

## Reinhard of Reims: Prague Merchant and Exile in the Shadow of the Hussite Revolution\*

Ondřej Vodička\*\*

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This study follows the life of the merchant Reinhard of Reims, who moved to Prague in the 1390s and amassed significant property and a fair amount of political power due to his business activities. When the Hussite Revolution began, however, he had to leave Prague, and all his assets remaining in Bohemia were confiscated due to his political and religious beliefs. Like many other Prague merchants, he found a new home in Wrocław, Silesia, a major hub for international trade. Reinhard continued to conduct his trade from exile in Wrocław, taking part in the retrieval of valuables from abandoned Czech monasteries and other activities of exiles from Bohemia. After a peace was reached and Emperor Sigismund took the Czech throne, Reinhard achieved the restitution of some of his confiscated property.

Keywords: Late Middle Ages. Hussite Revolution. Exile. Commerce. Prague. Wrocław.

As the chronicler writes, *anno Domini M° CCCXCII° fuit diluvium Prage in vigilia sancti Nicolai*.<sup>1</sup> A number of other events both remarkable and unremarkable certainly also took place in the Czech capital that year, of course. Written records on the vast majority of those events, if they ever existed, have long since disappeared into the mists of time. Preserved city records do tell us, however, that in the second half of July in that same year borough rights to the Old City of Prague were extended to the protagonist of this story.<sup>2</sup> His name was Reinhard and he was a merchant from Reims in the Champagne region of France. He had probably come to Prague somewhat (or perhaps much) earlier, perhaps as the agent for some trading company (possibly a family business), and settled down. If not for the Hussite Revolution, he may well have spent the rest of his life there. This study traces his life story, as he is the best attested exiled burgher from Hussite Bohemia.

Reinhard was not a typical Catholic emigrant from Bohemia, however, as his impressive fortune (although we can only roughly estimate its worth today) far exceeded the burgher property usual for the time. If the exiles had been an organized group and elected a representative, it is quite probable that Reinhard's candidacy would have found broad support among the other exiles. Most of the other exiles belonged more to the middle class, lost (almost) all of their possessions when they left their

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\*\* Mgr. Ondřej Vodička, Ph.D., The Masaryk Institute and Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Department for the Cataloguing and Study of Manuscripts, Prague, Czech Republic; [vodicka@mua.cas.cz](mailto:vodicka@mua.cas.cz); ORCID iD: 0000-0002-8940-0953

1 ČERNÁ – ČORNEJ – KLOSOVÁ, *Staré letopisy české*, 12.

2 The conferring of borough rights took place between 17 and 27 July 1392, cf. PÁTKOVÁ – SMOLOVÁ – POŘÍZKA, *Liber Vetustissimus*, 332.

homes and had to build their living from scratch in exile (which is also why there are very few records of them). For this reason, most exiles moved only to Catholic towns inside Bohemia and Moravia, most often to Jihlava. Reinhard, on the other hand, was one of the few lucky ones who took into exile or owned considerable wealth abroad and therefore headed for important business centres outside Bohemia. His fate is therefore quite unique and it is not possible to create a deeper characterization of the phenomenon of the Catholic exile from Hussite cities on the basis of this knowledge. This text is therefore a material study, expanding the hitherto quite sketchy source base for future research into this phenomenon of the Hussite wars.<sup>3</sup>

Due to the close connections with the family from Mühlhausen (am Neckar), older literature sometimes identified Reinhard with Reinhard of Mühlhausen. It was not entirely unusual for one person to use more than one name at that time (although the city councils tried to prevent it), but as Martin Musílek definitively showed using primary sources, this identification is not justified.<sup>4</sup> Reinhard probably had good contacts in Prague even before 1392, perhaps in relation to his commercial activities. When he received borough rights, his sponsor was Rudolf of Mühlhausen, a wealthy Prague merchant who owned house number 549/1 on Old Town Square as well as a number of annuities in the greater Prague area.<sup>5</sup> Later, Reinhard became Rudolf's son-in-law after marrying his daughter Markéta.<sup>6</sup>

What could have brought Reinhard to Prague? As we will see below, his motives appear to have been driven by business opportunities. Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV helped build systematic long-distance trade in Prague in 1354 when he confirmed the privilege granted to Prague by his grandfather Henry VII. This exempted Prague merchants from customs fees throughout the empire. Other privileges and prerogatives granted during his reign made it easier for them to gain business contacts in Poland and Hungary as well as passage through Hungary to Venice, the centre for distributing luxury goods from the East. Venetian merchants also wanted to buy gold and silver exported from Bohemia, as Prague was a major Central European hub for trade in

3 A deeper analysis of the phenomenon of Catholic exile in the form of a monograph will be the main output of the above-mentioned project (see the first footnote) and is tentatively planned for 2024. The work on the project is currently in the phase of collecting material and its partial evaluation. In the past, this topic has been treated only superficially or fragmentarily in historiography and there is no dedicated monograph, because collecting the source material scattered in many foreign archives is much easier today than in the past thanks to digital technologies. Selected from the literature: TOMEK, *Dějepis města Prahy IV*. KLIER, *Nürnberg und Kuttenberg*. HOFFMANN, *Jihlava v husitské revoluci*. MEZNÍK, *Venkovské statky*. MEZNÍK, *Praha před husitskou revolucí*. MUSÍLEK, *Formy komunikace*. ČAPSKÝ, *K postavení Vratislavi*. KRZENCK, *Mähren als Exilland*. I have already outlined the preliminary results of a study of the diaspora of exiles from Hussite cities in VODIČKA, "Und ap es geschege". However, the results of this study will have to be corrected or completely rewritten in many respects in the planned monograph.

4 Reinhard of Mühlhausen was a Prague burgher by 1380, cf. MUSÍLEK, *Patroni, klienti, příbuzní*, 235. Prague had more than one burgher at that time using the surname of Mühlhausen (Reinhard, Rudolf and Konrad), although Musílek states they were not related, *ibid.*, 239.

5 MUSÍLEK, *Patroni, klienti, příbuzní*, 239. The family of Mühlhausen am Neckar, *ibid.*, 232–237. Cf. MUSÍLEK, *Hus a pražští konšelé*, 295.

6 An entry in the Wrocław administrative records for 1429 indicates that he was married to one of Rudolf's daughters, cf. Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu (hereinafter APW), Akta miasta Wrocławia (hereinafter AMW), sign. 663 (Libri excessum et signaturarum 1428–1429), fol. 487v–488v, pag. 64–66, here fol. 487v, pag. 64: "am teile des Reynhards von Rems von seiner elichen husfrauen und irer gewisterde wegen, nemelichen Maternus und Nicolaus gebrudern, Agnes, Katherina und Hedwiga, alle gewisterde und etwenn Rudolphi von Molhausen, dem Got gnade, alle eliche kynder, der grossen stat von Prage." A supplication from 1418 states that his wife was named Markéta, cf. ERŠIL, *Acta Martini V.*, pp. 74–75, no. 165.

precious metals at that time. At least, that is the conclusion reached by some authors based on the three to four city officials overseeing adherence to trade regulations for gold and silver in Prague.<sup>7</sup>

As to Reinhard's occupation, we only know generally that he was a merchant and to some extent a financier (as was common for merchants). It is not entirely clear, however, which aspect of his business (if any) took greater precedence. He appears to have done trade in all the usual goods, especially cloth, wine and precious metals. Indirect evidence from 1407 indicates that Reinhard was part of a trading company with other Prague merchants (Hanuš Ottlinger, Petr of Meziříčí, Mikuláš Puschwicz, Mikuláš Hochhut and Mikuláš of Aachen): Hanuš Sachs paid them almost 230 threescores of groschen.<sup>8</sup> Reinhard also did business on his own, as evidenced by the deed of privilege and safe conduct granted by the Austrian Duke Arnost when visiting Prague in the fall of 1412. This deed guaranteed Reinhard and his servants protection, freedom of movement, accommodation and trade in goods (only wine is mentioned specifically) throughout the Duchy of Austria.<sup>9</sup> Another surviving record from 1418 shows that Reinhard was working with Prague merchants Antonín of Munheim and Matyáš of Aachen to recover a debt they all had against a certain Mikuláš *Genersichgern* of Olomouc. According to the Old Town Council, they were all to split any payments made in proportion to the debt owed them.<sup>10</sup>

Reinhard used the profits from trading to buy property and annuities in and around Prague. The first record of ownership of a house dates from 1400, when Reinhard and Mikuláš of Žatec confiscated house number 702 on Masná street from Petr *Roy*n in payment of debt. They appear to have sold it immediately, however.<sup>11</sup> In 1407 Reinhard received an annuity of five threescores from Uršula Mikulášova from Prague on a house on Celetná street.<sup>12</sup> He also held house number 930c on Old Town Square for some time – certainly in the years 1405–1413, but probably for even longer, possibly until the revolution began.<sup>13</sup> In 1413 he bought a vineyard called Plesenstein at Bruska (now part of Hradčany) for 130 threescores of groschen from Reinhard the younger (III) of Mülhausen.<sup>14</sup> In January of 1416 he purchased an annuity of 25 threescores of groschen on property in Sluštice from Reinhard of Sluštice for a purchase price of 200 threescores.<sup>15</sup> His most significant acquisition, and probably also his primary residence, was the house called U Slona (*Ad elephantem*, today U Zlatého slona, number 609, 610/I) where the street Dlouhá třída meets Old Town Square. Previous owners of this prestigious home include Prague burgher František Rokycanský. Sometime between 1403 and 1405 this house passed from Pertold of Mülhausen to Reinhard

7 DVOŘÁK, *Císař Karel IV. a pražský zahraniční obchod 1*, 7–15, 22. DVOŘÁK, *Císař Karel IV. a pražský zahraniční obchod 2*, 38. On the attempt to entice Venetian merchants to trade with Bruges through Prague cf. *ibid.*, 34.

8 TEIGE, *Základy starého místopisu*, p. 344, no. 930c. Comp. DVOŘÁK, *Císař Karel IV. a pražský zahraniční obchod 1*, 61.

9 HLAVÁČEK, *Drobné příspěvky*, 73–75. Edition *ibid.*, 76–77.

10 TEIGE, *Základy starého místopisu*, p. 345, no. 930c.

11 TOMEK, *Základy starého místopisu III, IV, V*, p. 231, no. 702.

12 MENDL, *Z hospodářských dějin*, 282.

13 TOMEK, *Základy starého místopisu I*, p. 19, no. 930c.

14 TOMEK, *Základy starého místopisu III, IV, V*, p. 170, no. 33b (Na Letném – Vinice).

15 EMLER, *Reliquiae tabularum*, 125. Miloš Dvořák is of the opinion that Reinhard of Reims held a lien over the entire Sluštice property, cf. DVOŘÁK, *Císař Karel IV. a pražský zahraniční obchod 1*, 75.

of Reims by some unknown means. Since no record of the sale exists, it is possible that Reinhard may have acquired it in some other manner. Given his family connections to the Mühlhausen family, it seems quite likely that he acquired it through his previously mentioned marriage to Markéta of Mühlhausen.<sup>16</sup> Reinhard is recorded as the owner of this house in 1405, 1406 and 1413, but he most likely held it until the Hussite Revolution began.<sup>17</sup> Like other wealthy Prague burghers, Reinhard also had a country estate. Sometime in the early fifteenth century, apparently between 1409 and 1416, he received the village and fortress of Roztoky from Reinhard II of Mühlhausen. The *terminus ante quem* relates to a ruling by the Old Town Council in a dispute led (and later won) by Reinhard of Reims in the spring of 1416 against the Břevnov Monastery, former owner of Roztoky, over the meadow between the fortress and the Vltava River.<sup>18</sup>

Reinhard built on his financial success with a rise in political influence as well. In the early fifteenth century he was a member of the city council in 1402, 1405, 1407 and 1413.<sup>19</sup> Reinhard's first engagement on the city council is of particular note. The council was appointed under the influence of Sigismund of Luxembourg, administrator of the Kingdom of Bohemia while Wenceslas IV was imprisoned in Vienna. Reinhard took advantage of the peculiar political situation, which worked in his favour and allowed *homines novi* to rise to power due to their wealth and connections. It should also be noted that Reinhard retained at least part of his influence, as he was appointed to the council again even after 1408; that year is generally considered a turning point in city council appointments after which preference was given to Czech candidates.<sup>20</sup> His political engagement helped Reinhard integrate more deeply into the highest levels of Prague society as well as draw the attention of the nobility and court circles. This social capital later played a critical role for Reinhard during the turbulent times of the Hussite Revolution, when the court of Sigismund of Luxembourg became a source of information and a certain amount of institutional protection for Catholic exiles leaving cities controlled by the Hussites, travelling around the border regions, and settling down in trading hubs outside the Bohemian borders, as seen below.

Other evidence of Reinhard's good connections with the nobility includes his participation in the supplication of Vilém Zajíc the younger of Házmburk, dated 13 January 1418. Vilém was the brother of Archbishop Zbyněk Zajíc of Házmburk, who died in exile in Hungary in 1411. He was also a royal advisor to Wenceslas IV and maintained contact with his brother Sigismund of Luxembourg as well. Later he acted as a leading member of the Catholic and royalist faction in Hussite Bohemia.<sup>21</sup> Prague

16 MUSÍLEK, *Patroni, klienti, příbuzní*, 239.

17 TOMEK, *Základy starého místopisu I*, p. 22, no. 609/610.

18 In 1406 and probably also in 1409 Roztoky still belonged to Reinhard II of Mühlhausen, cf. TADRA, *Soudní akta*, pp. 254–256, no. 1009. Old Town Council ruling edition in TEIGE, *Základy starého místopisu*, pp. 344–345, no. 930c. Also comp. MUSÍLEK, *Patroni, klienti, příbuzní*, p. 238, esp. footnote no. 372. The most recent history of the Roztoky fortress/castle accidentally conflates the figures of Reinhard of Reims, Reinhard II and Reinhard III of Mühlhausen, cf. KLEMENTOVÁ – SEMERÁD – VLK, *Od tvrze k zámku*, 14–15.

19 Comp. MUSÍLEK, *Patroni, klienti, příbuzní*, 237. TOMEK, *Dějepis města Prahy V*, 73–75. MUSÍLEK, *Hus a pražští konšelé*, 294.

20 Comp. HLAVÁČEK, *Drobné příspěvky*, 75. MEZNIČEK, *Praha před husitskou revolucí*, 118. For the Prague patrician class latching onto Sigismund as a strong, capable lord cf. *ibid.*, 116.

21 Vilém took part in Sigismund's journey to England in 1416, for instance, cf. ALTMANN, *Eberhard Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten*, 143. His participation in the 1415 assembly in Český Brod serves as an example of his engagement on the Catholic side, cf. PALACKÝ, *Documenta*, p. 602, no. 91. He also acted as caretaker for property left behind by clergy fleeing the country, cf. Archiv Pražského hradu, Archiv metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta,

had lain under the lasting stigma of interdict since it was first imposed in 1412, so Vilém and several influential Prague burghers petitioned Pope Martin V for an exception so they and their families could hear Mass even in places under interdict. Reinhard and his wife were also the only applicants to receive permission to choose a confessor to give them the last rites as well as to use a portable altar for their own needs.<sup>22</sup>

The first Catholic refugees apparently left Hussite Prague immediately after the death of King Wenceslas in August 1419.<sup>23</sup> The dowager queen Sophia's attempts at peacemaking in November and Sigismund's negotiations with Prague burghers in Brno in December apparently had little to no success in allowing exiles to return. As soon as a crusade was launched against the Hussites in March of the next year, the Prague municipal authorities began to actively hunt down and drive out enemies of the chalice. It is a near certainty that Reinhard left Prague no later than at this time. City councils were seizing the property of those who fled, selling them in later years or even giving them to adherents. The city council sold Reinhard's house (no. 930c) on Old Town Square in 1424 for 63 threescores to Jan Carda, who kept it until at least 1433.<sup>24</sup> Smil of Prackovice bought the Bruska vineyard from the city at some point before 1427 for 19 threescores.<sup>25</sup> Jan Rozvoda of Stakory acquired the house U Slona (no. 609, 610/I) from the city and later sold it to Jan Krupa for 70 threescores.<sup>26</sup> The city council also confiscated Roztoky and handed it over to Jan of Pořešín, protonotary for the city council, in 1421.<sup>27</sup>

The first steps taken by Catholic exiles after leaving Prague have long since disappeared due to a lack of source material, and Reinhard is no exception. Generally speaking, those going into exile first hid in fortresses near Prague controlled by royalists, hoping they would soon be able to return to the city once it was conquered. Two potential strategies come into play after the crusade failed in late July 1420. Since Reinhard had property in the countryside, he may have attempted to defend it. This may seem like a relatively reckless move from today's standpoint, but at the time hope of a successful crusade had not yet died.<sup>28</sup> As Roztoky was not far from Hussite Prague

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listiny, sign. 785 XXVII 17. A number of valuables retrieved from abandoned church institutions were held at his castle in Házmberk, cf. PALACKÝ, *Urkundliche Beiträge*, p. 105, no. 106. In autumn 1419 he participated in the fighting in Prague on the side of Queen Sophia, cf. GOLL, *Vavřince z Březové kronika*, 348, 350. PALACKÝ, *Archiv český* 4, pp. 375–377, no. 35. PALACKÝ, *Urkundliche Beiträge* 1, pp. 11–12, no. 8. In 1422 and 1423 he acted several times as royal diplomat to the Hussites, cf. PALACKÝ, *Archiv český* 6, p. 404, no. 8B. ALTMANN, *Eberhard Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten*, 180.

22 ERŠIL, *Acta Martini V.*, pp. 74–75, no. 165. Other applicants listed alongside Vilém and Reinhard are Jan of Bamberg (1405–1419 head clerk for Wenceslas IV, also known as "Master Hána") and an unidentified Jan of Prague.

23 The first group of migrants from Prague in connection with the Hussite movement were the scholars of Prague University who left in 1409 following the issue of the Decree of Kutná Hora. This charter fundamentally changed the power relations at the university. See NODL, *Dekret kutnohorský*.

24 TOMEK, *Základy starého místopisu I*, p. 19, no. 930c.

25 TOMEK, *Základy starého místopisu III, IV, V*, p. 170, no. 33b (Na Letném – Vinice).

26 TOMEK, *Základy starého místopisu I*, p. 22, no. 609/610. PÁTKOVÁ, *Berní knihy*, 5.

27 TEIGE, *Archiv český* 28, 673. Comp. TOMEK, *Dějepis města Prahy IV*, 169. Confirmation from January 1424 cf. TEIGE, *Základy starého místopisu*, 234. In 1425 Jan's widow sold all the goods to Liděř of Radkovice for 130 threescores of groschen, cf. TEIGE, *Archiv český* 28, 196.

28 The fortress at Makotřasy, for instance, belonging to Petr of Meziříčí, was unsuccessfully besieged in May of 1420 by an army from Prague and conquered in March of 1421 with the help of encampments. Comp. MEZNIK, *Venkovské statky*, 18. TOMEK, *Dějepis města Prahy IV*, 58–59, 133.

(about 10 km), however, this does not seem particularly likely. Alternatively, he may have made use of his many social connections to secure the hospitality of friendly merchants or members of the nobility based in border regions. He could theoretically have gone in any direction. The most important (and perhaps those less important as well) received safe conduct from King Sigismund for themselves and members of their households, guaranteeing them freedom of movement and residence throughout the empire.<sup>29</sup> It is highly likely that Reinhard received such a safe conduct as well, although no record of it has been preserved. Documents such as these could have served in lieu of the letter of recommendation (*Abzugs-, Geburts-, Freibrief*) newcomers were usually required to provide in order to be granted borough rights.<sup>30</sup>

As far as we can tell from indirect references, Reinhard appears to have followed other wealthy merchants from Prague tracing the steps of the office of the vicars general of the Prague diocese, travelling through Litoměřice north to the six towns of the Lusatian League. We can deduce as much from an undated draft of a letter from the bailiff of the Ebrach monastery property in Nürnberg to the exiled abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Nepomuk, living at the time in Austria at a monastery estate near Krems.<sup>31</sup> The document refers to valuables from Nepomuk held by Eufemie, the widow of Adam of Zaříčí, a clerk from Prague's Ungelt, also in exile from Hussite Prague. Eufemie remained in Zittau for some time, where Reinhard met with her periodically on his travels. On his last visit, around 24 June (apparently in 1421), however, he did not find her there. Thus it seems clear that Reinhard spent the first years of the Hussite Wars more or less on the move, perhaps travelling between Nürnberg, Zittau and Wrocław. Since the above-mentioned 1412 safe conduct from the Duke of Austria is to be found in the Nürnberg archive today, previously the hypothesis was that Reinhard spent the time of the Hussite Revolution there.<sup>32</sup>

Based on many records from the Wrocław city archive, however, it is certain that Reinhard was part of the wave of wealthy Prague Catholics who settled down there before the mid-1420s. Wrocław was an attractive location for merchants due to its location and significance in long-distance trade. It sat on a trade route called the *Via regia*, or *Hohe Straße*, by which goods travelled from Russia and Poland to Central and Western Europe. In 1359, Charles IV exempted Wrocław merchants from customs duties within the empire, and the following year Wrocław was granted the right to mint its own gold coins, connecting it with the Prague gold market.<sup>33</sup> Although safe conducts from King Sigismund allowed Prague exiles to set out in any direction to find a temporary safe haven, Wrocław was certainly the most popular destination, for the reasons set forth above. However, it was certainly not without significance that the Silesian metropolis was within the borders of the Lands of the Bohemian crown and was therefore not really a foreign destination. We can find a large number

29 Only two of these documents survive. The first is a safe conduct for Petr the older and Petr the younger of Meziříčí, dated 14 February 1421, cf. VODIČKA, "Und ap es geschehe", 36–37. The second is a safe conduct for Václav Ottlinger dated 19 December 1433, recorded in ALTMANN, *Regesta Imperii* (hereinafter RI) XI/2, p. 262, no. 9901. For more on letters of safe conduct in general, cf. KINTZINGER, *Cum salvo conductu*.

30 SCHWINGES, *Neubürger und Bürgerbücher*, 39.

31 For the draft of an unpreserved original cf. Staatsarchiv Würzburg, Kloster Ebrach, sign. A236II/8218, fol. 21v. Edition cf. VODIČKA, *Exil českého a moravského duchovenstva*, pp. 206–207, no. III/3.

32 HLAVÁČEK, *Drobné přispěvky*, 73.

33 DVOŘÁK, *Cisář Karel IV. a pražský zahraniční obchod 1*, 24. DVOŘÁK, *Cisář Karel IV. a pražský zahraniční obchod 2*, 40.



of exiles from Prague later living in Wrocław (among the most important we might mention the merchants Albert Camerer, Chval Lorberer, Petr of Žatec and Václav Stupen; goldsmiths Hanuš Neumeister and Václav of Prague; and whole extended families such as Čotr, Ottlinger/Paierlik, of Meziříčí, of Mühlhausen, and the orphaned children of František Rokycanský). We can find other exiles in smaller numbers in Vienna (Antonín of Munheim, the brothers Jindřich and Heřman Sachsenfeld, and Leotold Zwirner) and other less important locations (Czech cities, especially Jihlava and Pilsen, and other cities like Klodzko and Zittau).<sup>34</sup>

We do not know exactly when Reinhard arrived in Wrocław. The first mention of his name cannot be placed on the timeline until shortly before 13 February 1425. It consists of an undated insert of the will of Zikmund Albík of Uničov in a notarial deed of that date in a letter from the papal legate Jan Carvajal dated 15 May 1448.<sup>35</sup> At the time the testament was made, Reinhard already owned a house in the city (*in presencia ... domini Reynhardi in domo eiusdem Reynhardi in stuba*) in which Zikmund Albík entrusted 500 Hungarian guilders (about 175 threescores of groschen) to goldsmith Hanuš Neumeister of Prague, executor of his estate.<sup>36</sup> The reason the testament itself is put at a date shortly before the notarial instrument is that Zikmund Albík declares in both documents that he is drawing up his will because he intends to leave Wrocław for Hungary (to join King Sigismund's court, where he died in 1427). Another, reliably dated reference to Reinhard in Wrocław comes from 22 September 1425. This record represents the beginning of his lengthy dispute with Heinrich "Langeheincze" Reuter of Coburg, discussed in more detail below. His possession of a house once again sets Reinhard apart from the other exiles, as few could afford to own a house in exile, and those who did mostly did so only in the late 1420s or early 1430s, when the hope of a military defeat of the Hussite Revolution and complete restoration to the old system was quite low.

Most traces of Reinhard's activities in exile relate to older debts. For some we have no further information, just the name of the debtor and amount of the debt. That is the case for Prague exile Vavřinec the swordsmith, based in Zittau in 1426, who owed Reinhard 42 marks and nine groschen.<sup>37</sup> The same applies to Vincent Procot, who did not know the exact amount of his debt and visited Reinhard for that reason in the same year, accompanied by Mikuláš Paschkewicz of Grossendorf (today Dłużyce in Poland). After checking his accounts, Reinhard calculated Procot's debt at 22 marks of groschen, seven of which he forgave on the spot.<sup>38</sup> Somewhat more information is available on the debt owed Reinhard by Salzburg burgher Hanuš Greymel. Salzburg benefited from its prime location on the trade route between Venice and Prague; meagre source documents trace this contact from the time of Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV.<sup>39</sup> We can thus

<sup>34</sup> I have outlined the preliminary results of a study of the diaspora of exiles from Hussite cities in VODIČKA, "Und ap es geschege".

<sup>35</sup> Národní archiv (hereinafter NA), Archiv kolegiální kapituly vyšehradské, charter no. 355.

<sup>36</sup> On Zikmund Albík of Uničov and especially his testament, cf. ŘÍHOVÁ, *Dvorní lékař*, 38. For new sources on his stay in Wrocław, cf. VODIČKA, *Exil českého a moravského duchovenstva*, p. 203, no. 114.

<sup>37</sup> APW AMW, sign. 662 (Libri excessum et signaturarum 1426–1427), fol. 334r, pag. 65. Vavřinec acknowledged the debt before the Wrocław city council and agreed with Reinhard on a payment schedule for one year. Polish mark means 48 pieces/coins.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 338r, pag. 73.

<sup>39</sup> In the 1380s, for instance, Salzburg merchant Jörg Aigl supplied wine from Venice to Prague and arsenic to Venice. During the same period, Petr Weilhamer and partners exported arsenic to Venice and fustian to Prague. About 1391 the Salzburg factor for the Runtinger family was trading with Bohemia. The Rosenberg book of

presume that Hanuš incurred his debt of 500 Hungarian guilders (about 175 threescore of groschen) from unknown business activities between himself and Reinhard prior to 1420. The first letter from the Salzburg magistrate to Hanuš about failure to meet payment deadlines bears the date 18 March 1422 and summons him to appear before the court on 24 April. Hanuš, however, ignored this summons and several others that followed, and apparently could not be found in Salzburg. In 1423 he was living in the town (*Markt*) of Schladming and did not appear troubled about his debts. Reinhard did not handle these matters in person. He sent servants to represent him, first Heinrich Chohrär (1422, 1423) and later Conrad Eysenreich (1430). Half of Hanuš Greymel's house in Tragasse (now Getreidegasse), Salzburg, was used as collateral for the debt, and in 1430 the city court ruled that the tenants should pay rent to Reinhard as interest on the principal. Early the next year the magistrate decided that said half of the house would go to Conrad Eysenreich, Reinhard's servant, for 400 (sic) Hungarian guilders, and sent word to Schladming. Hanuš Greymel had one last opportunity to redeem the house at this price within six weeks. Conrad Eysenreich did not want to wait that long, however, so he entrusted the exercise of Reinhard's rights to his landlord Hanuš Rawchenperger. After the grace period had passed, Hanuš Rawchenperger informed the magistrate on Wednesday 28 February 1431 that Hanuš Greymel had not redeemed the property, and it was then transferred to Reinhard. It was decided that the tenants should continue to pay rent to Reinhard and that he could treat the house as his own as well as enjoying the advantages of burgher rights, which in many cities were contingent upon owning property.<sup>40</sup> The last report of a debt owed to Reinhard dates to 1433. Nickel Reyman of Krakow acknowledged a debt of nearly 26 marks of groschen before the Wroclaw city council and agreed to payment in instalments. Once again we have no indication of how the debt was incurred. All we know is that failure to keep up with the instalment schedule would mean any amount paid went to the creditor and the debt itself (the bill of debt) would not expire.<sup>41</sup> Reinhard was an atypical exile with regard to debt as well. In most cases emigrants from Bohemia were the ones drowning in debt they were unable to pay, sometimes granting their creditors theoretical rights to their confiscated property in Bohemia.

In the late 1420s and early 1430s Reinhard played an important role in the exile community in Wroclaw in negotiating a dispute that was essentially fairly simple, yet under the circumstances difficult to resolve. In 1429 the Wroclaw city council discussed debt as part of settling the estate of Reinhard's father-in-law, Rudolf of Mühlhausen, formerly based in Prague. The parties to the dispute were Rudolf's heirs (sons Materna and Mikuláš and daughters Anežka, Kateřina and Hedvika) and Bernard Falkenauer, to

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executions contains a record from 1409 of a Salzburg merchant robbed on the road to Prachatice. Other trade contacts between Prague and Salzburg are also attested in 1410–1420. See DVOŘÁK, *Cisaiř Karel IV. a pražský zahraniční obchod* 2, 32–33. The trading company of Petr Weilhamer and Jindřich Prauker of Salzburg was active in Prague in the 1380s. See DVOŘÁK, *Cisaiř Karel IV. a pražský zahraniční obchod* 1, 61.

40 Stadtarchiv Salzburg, sign. BU 6, pag. 24, no. 32, 33; pag. 26–27, no. 36; pag. 31, no. 41; pag. 213–214, no. 319; pag. 215–216, no. 336; pag. 221–222, no. 351; Landesarchiv Salzburg, Urkunden Salzburg Erzstift, sign. OU 1431 II 28. The house stood between the houses of Otto Chäwczel and Hans Appfaltersperger. On the connections between burgher rights and property ownership in the town, cf. ISENMANN, *Bürgerrecht und Bürgeraufnahme*, 217. ISENMANN, *Die deutsche Stadt*, 93.

41 APW AMW, sign. 665 (Libri excessum et signaturarum 1432–1433), pag. 114. The debt consisted of two parts; the source document specifically states “five and a half marks and 20 and 18 groschen”. Most likely the word “marks” was left out here (20 marks and 18 groschen), since the instalment plan was set up for multiple years of nine *hrivna* each, which would not make sense for six marks and 14 groschen.



whom Rudolf owed the above-mentioned debt. On 17 September the arbiters made a ruling that did not actually address the dispute, but merely put it off indefinitely. The bills of debt from Rudolf's estate attesting to his receivables in Bohemia, temporarily in the keeping of Reinhard of Reims, were to remain with him. If a return to Bohemia did become possible in the future, then the ruling would be made on who would be entitled to the receivables.<sup>42</sup> This ruling did not satisfy Bernard, however, and the matter was discussed again on 11 October of the same year. This time the arbiters stipulated that Bernard should receive two bills of debt from Reinhard for debts from Čáslav burghers (and, coincidentally, exiles in Jihlava) worth 279 threescore of groschen, in addition to several smaller matters. Only if they were able to recover this money from debtors in the future would the heirs of Rudolf of Mühlhausen have the right to claim their receivables according to Prague burgher rights, provided that they could prove and defend said claim. The ruling also stated that the parties to the dispute would have a chest made with two locks that could only be opened with both keys at once, and each party would hold one key. The chest was to be filled with all the bills of debt the arbiters had seen (with the apparent exception of those awarded to Bernard) and then entrusted to Reinhard of Reims.<sup>43</sup> As far as Reinhard's own will is concerned, none has survived until the present. Generally speaking, the wills of emigrants tend to leave two different types of legacies. The first concerned chattels (usually fairly negligible in size) in the place of exile, while the second involved confiscated property and difficult-to-recover debts in Bohemia. In most cases the second type of legacy was never enforced.<sup>44</sup>

Further evidence that Reinhard had a secure, well-located and spacious stone house in Wroclaw includes the fact that other exiles stored their valuables with him. In addition to the above-mentioned money left behind by Zikmund Albík of Uničov and the chest with the bills of debt from Rudolf of Mühlhausen, the Augustinians from the canon house at Karlov in Prague also stored a chest of vestments with Reinhard. After Reinhard – *ab antiquo amicus, fautor et benefactor* of the Karlov canon house – returned them in 1430 with reference to his advanced age, the vestments were relocated to the Wroclaw canon house Na Písku (Piask, *In arena*).<sup>45</sup> This kind of relationship between a wealthy exiled burgher and an exiled cloister was relatively common at the time, but typically it involved pawning valuables the impoverished church institutions were later unable to redeem. The cloister's treasures and libraries were then sold off piecemeal. This house was not the only property Reinhard owned in the city, however. The Wroclaw *Schöffnenbuch (liber scabinorum)* contains a record dated 20 March 1430, according to which Reinhard purchased three additional houses from Eufemie Walrabynne: one

42 APW AMW, sign. 665 (Libri excessum et signaturarum 1432–1433), sign. 663, fol. 486v, pag. 62.

43 Ibid., fol. 487v–488v, pag. 64–66. The Čáslav receivables pertained to burghers Ondřej Rychtář and Václav Finder, to whom King Sigismund pledged three villages (belonging to Sedlec Abbey and worth 400 threescore of groschen) on 4 December 1420 in Kutná Hora due to his own debts and the protection of property. See NA, České gubernium – listiny, no. 186. Comp. BÁRTA, *Zástavní listiny*, p. 161, no. 68.

44 I am preparing a separate study of the wills of Bohemian exiles during this time period, which should be published in 2022 or 2023.

45 The document was issued by DOLEŽALOVÁ – DRAGOUN, *Střípky k exilovým pobytům*, pp. 309–310, no. 2. Cf. also KADLEC, *Katoličtí exulanti*, 47.

called *Vorderhowt* next to the parish yard of the Church of Mary Magdalene and two smaller houses on the same courtyard.<sup>46</sup>

Reinhard's most significant, or rather best documented, legal case was his dispute with Jindřich Reuter, also called Langeheincze or occasionally Langehans. Originally from Coburg in Upper Franconia, his parents were Herman Reuter and Tyle Reuteryn (previously Tyle Arnolt).<sup>47</sup> His first wife was named Alžběta, and he married a second time to Kunhuta sometime between 1435 and 1441.<sup>48</sup> His trade network stretched at least between Nürnberg, Prague, Leipzig, Wrocław and the six towns of the Lusatian League. He enjoyed burgher rights in Görlitz between 1421 and 1424.<sup>49</sup> He often did trade in this city even after that time, supplying military equipment (armour, horses, banners) and providing loans.<sup>50</sup>

Unfortunately, we have no information on the actual substance of the dispute between these two influential, wealthy merchants. We can only assume that the business contacts between them had a pre-Hussite past. Perhaps the dispute involved some debts from a business agreement thwarted by the Hussite Revolution. One party may have considered the agreement void for objective reasons, while the other may have insisted that the agreed conditions be met, come what may. It may just as well have concerned discrepancies in the settlement of someone's will or similar. From later phases of the dispute we only know that Reinhard claimed a debt of 26 threescore of groschen from Jindřich and had him imprisoned in Wrocław over that debt. On Saturday 22 September 1425 Jindřich stood before the Wrocław city council – apparently under duress and facing the threat of further imprisonment – and acknowledged the debt and his intention to repay it by placing a document on pledge.<sup>51</sup> Three days later, on Tuesday 25 September four arbiters (at least two of whom were exiles from Prague) appeared before the council – Zikmund Weilburg Janův of Prague<sup>52</sup> and Zikmund Taschner on behalf of Reinhard, and Chval Lorberer of Prague<sup>53</sup> and Jindřich of Meissen on behalf of Jindřich. They described for the council additional details of the settlement: Jindřich

46 APW AMW, sign. 623 (Libri scabinorum 1426–1433), fol. 194v. For the sale of other property from her extensive widow's estate cf. *ibid.*, fol. 201v, 218v, 241v, 266r, 284r.

47 In 1394 his father bought the house at Ketschengasse No. 22, cf. ANDRIAN-WERBURG, *Das älteste Coburger Stadtbuch*, p. 2, no. 11; p. 29, no. 182. For the first mention of Jindřich and list of his extended family members dated 17 May 1409, cf. *ibid.*, p. 330, no. 1849. Another mention dated 1419 *ibid.*, p. 113, no. 678. The name *lang Heincz* first attested in 1423, *ibid.*, p. 160, no. 945.

48 Alžběta is attested in 1435, cf. *ibid.*, p. 243, no. 1410. Kunhuta is attested in 1441, see footnote 80 below.

49 For burgher rights, cf. WENTSCHER, *Codex diplomaticus Lusatiae superioris V* (hereinafter CDLS V), p. 22, p. 24, footnote no. 5. In 1423 he supplied Görlitz with horses from Leipzig, cf. JECHT, *Codex diplomaticus Lusatiae superioris II/1* (hereinafter CDLS II/1), 146.

50 CDLS II/1, 279, 293 (five suits of armour from Nürnberg for 19 threescore of groschen), 325 (a loan of 11 threescore of groschen), 333 (a loan of 5 threescore of groschen), 334 (a banner for an army marching on Ústí nad Labem for 20 groschen), 420 (armour for 51 threescore of groschen), 441 (armour for 9 marks), 494 (a horse for 10 threescore).

51 APW AMW, sign. 661 (Libri excessum et signaturarum 1424–1425), fol. 287r, pag. 69.

52 Bachelor of medicine and master of the free arts, head scribe at the Prague Old City Hall in 1412–1419. For this reason also known as *Zikmund de pretorio*. He fled during the Hussite Revolution to Zittau and from there to Wrocław, where he entered the services of another wealthy Prague exile, Václav Stupen. Later (before 1435) he came to hold a parish prebend in the village of Jakobowice near Namysłów (*Jacobsdorff im Namslichen gebiete gelegen*). Cf. VODIČKA, *Exil českého a moravského duchovenstva*, p. 203, no. 116.

53 Chval also fled to Wrocław, acquiring a house on the market square on the corner across from the Church of St Elizabeth in 1432, which he appears to have kept until his death in 1446. Cf. GOLINSKI, *Przy wrocławskim rynku 2*, 13–14. He traded in copper for the production and maintenance of firearms. Records of his business

acknowledged his debt and temporarily placed on pledge with Reinhard a document concerning the property of the Cistercian monastery at Plasy (*brief... der obir die monche zum Plass lautet*). He also promised to abstain from all unfriendly actions against Reinhard, his heirs, servants and goods, as well as against the city of Wroclaw as a whole.<sup>54</sup> Jindřich repeated this pledge before the Wroclaw city council in August 1426 – it was recorded in the city books again on Friday 2 August, and the council issued a written confirmation on Friday 30 August.<sup>55</sup> On 28 June 1427, both merchants appeared a final time before the Wroclaw city council and a note was added to the extensive record from September 1425 stating that the debt had been paid and the document held in pledge had been returned.<sup>56</sup>

The story of this ordinary dispute could have ended here. Debts had been paid, wrongs righted and property returned. As it transpired, however, the story was only just picking up pace. It appears that Jindřich placed a high value on his document regarding the property at Plasy, and so he held up his end of the agreement faithfully – until he got his pledge back. Then he could finally show that he did not consider the matter fairly settled at all and that he had made his promises only under duress. Less than a month after he had last stood before the Wroclaw city council, Jindřich was already dreaming up plans to take his revenge on Reinhard and the city of Wroclaw. As the capital city of Silesia, Wroclaw's power was not insignificant, and so he knew he would need allies to bring his plans to fruition. Searching for said allies, of course, ran the risk that anyone he approached would not share his views and would use the information to their own advantage. That is exactly what appears to have happened, in fact, since a letter arrived in Wroclaw dated 26 August 1427.<sup>57</sup> The letter's author, Kašpar Lelau, was a prominent member of the Görlitz city council class and was mayor in 1423. He wrote to the Wroclaw city council to inform them of progress in the negotiations at the Dresden assembly on 22 August, where Friedrich I der Streitbare (1370–1428, Duke of Saxony 1423–1428) had tried in vain to induce the cities and nobility of Upper Lusatia to join the conquest of Most.<sup>58</sup> He also devoted a large part of his letter, however, to Jindřich, with whom Kašpar had met on the way back while staying overnight at the bishop's castle Stolpen.

Jindřich had allegedly been heard to say that he had warned Nürnberg merchants not to load their goods on wagons with goods belonging to merchants from Wroclaw. From this Kašpar deduced that Jindřich was planning to attack Wroclaw merchants, and he spread the news everywhere he could. He reported that he informed the Bishop of Meissen, Hanuš of Polensko (the magistrate – German *Vogt* – of Lower Lusatia) and representatives of the other towns of Upper Lusatia. They all attempted to convince Jindřich not to do anything against Wroclaw until the other side could be heard and to wait at least until Michaelmas (September 29). After Jindřich denied all

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activities from the period of the Hussite Wars can be found in the Görlitz city accounts for 1424–1429, cf. CDLS II/1, 193, 578, 644. JECHT, *Codex diplomaticus Lusatiae superioris II/2* (hereinafter CDLS II/2), 71.

54 APW AMW, sign. 661 (Libri excessum et signaturarum 1424–1425), fol. 288v–289r, pag. 72–73.

55 APW AMW, sign. 662 (Libri excessum et signaturarum 1426–1427), fol. 332v, pag. 62; a fragment of a document dated 8 August 1426 cf. *ibid.*, Dokumenty miasta Wroclawia, no. 1705.

56 APW AMW, sign. 661 (Libri excessum et signaturarum 1424–1425), fol. 289r, pag. 73.

57 CDLS II/1, 457–458.

58 King Sigismund had pledged Most to the Dukes of Saxony, cf. RI XI/1, p. 388, no. 5494, no. 5503, p. 389, no. 5504.

the accusations, he received a warning that any unfriendly action towards Wrocław would result in his being prosecuted throughout Lusatia. Jindřich did not remain on his own, however. He arrived at Stolpen in the company of Jindřich Berka of Dubá and Honštejn, whose protection he intended to enjoy while staying at his castle, according to Kašpar's information.<sup>59</sup> The Lord of Dubá and Honštejn was not a reliable long-term ally against the six towns of the Lusatian League, however, as he often cooperated with them, nor against the Duke of Saxony, to whom he had offered assistance in the war against the Wartenbergs and Hussites as early as June 1427.<sup>60</sup> The deadlock thus resulted in nothing more than another attempt to reach an amicable settlement to the dispute. The agreement was made on an unknown date before the Görlitz city council and recorded in the city books there. Witnesses standing on the side of Jindřich included Janko Knobelauch, the Honštejn hetman, and Mikusch, the Tolštejn hetman, indicating the continued (although we do not know how committed) support of the lords of Dubá, Jindřich Berka of Honštejn and Hynek Berka the younger of Tolštejn.<sup>61</sup>

It is almost certain that Jindřich had no intention of upholding this agreement either, yet he also could not engage in overt sabotage against Wrocław merchants with his current allies. A much more appropriate accomplice for Jindřich against the broad Saxony/Lusatia/Wrocław alliance would be someone who shared his enmity for most of the subjects involved. Jindřich found just such an ally on the other side of the barricade in the burgeoning Wartenberg wars in Zikmund Děčinský of Wartenberg. Zikmund was the embodiment of aristocratic pragmatism, manoeuvring deftly through the Hussite Revolution between the two opposing religious camps. He presented himself in public as a Catholic during the war over religion, maintaining contact with the Zittau consistory and placing Catholic priests in churches throughout the period, but he brought his political schemes to fruition using all available resources, from diplomatic to military, and he did not hesitate to make common cause temporarily with Utraquist subjects if the Hussites had the upper hand in the region.<sup>62</sup> Zikmund had shown his ruthless side before the Hussite Revolution began, taking part in several armed attacks on his northern neighbours.<sup>63</sup> His relationship with the Lusatian League appears to have taken a turn for the worse in 1425, when he was allegedly planning a raid into Upper Lusatia.<sup>64</sup> The year after that he probably reached a truce with the Hussites and did not take part in the battle at Ústí nad Labem.<sup>65</sup> As mentioned above, in June 1427 Hynek Berka of Dubá and Honštejn allied with the Duke of Saxony against

59 Jindřich Berka of Dubá and Honštejn held Hohnstein (Honštejn) in Saxony, Česká Kamenice and property in today's Šluknov Hook, Šluknov, Krásná Lípa and Rumburk, cf. CDLS II/1, 9. EMLER, *Libri confirmationum VIII–X* (hereinafter LC VIII–X), 149, 154. He and his brothers Hynek and Mikuláš held property in fief at Trmice, Koštov, Hostovice, Milbohov and Újezd, cf. PALACKÝ, *Archiv český* 3, p. 518, no. 372. The document lists an alternate hiding place for Jindřich Reuter as Wehlen Castle, held by Michael of Gorenz.

60 For his contacts with the six towns of the Lusatian League, cf. CDLS II/1, 165, 208. For the alliance against the Wartenbergs, cf. CDLS II/1, 435. He took part in negotiating the ceasefire after the "Wartenberg War" in June 1436, cf. CDLS II/2, 637.

61 CDLS II/1, 615–616.

62 I provided a detailed biography in the study VODIČKA, *Zikmund Děčinský*.

63 In 1417, for instance, he attacked barges carrying goods for the Altzelle monastery from Lovosice to Saxony on the Elbe, cf. *ibid.*, 7–8. Around the middle of the 1420s he took part in a raid on merchants near Bautzen, cf. CDLS II/1, 32–33.

64 *Ibid.*, 237.

65 The literature traditionally states that he defected to the Hussites before the battle and supported them in the battle. No credible evidence to support this has been found, however, and the events that followed make

Zikmund Děčinský and the Hussite armies.<sup>66</sup> The next year Zikmund joined forces with Jan Smiřický and they sacked the Prague Union's property in the Elbe River lowlands.<sup>67</sup>

In July 1428, when the Wartenberg War had perhaps cooled for a time, the Görlitz council sent Zikmund Děčinský a letter that tells us what Jindřich Reuter did next. It briefly summarizes the events in the case to that point and apparently had an enclosure with a description of the Görlitz agreement from the previous year. It also states clearly that Jindřich based his claim on the (in his view) unjust imprisonment in Wrocław, for which he was unable to seek justice in any other way. Based on the request from Wrocław, the Görlitz council asked Zikmund, who had Jindřich under his protection at that time, to talk him out of carrying out his intentions.<sup>68</sup> After that no primary sources are available on the case, so we cannot know whether any robberies of Wrocław merchants actually took place. Zikmund Děčinský would certainly not have hesitated to do so if he had seen in it some profit to himself (which is practically certain) and it suited his plans at the moment (which is quite probable). The 1433 report that Zikmund sent armed men to rob merchants near Zittau may relate to this case as well.<sup>69</sup> We know that he continued in his pragmatic manoeuvring and deceptions for the rest of his life, which ended in 1438 in prison after he was accused of conspiracy against the king, Albrecht of Austria, during the siege of Tábor.<sup>70</sup> We could also speculate that Jindřich Reuter may have been under arrest in Bautzen in late 1430 and early 1431. In April 1431 a statement of reconciliation was issued in Nürnberg by the lords of Bohemia in the conflict between Bautzen and Jaroslav Berka of Dubá and Milštejn.<sup>71</sup> Besides the general phrases about putting an end to enmity and releasing prisoners, the document also states that a certain unnamed person was detained in Bautzen and certain goods were confiscated ("*von des wegen, der in der stat Budischin geschecz ist ... von des wegen, dem sein khisten odir truhnen auffgeprachen ist warden*"), and that if that person wished to take revenge on Bautzen, Jaroslav should not be held accountable for it. The unknown robbery victim was to take the matter to the city court, where he

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it more likely that he reached a truce with the Hussites. After the battle he received Blansko Castle from the margraves of Meissen, cf. VODIČKA, *Zikmund Děčinský*, 12. ŠMAHEL, *Husitská revoluce* 3, 180–181.

66 CDLS II/1, 435: "*widder die keczer zu Behemen, ern Sigmunden von Wartenberg und ouch allen den, dy des kryges zuschicken haben.*" This in itself does not permit the conclusion that Zikmund was a Hussite at this time, as asserted by older literature.

67 ŠMAHEL, *Husitská revoluce* 3, 205–207. While plundering Prague property in the Mělník area, Zikmund Děčinský and Jan Smiřický allegedly took the fortress of Kamýk. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 384, footnote no. 397.

68 CDLS II/1, 615–616.

69 CDLS II/2, 501.

70 When the Fourth Crusade armies invaded Bohemia and the Hussites called on their allies to defend the country, Zikmund Děčinský pledged his assistance, but did not provide it, cf. PALACKÝ, *Urkundliche Beiträge* 2, pp. 234–235, no. 757. On 25 March 1435, Zikmund made an alliance with the Dukes of Saxony for three years against Jakoubek of Vřesovice and Kostomlaty, cf. VODIČKA, *Zikmund Děčinský*, 16. In March of the same year he helped to arrest a bandit operating in the borderlands, hejtman of the Orphan's Union Mikuláš of Keuschberk and Grabštejn and Chrastava, cf. *ibid.*, 17. For more negotiations with the Lusatian League, cf. CDLS II/2, 580–582.

71 The original survives in the Archivverbund Stadtarchiv/Staatsfilialarchiv Bautzen, Urkunden, no. 172. Jaroslav and his brother Jindřich held the castles of Milštejn and Ronov, as well as Helfenburk near Ústěck temporarily (1427–1429), and the towns Cvikov and Jablonné v Podještědí. In 1420–1429 he regularly informed Görlitz of the movements of armies within the country, and the end of this activity could be related to the above-mentioned dispute. For the last documentary evidence of the movements of the Hussite armies, cf. CDLS II/2, 36. He was in contact with the Zittau consistory in 1423, 1425 and 1427, cf. LC VIII–X, 54, 101, 134. In 1431 he was physically present in Nürnberg, cf. PALACKÝ, *Archiv český* 1, pp. 533–534, no. 213.

would receive legal satisfaction, and if he did not agree with that solution, he should appeal directly to King Sigismund. The hint that this could refer to Jindřich Reuter, who could certainly have been under the temporary protection of Jaroslav of Dubá and Milštejn, lies in a detail mentioned at the end: "As regards the stolen horse, that matter should be judged as well and the dispute put to rest, whoever the suspect." Witness statements before the Görlitz city court from about the same time (ca. 1430) mention that someone named Strasin, his servant Stürzbech, Paul Schonfelt and old Gelfrid von Haugwicz stole a horse from Jindřich Reuter.<sup>72</sup>

If the above-mentioned document does indeed refer to Jindřich and his case, we can be bolder in our speculations. It seems Jindřich's goods were not confiscated without reason. Considering his extensive contacts and especially his firm resolve to injure Wroclaw merchants and Reinhard of Reims in particular, it may be that the entire affair was a reaction to a successful diversion against Reinhard's business activities. Sometime before mid-1430 Reinhard's servant was detained in Bratislava and unminted gold confiscated from him.<sup>73</sup> As soon as King Sigismund learned of the matter, he had all the confiscated assets placed in the hands of Petr Reychel of Machalovce, who was *župan (ispán)* of the royal mine chambers.<sup>74</sup> A letter of complaint dated 21 June gives us detailed information on the matter, as the Wroclaw council asks its Bratislava counterparts to intercede with the king, reminding them that the Wroclaw merchants had the privilege granted by Emperor Charles IV permitting them to trade in unminted gold, which King Sigismund himself had confirmed, also granting them permission to renew trade contact with Venice.<sup>75</sup> The outcome of this episode is once again obscured due to a lack of primary sources, and its connection to Reinhard's dispute with Jindřich Reuter is therefore purely theoretical, no more and no less. One could easily imagine Jindřich making use of his network of informants in Wroclaw to "map" Reinhard's business interests and send out warnings to the relevant places, including the Bratislava city hall, regarding the perceived illegal transport of raw gold to Venice. At the very least this matter shows that Reinhard was one of many merchants in Central Europe attracted by the Venetian encouragement to import raw precious metals. Now they were attempting to take advantage of the much weaker boycott of Venice imposed by King Sigismund after 1415 due to land disputes on the Adriatic.<sup>76</sup>

72 CDLS II/2, 722.

73 We learn of this matter via a letter from the Wroclaw council, see below. We know the names of two of Reinhard's servants: Heinrich Cholrär (1422, 1423, 1432), see footnote 41 above; and Konrad Eysenreich (1431), see APW AMW, sign. 665 (*Libri excessum et signaturarum 1432–1433*), pag. 108. Wroclaw merchants had experience with the potential dangers of transporting gold through Bratislava already. For one example see the false accusation of trading with Venice from the early 1420s, cf. *ibid.*, sign. 659 (*Liber excessum et signaturarum 1420–1421*), fol. 74v. An edition issued by STOBBE, *Mittheilungen*, 344–345. In 1427 the city council heard a case in which one Wroclaw merchant helped another secretly go from Bratislava to Silesia to export gold ingots sewn into sacks. Cf. APW AMW, sign. 662 (*Libri excessum et signaturarum 1426–1427*), fol. 375v–376r, pag. 46–47.

74 Mandate dated 10 June 1430 at Ráb, cf. Archív mesta Bratislavy, Magistrát mesta Bratislavy, zbierka listín a listov, no. 1140. For Petr Reichel, compare INCZE, "Our Lord", 260.

75 Archív mesta Bratislavy, Magistrát mesta Bratislavy, zbierka listín a listov, no. 1141. Also on this point see Sigismund's privilege to the Wroclaw merchants regarding freedom of movement in Hungary, cf. APW, Dokumenty miasta Wroclawia, no. 1495. Permission to renew trade with Venice, cf. *ibid.*, no. 1498. See also RI XI/1, p. 319, no. 4520. In a document dated 18 August 1373 Charles IV granted Wroclaw and Świdnica merchants permission to transport raw gold and silver over the lands he administered, cf. RI VIII, p. 434, no. 5226.

76 In the first third of the fifteenth century the Venetian empire was facing a cash shortage. Incentives in the form of lowering taxes for the import of precious metals therefore aimed to increase imports from the Balkans



Jindřich Reuter of Coburg, also called Langeheincze, is also significant in Czech history for his deed of pledge for 26 threescore of groschen, as mentioned above, for Plasy Monastery property. This most likely pertained to part of the monastery library being held as collateral for a loan. We know from other sources that this library was broken up and used as collateral, and the convent borrowed 10 Rheinisch guilders from the Waldsassen monastery in an attempt to redeem it.<sup>77</sup> We also know that prior to 1433 Jindřich had loaned the convent a certain sum, over which he appealed to the Council of Basel for the release of 26 books held at the Waldsassen monastery house in Cheb. For the duration of the dispute the books were held temporarily in Cheb with the Commander of the Crusaders of the Red Star and the Waldsassen monastery lent Jindřich 10 threescore. It was agreed that if Jindřich won the right to the books in the case, they would be released to him only after payment of the above-mentioned 10 threescore as well as the 10 Rheinisch guilders the Waldsassen monastery had lent the Plasy monastery to redeem the books from some previous pledge. If the court awarded the books to the Plasy monastery, Jindřich would still owe the Waldsassen monastery 10 threescore of groschen and would have to pay that amount upon request.<sup>78</sup> Jindřich apparently won the case and took possession of a total of 62 volumes worth 530 Rheinisch guilders held at Cheb. Sometime between 1433 and 1441 he sold them to the Cistercian monastery Dobrilugk Abbey in Lower Lusatia. From there the set was resold in 1441 to the Premonstratensians at St Mary's on Harlunger Berg near Brandenburg. The contract of purchase for this sale has survived, including an inventory of the entire set.<sup>79</sup> The source states that the books were acquired from Prague burgher (!) Jindřich Reuter (*Henczo Rewther civis Pragensis*) and his wife Kunhuta. Today the Plasy monastery library is missing, with the exception of seven volumes in the Czech National Library.

Not much documentary evidence survives to tell us about the last years of Reinhard's life, only brief, isolated mentions here and there. He last appears in the Wroclaw city books in April 1433, when he relinquished the post of executor for the will of Vít of Strupina and guardian of his daughter Dorota.<sup>80</sup> He may have remained in the city for another year, because on 6 March 1434 he presented Petr Šosták, cleric of the Wroclaw diocese, at the Zittau consistory for the inaccessible chaplain's prebend at Roztoky.<sup>81</sup> This act hints that Reinhard (like many other exiles) was placing his hopes

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and Central Europe; we have records of deliveries of metal from Harz, Tyrol and the Ore Mountains (*Krušné hory*). DOUMERC, *Benátky*, 63, 89–92. The question remains whether Reinhard's activities in Salzburg (see above) could somehow relate to the mining there.

77 Staatsarchiv Amberg, Kloster Waldsassen, Akten, no. 402, fol. 439rv.

78 Ibid., Kloster Waldsassen, Urkunden, no. 633.

79 Edition printed by PRAŽÁK, *Plaská knihovna*, 167–171. Recorded in ABB – WENTZ, *Das Bistum*, 198. His conclusions are summarized in HLAVÁČEK, *Středověké soupisy*, no. 88, p. 63. This source is also mentioned in MACHILEK, *Die Zisterzienser*, 206. The inventory itself is quite brief and was probably made based on the books themselves, not a presumed Plasy library inventory that has not survived, since the list is not given in any order and individual volumes of the same work are not listed consecutively. The most frequent genre appearing in the list is homiletic works (about one third), followed by works of exegesis (probably 10 titles) and a smaller number of works of theology and hagiography. The inventory also contains a few volumes of an encyclopaedic, philosophical, grammatical and legal nature. There are no books of liturgy or bibles, probably because the monks only pledged the manuscripts they did not need for daily mass or other use. The surviving Plasy volumes are kept at the Národní knihovna České republiky, Oddělení rukopisů a starých tisků, sign. I E 11, I F 6, I G 28, VI E 17, XII G 11b, XIII A 5b, XIII G 23.

80 APW AMW, sign. 665 (Libri excessum et signaturarum 1432–1433), pag. 116.

81 LC VIII–X, 223.

in the negotiations at Basel and preparing for a possible return to Bohemia, including officially activating his previously neglected theoretical rights and claims.<sup>82</sup> We cannot even venture a guess as to when Reinhard first returned to Bohemia.

A certain Prokop Reinhard (Reinhard's son?) of Prague appears in Wrocław in 1434–1439. In 1434 he had an unknown dispute with Anežka Grodissynne and promised to waive his claim to settlement before an ecclesiastical court and to have it settled according to city law.<sup>83</sup> Two years later Prokop, along with his sister Markéta and other exiles, took part in the sale of the house of Prague goldsmith Hanuš Neumeister on the Wrocław market square as the guardian of his orphaned children.<sup>84</sup> In the late 1430s he apparently intended to leave Wrocław and left behind some unfinished business, perhaps debts. A group of Wrocław burghers undertook in his presence to convey him ("dead or alive") before the city council if needed, under a penalty of one hundred marks of groschen. These burghers include at least two important Prague exiles, Baltazar Čotr and Bernard Falkenauer.<sup>85</sup> Prokop's wife Uršula and Kateřina Heinczmanynne soon made the same pledge.<sup>86</sup> The possibility naturally arises that Prokop could have been the son of Reinhard of Reims, Markéta his daughter and Uršula his daughter-in-law. It is not impossible that the son of a wealthy merchant could become a goldsmith, especially if that merchant dealt in precious metals. We will have to wait, however, to confirm or reject that hypothesis.

We find the last information about Reinhard after the Hussite Wars in the royal court books (Czech *dvorské desky*). One entry from 1454 concerned the ownership of the village Roztoky and mentions the fortress, two farms (Czech *poplužní dvůr*), a tavern, annuities, three vineyards and other appurtenances.<sup>87</sup> We can deduce from that entry that Reinhard had taken hold of his property after the Compacts of Basel and could theoretically have spent his final years here. He had died at some point before this date, but we cannot pinpoint his date of death with any more certainty than that. Settling the estate could have taken years, and Reinhard could also have spent his final years in other countries, handling the restitution of Roztoky from a distance. Considering that he apparently came to Prague as an adult, and by 1430 had reached an advanced age, he may have been born around 1370. It is improbable (yet not impossible) that he could have lived to over 80 years old. The record also implies that he died without issue. Prokop Reinhard (Reinhard's son) of Prague, the goldsmith mentioned above, either was not related or was also deceased without issue at that time.

This marks the definitive end of the primary source material for the life of this important merchant, local politician, supporter of King Sigismund and exile. Many questions remain regarding the other details of his life, and may never be answered

82 I describe the theoretical filling of inaccessible prebends in the Hussite sphere of influence by Catholic priests and how exiled burghers played a role in the process in the study *Die Verwaltung der Prager Diözese während der Hussitenkriege und die Flüchtlinge aus den hussitischen Städten in den Akten des Prager Domkapitels im Zittauer Exil*, which should be published in 2022.

83 APW AMW, sign. 666 (Libri excessum et signaturarum 1434–1435), pag. 20. Mentioned (dated 1435) in ČAPSKÝ, *K postavení Vratislavi*, p. 354, footnote no. 20.

84 The other named guardians are Anna, the widow of Hanuš Neumeister, and Václav of Prague; the orphaned children are named as Mikuláš, Marek, Heincz and Affara; the buyer is Mikuláš Danyel. APW AMW, sign. 624 (Libri scabinorum 1433–1443), fol. 156v.

85 *Ibid.*, sign. 668 (Libri excessum et signaturarum 1438–1439), pag. 137.

86 *Ibid.*, pag. 138.

87 NA, Desky dvorské, sign. DD 23, pag. 142.

definitively: If and how he took part in Prague's cultural life, whether he engaged in arts patronage, how far east his business network stretched, how far he travelled in his lifetime, how his business changed during the Hussite Wars, in what manner he returned to Bohemia and whether he ever lived in Bohemia permanently again. We have no information about the fate of his foreign property. After Reinhard's death without heirs, King Ladislav granted Roztoky to Bedřich of Donín. The house U Slona, still referred to in 1429 as *domus quondam Reinhardi de Rems*,<sup>88</sup> became the final scene of an attempted coup in 1427 led by Hynek of Kolštejn and Jan Smiřický with the support of other gentlemen. After his armed men were defeated, Hynek retreated to the house U Slona to hide from the Old City defenders and lost his life there.<sup>89</sup> Later the house passed from owner to owner and was even used by the city council: in 1440 legates sent by Pope Felix stayed in the house and were feted during a visit from the rector and masters of the university with "confections from an apothecary".<sup>90</sup> In this regard Reinhard's fate is representative of the wave of exiles as a whole. Research thus far indicates that exiles returning to their original homes were relatively rare. Many died in exile before the Battle of Lipany and the Basel Compacts, and their children mostly assimilated into the populations of the exile locations, breaking ties with their former homes. Some restitutions were made after the revolution was over, but the legal situation was complicated and the restitutions tended to drag on for decades.<sup>91</sup>

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88 TOMEK, *Základy starého místopisu I*, p. 22, no. 609/610.

89 GOLL, *Kronika Bartoška*, 597.

90 TEIGE, *Základy starého místopisu*, p. 389, no. 609/610.

91 For the latest on issues involved in exiles returning to Prague, cf. MUSÍLEK, *Formy komunikace*.

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