to redeem Wersau,Agersheim, Freinsheim	Zweibrücken	4000	S	Lehmann,Z.212
213	1489	½ (Amt Landeck)6	mon.Klingen-münster	3000	R	ib.H.L.ii.305-6
214	1489	r. lordship Geroldseck	count of Zweibrücken-Bitsch	1700	P	ib.,306-7
215	1490	the same	the same	2400	P	ib.,308
216	1490	r.lordship Ochsenstein	Strassburg citizen	100	R	ib.,307
217	1490	3/160Maursmünster	mon.Maursmünster		Pr	GLA67/820,268ff.
218	1490	Germersheim house	v.Weingarten, v.Ramberg	250		ib.,258,273-4
219	1490-9	Mosbach & Neumarkt lands	Duke Otto II	(c.53000)	S	see chapter 1(vi)
220	1490	1/32 Widdern	Haman Echter	130		GLA67/820,219-21
221	1492	r.Obersaulheim	Rhinegrave John		G	Böhn,Alzey,70,179
222	1492	Altheim court	Schaden v.Altheim		S	GLA67/820,270, 287-8
223	1493	½ Münster	Rhinegrave John	4000	P	Fabricius 360
224	1493	¼ Klingenberg/ Main	count of Hanau-Lichtenberg	3100	S	Rommel iii.126

225	1494	½ Amt Neuenburg	W.v.Löwenstein	920	R	GLA67/814,287-9; 818,204V
226	1494	1/60 Widdern	P.v.Seldeneck	50		ib.820,314-6
227	1494-5	5/96 Widdern	v.Berlichingen	300		ib.,214R,311-2
228	1495	r. Widdern	W.v.Adelsheim	260		ib.,349-51
229	1495	Dienheim court	W.v.Dienheim	600		Fabricius 199
230	1495	½ Weinheim	Teutonic Order		Pr	Böhn,Alzey,70,211
231	1496	1/12 Waldalgesheim	Swartz v. Kriesheim	100		Fabricius 156
232	1496	r. Widdern	G.v.Rosenberg			GLA67/820,468
233	1497	Eisenhofen	E.v.Weichss	4100		HSA Mun.Neub.Cop. ix.159-62
234	1497	Rappoltsweiler house	C. Gerhart	200		GLA67/818,325-6
235	1497	r.Kaiserslautern	nobles & others	400		ib.820,407-8, 414-5,467
236	1498	r.Oppenheim customs	v.Wormsberg	1290	S	ib.920,105V
237	1498	r. Breitenau	P & J.v.Hoheneck	280	S	ib.820,456-7
238	1498	r. Rodenbach	Horneck v. Weinheim	200		ib.,406-7
239	1498	r. Roigheim	K.v.Berlichingen	100	P	ib.,394-5
240	1498	r. Roigheim	Stumpf v. Schweinsberg	220		ib.,395-7
241	c.1498	r. Ibersheim		200	R	ib.,457-8
242	1500	r.Hinartshausen	inhabitants there	55		GLA67/821,3,7
243	1500	r.Hinartshausen	W.v.Falkenstein	55		Lehmann,B.i.296-7
244	1501	inheritance of Otto 1 of Mosbach	Bp.Albert of Strassburg	(9600)		GLA67/818,514; 825,280-1
245	1501	Heidelberg house	Dr.Johann v.Böst	300		ib.821,89-91
246	1502	Amt Lauda/Tauber	countess of Wertheim	19000	R	GLA43/Gen.128,21

247	1502	¼ Reichshofen	C.v.Zweib.-Bitsch	1500	P	GLA67/821,94-100
248	1503	Imstal castle	mon.Neuweiler	exchange		ib.,108-10
249	1503	r. Lore 6	mon.Neuweiler	1400	S	ib.,105-8,112-3
250	1503	1/9 Hochfelden	Hofwart v. Kirchheim	550		Clauss 476
251	1504	¼ Turnos at Kaub customs	H.v.Hirschhorn	3000	S	GLA67/1008,128

(2) Lands alienated or lost.

252	1451	Möckmühl, Löwenstein	Margaret of Savoy's jointure	(40000)		R.Friedrich 221
253	1451	1 Turnos on Boppard customs	count of Katzenelnbogen	6000	P	R.Katz.i.4704, 5806
254	1456	Gau-Heppenheim	A.v.Heppenheim	1000	P	Baur iv.171-2
255	1458	r. Lorch	Mainz chapter	9000		Menzel,Diether,10
256	1461	½ Hofweier 1	Wolff v.Offenburg	1000	P	Ruppert, Geroldseck,294
257	1462	Friedelsheim castle	mon.Limburg	1200	S	Widder ii.337
258	1463	Oberehenheim (office of Schultheiss) & Kestenholz customs	Reinbolt Feltsch of Strassburg		P	GLA67/814,84-5
259	1465	2/3 Wilsbach tithes	Lutz Schott	600	P	ib.1911,81
260	1467	Beinheim 1	B.v.Windeck	8000	P	R.Baden iv.9471
261	1467	Heidelberg house	Peter Brechtel	445	P	GLA67/812,213-4
262	1468	Neustadt/Kocher house	H.Uberlinger	300		ib.,136
263	1468	Ottersheim tithe	mon.Ausserstal	1500	P	GLA67/813,239
264	1469	Eppingen	H.,M.& B.v. Gemmingen	4000	P	GHA Mun.Urk.2828
265	1471	1/3 lordship Kirchheim	count of Nassau-Saarbrücken	8300	R	GLA67/814,10
266	1475	½ Amt Neuenburg	W.v.Löwenstein	(920)	P	ib.287-9;818,204V
267	1476	Leimen house	Niclaus Becker	138	S	ib.812,258
268	1477	¼ Lichtenberg 12	landgrave of Hesse	12500	S	R.Katz.ii.5933-4, 5938,6034
269	1477	r. Monzingen	D.v.Waldenstein	100		GLA67/1662,41

270	1479	½ Lebertal	duke of Lorraine	2000	R	ib.,248
271	1480	1/6 Stromberg	Frederick of Simmern	4500	R	ib.,244
272	1480	Kaiserberg (office of Vogt)	H.v.Ratsamshausen	1700	P	Becker Kaysersberg,11
273	1481	right to redeem Ingersheim	H.v.Stammheim	500		GLA67/813,137V
274	1482	7/10 Ebernburg	S.v.Sickingen	2100	P	ib.1662,330-3
275	1482	r. Hagenbach	priest there	100		ib.815,196
276	c1484	¾ Münsterappel	Rhinegraves	2000	R	Fabricius 349
277	1485	r. Billigheim, 1/3 Michelfeld	H.v.Gemmingen	1200	P	MBHC.xxvii.30; GLA67/338,46-9
278	1488	Löwenstein county	Count Louis		G	see chapter 1(v)
279	1488	estate	Dirmstein hospital	300		GLA67/820,182-3
280	1489	Schwechingen estate		885		Lehmann,B.i.296
281	1491	r.Kleiningersheim	H.v.Stammheim	1500	P	Württ.R.ii.7042
282	1492	Altenparkenstein	W.Clauspentaler	600	P	HSA Mun.Oberpf. Arch.153,125-6
283	1496	Heidelberg house	Peter Konig	500		GLA67/820,483-4
284	1501	r.Hasmersheim & 40 fl. p.a. at Weinsberg	B.v.Gemmingen	1600	P	ib.915,185
285	1502	Schriesheim	H.v.Sickingen	4000	P	ib.819,126-7
286	1503	1/5 lower county of Sponheim	John of Simmern	20000	R	GHA Mun.Urk.2811
287	1504	Alsace,Ortenau	Emperor Maximilian		C	HHusser 472
288	1504	Amter Weinsberg, Neustadt/Kocher, Besigheim,Möckmühl, Löwenstein	Württemberg		C	ib.,491

289	1504	Otzberg, ½ Umstadt Stein, Homburg, several feudal lordships	Hesse		C	ib.; Rommel iii.163-4
290	1504	Hersbrück, Lauf, Altdorf, etc.	city of Nuremberg		C	Häusser 491,573
291	1504	Amt Kleeberg	Zweibrücken		C	Lehmann, Z.241
292	1504	Amt Neckarelz	G.v.Bödigheim	2000	P	MBHC.vii.109
293	1504	Zwingenberg/Neckar	H.v.Hirschhorn	9100	S	Hochfelden 203-6; GLA67/1008,128
294	1504	Neuenburg	Baden	12000	P	ib.819,361-3
295	1504	Weingarten	Baden		P	ib.,361
296	1505	Vilseck	bp. Bamberg	14000	R	ib.,415-8,420-1
297	1505	Wolfstein	H.v.Flersheim	4000		ib.,354,357
298	1505	Amt Manderscheid	archbp. Trier	2300	R	ib.,384-5
299	1505	Rotenberg	bp. Speyer	12600	R	GLA67/338,46-9
300	1505	Eberbach, 2 Ibersheim estate	H.v.Sickingen	12000	P	Weiss, Eberbach, 64,312
301	1505	½ Neuleiningen 7	Landgrave Reinhard	8000	R	Lehmann, B.iii. 270-1
302	1505	¼ Klingenberg/ Main	archbp. Mainz	3000	S	GLA67/821,133-7
303	1505	Sauerberg 1	F.v.Cronberg	1000		Widder iii.407-8
304	1505	r. Haimbach	St.John's Order	1000	P	Remling, Abteien, ii.308
305	1505	Hornberg 3	Conz Schott		C	Krieger, Hornberg, 36-7
306	1505	r.Bechten tithe	Kämmerer v.Dalberg	466	S	GLA67/821,186-7
307	1505-6	Amt Lauda 8	bp. Würzburg	25000	R	GLA77/8489
308	1506	Pfeffingen county 2, ¾ Hassloch 2	Count Emich of Leiningen		C	GLA67/825,218-21; R.Krebs 15

309	1506	r. Dürkheim	Count Emich	1000	S	ib.
310	1506	Ingenheim castle	O.v.Gemmingen		G	GLA77/791-2
311	1506	Sinsheim,Clingen	O.v.Gemmingen	3180	P	GLA43/Spec.239,15
312	1506	½ Duwelnheim	O.v.Gemmingen	520	S	GLA67/821,227-9
313	1506	Amt Lorbach 3	Teutonic Order	8000	P	ib.825,223-6, 240ff.
314	1506	Frauenweiler estate	town Wiesloch	3200	P	ib.821,187-8
315	1506	r. Schweigern 1	G.v.Rosenberg	1800	R	GSA Mun.Blau 435/5,354
316	1506	Dorndürkheim, r. Dittelsheim	E.Vetzer v. Geisspissheim	1000	P	GLA67/822,142
317	1506	right to redeem ½ Hofweier 1	W.v.Bach	400		Rupert, Geroldseck,295
318	1506	Mittenau	A.Wirsberg	2000	P	HSA Mun.Oberpf. Arch.180
319	1506	r.Wernhersreut 1	E.v.Mergersreut	250	P	ib.
320	1506	r.Snayttenbach	B.Gastner	410	P	ib.
321	1506	Schwetzenbach	H.Kress	600	P	ib.
322	1507	¼ lordship Guttenberg	Zweibrücken	(12000)	C	Lehmann,Z.244-5
323	1507	½ Ladenburg 1	D.v.Handschuh-sheim	4400	P	GLA43/Spec.125,4-5
324	1507	Amt Schwarzach	H.v.Handschuh-sheim	4600	P	ib.227,25
325	1507	(unnamed)	H.Fuchs v. Dornheim	1500	P	GLA67/822,146
326	1507	Kagenbach 2	F.v.Auerbach	1200	P	Widder i.421,425
327	1507	1/3 Hassloch tithes	Kämmerer v. Dalberg	700	P	GLA67/821,243-5
328	1507	r. Undenheim	Kämmerer v. Dalberg	600	P	ib.,245-51
329	1507	serfs	Kämmerer v. Dalberg	600	S	ib.,249-3

330	c.1504–8	Walsenheim	Kämmerer v.Dalberg	1600	P	Pfälzisches U.B. xvi.22
331	1508	3/10 lower county of Sponheim	Philip of Baden	40000	R	GLA67/77,2-33; 821,287-94
332	before 1509	Schillingstadt	G.v.Rosenberg	1000	R	GLA43/Spec.214,7

(3) The monetary value of all gains and losses (in guilders).

	Purchases	Sales	Net purchases or alienations	Other acquisitions	Total acquisitions	Average annual net expenditure
1410-9	75,938		75,938	20,000		
1420-9	146,155		146,155	19,000		
1430-9	17,300		17,300			
1440-8	111,024		111,024			
1410-48	350,417		350,417	39,000	389,417	9,000
1449-59	61,690	15,000	46,690			4,000
1460-9	39,658	17,045	22,613	326,550		2,200
1470-9	7,250	23,958	-16,708	139,450		-1,700 (income)
1480-9	29,635	13,285	16,350	5,000		1,600
1490-9	72,300	2,600	69,700			
1490-1502						7,000
1449-99	210,533	71,888	138,645	471,000	609,645	
1410-99			489,062	510,000	999,062	
1500-08	35,460	209,626	-174,166			

The last line of the above table includes only sales and pawnings, since the value of the losses by conquest in the war of 1504 cannot be estimated. Similarly, the following acquisitions (and others) were additional to those on which it is possible to put a monetary value:

1449-59, Pfeffingen, Lützelstein, the Raugraviate.

1460-9, half of the county of Leiningen, Wersau, Asbach.

1470-9, Berwartstein.

1480-9, Hohengeroldseck.

The reacquisition of Möckmühl and Löwenstein has not been included among the conquests for the period 1460-9.

The conquests made by Frederick I before 1472 had a nominal value of 502,550 fl., or 462,550 fl. if Möckmühl and Löwenstein are not included.

Allowance has been made for the fact that Neustadt am Kocher, although purchased in 1448, was soon pawned and only redeemed in 1466. Similarly, in compiling the totals, small annuities granted in lieu of the purchase price of territories have been included under their year of origin at their capital value; large pensions, on the other hand, such as were given to the counts of Löwenstein and Otto II of Mosbach and his brother, have been spread over the years in which it is known that they were paid.

(4) Temporary pawnings and alienations.

1. Eastern Ämter				
1449-66	Neustadt/Kocher	H.v.Gemmingen	20000	GLA67/866,228-33
1466-81	Heilbronn tithes	H.v.Gemmingen	11000	ib.,232-3; UB Heilbronn ii,no.1315
c.1503?	Heilbronn tithes	B.v.Gemmingen		ib.
1474-?	Möckmühl	H.v.Gemmingen		GLA67/890,72
1451-63	Löwenstein	Margaret of Savoy		chapter 2(ii)-(iii)
before 1476 to before 1488	Löwenstein	lord of Heideck		Kremer ii,no.186; i.540
2. Alsace and the Ortenau				
1427-?	Barr,Sels	lords of Müllenheim		Reichsland Elsass-Lothringen iii.59,1025
?-1455	Barr	H.Beger	4000	Dép.Str.C84,no.9
1455-?	Barr	H.v.Uttenheim	4000	ib.
1461-?	Barr,Landsberg	S.v.Uttenheim, S.Bock v. Bledisheim	10500	ib.,12J803-4; GLA67/813,69
?-1467	Barr,Landsberg	H.v.Landsberg	12000	ib.,223
1467-8	Barr,Landsberg	H.v.Landsberg, G.v.Bach	12000	ib.
?-1473	Ortenberg	C.v.Stein	6000	GLA31/20,13;43/Gen. 25,2;67/920,28; ZGO.xxii.404
1473-5	Ortenberg	H.Beyer v. Geispitzheim		
?-1481	Ortenberg	B.v.Bach	8000	Stenzel 68
3. Other Ämter				
1451-3	Stein	bp. Worms	1500	GLA67/895,78-80
1465-70	Neuwolfstein	M.Mosbach	2000	Lehmann,B.v.110

1470 to after 1476	Neuwolfstein	Wessel family	2000	ib.
1466 to after 1476	Elbstein	E.v.Remchingen	600	ib.ii.375-7
1492-?	Elbstein	H.v.Bock		ib.
1491-8	Böckelheim, Monzingen, Sobernheim	H.v.Sickingen		GLA67/818,363,400-1; 820,244
1501-2	Schriesheim, Stralenburg	H.Boos v. Waldeck		ib.819,35
1502-?	Schriesheim, Stralenburg	H.v.Sickingen	4000	ib.,126-7

(5) The inalienable lands of the Palatinate and Upper Palatinate.

1368	1378	1395	1426
(Palatinate)	(Palatinate)	(draft only)	(Palatinate)
Alzey	Sauerberg	(Palatinate)	Bretten
Bacharach	(Upper	Herings	Dachsheim
Diebach	Palatinate)	Hilsbach	½ Dirmstein
Dilsberg	Amberg	Otzberg	Gengenbach
Fürstenberg	Waldeck	Simmern	Ingelheim
Heidelberg		Steinsberg	Kaiserslautern
Kaub		Stromberg	½ Ladenburg
Lindenfels		Umstadt	Lamersheim
Manubach		(Upper	Nierstein
Mannheim		Palatinate)	Odernheim
Neustadt an der Haardt		Kemnat	Offenburg
Pfalzgrafenstein		Murach	Oppenheim
Stahlberg		Nabburg	Ortenberg
Stahleck		Neuenburg	Schwabsheim
Steeg			1/5 county of Sponheim
Weinheim			Zell
Wolfsberg			(Upper Palatinate)
			Grafenwöhr

Appendix IV

The Secreta Palatinatus.

(Generallandesarchiv, Karlsruhe, 67/907)

A review of the revenues of the Ämter and the expenditure of the treasury and the Ämter was compiled by the scribe of the treasury from the records for the years from 1509 to 1514, and in some cases from those of earlier years from 1502 onwards. This work was begun on 3 July 1509 and was added to in later years, so that there are crossings out or several different figures for the same item, especially in the totals. In spite of minor inconsistencies and some inaccuracy in the arithmetic, a firm pattern emerges from the wealth of valuable detail.

In the following tables, items are given to the nearest guilder or pound. Entries in pounds are throughout converted into guilders at the rates used on those occasions when such conversions were made in the accounts themselves, namely:

1 pound (Heller) : approximately 4/7 fl.[1]
1 pound (Pfennig) : approximately 8/7 fl.[2]

Revenues in kind are estimated in guilders at the rates commonly employed in accounts of the Ämter, e.g. in the estimate of the revenues of the Amt of Kirchberg, made in 1503[3]:

1 tun of wine :	6 fl.
1 measure of rye, wheat or barley :	½ fl.
1 measure of oats or spelt :	1/4 fl.

(1) Expenditure

(a) Retainers (fos.81-82)	3,055 fl.
(b) Salaries of the officials and servants of the court and chancery	2,874 fl.

1. Between fos.54 and 55, verso, and fos.93,117v.
2. fo.55.
3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/77, fos.78-86.

1. Salaries paid by the treasury (fo.93) 5,929 fl.
2. Salaries of the officials of the Amter, paid in the Amter (fo.117v) 5,761 fl.
3. Salaries in kind (between fos.117 and 118) 2,891 fl.
(100 tuns of wine : 600 fl.
2,744 measures of rye :1,372 fl.
3,676 measures of oats : 919 fl.)
Total salaries (by addition) 14,581 fl.
4. Maintenance and repair of castles and estates, provisions for officials, and payment of messengers (fo.158) (a) in money 8,143 fl.
(b) in kind 3,662 fl.
(156 tuns of wine : 936 fl.
3,191 measures of rye, wheat, barley:1,596 fl.
4,520 measures of oats and spelt : 1,130 fl.)
Total for maintenance and repair, etc.(by addition) 11,805 fl.
(Addition of the entries for the individual Amter, fos.118-57, gives the slightly higher total of 12,126 fl., i.e. 7,789 fl. in money, 173 tuns of wine, 3,657 measures of rye, wheat and barley, and 5,882 measures of oats and spelt).
5. Estimate by the scribe of the kitchen of the cost of provisions for circa 400 persons at court
(a) in money (fo.165v) 4,232 fl.
(b) in kind (fo.166) 3,735 fl.
(160 tuns of wine : 960 fl.
1,600 measures of rye and barley : 800 fl.
7,900 measures of oats and spelt : 1,975 fl.)
Total estimated expenditure by the kitchen (by addition) 7,967 fl.
6. Interest payments, money and castle fiefs, and life annuities
A. payable by the treasury (fo.55) 20,632 fl.
(Addition of the items enumerated on fos.54-55 gives the slightly higher total of 20,773 fl.)

B. payable in the Ämter (a) in money 6,613 fl.
(b) in kind 1,971 fl.
(These figures are calculated from the totals
for three groups of Ämter, on slips inserted
before fos.64,71,75, i.e. 6,493 fl.,
209 pounds (Heller), 60 tuns of wine,
1,607 measures of rye and wheat, and
3,232 measures of oats and spelt)

8,584 fl.

(Addition of the entries for the individual Ämter
on fos.57-73 gives the slightly lower total of
8,408 fl., i.e. 6,422 fl., 331 pounds (Heller),
13 pounds (Pfennig), 55 tuns of wine, 2,615 measures
of rye, and 582 measures of oats and spelt)
Total of interest payments, annuities, money and
castle fiefs (by addition) 29,216 fl.
(On fo.75 there is a crossed out total for this
item of 27,969 fl., 48 tuns of wine, 1,293 measures
of rye, 118 measures of oats and spelt, equivalent
to 28,933 fl. in all. Another estimate, probably
dealing with a different year, is inserted between
fos.54 and 55. It gives a total of 25,360 fl. for
interest payments, etc., but expressly states that
revenues which had to be written off and some
payments on the customs were omitted.)
Total expenditure (by addition) 63,569 fl.

The interim totals of the accounts have been used wherever available. A total of 63,607 fl. is produced by adding all the individual entries.

The central treasury and kitchen paid 34,987 fl. of these expenses, the Ämter 28,582 fl. Approximately 2,000 fl. of the items listed under the general heading of interest payments were money and castle fiefs paid in money and kind (fos.54-55,

57-68), and nearly 800 fl. were revenues which had to be written off (fos.60R,72R). These may be regarded as part of the regular expenses of administration. Therefore, of the total expenses of approximately 63,500 fl., about 26,500 fl. are to be attributed to interest payments and about 37,000 fl. to the costs of administering the state.

(2) Revenues.

A. By adding the totals for four groups of Ämter, on slips inserted before fos.19,33,40,47.

1. in money	32,932 fl.	
11,662 pounds (Heller) :	6,664 fl.	
		39,596 fl.
2. in kind		
472 tuns of wine :	2,832 fl.	
11,990 measures of rye, barley and wheat:	5,995 fl.	
16,926 measures of oats and spelt :	4,232 fl.	
		13,059 fl.
Total revenues		52,655 fl.

B. By adding the entries for the individual Ämter (fos.1-47)

1. in money	32,761 fl.	
4,300 pounds (Heller) :	2,457 fl.	
2,148 pounds (Pfennig) :	2,455 fl.	
		37,673 fl.
2. in kind		
479 tuns of wine :	2,874 fl.	
12,211 measures of rye, barley and wheat:	6,106 fl.	
15,896 measures of oats and spelt :	3,974 fl.	
		12,954 fl.
Total revenues		50,627 fl.

There were also other revenues in kind. Besides small amounts of salt and cheese, these were :

	(i) from totals.	(ii) from individual entries.
peas	30 measures	23 measures
geese	761	545
capons	2,540	2,153
chickens	14,594	9,818

(3) Revenues of Ämter which had customs posts on the Rhine

The customs revenues are included in these totals and are not distinguished from the other revenues in the original accounts. The revenues in kind have been omitted here.

fo.8	Kaub	5,989 fl.
9	Bacharach	4,803 fl.
13	Oppenheim	2,303 fl.
21	Germersheim	2,400 fl.
	367 pounds (Pfennig)	419 fl.
24	Sels	216 fl.
	23 pounds (Pfennig)	26 fl.
33	Mannheim	1,764 fl.
		17,920 fl.

(4) An estimate of the revenues from Ämter held by the Elector Philip, but not included in the Secreta Palatinatus.

After the loss of Alsace and the Ortenau, the elector made two separate estimates of the revenues in money and kind of these two Ämter; both estimates were just under 10,000 guilders[1]. This was not an excessive claim, since Frederick I had already considered the protectorates of Alsace and the Ortenau, without his other possessions there, to be worth

1. 9,803 fl., of which 5,076 fl. were in the protectorate of Alsace, 3,105 fl. in the Ortenau, and the rest in other possessions in Alsace, HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 963, fos. 61-70. Only two of the detailed items, sale of forest land and fines, were possibly exaggerated, ibid., fos.62-63. A second estimate, of 25 March 1507, had slight variations in detail and a total of 9,658 fl. The elector said in a council meeting that labour services, military service, Atzung, hunting and other sovereign rights were not included in the estimate; he would therefore have preferred the whole to an income of 15,000 fl., ibid., fos.188-91.

125,000 or 130,000 guilders, equivalent to annual revenues of 6,500 guilders[1]. The revenues of the elector's one-fifth share of the Ämter of Kreuznach and Kirchberg were about 900 and 300 guilders, respectively, in the Secreta Palatinatus. Therefore the revenues of the half of these Ämter which had been lost must have been about 2,200 guilders for Kreuznach and 750 guilders for Kirchberg[2], but the elector's revenues from his seven-tenths share of the Amt of Kirchberg were calculated even higher in 1503, at just under 1,500 guilders[3]. The loss in revenues from these Ämter may therefore have been nearer 3,500 than 3,000 guilders. The revenues of the Ämter of Möckmühl and Neustadt am Kocher were set aside in 1489 for the annual payment of 3,200 guilders to the future wife of the elector's son[4]. Similarly, Philip's mother had been guaranteed the annual payment of 2,000 guilders on the revenues of Möckmühl and Löwenstein in 1451[5]. The Amt of Umstadt did not appear in the Secreta Palatinatus, since it was temporarily held by Hesse until 1521. The revenues from fixed dues alone had been over 600 guilders in 1475[6], but with

1. 130,000 fl., 1 Sep. 1473, Korrespondenz des...Albrecht Achilles, i.565; 125,000 fl., the elector to Louis of Bavaria, 5 Oct. 1474, Kremer, ii, no.183, p.502.
2. Kreuznach: 476 fl., 248 pounds (Heller), 9 tuns of wine, 371 measures of rye, barley and wheat, 123 measures of oats, total 888½ fl.; Kirchberg: 172 fl., 54 pounds (Heller), 1 tun of wine, 40 measures of rye and barley, 304 measures of oats and spelt, total 302½ fl., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fos.1-4. Thus the revenues of half of these Ämter would have been, by calculation, 2,221 fl. and 756 fl., respectively.
3. 1,493 fl., 14 Albus, GHA Munich, Akten 962, fos.87-97; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/77, fos.76-86.
4. At Louis's betrothal to Sidonia, daughter of Duke Albert of Bavaria, 27 July, GHA Munich, Akten 959.
5. R.Friedrich, p.221.
6. 211 fl., 154 pounds (Heller), 303 measures of rye, and 590 measures of oats, SA Darmstadt, Salbücher Starkenburg 96a, Umstadter Zinsbuch, fos.3-73. The date on the cover, in a sixteenth-century hand, is 1495, but the only date in the text is 1475, ibid., fo.101v.

tithes, wine revenues, the excise on wine and land tolls, the total revenues were probably in the region of 1,000 guilders. The lists of possessions lost in Alsace had a note that the revenues of the Amt of Kleeberg had been about 600 guilders[1], but the average annual revenues in money and kind in sixteen accounts between 1462 and 1500 were over 800 guilders[2]. The revenues from a quarter of the Amt of Guttenberg were 500 guilders in the Secreta Palatinatus[3], so that this is to be regarded as the amount of revenue lost when anotherquarter had been ceded to Alexander of Zweibrücken in 1507. The pawnings after 1504, excluding those in the Upper Palatinate, the feudal lordship of Zwingenberg, and Lauda (which the elector had not held for long), yielded about 130,000 guilders[4], which corresponds to revenues of 6,500 guilders. In this way, over 26,000 guilders of additional revenue from the Ämter under Philip have been accounted for, and to these should be added the unknown revenues from Weinsberg, Besigheim and the protectorate of the abbey of Maulbronn. It may also be expected that the revenues of some Ämter which the elector retained had suffered as a result of the war.

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1. HSA Munich, Fürstensachen 217II,218I
2. 811½ fl.; the average for seven years between 1482 and 1489 was 942 fl., but therevenues sank to 625 fl. in 1500; compiled from the account books in Dép. Strasbourg, C97.
3. About 498 fl., i.e. 290 fl., 67 pounds (Pfennig), 10 tuns of wine, 114 measures of rye and barley, and 56 measures of oats and spelt, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fo.26.
4. Estimated from App. III(2)

Appendix V

The Revenues from the Rhine Tolls.

No full accounts of the gross receipts at the electoral customs stations on the Rhine have survived from any year prior to 1539, when 6,053 fl. were collected at Bacharach, 9,202 fl. at Kaub, and 20,566 fl. at all six stations[1]. Earlier references are found, however, to the amounts paid to the holders of one Turnos of the revenues at Bacharach and Kaub. Since a certain number of Turnose, all of equal value, were collected at each station, it is possible to make an approximate estimate of the total revenues.

The Turnos of the fourteenth century had been a coin worth two silver pennies, or the twelfth part of a guilder. In 1358 the four Rhenish electors fixed the number of Turnose to be charged at the various customs posts on each Zollfuder. The Zollfuder was a unit devised to simplify the collection of the tolls. It was originally equivalent to 16 pounds (Heller) worth of wares, but later bore no relation to the value of the goods on which the tolls were levied. Varying quantities of each commodity were declared equivalent to one Zollfuder and a uniform rate was levied on the total number of Zollfuder carried by each ship. In 1358, the rate at Bacharach was 19 1/3 Turnose per Zollfuder, at Kaub 31½ Turnose[2]. By 1480, 2 guilders and 2 silver pennies were being collected at Bacharach; therefore the rate there during the fifteenth century may be taken as 25 Turnose[3]. The additional Turnose were the result of the practice of the emperors of the later fourteenth century to grant new Turnose. Kaub had 33½ Turnose in 1699, but there is no evidence to support the view that the

1. F.J. Mone, 'Zur Geschichte des pfälzischen Zollwesens, 1379-1539', Z.G.O., i, 1850, pp.176-7.
2. Codex diplomaticus Rheno-Mosellanus, iii, 1824, pp.636-8; Fliedner, Rheinzölle, pp.30,72.
3. The clerk of the customs at Bacharach to the elector, 23 Sep. 1480, GLA Karlsruhe, 77/7116, fos.369-71; Fliedner, op. cit., p.68.

two additional Turnose had been created by the fifteenth century[1]. In the following calculations, the number of Turnose has been taken as 25 at Bacharach and 31½ at Kaub.

According to the Secreta Palatinatus, for the years after 1509, the count of Westerburg was paid 184 fl. for his single Turnos at Kaub, and three parties received 366 fl. for a total of 2½ Turnose, equivalent to 146½ fl. per Turnos, at Bacharach[2]. It may therefore be presumed that the total revenues were approximately 5,796 fl. at Kaub and 3,680 fl. at Bacharach, or 9,476 fl. for the two places.

Kaub and Bacharach were the only customs stations of the Palatinate which levied dues on the heavy traffic travelling from the lower and middle Rhine via Mainz and the river Main to the Frankfurt Fairs and beyond, as well as in the opposite direction. The other five stations (Oppenheim, Mannheim, Germersheim, Sels and Neuenburg) took tolls only from the traffic of the Upper Rhine and Neckar[3]. This meant that the revenues of Bacharach and Kaub were greater than those of all the other stations combined. The share of Kaub and Bacharach was three quarters of the total revenues in 1539. This share may have been slightly less in the previous century, especially before the pawning of Neuenburg to Baden in 1504, but it could not have been much less in the years from 1510 to 1514, according to the Secreta Palatinatus. There, the revenues of the customs stations were included in those of the Ämter, which amounted to 10,792 fl. for Kaub and Bacharach and 7,108 fl. for the four other Ämter.[4] The revenues of the Ämter of Kaub and Bacharach, without the tolls, were, by calculation, approximately 1,316 fl., but Kaub was a small Amt and had almost no revenues besides the tolls. If the revenues of the

1. But cf. ibid.
2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fo.59.
3. Fliedner, op. cit., pp.1-2.
4. Appendix IV(3).

tolls at Kaub and Bacharach were three quarters of the revenues from all tolls, then the revenues of the four other stations were (by calculation) approximately 3,159 fl., out of a total of 7,108 fl. for the four Ämter in which they lay. Since the Ämter of Oppenheim and Germersheim were large and had considerable revenues from other sources, it is not very likely that the tolls of the four Ämter had revenues much higher than the estimate of 3,159 fl. The ratio of 3:4 between the revenues of Bacharach and Kaub on the one hand and the total customs revenues on the other is therefore taken as the basis for the following calculations.

The ratio between the revenues of Bacharach and those of Kaub was approximately 2:3 in the Secreta Palatinatus, as it was in 1539, in the fuller records of the second half of the sixteenth century, and probably ever since it was established in the treaty of 1358[1]. Since the receipts have survived for the amounts paid to the count palatine of Simmern in the years 1467-70, 1472, 1474-5 and 1480 for his single Turnos at Bacharach[2], it is possible to estimate, with the aid of the two ratios so far established, the total revenues for these eight years (all figures are in guilders):

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1. Fliedner, op. cit., pp.97,166.
2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/892, fos.38,158-9

	Bacharach 1 Turnos	Bacharach - 2: 25 Turnose	3 - Kaub	Kaub and - 3:4 - Bacharach	All stations
1467	153	3,825	5,237	9,062	12,083
1468	155½	3,887	5,831	9,718	12,955
1469	178	4,450	6,675	11,125	14,833
1470	194	4,850	7,275	12,125	16,157
1472	169	4,225	6,338	10,563	14,084
1474	84	2,100	3,150	5,250	7,000
1475	234	5,850	8,775	14,625	19,500
1480	133	2,325	4,988	8,313	11,184
average 1467-80	162½				13,475
average c. 1510-12		3,680	5,796	9,476	12,635

The annual revenues of all stations during the years 1467-80 may have been higher than these estimates by several thousand guilders, if the revenues of Kaub were slightly more than one and a half times those of Bacharach (as indeed they were in 1510-12 and 1539), or if the share of these two places in the total customs revenues was less than three quarters, or both. Furthermore, the electors had in the fifteenth century one Turnos on the tolls at Oberlahnstein, a station on the Rhine belonging to the see of Mainz. Thus the elector was paid 329½ fl. for his Turnos for the financial year 1464-5[1]. Against this item should be set the payments on the customs revenues which the electors had to make even before they paid interest on loans, money fiefs, or any of the ordinary expenses of government. At the time of the Secreta Palatinatus, as throughout the fifteenth century, the university of Heidelberg had one Turnos, the count palatine

1. K. Menzel, 'Eine Zollrechnung von Oberlahnstein (1464-65)', Monatsschrift fur die Geschichte Westdeutschlands, vi, 1880, pp.209-10.

of Simmern, as successor to the count of Sponheim, one Turnos, and the count of Nassau-Saarbrücken a half Turnos, as hereditary fiefs, all on the tolls at Bacharach[1]. At Kaub, the counts of Westerburg had one Turnos and, until 1504, the noble family of von Hirschorn a half Turnos as hereditary fiefs[2]. In the Secreta Palatinatus, the payments for the 3½ Turnose amounted to 550 fl.

In addition, an annuity of 655 fl., half of the annuity granted in 1410 to Otto of Mosbach on the tolls of Bacharach and Kaub, had been inherited by Louis of Zweibrücken, although he renounced half of it in 1461[3]. Frederick I redeemed 200 fl. of Frederick of Simmern's annuity of 655 fl. in 1461 and Philip a further 100 fl. in 1478[4], but these redemptions brought no relief from the payments which the electors had to make on the tolls, since they raised the money by loans at the same rate of interest[5].

During the fifteenth century, therefore, the electors were left with at least 1,500 fl. less than the gross receipts from the tolls. The estimate of average receipts of about 13,500 fl. from all the tolls for the years 1467-80 is thus unlikely to be much below the actual receipts and may even be too high.

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1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fo.5; Fliedner, op. cit., pp.114-5. The counts of Nassau-Saarbrücken had originally had an entire Turnos, but had pawned half of it, which Louis III bought in 1417, R. Pfalz. i, nos.3952,4223-4, pp.235,252; Appendix III, no.37. The counts continued to receive the other half as a fief, e.g. in 1477, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1007, fo.134.
2. Ibid., 907, fl.59;1008, fo.128; Fliedner, op. cit., pp.116-7.
3. Ibid., p.132.
4. Ibid., p.144.
5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/892, fos.28-34,79-81,162-3; 77/5934, fos.134,139-40.

Appendix VI.

The Loans of the Electors.

(1) Loans outstanding in 1508.

Loans totalling 260,603 guilders, or just over half of those not repaid by the end of the Elector Philip's reign, are listed below. The first column contains the date when the loan was taken up, the second the amount in guilders. The rate of interest was 5%, unless another figure appears in the third column. The creditors are classified in the next column: the names of nobles are given, but otherwise the name of a city or town by itself indicates a citizen or burgher there, and if it is preceded by the abbreviation 'eccl.', this means that the creditor is an ecclesiastical foundation or cleric there. The reference in the last column is to the folio number of GLA Karlsruhe, 77/5934, a seventeenth-century register of debts, unless another and fuller reference is given.

1400	1500	Ulr.Salzkorn	339	1425	1000	Mainz	154
1408	1200	eccl.Worms	228	1429	2000	Cologne	127
1410	320	eccl.Neustadt	313	1430	2000	Cologne	127
1414	4000	Kämmerer v.Dalberg	329	1436	800	Frankfurt	145
1414	450	Speyer	330	1442	7500	Sturmfeder	316
1414	1000	eccl.Speyer	333	1443	2000	Cologne	123
1418	600	eccl.Heidelberg	272	1443	2000	Cologne	126
1420	1040	Frankfurt	142	1443	2000	eccl.Cologne	127
1421	1000	v.Molsberg	155	1443	2000	Cologne	128

1443	2000	Cologne	129
1444	1000	Cologne	128
1444	2000	Cologne	133
1444	1000	Cologne	137
1445	500	Speyer	109
1445	10000	Rudolf v.Alben	110
1445	1000	Cologne	132
1445	200	Frankfurt	155
1445	320	eccl. Speyer	332
1446	500	burgher	11
1446	1000	Speyer	14
1446	1200	eccl.	67
1446	1000	eccl. Speyer	67
1446	4000	Cobgne	126
1446	2000	Frankfurt	148
1446	700	Speyer	273
1446	200	eccl. Speyer	332
1447	4000	Cologne	121
1447	150	eccl.Heidelberg	288
1447	460	eccl. Speyer	330
1447	300	eccl. Speyer	330
1447	260	eccl. Speyer	331
1448	800	Speyer	5
1448	1000	Frankfurt	149
1448	600	eccl. Speyer	330
1452	800	Speyer	14
1452	400	Frankfurt	144
1452	400	Frankfurt	146
1452	600	Frankfurt	149
1453	500	Cologne	138
1453	600	Frankfurt	144
1453	800	H.&B.v.Dalheim	210
1453	900	Sturmfeder	272
1454	250	Speyer	44
1455	1200	eccl.Cologne	1
1455	2000	eccl.Mainz	27
1455	1000	Heidelberg	33
1455	7000	v.Cronberg	75
1455	4000	city of Speyer	344;Y GLA 77/5933, 254
1455	300	Speyer	344
1456	500	Speyer	14
1456	2000	Cologne	120
1456	2400	Boos v.Waldeck	GLA67/825, 284-5
1456	3000	v.Löwenstein & Selten	ib.
1457	220	Speyer	14
1457	4000	burgher	147
1457	1600	Ulr.Steinhauser	329
1458	1000 pounds (Heller)	eccl.Speyer	91,345

1459	900		eccl.Speyer	242-3
1461	1000		Cologne	134
1461	2000		Cologne	139
1461	1000		Cologne	140
1464	500		Cologne	130
1464	2000		Cologne	132
1468	1600	4⅓	eccl.Worms	300
1468	500		eccl.Worms	112
(taken over from counts of Leiningen)				
1468	120	6⅔	eccl.Worms	321
(Leiningen)				
1469	2000		v.Meckenheim	291
1471	1200		Amberg	GLA67/814, 74-77
1472	600		burgher	300
1472	400		burgher	301
1473	5000		count of Hanau	154
1475	600		eccl.	337
1476	500		eccl.Neustadt	341
n.d.	1000		v.S.Michel (in Frederick I's reign)	150
1477	2000	5.1	B.v.Gemmingen	228
1478	1000		E.v.Rodenstein	100
1478	7500	4	H.Beger v.Geispolzheim	166
1478	10000	4	Straseburg nobles	170
1478	500		Strassburg	186
1479	1000		burgher	22
1479	1000		Speyer	245
1479	1000	5.2	v.Morschheim	266
1480	200	4	Strassburg	179
1480	800	4	eccl.Strass-burg	175
1480	800	4	eccl.Strass-burg	175
1480	2500	4	Strassburg noble	166
1480	600	4	Strassburg	168
1480	800	4	Strassburg	181
1480	5000	4	Strassburg	181
1480	4000	4	Strassburg	181
1480	1200	4	eccl.Hagenau	189
1481	1000		burgher	45,47
1481	600		eccl.	340
1482	1000		Cologne	133
1482	2000	4	Frankfurt	142
1482	2000		Ulner v. Diepurg	GHA Mun. Urk.2859
1483	1500	4	Strassburg	172
1483	500		Cologne	130
1483	500		Cologne	134
1483	250	4	burgher	183

1483	8000	4	city of Strassburg	184
1484	640		Cologne	126
1484	1000		Cologne	135
1485	500		Cologne	121
1485	1000		Cologne	122
1485	500		Cologne	123
1485	1000		Cologne	124
1485	1000		Cologne	125
1485	1000		Cologne	125
1485	1000		Cologne	129
1485	200		Cologne	131
1485	1000		Cologne	132
1485	280		v.Heppenheim	337
1486	700	4½	eccl.Neustadt	341
1487	1000		Cologne	119
1487	600		Cologne	120
1487	500		Cologne	122
1487	1000		Cologne	123
1487	1000		Cologne	125
1487	1000		Cologne	125
1487	1000		Cologne	131
1487	800		Cologne	132
1487	2000		Cologne	133
1487	600		Frankfurt	147
1487	1000	4	Strassburg	171
1488	500		v.Bühel	41
1488	4000		v.Bach	75
1488	1000		burgher	76
1488	1000		Cologne	119
1488	1000		Cologne	121
1488	560		Cologne	122
1488	1000		Cologne	128
1488	1000		bishop of Worms	151
1488	1000		Münch v.Rosenberg	271
1488	500		Speyer	14,290
1488	60		eccl.Neustadt	313
1489	400		eccl.Speyer	94
1489	600		eccl.Speyer	95
1489	1000	4	B.v.Uttenheim	173
1489	400		eccl.Speyer	332
1489	620		eccl.Neustadt	341
1490	200	4	eccl.Speyer	92
1490	2500	4	count of Tübingen	183
1490	1000		Cologne	129
1490	300	4	eccl.Speyer	243
1491	1000	4	burgher	5
1491	700	4	eccl.Strassburg	177
1492	250		burgher	92
1492	2000		Frankfurt	154
1492	400	4½	Strassburg	170

1492	300	4½	Z.v.Adelsheim	180
1492	1200	4½	Strassburg	184
1492	2000	5.1	G.v.Bach	274
1494	800		v.Ingeloch	55
1494	800		Frankfurt	143
1494	1100	455	Strassburg	GLA77/5933, 151
1494	600	4½	Strassburg	179
1494	600		v.Hembsbach	275
1494	310	4.85	eccl.	314
1496	320		v.Rammingen	45
1496	700	4	Frankfurt	144
1496	700	4	Frankfurt	145
1496	600	4	Frankfurt	145
1496	400		Frankfurt	146
1496	400	4	Frankfurt	148
1496	600	4	Frankfurt	149
1496	600		Frankfurt	149
1496	1200		Ulner v. Diepurg	GHA Mun. Urk.2859
1497	400		Zorn v.Bulach	178
1501	2000		I.v.Oberstein	57
1501	1000		Frankfurt	142
1501	1000	4	Frankfurt	145
1501	2000	4	Strassburg	172
1501	1250	4	Strassburg	180
1501	1400	4	eccl.Strassburg	182
1503	1112	4.48	Strassburg	165
1503	1200	4	Strassburg	175
1503	1200	4	eccl.Strassburg	176
1503	600	4½	eccl.Hagenau	189
1505	1100		Cologne	126
1505	1000		Cologne	137
1505	360		Cologne	137
1505	2200		Cologne	137
1505	2131	4	eccl.Cologne	309
1505	620		eccl.Neustadt	341
1505	1000		city of Heilbronn	U.B. Heilbronn iii,no.2020
1506	1000		Cologne	119
1506	1000		Cologne	120
1506	500		Cologne	127
1506	500		eccl.Cologne	129
1506	500		eccl.Cologne	129
1506	500		Cologne	131
1507	1000		Cologne	133
1507	1500		Fuchs v.Bornheim	GLA 43/Spec. 264,3
n.d., but under the Elector Philip				
	1000		v.Stettenberg	GLA 67/825, 244V
	1300		eccl.Speyer	281
	1000		Speyer	296

(2) Table showing the proportion of the recorded loans outstanding in 1508 which had been taken up from each class of creditor.

	ecclesiastical foundations and clergy	city councils and their citizens	nobles	nobles of the Palatinate
Neustadt	2,820			
Worms	3,420			
Frankfurt		18,440		
Speyer	8,890	12,020		
Cologne	3,331	68,960		
Strassburg	3,700	30,662	20,000	
others	7,060	14,200		
total 260,603	29,221	144,282	20,000	67,100
100%	11.1 %	55.4 %	7.8 %	25.7 %

(3) The nobility as creditors of the electors.

The most significant circumstance revealed by table (2) is that one quarter of the elector's debts in 1508 were apparently owed to his own nobles. This contrasts with the categorical statement by Gothein, based on his impressions of the same seventeenth-century registers as were used in compiling the table, that Frederick I and Philip were 'completely dependent' on foreign loans[1]. Moreover, a further 8 % of the loans had been made by nobles of Strassburg; the proportion was similar in 1479, when Philip owed 36,000 guilders to Strassburg nobles[2]. There are also good reasons for assuming that, both in 1508 and throughout the later fifteenth century, the nobles of the Palatinate

1. Gothein, p.23.

2. Dép. Strasbourg, C93, no.3.

actually contributed as much as one third of the loans contracted by the electors. The evidence which exists about the debts in 1508 is only of hereditary annuities which were still outstanding in the seventeenth century, or half of the total debts in 1508. Now the Secreta Palatinatus stated that 8,736 fl. in interest was being paid at Frankfurt, Cologne and Strassburg early in Louis V's reign[1]. Table (1) gives information about loans from the citizens and ecclesiastical foundations of these three cities and from the nobles of Strassburg, on which interest of about 6,711 fl., or over three quarters of the amount in the Secreta Palatinatus, was being paid. The conclusion to be drawn is that a much larger proportion than one quarter of the debts of 1508 about which nothing is known were owing to the nobility of the Palatinate and were redeemed during the course of the sixteenth century. The explanation lies not only in a probable reluctance of the nobility to leave money invested in annuities for several generations, nor in their favourable position for influencing the electors to redeem the loans. Many of the nobility did not accept hereditary annuities in the fifteenth century, but made temporary loans at the same rates of interest, which were either for a limited period of one or more years or could be recalled on several months notice at the end of any year. The registers of the electors are full of references to such short-term loans from the nobles[2], which greatly exceeded those from the towns and monasteries

1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, between fos.54 and 55.

2. E.g., ibid., 920, fos.26-28,32V; Bibl. Heidelberg, Pal. Germ. 158, fos.45-50; GHA Munich, Urk.2792,2829,2834-5; Z.G.O., xxii, 1869, p.405; R.Katz., ii, no.4723.

of the Palatinate and the free imperial cities[1]. In the first half of his reign, for instance, Frederick I received short-term loans amounting to 11,500 fl. from various members of the Venningen family; other nobles of the Palatinate stood guarantor for both capital and interest[2].

Of even greater significance than the amount of the loans advanced by the nobles was the readiness especially of the electors' officials to lend on short notice in an emergency, when it would have taken too long to raise money in distant imperial cities. Frederick I acknowledged in 1463 that he had been saved from considerable damage by the loan of 3,000 fl. for four years by his Hofmeister. Another Hofmeister lent 2,000 fl. for 'as long as he was able' in 1482[3]. In 1495 the Elector Philip borrowed 11,704 fl. from his Hofmeister, Hermann Boos von Waldeck, in addition to a previous loan of 10,000 fl., and promised to repay in two instalments over a period of nine months; the entire amount had already been laid out by the Hofmeister on various expenses of government[4]. The knight Hans von Sickingen similarly lent the elector 10,533⅓ fl. for three weeks in September 1501[5]. Such loans helped to tide the electors over the times in the year when their revenues were not coming in steadily, or until they could obtain more permanent loans elsewhere. The smooth working of the financial administration therefore depended to some extent on the liquid funds which the electors could obtain from their leading officials and nobles.

1. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 43/Spec.,Konv.215, no.12;67/814, fo.165; 816, fo.218V;818, fo.225; R.Friedrich, pp.354-5,477.
2. Bibl. Heidelberg, Pal. Germ.158, fos.23-45.
3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fos.34-35;816, fo.211.
4. Ibid., 43/Gen., Konv.26, no.2a.
5. GHA Munich, Urk.2837.

Appendix VII

The Precious Metal Content of the Coinage of the Electors Palatine, c.1410-1509.

The standard weight used in the mints was the Cologne Mark, which was equivalent to 283·855 grammes.

1 Cologne Mark : 12 Pfennige : 16 Lot : 24 carats : 288 grains.

The works used in compiling the tables are abbreviated as follows:

B : Buchenau, Untersuchungen zu den spätmittelalterlichen Münzreihen von Pfalz, Mainz, Elsass, Hessen.

D : Diepenbach, 'Der rheinische Münzverein', Festschrift...Eckert.

J : P. Joseph, 'Goldmünzen des xiv. und xv. Jahrhunderts', Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst, N.F. viii, 1882, pp.1-232.

W : Würdtwein, Diplomataria Maguntina, ii.

(1) Gold guilders.

year of treaty	gold content of 1 Cologne Mark of the alloy, in carats	number of guilders minted from 1 Cologne Mark of the alloy	gold content of each guilder (1444:100)	reference
1417	22	66	117	J 132
1425,1437, 1444	19	66·67	100	W 279ff.,297ff.; B 87,164
1454,1459	19	68	98	W 318-9;D 108
1464	19	68'67	97.1	GLA67/813,107-11; W 168;B108
1477	18.67	69·33	94·46	(secret clause) W 380; D111
1488	18.5	70	92.51	W 391 ff.; B 120; D 112
1490,1503	18.5	71.33	90	W 411 ff.,452ff.; B 122; D 113

(2) Silver Weisspfennige or Albus.

year of treaty	number of Albus to 1 guilder	silver content of the alloy	number of Albus minted from 1 Cologne Mark of the alloy	silver content of each Albus (1444:100)	reference
1417	21	75 %	106	118.8	J 134
1420,1425	21	66.67%	104	107.7	W 262ff.;279ff.
1437,1444, 1454	24	66.67%	112	100	W 297ff.;D108; B 87,97,164
1455,1464	24	62.5 %	113	92.6	W 319 ff.; B 100,108
1477	24	58.3 %	113	86.67	W 409
1488	24	58.3 %	114	85.1	ib.
1509	26	52 %	118	77.12	GLA77/4846,88; B 124; D 114

(3) Silver Pfennige (B 127; also W 274 ff.).

year of treaty	number of Pfennige to 1 guilder	silver content of the alloy	number of Pfennige minted from 1 Lot of the alloy	silver content of each Pfennig (1459:100)	actual silver content of surviving Pfennige	
					grammes	1459:100
1424	150	50 %	38	138.2		
1459	192	33.33%	34	100	0.1428	100
1461,1464, 1477	192	41.6 %	44	96.6	0.1382	96.33
1488	208	between 40.97 & 41.6 %	between 48 and 49	between 86.73 and 89.49	below 0.1266	below 88.65
1509	208	40.2 %	50	82.17	0.1175	82.35

(4) Silver Heller (B 128; W 262 ff.).

year of treaty	number of Heller to 1 guilder	silver content of the alloy	number of Heller minted from 1 Lot of the alloy	silver content of each Heller (1454:100)	actual silver content of surviving Heller	
					grammes	1454:100
1417	252	37·5 %	50	104		
1420	252	37·5 %	52	100		
1437,1454	288	37·5 %	52	100	0·1057	100
1455,1464, 1477	288	33·33%	52	88·88	0·093906	88·85
1488	288	33·33%	59	78·34	0·0825	78·05
1502	312	33·33%	59	78·34	0·0825	78·05
1509	312	33·33%	62	74·55	0·0786	74·34

(5) Comparative decline in gold and silver content of all coins.

year	gold guilder	silver Weisspfennig	silver Pfennig	silver Heller
1417	117·3	118·8		104
1420		107·7		100
1424			138·2	
1437	100	100		100
1444	100	100		
1454	98	100		100
1455		92·6		88·85
1459			100	
1464	97·1	92·6	96·6	
1477	94·46	86·67	96·6	
1488	92·51	85·1	89·49	78·05
1490	90			
1502-3	90		between 86·73 and 89·49	
1509		77·12	82·17	74·34

(6) The cost of minting.

In the sixteenth century, the electors palatine were to have difficulty in covering their costs, especially for the minting of smaller coins, which could only be minted at a loss and were therefore debased; at the same time, the better quality coins of higher value were reminted into worse, in order to secure an overall profit on the minting[1]. The electors had succumbed to the methods of the pirate mints, which had been largely responsible for preventing the creation of a stable currency in the fifteenth century; the debasing of the electoral coins and the exchanges of new for old coinage between 1459 and 1464 foreshadowed this development. As in Baden[2], the profits of normal minting in the Palatinate scarcely covered the costs already in the fifteenth century. The elector received about 1 % of all new coins: in 1464, the amount was 8 Pfennige for each Cologne Mark of 704 Pfennige and 1 Weisspfennig for every Mark of 113 Weisspfennige minted[3]; the rate on gold coinage was fixed in 1488 at ½ guilder for each Mark of 70 guilders[4]; but later this was halved to ¼ guilder and the rate on silver coinage doubled to 2 Weisspfennige, an indication of the greater expense of minting the smaller coins[5]. The latter rate presumably

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1. Dr. Gebhart, 'Kurpfälzer Münzwesen im 16. Jahrhundert', Korrespondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine, lxxvi, 1928, p.26.
2. F. Wielandt, 'Die Anfänge des landesherrlichen Münzwesens der Markgrafen von Baden', Z.G.O., N.F.lviii, 1949, p.103.
3. Würdtwein, Diplomataria Maguntina, ii.341 et seq.; Buchenau, Münzreihen, p.108.
4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/957, fo.3.
5. n.d., ibid., fo.49.

applied in the first years of the sixteenth century, from when records have survived of tests made of the quality of the coins. Such tests took place twice annually at meetings of counsellors of all four Rhenish electors. At the test made in the spring of 1503, the mint of the Palatinate had produced 7 Mark of gold and 939 Mark of silver coins since the last test, so that the elector received about 74 guilders; in the spring of 1504 the sum was about 14 guilders and in the summer of 1505 about 99 guilders, making an average of 62 guilders for the three tests. The minting of the other electors was less affected by the Bavarian Succession War, but the average receipts of the archbishops of Cologne, Mainz and Trier for the three tests were no more than 200, 87½ and 81 guilders, respectively[1]. Each prince had also to pay a Münzmeister, who was in charge of the minting processes, and a Wardein who tested the weight of the coins, as well as other staff at the mint. The Elector Philip's Münzmeister received an annual salary of 80 guilders and 40 guilders for provisions, his Wardein 40 guilders[2]. In contrast, the mints which put out debased coinage brought their owners far larger returns, the count palatine of Zweibrücken receiving 1,278½ guilders during the year 1464 to 1465[3].

The only type of minting from which the electors palatine had hopes of good returns was the coining of gold guilders for the Frankfurt Faire,

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1. Compiled from ibid., fos.71-79, and 77/4846 (2 May 1503).

2. Ibid., 67/818, fos.287-8;957, fo.49.

3. F. Exter, Versuch einer Sammlung von Pfälzischen Medaillen... und...Müntzen, ii, Zweibrücken, 1775, pp.72-73.

but in 1428 and 1463 the city of Frankfurt refused permission for the electors to set up a mint at Sachsenhausen, which was part of the city, but on the southern or opposite bank of the river Main; the reason given was that only the Emperor could mint in Frankfurt[1]. Frederick I did obtain the permission of ex-Archbishop Diether to mint in his city of Höchst, near Frankfurt, in 1474[2], but in 1488 the electors of Mainz and the Palatinate were reduced to ordering their officials to mint in a ship on the river Main at the time of the Frankfurt Fair[3]. After the Bavarian Succession War, the Elector Philip regarded the exercise of his electoral right to produce coinage of the high official standard as a burden which he could not afford, for he refused to mint in 1505 and succeeding years, despite the sharp reprimands of the other Rhenish electors, and the Palatinate did not resume these minting operations until 1510[4].

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1. Joseph, 'Goldmünzen des xiv. und xv. Jahrhunderts', Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst, N.F.viii, 1882, pp.170-1, 201-2; Buchenau, op. cit., p.105; Diepenbach, 'Rheinische Münzverein', Festschrift...Christian Eckert, p.109.

2. R.Friedrich, p.493; Diepenbach. loc. cit., p.111.

3. Würdtwein, op. cit.ii.410.

4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/957, fos.83-84,94-95,97,103-4,110-1,123-4,164.

Appendix VIII

The Household Officials

The underlined dates are the first and last occasions for which there is evidence that an official held his post. In the case of the Hofrichter, however, all the recorded periods during which each judge presided in the supreme court are indicated. References are not normally given, except for the careers of the Rentmeister.

(1) Chancellor.

Contemporary observers several times gave the name 'chancellor' to the protonotaries of the Palatinate in the first half of the fifteenth century[1], but the electors before Frederick I never used it. The nobles said in 1435 that Louis III's seals were in the custody of his 'chancellor'[2], but the elector called this official merely the 'keeper of his seal' in 1436[3]. Meister Andreas Pellendorfer was similarly called Louis IV's chancellor by the counsellors of Duke Otto of Mosbach in 1448[4], but was referred to as 'the late protonotary' by Frederick I in 1452[5].

1450, 2.IX. - 1456, 11.II. Johann Seiler, called GULDENKOPF

A former professor of law who had several times been rector of the university of Heidelberg and who, while chancellor, helped Frederick I to reform the university; died before 9.II.1457.

1457, 26.X. - 1478, 1.VIII. Matthias RAMUNG

Licentiate in canon law of the university of Heidelberg, entered Frederick I's service in 1450; bishop of Speyer, 1464-78; died in office[6].

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1. E.g., 1433, Ritter, p.307 n.1; 1438, StA Frankfurt, Reichssachen 3685; 1446, U.B....Hunolstein, ii.443.
2. Pfälzisches U.B.x.340R.
3. Windecke's Denkwürdigkeiten, p.430.
4. GHA Munich, Akten 1318 II, fo.86.
5. GSA Munich, Rot 26 b.11.
6. M. Buchner, 'Die Stellung des kurpfälzischen Kanzlers und Speierer Bischofs Mathias Ramung (†1478) zum geistigen Leben seiner Zeit', Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher, xvi, 1910, pp.84-85

1478, 26.VIII. - 148-, I. Thomas DORNBERG von Memmingen

Doctor of law and former professor and rector of Heidelberg university; vice-chancellor, 1477, 13.XI. - 1478, 16.VII; continued in the elector's service until at least 1494.

1481-97, 1503 Johann Kämmerer von DALBERG

Humanist, studied law at the universities of Erfurt and Pavia, rector of Pavia at the age of nineteen, 1474; chancellor of Heidelberg university, 1480; bishop of Worms, 1482-1503[1]. Chancellor, 148±, I. - 1497, IV., when he had already resigned, apparently after quarrelling with the elector; 1503, again in office briefly, died 27 July.

1497, 6.V. - 1502, 18.IV. Jacob KUHORN

Doctor of laws, in 1495 in the following of the German Master of the Teutonic Order (GSA Munich, Schwarz 420l, no.306 m.).

(1503), 1505, 7.VI. - 1538 Florenz von VENNINGEN

Doctor of laws, had studied in Italy, an advocate at the imperial Kammergericht until the elector appointed him as professor in civil law at Heidelberg university and a judge in the supreme court from 1500 onwards; yet remained a syndic of the free city of Speyer even while vice-chancellor of the Palatinate (1502, 17.II.).

1503, 28.VIII. - 1504, 2.II., administrator of the office of chancellor.

(vice-chancellor) 1505, 24.II. - 1507, 29.I. Sigmund HESS

A scribe in the chancery, 1492-1503; secretary, 1503.

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1. Hornewег, Dalberg, pp.22,24,30-31, 230-1, 239,321.

(2) Haushofmeister.

1447-52 Heinrich von Massenbach, called Talacker
1453 Hans Wamold
1457-60 Eberhard von Gemmingen
1463 Michael Mosbach
1464-8 Ruprecht von Erligheim
1470-1 Wendel von Remchingen
1472-82 Eberhard von Gemmingen
1483-7 Hans von Venningen zu Zutzenhausen
1488-9 Hans von Emmershofen
1491-2 Ruprecht von Erligheim
1497 Philipp von Gemmingen
1500 Philipp von Bettendorff
1503-6 Jacob Brantner

(3) Hofmeister.

1. Frederick I

1448-54 Peter von Dalheim
1455 Diether von Venningen
1456-63 Diether von Sickingen
1463-7,8.I. the knight Götz von Adelsheim
1467, X. Blicker Landschad von Steinach
1467, 25.XI. - 1469 Götz von Adelsheim
1470-2 Diether von Sickingen
1473, III. - 1474, II. Blicker Landschad von Steinach
1474, 19.XI. - 1475 Diether von Handschuhsheim
1476 Ludwig von Sickingen

2. Philip

1450-9	Wiprecht von Helmstädt
1463-5	the knight Swicker von Sickingen
1467, I. - VI.	Diether von Handschuhsheim
1467, IX.	Mercke von Halfingen
1474-84, 1.I.	Blicker Landschad von Steinach
1484, IX. - 1488	the knight Götz von Adelsheim
1489-93, 3.VI.	Jacob von Fleckenstein
1493, XI. - 1501, VII.	Hermann Boos von Waldeck
1501, XI. - 1505, II.	Swicker von Sickingen
1505, 7.V.	Philipp Forstmeister von Gelnhausen, vice hoffmeister (GLA67/823,44)
1505, 23.V. - 1507, XII.	Johann von Morsheim

(4) Hofrichter.

Bishop Reinhard von Sickingen of Worms, 1465.
Hans von Gemmingen zu Guttenberg, 1468-80, with brief interruptions.
Jost von Gemmingen, former German Master, occasionally, e.g. 1468, VIII. - IX.; 1473, ±3.XI.
Wendel von Remchingen, 1468, two occasions
Diether von Sickingen, 1469, II., III. and VI.
Diether von Handschuhsheim, 1477, once; 1479, once; 148±, once.
Count Bernard of Leiningen, 1482, twice; 1483, once; 1486, once.
Count Craft of Hohenlohe, 1484, once
Count Bernard of Eberstein the younger, 1487, 11.XI., appointed Hofrichter, and several times again until 1493
Philipp Forstmeister von Gelnhausen, 1500, III.; 1501, VIII.
Johann von Hattstein, Comtur of the Order of St. John; 1503, twice.

(5) Kammermeister.

1450-82 Wendel von Gemmingen
1492-9 Eberhard von Gemmingen (probably since 1482)
1499-1500 Orendel von Gemmingen
1502-6 Philipp von Gemmingen

(6) Marshal.

1. Frederick I.

1450-1 Ulrich von Rosenberg
1452 Diether von Venningen
1454 Diether von Andelach
1458 Götz von Adelsheim
1459 Wolf Kämmerer von Dalberg
1460-1 Albrecht von Berwangen
1462-4 Bernhart von Bach
1467-9 Diether von Wiler
1471-3 Thuring von Eptingen
1473-5 the knight Engelhart von Heipperg

2. Philip.

1474-82 Erkinger von Rodenstein
1484-1500 Hans von Dratt
1501-5 Philipp von Cronberg
1505-18 Hans Fuchs von Bornheim (served Louis V after Philip's death)

(7) Rentmeister.

1464, 27.XI. - 1472, 21.V. Michael Mosbach von Lindenfels (GLA67/813,106V; R.Friedrich,477)
Rat since 1443 (UB Heilbronn.ii,no.599,p.304; R.Baden,iii, no.6891, pp.212-3)
Haushofmeister, 1463
Administrator for Frederick I's sons, 1467 (GLA67/812,135).
7.VIII.1480, reinstated in his property, previously confiscated. (GLA67/829,165-7)

1474, 27.II. Heinrich Martin (GHA Munich, Akten 959)
Burgher of Bretten, graduate of Erfurt university, also matriculated at Heidelberg, 1458 (Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg, i.293).
1471, 28.VIII., deputy Rentmeister (Chroniken der deutschen Städte, Nürnberg, iv.324).
Suspected of abusing his office by Frederick I and only able to prove his innocence to Philip in 1490, having meanwhile become imperial fiscal (GLA67/818,81-83).

1494 Balthasar vom Wiler
Matriculated at Heidelberg, 1452; notary, 1463; secretary, 1465-83.
Amtmann at Neuleiningen, 1487-93 (GLA67/820,255-6;829,364-5; Pfälzer Urk.vii.2010).
Before 2.III.1494, committed suicide after he had been imprisoned for his defalcations as Rentmeister and had confessed (GLA67/818,214-5;824,101-3).

1499, 27.VII. - 1501, 5.I. Philipp Forstmeister von Gelnhausen (GLA67/818,405-6;77/8769,380-1).
Rechenmeister, 1478-82, and earlier.
Vogt at Heidelberg, 1483-92.
Hofrichter, 1500-1.
1501, accused of have overpaid his own salary as Rentmeister.

(1499) - 1502 Hans Meyenfisch

Formerly cellarer at Lindenfels and then clerk of the Amt of Heidelberg until at least 1498 (GLA67/1662,340; Sillib, 'Stift Neuburg', N.A.G.S.H.,vi,1905,pp.19-20)
1499-1500, audited accounts of the Amt of Kleeberg, probably as Rentmeister (Dép. Strasbourg, C97).
By 17.XI.1502 had died in office as Rentmeister (GLA67/819,123).

1506-7, 11.VIII. Balthassar Imhoff (GLA77/3006, Bacharach; U.B. Heilbronn, iii, no.2020).
Zinsmeister of Alsace, 1496-1505 (Becker, p.255).

(8) Vogt at Heidelberg.

1437-51	Eberhard von Sickingen
1452, I. - VII.	Conrad von Helmstädt
1453, II.	Eberhard von Sickingen
1453, VII. - 1455	Diether von Venningen
1458-60	Engelhard von Neipperg
1462-82	the knight Symon von Balshofen
1483-92	Philipp Forstmeister von Gelnhausen
1493-8	Ymeas von Oberstein
1504-6	Zeisolf von Adelsheim

Appendix IX

The Supreme Court and the Reception of Roman Law

In the last decade of the fifteenth century, the procedure of the supreme court came increasingly under the direct influence of the forms of Roman law, in the same way as the procedure of the Bavarian supreme court had been gradually but completely Romanized by the sixteenth century[1]. The use of testimonials, instead of hearing witnesses in court, corresponded indeed to the German, not the Roman or canon law of evidence[2], but the German advocates (Fürsprecher), who could only speak in court in the presence of their clients, were being supplemented and partly replaced by the Roman attorneys (procuratores), who could represent the parties in all respects[3]. New regulations for the supreme court in 1480 governed the forms for giving powers of attorney; further instructions on the employment of procuratores were issued in 1492 and 1497[4]. Moreover the Elector Philip's first alteration to the supreme court ordinance forbade appeals from the intermediate rulings of lower courts[5], and it was only Roman law, as developed in Italy, not German law or even canon law, which prohibited appeals against interlocuta[6].

1. Rosenthal, Verwaltungsorganisation Baierns, i.129.
2. Bader, 'Schiedsidee', Zeitschrift für Schweizerisches Recht, N.F.liv, 1935, p.123; Schiedsverfahren, p.51.
3. Ibid., p.46.
4. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fos.105,107,111,113; Scherl, 'Habburg', V.H.O.P., xcvi, 1955, p.240.
5. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fo.104; Scherl, loc.cit.,p.239.
6. Rosenthal, op.cit.i.13 n.2; H.Krause, Kaiserrecht und Rezeption, Heidelberg, 1952, p.86.

The supplications to the chancery, which had become frequent by the turn of the century, also had their origins in Roman law[1]. An oath of calumnia had according to Roman law to be made by plaintiffs[2]; the elector's council introduced it for the supreme court in 1498, when both parties were obliged to swear that they were acting in good faith and would tell the truth; a similar oath was imposed for the curatores ad litem of minors[3].

The Reception of Roman forms of procedure is relatively easy to establish, but the extent to which the substantive Roman law was received in the German principalities before the sixteenth century is a matter of some dispute and difficult to gauge. Investigation into the early stages of the Reception is handicapped by the small number of surviving decisions of the new territorial courts. Even these have not yet been thoroughly explored, and indeed they yield less information than might be hoped, since the details of the pleadings of the parties are given, but not the reasons behind the judicial verdicts, which were not revealed to the litigants. Furthermore, the references to written or imperial law (Kaiserrecht) in the pleadings before the courts and in the legislation and other documents of the rulers were still ambiguous. They might mean the Golden Bull and other legislation of the Holy Roman emperors or the older

1. A. Stölzel, Die Entwicklung der gelehrten Rechtsprechung, ii, Berlin, 1910, p.143; see chapter 6 (iii).
2. Krause, op. cit., p.118.
3. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fos.108-9.

codifications of German law like the Schwabenspiegel. There were many other meanings according to context, although during the fifteenth century that of Roman law was becoming more common, until in the imperial legislation at the end of the century, Kaiserrecht was equated with Roman law[1].

Stölzel's view of the Reception of the substantive Roman law was that it gained ground during the fifteenth century, before the later codifications and through the influence of the lawyers employed in the judicial service of the princes, whether in the supreme courts or in the more informal chancery courts[2]. On the other hand, von Below suggested that academic knowledge of Roman law long preceded its practical application in Germany, which had to wait for the reorganisation of the imperial Kammergericht in 1495 and the imperial legislation of the next century[3]. More recently, Bader has argued cogently that the introduction of the Roman-canonical arbitration procedure from the thirteenth century onwards paved the way for the gradual Reception of the substantive Roman law; familiarity with the canon law grew with the appearance of ecclesasitcal causes before the arbitration courts and in turn furthered the introduction of parts of the substantive Roman law as a preliminary to the

1. Krause, op. cit., pp.25-26,70,76-77,84,86,116,146, and passim.
2. Stölzel, op. cit.ii.36; Entwicklung des gelehrten Richterthums, i.240 et seq.
3. G. von Below, Die Ursachen der Rezeption des römischen Rechts in Deutschland, Munich and Berlin, 1905, pp.46,117-9.

later 'official' Reception[1]. The whole problem deserves separate attention on a wider plane, but the evidence available for the Palatinate indicates that Stölzel's and Bader's interpretations may be reconciled. Both the Romanizing procedure of the supreme court and the trained lawyers, who appeared before it, sat on its bench and were otherwise active in the electors's service, contributed to the increasing currency of the principles of Roman law.

Advocates and attorneys appearing before the supreme court used Latin technical terms, which were culled from the codes and which most often related to procedure in court and the forms of wills[2], but the codes were also occasionally quoted on material questions in the law of inheritance[3] and the law of debt[4]. The chancery as well as the university was familiar with Roman law. Frederick I's own library contained two copies of the Institutes and several guides to Roman law[5], and Philip made efforts after 1497 to intensify the participation of the civil law professors in the work of the supreme court[6]. Yet knowledge of Roman law and the use of

1. Bader, Schiedsverfahren, p.60; 'Schiedsidee', loc. cit., pp.105,115.
2. HSA Munich, Oberpf. Arch.100, fo.95, in the margin; GLA Karlsruhe, 67/953, fos.30-31,37,68V,69V,97-99.
3. Ibid., fo.207
4. Ibid., 824, fos.321-2,324-6.
5. Kattermann, 'Büchervermächtniss...des...Friedrich I.', Z.G.O., N.F.1, 1936, pp.51-52,54-55.
6. Chapter 6(iii).

phrases derived from it are no more than circumstantial evidence that the principles referred to had been 'received', for such quotations may have been inessential to the pleadings or irrelevant to the decisions of the courts; they may even have been used to describe the local customs of the land[1]. Similar in nature was the explanation given by Frederick I and the archbishop of Mainz in 1456 that 'the laws give to understand' that each lord and judge has an exclusive sphere of jurisdiction[2]; the princes found in the law books the justification for their policies, but the inspiration was their own.

The Reception of the substantive law can be demonstrated fully only in the fields of the law of inheritance and of the family. Because of the connexion with wills, this Reception probably came at least partly through the medium of canon law. The Arrogation, which marked a turning-point in the history of the electoral house, was so unusual an occurrence that the idea as well as the name for this type of adoption may have been taken from Roman law. When Frederick I's counsellors advised in 1467 that the elector was obliged by 'imperial law' to give some of his possessions to his natural sons[3], they may well have been referring to Roman law. Documents confirming the renunciation of rights of inheritance often mentioned specific remedies of Roman law[4]. On consenting in 1467 to the Arrogation and to Frederick I's remaining elector for life,

1. von Below, op. cit., p.118
2. Kremer, iii, no.46, pp.127-8
3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.132
4. Krause, op. cit., p.129.

Duke Philip renounced in particular the remedy restitutio in integrum[1]. Magdalena von Erbach received a settlement from her brother in 1489 and renounced her inheritance from her parents in the presence of the elector and his chancellor, the Hofmeister, three doctors of law and other counsellors; the privilege senatus consultum vellegianum was explained to her as having been granted by Hadrian and other emperors for the benefit of women[2]. From 1483 onwards this privilege was waived by several women who renounced their inheritances[3].

In 1484 the elector enacted that in all his lands children were in future to inherit from their intestate grandparents (or aunts and uncles) whatever either of their deceased parents would have inherited[4]. Philip was adopting the ius representationis of the Corpus Iuris, for on this point the Sachsenspiegel and Schwabenspiegel did not allow children to inherit in place of their deceased mothers[5]. The elector declared that on his accession he had found flaws in the law of inheritance[6]. Already in 1469 two litigants had relied on local customs in different parts of the Palatinate, according to which the immediate heirs had to be alive at the death of the person who left the inheritance, whereas their opponents claimed that the 'written and

1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.101V.
2. Ibid., 820, fos.195-7.
3. Ibid., fos.384-5; 824, fo.131; GHA Munich, Akten 959 (27 July 1489 and 12 Sep. 1498).
4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/1662, fos.401-2; see chapter 6(ix).
5. Krause, op. cit., pp.86,118.
6. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/821, fos.114-5.

imperial laws' gave rights to the grandchildren; in one case the elector's counsellors mediated a compromise, but in the other the supreme court had to decide against the grandchildren[1]. The local laws again prevailed against Roman law by a majority decision of the supreme court in a case on appeal in 1473, although the court had specially sought the advice of Frederick I, his chancellor, another professor of law in addition to the one sitting in the court, and another legal adviser of the elector besides the three on the bench[2]. Thus when Philip came to make the ius representationis the law for his principality, the electors had had similar experiences to Count Ulrich of Württemberg, who promulgated the ius representationis in 1477, after numerous cases had been brought before him on the basis of local customs, although his learned counsellors advised that both natural law and 'written law' gave grandchildren the same rights of inheritance as their deceased parents would have had[3]. An important principle of substantive Roman law had been introduced in two principalities as the result of the interaction of the advice of trained lawyers in the service of the rulers with the practice of the new supreme courts, in which other lawyers were advancing on behalf of their clients arguments which showed how much more equitable Roman law could be than the prevailing local customs.

1. Ibid., 951, fos.203,242-4.
2. Ibid., 952, fos.3-5; another such case, 1477, ibid., 953, fos.5-6,117.
3. C.F. Sattler, Geschichte des Herzogthums Würtenberg unter der Regierung der Graven, iii, Tübingen, 1777, Beylagen, no.71; von Stälin, Wirtembergische Geschichte, iii.729.

Appendix X

The Chancery

(1) The Building.

Frederick I was probably the first elector palatine to house the chancery and a meeting room for his counsellors in one building. From the fourteenth century onwards the chancery had been in the lower of the two castles of Heidelberg[1]. In the first half of the fifteenth century, however, the electors' counsellors seem to have met in the house of the Augustinians in the town: the committee of four nobles transacted daily business there in 1435, and the house was still in use when Frederick I held his feudal court there in 1454[2]. Three years later the elector bought from the faculty of arts a house near the university, which he used as a chancery[3], until it was razed by fire in 1462, with the loss of many documents and registers[4]. The first stone was laid in 1463 for a new chancery on the Burgweg, the road leading up to the castle. In the following years Frederick acquired two additional pieces of land to accommodate this magnificent new chancery[5]. The view that the chancery remained in the castle and only the supreme court occupied the new house is unfounded[6]. A room in the chancery was henceforward used for meetings of the electors' counsellors,

1. Vogelgesang, p.25.
2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/865, fo.121;876, fo.163.
3. Ibid., 812, fos.75-76; K.Friedrich, pp.270-1.
4. 21 Aug., Trithemius, Annales Hirsaugiensis, ii.455; Kemnat, p.47.
5. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.66;813, fos.29-30.
6. Cf. Vogelgesang, p.26, who advances no evidence.

for instance when Duke Philip refused to marry the heiress to the county of Katzenelnbogen[1].

The chancery was not the only repository of the electors' archives. In 1436 several documents and registers were being kept at Germersheim and Amberg[2]. As late as Philip's reign, some documents were in the elector's Kammer in the castle at Heidelberg, notably those relating to his wife's affairs[3]. Nor was the chancery as an organ of government rooted in Heidelberg. Just before his death, Philip offered to meet the count palatine of Zweibrücken at Germersheim or wherever he happened to have his chancery[4]. In the wars of the previous fifty years, the personnel of the chancery had often accompanied the electors on their campaigns[5]; this was atleast partly because it was the duty of the chancery to record the date on which mercenaries entered the electors' active service, for the purpose of reckoning pay[6].

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1. 1467, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fos.224-5; Kremer, 1.405.
2. Windecke's Denkwürdigkeiten, p.432.
3. 3 Jan. 1487, GHA Munich, Akten 959.
4. Pfalzisches U.B.xv.258.
5. E.g., 1471, Beheim, p.230; 1486, Hertzog, Edelsasser Cronick, ii.131; 1504, 'Reissbuch', Z.G.O., xxvi, 1874, pp.210,240.
6. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.51;816, fos.51,117.

(2) Lists of the Officials.

The particulars concerning their university careers refer to the university of Heidelberg and are to be found in Töpke, Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg. References have normally been omitted, since otherwise the lists would have been grossly encumbered with them. It should however be noted that, as in the case of the household officials, the careers of only a small proportion of the chancery officials were dealt with fully by Vogelgesang. The dates are the first and the last occasion on which the officials can be proved to have been in office.

1. Protonotary.

1412-34	Johannes von Weinheim notary, 1397 (R.Pfalz, i, no.5698, p.345)
1422-6	Peter Otto, professor of law
1433-5	Ludwig von Ast, doctor of laws
1442-8	meister Andreas Pellendorfer
1452-71	Heinrich Jeger, died before 15.X.1471
1471-1505	Alexander Pellendorfer matriculated, 1450; scribe, 1455-71

2. Secretary.

1455-71	Alexander Pellendorfer
1459-65	Johannes von Ramung, scribe, 1453-9; specialized in hearing accounts, 1453-65

1461-2 meister Jeronimus Kunlin, licentiate in decretals

1465-83 Balthasar von Wiler
matriculated, 1452; notary, 1463

1468-70 Bernhard Prüwis
matriculated, 1442; doctor of laws, 1465

1473-5 Andreas Fauler

1485-1502 meister Paulus Baumann
matriculated, 1456; scribe of the supreme court, 1478-83

1501-2 meister Hans Mangolt
matriculated, 1483; licentiate in laws, 1507; notary, 1496; entered elector's service, 1498

1503-5 Sigmund Hess
scribe, 1492-1503; vice-chancellor, 1505-7

1504-8 Johann Gulmann
matriculated, 1484; scribe, 1486-1503; Registrator, 1492-1503; secretary still under Louis V

3. Scribe

1453-9 Johannes von Hamung (scribe hearing the accounts)
secretary, 1459-65

1469-86 Niclaus Witterstadt (Rechenschreiber)
possibly matriculated, 1450 (Matrikel, i.264); 1469, described as a former notary

1474-1500 Peter Krebs of Alzey (Rechenschreiber, 1492-1500)
matriculated, 1457; B.A., 1460

1478-83 meister Paulus Baumann (scribe of the supreme court) matriculated, 1456; secretary, 1485-1502

1478-92 Johannes Hommer (Registrator, 1478)

1478-84 Johannes Rockenhausen

1485-6 Johannes Senger von Weyle

1486-1503 Johann Culmann (Registrator, 1492-1503) matriculated, 1484; secretary, 1504 ff.

1486-1503 Heinrich Grüninger (Kammerschreiber, 1490-1503) became Louis V's Rechenmeister

1492-1503 Sigmund Hess secretary, 1503-5; vice-chancellor, 1505-7

1494 Paul Pistor, cleric

1499-1530 Franz Heyles (Rechenschreiber, 1502-30) matriculated, 1485; B.A., 1490

1500 Johann Goldschmidt

1503 Philipp Undenheimer

(3) The Training and Remuneration of the Officials.

The protonotaries of the first half of the fifteenth century were without superior in the chancery and had high legal qualifications which their successors lacked. Even so, of the two protonotaries who spanned the years from 1452 to 1505, the second had been to Heidelberg university. More remarkable was the extent of university education among the lower chancery officials. The names of ten secretaries between 1455 and 1505 are recorded; four of them reached the degree of magister or even doctor of law, three others

had been to the university of Heidelberg, and two of these seven had engaged in the exacting and important legal profession of notary before entering the chancery. Of the ten scribes known to have served for more than a very brief period in the years 1453 to 1508, three had graduated at least as bachelors of arts at Heidelberg, another had matriculated there, and a fifth had been a notary and possibly attended the university. So close was the association of the scribes, secretaries and protonotaries with the university that the elector's ordinance of 1472, which regulated church processions in Heidelberg, prescribed that they should walk with their 'fellows' (genossen), the magistri and more senior members of the university[1]. At least two of Philip's chancery officials were clerics for whom the elector procured benefices[2].

As was to be expected, senior appointments in the chancery were usually made from within its ranks. Four of the secretaries had served their apprenticeship as scribes and the protonotary Alexander Pellendorfer had been secretary for sixteen years before being promoted; he went on to complete fifty years of service in the chancery. By contrast, Sigmund Hess began as a scribe and reached the post of vice-chancellor in a short career of fifteen years.

The rewards of work in the chancery were commensurate

1. M.G.H., xxii, 1921, p.166.
2. Lossen, 'Pfälzische Patronatspfründen', Freiburger Diöcesan-Archiv, N.F.xi, 1910, pp.201,209,247.

with its responsibilities. Early in Louis V's reign, the protonotary and the chief secretary received 25 guilders annually for their maintenance and the four other leading chancery officials an average of 25 guilders as both wage and maintenance[1]. The senior among them probably shared the chancery fees, as did the secretary and scribe in the Upper Palatinate in 1474[2]. Those who served long and well were fully rewarded by the electors with grants of houses or land[3] and with numerous small fiefs, especially castle fiefs[4] and mining fiefs[5]. Tax exemptions for their houses were so frequent that Frederick I thought it necessary to reassure the city council of Heidelberg in 1465 that he would exempt only chancery officials of the rank of secretary or above from the excise[6].

The career of the protonotary Alexander Pellendorfer illustrates how the leading chancery officials could acquire wealth and status through service. Pellendorfer had a good start as the son of Louis IV's protonotary and the son-in-law of a clerk of the Amt of Heidelberg. He was at the battle

1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/907, fo.86
2. GHA Munich, Akten 959, after the appointment of Duke Philip's marshal, 1 Jan. 1474.
3. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.61.
4. E.g., ibid., 816, fo.257;1006, fos.359,370;1007, fos.87, 409; 1911, fos.149,290-1.
5. Silberschmidt, Regelung des pfälzischen Bergwesens, pp.29, 37,40,50,54.
6. Oberrheinische Stadtrechte, i.493; they were also exempted from Reisegeld and other dues on their houses at Heidelberg, e.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.43;813, fo.232.

of Pfeddersheim with a following of six horsemen and gradually acquired several castle fiefs, four mining fiefs, two houses at Heidelberg, a small castle with an agricultural estate at Belheim, and other property in the Amt of Heidelberg. He married his eldest son to the heiress of a noble family of the Palatinate, but then in his declining years turned to the forgery of an imperial privilege of King Rupert in an attempt to secure the rights of an old landed family in respect of his property at Belheim[1].

1. L. von Oberndorff, 'Eine gefälschte Urkunde König Ruprechts über Güter zu Belheim', M.H.V.P., xxxix/xlii, 1919/22, pp.250-3.

Appendix XI

The Rewards of the Officials

The favours granted to the leading officials was nothing short of lavish. Many of them, especially the marshal, were given the military command of one of the elector's castles, together with a handsome salary. These posts often passed from one former household official to another. The former marshal, Albrecht von Berwangen, received the command of the castle of Rotenberg for life in 1463[1]. Frederick I later granted his chancellor half of Rotenberg for his life in lieu of a salary of 200 guilders as counsellor and retainer[2]. The command of the castle and hamlet of Hörlenbach was granted for life with a salary to the steward of the household in 1470[3], and under similar conditions to two successive Burggrafen at Starkenburg in the next reign[4].

All the higher officials benefited substantially from grants of mining concessions by both electors[5]. The concession of hunting rights by the electors was a greatly coveted favour among the noble officials[6]. Other gifts were of fiefs[7], tax exemptions[8], the elector's protection[9], or

1. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fo.34
2. Ibid., 814, fos.132-3; Buchner, 'Mathias Ramung', Z.G.O., N.F.xxiv, 1909, p.289.
3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fo.81.
4. Ibid., 816, fos.104-5,116; other examples, ibid., 813, fos.4-6; 816, fos.9,150-1;818, fos.92-95; Lehmann, Burgen, ii.331-2,344.
5. E.g., Silbersehmidt, Regelung des pfälzischen Bergwesens, pp.29,34,37,40,50.
6. E.g., GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fo.43.
7. E.g., ibid., 813, fo.69;816, fo.342
8. E.g., ibid., 812, fos.25-26.
9. E.g., ibid., 813, fos.32-33,64-65.

loans, outright grants of money, and pensions[1]. The Hofmeister and chancellor also had the opportunity of receiving gifts from the electors' neighbours[2].

The electors' houses in the town of Heidelberg passed in and out of the hands of successive officials of all ranks. Thus the house in the Heugasse, opposite the old chancery and next to the bishop of Speyer's house, had belonged to the elector's former Hofmeister in 1457 and then to Frederick's brother, Rupert, before Frederick gave it to his mistress, Clara Tott, in 1468[3]. However, the elector recovered it before his death[4] and Philip gave it in 1478 to his vice-chancellor, who returned it in 1482 for the use of his successor as chancellor, the bishop of Worms[5]. Both electors encouraged the chancellor and other officials to have houses on the Burgweg near the new chancery[6], and gave some officials houses elsewhere in the town for their services[7].

1. E.g., ibid., fo.59;816, fo.96;818, fos.426-8.
2. E.g., U.B. Heilbronn, ii, nos.1135,1522, pp.102,434.
3. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.217; R.Friedrich, pp.270-1.
4. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.266V.
5. Korneweg, Dalberg, pp.56,60,63-64,83.
6. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/812, fo.113;813, fos.213-4;816, fo.27.
7. E.g., ibid., 812, fo.37V;814, fo.237V.

Appendix XII

The Appointment of Counsellors.

The chronicler Beheim claimed that Frederick I had over 100 counsellors, including both nobles and legal advisers; of these he named the count palatine of Simmern, five bishops, the German Master, eleven counts, and ten of the rank of lord[1]. However, of those appointed as counsellors, not all were consulted regularly. Typical appointments of counsellors who were in constant attendance at Heidelberg were those of Ludwig von Sickingen in 1475 and Johann Reuchlin in 1497. Sickingen became a counsellor, retainer and member of the household (Hofgesind) for life; the elector could use him on all affairs; he was to pay attention to every petition which the elector received in his presence and to advise Frederick of anything to his disadvantage which he heard; he might accept only small gifts without the elector's consent; he would be kept at court with four horses and receive 170 guilders annually during his service and thereafter a pension of 50 guilders; and he swore to serve Frederick loyally and never to reveal his secrets[2]. Reuchlin's appointment was very similar, but he had additional duties as chief tutor of Philip's children; he was also to have his expenses paid if he went on diplomatic missions; any disagreements with the elector were to be settled by the Hofmeister, the marshal and a third

1. Beheim, pp.55-57.
2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/814, fos.94,242-3.

counsellor; Reuchlin was not to enter into any obligations with other princes while in Philip's service; and in addition to his salary he received the standard set of clothes (Hofkleid) worn by other doctores in the household[1].

The duties of a counsellor were regarded as formalized already in an appointment of 1464[2], and members of the household were specially appointed from at least 1449[3]. Some counsellors, unlike Reuchlin, were allowed to serve other lords at the same time as the elector: after 1459, the lawyer Martin Mair was in the service of both Bavarian dukes while remaining a counsellor of the Palatinate, Württemberg and Bohemia[4]. Noble counsellors were sometimes permitted to serve other princes only with the elector's consent[5], but they might be exempted from advising him against their own feudal lords or the lords whom they served as retainers[6].

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1. F. Schmidt, Geschichte der Erziehung der Pfälzischen Wittelsbacher von den frühesten Zeiten bis 1750, Berlin, 1899, pp.5-6.
2. GLA Karlsruhe, 67/813, fo.71.
3. Pfälzisches U.B. xi.77.
4. Riezler, Geschichte Baierns, iii.393; another example, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/816, fos.273-4.
5. Ibid., 814, fo.81.
6. Ibid., fo.89;816, fo.195.

Appendix XIII.

The Organization of the Army.

The conquests of Frederick 'the Victorious' owed much to the detailed organization of the military establishment. Cavalry forces were made available at the right moment by means of years of hard political and administrative work in appointing retainers and concluding military alliances[1]. Not least of the reasons for Frederick's victories was the regular payment of his mercenaries[2]. The right of the electors to call their subjects to the colours was transformed into the conscription of picked infantry levies paid for by the contributions of those excused from service[3]. These levies were frequently mustered, even when there was no threat of war, by Amtleute touring their provinces[4]. The clothing, arming and command of the levies were regulated to the last detail[5]. Ordinances were on occasion sent to all Ämter prescribing how arms and transport were to be kept ready for an emergency[6]. The Amtleute were probably often enjoined to be aware of the military potential under their command; thus in a report on Philip's right to present to benefices, the Amtmann at Hohengeroldseck noted that one priest was an expert shot and could be used

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1. Chapter 5(ii)(b); Kremer, i.549-53.

2. H. Farnbacher, 'Das kurpfälzische Heerwesen im 15., 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', M.G.B., xi, 1909, p.32.

3. Chapter 3(ii).

4. Bezzel, Geschichte des kurpfälzischen Heeres, pp.9,13.

5. Würdinger, Kriegsgeschichte, ii.305-6.

6. E.g., Pfälzer Urk.vii, no.2002.

to defend the castle[1]. Military contributions from the monasteries, mainly carts, were insisted on[2]. Noble captains of artillery were appointed on several occasions in peacetime to inspect the cannon in all the elector's castles and to send inventories to the chancery[3]. Both electors were fortunate in having Martin Merz in their service from at least 1460 until the end of the century. Merz was the most famous German expert on artillery, both in theory and in practice[4]. His inventive genius produced a more efficient form of gun-carriage and introduced not only matchlock and pan for the portable firearms of Frederick I's army, but fixed sights to replace the hitherto unaided aiming. So much more effective did these improvements make the arquebusiers that they were able to act for the first time and to good effect as an independent force on the field at Seckenheim[5].

Once war was in the offing, all the preparations were intensified. The most experienced soldiers were formed into a special committee presided over by the commander-in-chief[6]. A complete survey was again made of the available resources and instructions then issued for the arming,

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1. Lossen, 'Pfälzische Patronatspfründen', Freiburger Diöcesan-Archiv, N.F.xi, 1910, pp.218-9; 'Pfälzische Einigungspolitik', Festgabe...Finke, p.280.

2. Chapter 5(i)(b).

3. E.g., 1471 and 1480; Z.G.O., xviii, 1865, p.56; 1498, GLA Karlsruhe, 67/818, fo.379.

4. Würdinger, op. cit.ii.15,82,95-96,344.

5. Ibid.ii.398; Farmbacher, loc. cit., p.32; Bezzel, op. cit., p.12.

6. Chapter 6(iv).

provisioning and mustering of both infantry and cavalry. The fruit of this work can be seen in the comprehensive muster-book produced in the chancery during 1503 and 1504. Five noble commanders under the commander-in-chief were appointed separately in charge of supplies, transport, artillery, arquebusiers and infantry[1]. The whole muster showed that the elector placed equal emphasis on logistics as on tactics. Although he was defeated in the war, his preparations enabled him to save Heidelberg and the heart of the Palatinate from otherwise certain destruction. A similar ramified military organization had already provided the basis for Frederick's spectacular victories. This is evident from the accounts of how his army was organized in sieges, the rapid and successful conclusion of which formed so essential a part of his campaigns. Beheim described the elector's camp at Wachenheim in 1471 as typical of all his sieges[2]. Indeed, the strict discipline, the holding of an open market in the camp, and the marshalling of the transport train of the besieging army down to the last detail[3] were foreshadowed in Louis IV's preparations to throw back the Armagnacs in 1444[4] and in Frederick's own earlier siege of Lützelstein in 1452[5]. The military historian of the Palatinate has shown that Frederick's military greatness lay less in the development of new methods than in

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1. 'Reisebuch', Z.G.O., xxvi, 1874, p.156.

2. Beheim, pp.227-30.

3. Bezzel, op. cit., p.13.

4. Deutsche Reichstagsakten. Ältere Reihe, xvii.539.

5. Kremer, i.48,559-60.

the mastery of existing ones. A capacity for organization enabled him to put large and well-trained forces into the field with great speed, and therefore to use the element of surprise to bring about the victories of Pfeddersheim and Beckenheim[1].

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1. Beszel, op. cit., p.7.

Appendix XIV.

The Population of the Palatinate.

The population of the town of Heidelberg has been estimated from the tax list of 1439 at about 5,000[1]. Heidelberg was approximately the same size as the free cities of Worms, Speyer and Mainz, whereas Frankfurt had nearly 10,000 inhabitants, Strassburg 20,000, and Nuremberg over 20,000[2]. The Amt of Heidelberg contained two other towns and fifty-eight villages with a population of some 21,000[3]. Any estimate of the population of the entire Palatinate in the fifteenth century can only be approximate. In 1503 nearly 16,000 men capable of bearing arms were entered in the muster-book for the whole country, excluding Alsace[4]. This was a partial levy, however, and the towns contributed only a small quota; the town of Heidelberg supplied 250 men and the Amt of Heidelberg, which bore a heavier burden than most other Ämter, sent but 2,663 of its 21,000 inhabitants. Therefore the principality had a population of well over 100,000, and perhaps nearly 200,000. This compares with the 300,000 inhabitants at the end of the eighteenth century, when the electors had lost both territories and subjects through repeated French invasions[5].

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1. Christ, 'Steuerwesen', N.A.G.S.H., iii, 1898, pp.219-64; F. Eulenberg, 'Zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte und Vermögensstatistik des 15. Jahrhunderts', Zeitschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, iii, 1895, pp.434,455 n.49.
2. Boos, Geschichte der rheinischen Städtekultur, iii, 1899, pp.42-43.
3. Christ, 'Registrum exaccionis', N.A.G.S.H., v, 1903, pp.1-66; Eulenberg, loc. cit., pp.434-8,465.
4. 'Reissbuch', Z.G.O., xxvi, 1874, pp.160-71.
5. Trautz, Die Pfalz, p.25.

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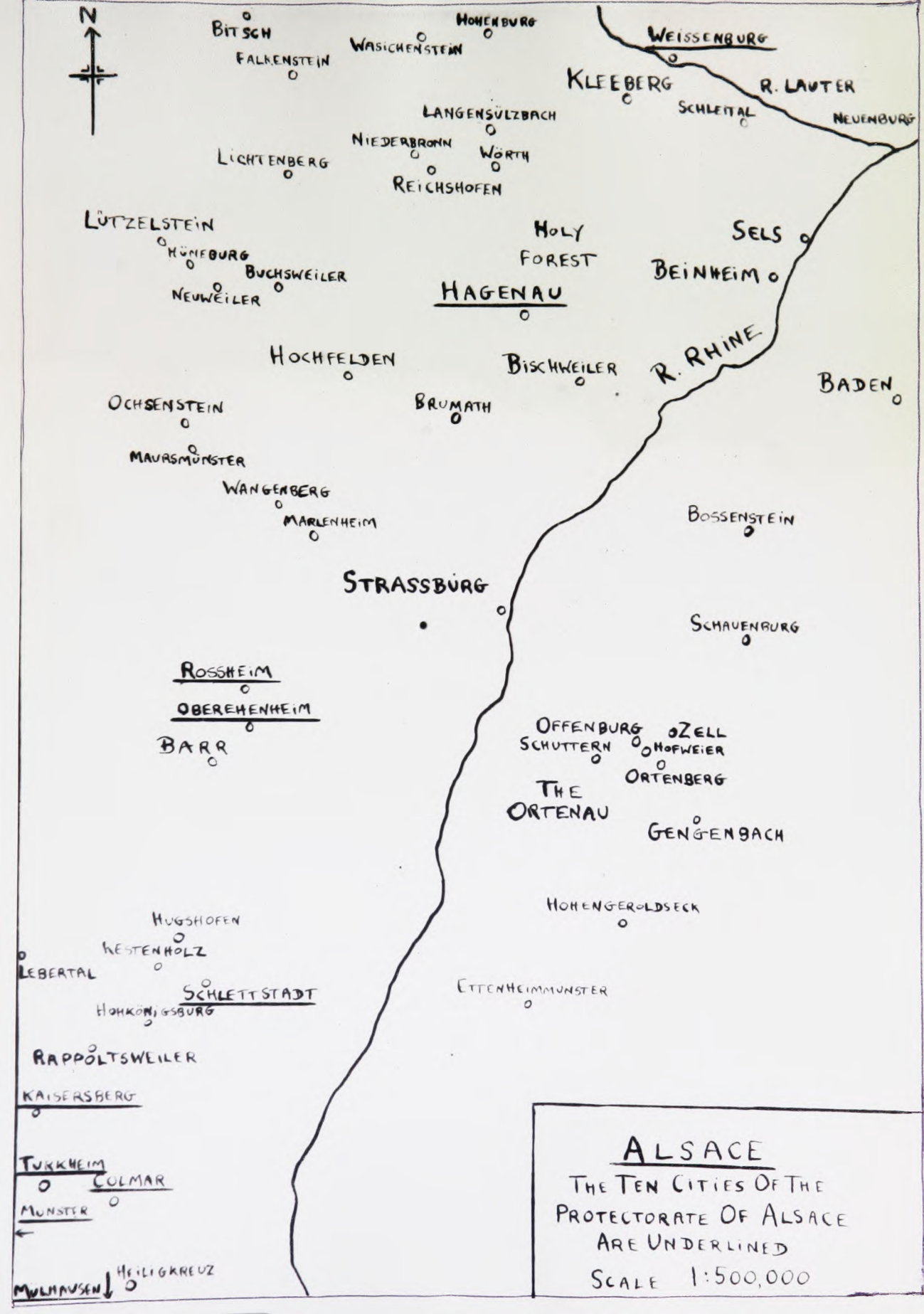
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KATZENELNBOGEN
R. MOSEL
BOPPARD
ST. GOAR
KAUB
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KIRCHBERG
SARGEN
KÜTTERBACH
GEMÜND
R. RHINE
BINGEN
STROMBERG
WÖLLSTEIN
MÜNSTER
INGELHEIM
MAINZ
SCHWABENHEIM
WINTERNHEIM
NIEDEROLM
R. MAIN
HÖCHST
FRANKFURT
HANAU
FRIEDBERG
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BOCKENHEIM
MONZINGEN
R. NAHE
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EBERNBURG
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SCHWABSBURG
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OPPENHEIM
DARMSTADT
UMSTADT
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OBERINGS
ALZEY
MÜNSTERAPFEL
MEISENHEIM
R. ALSENZ
KIRCHHEIMBOLANDEN
OSTHOFEN
GUNSHEIM
RUPPRECHTSECK
PFEDDERSHEIM
WORMS
KIRSCHHOFEN
ROCKENHAUSEN
IMSWEILER
LICHTENBERG
KUSEL
NEUWOLFSTEIN
GRÜNSTADT
DIRMSTEIN
NEULEININGEN
ALTLEININGEN
FRANKENTHAL
TRIESHEIM
RITSCHEIM
LAMBSHEIM
MANNHEIM
ABERSHEIM
UNSTEIN
PFEFFINGEN
DURCKHEIM
FRIESENHEIM
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LANDSTUHL
WACHENHEIM
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IGELHEIM
NEUSTADT
A.D. HAARDT
HOMBURG
ZWEIBRÜCKEN
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PIRMASENS
SPEYER
GERMERSHEIM
MEISTERSEL
SCHARFENECK
ANNWEILER
LANDAU
GRÄFENTAL
MADENBURG
LANDECK
BERGZABERN
KLINGENMÜNSTER
SCHLETTENBACH
GÜTTENBERG
RHEINZABERN
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BITSCH
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HANDSCHUHSHEIM
ZIEGELHAUSEN
EBERBACH
R. NECKAR
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DILSBERG
NECKARGEMÜND
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WIESLOCH
ROTENBERG
MALSCH
SINSHEIM
MOSBACH
ASBACH
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WIMPFEN
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KOCHERSTETTEN
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