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Chivalric migrations to Bohemia in the 13th century and the perspectives of research into them: case of Hoyer of Friedeburg reconsidered

Słowa kluczowe: migracje rycerskie w pełnym średniowieczu; Czechy w XIII w.; czeski dwór królewski za Przemysłidów

Keywords: chivalric migrations in the High Middle Ages; Bohemia in the 13th century; Czech royal court under the Přemyslids

Abstract: The article addresses key issues, as well as the methodology, opportunities and research limitations in the study of chivalric migrations to Central Europe in the 13th century. The case study concerns the court career of the Saxon nobleman Hoyer of Friedeburg in Bohemia.

In recent decades, Polish medievalists have made a significant contribution to the study of chivalric migrations, which were a part of great social and legal transformation of Central Europe in the 13th century. Wanderings of German noblemen and ministerials eastwards fundamentally changed ethnic structure of elites in some parts of the region, that launched fundamental political changes. Especially two Polish monographs dealing with the issue of foreign chivalry activities in Silesia¹ and

¹ This paper is a results of the research project no 2016/21/B/HS3/03581: "Migracje rycerskie do Czech w epoce Przemysłidów i pierwszych Luksemburgów (ok. 1150–1350)" funded by the National Science Center. 1 The following abbreviations are used in this paper: CDB – *Codex*

Western Pomerania² set the stage for further research. Recently, an attempt has been made to fill in the missing elements of the “migration landscape” – Bohemia until the end of the Přemyslid dynasty.³ Despite meticulous prosopographical research, the real scale of migrations and temporary visits of foreign knights in all cases remains difficult to estimate and probably exceeds the statistical data presented there. Therefore, the identification of the instances of such activity by German noblemen east of the German Reich’s borders seems to be as important task as any attempts at quantitative conclusions. When characterising the place of Silesia within the world of the chivalric migration of the 13th–14th centuries, Tomasz Jurek has provided a general picture of the East-Central European rulers who maintained magnificent courts and retinues. Their wealth and power sometimes significantly surpassed that of the territorial lords of the Reich. They eagerly hosted foreign guests – noblemen and ministerials of knightly status – using them in political contests against the local aristocratic elites and in dynastic disputes. They were also disposing of respectively greater material resources, by which were able to attract newcomers knights, usually striving for social advancement, new estates, and benefices as reward for service. Although a detailed picture of the phenomenon must be slightly relativised, the case study presented here is a good illustration of the above diagnosis. The subject of this

diplomaticus et epistolaris Regni Bohemiae: vol. 3/1, ed. G. Friedrich, Pragae 1943; vol. 3/2, ed. G. Friedrich, Z. Kristen, Pragae 1962; vol. 3/3, ed. G. Friedrich; vol. 4/1, ed. J. Šebánek, S. Dušková, Pragae 1962; vol. 4/2, ed. J. Šebánek, S. Dušková, Pragae 1965; vol. 5/1, ed. J. Šebánek, S. Dušková, Pragae 1974; vol. 5/2, ed. J. Šebánek, S. Dušková, Pragae 1981; vol. 5/3, ed. J. Šebánek, S. Dušková, Pragae 1982; CDLS – *Codex Diplomaticus Lusatiae Superioris*, vol. 1, ed. G. Köhler, Görlitz 1856; CDSR – *Codex diplomaticus Saxoniae Regiae*: IA, vol. 3 = *Die Urkunden der Markgrafen von Meissen und Landgrafen von Thüringen 1196–1234*, ed. O. Posse, Leipzig 1898; IA, vol. 4 = *Die Urkunden der Markgrafen von Meissen und Landgrafen von Thüringen 1235–1247*, ed. T. Graber, M. Kälble, Peine 2014; IA, vol. 5 = *Die Urkunden der Markgrafen von Meissen und Landgrafen von Thüringen 1248–1264*, ed. T. Graber, M. Kälble, Peine 2017; II vol. 1/1 = *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Meissen*, ed. E.G. Gersdorf, Leipzig 1864. T. Jurek, *Obce rycerstwo na Śląsku do połowy XIV wieku*, Poznań 1997; idem, *Fremde Ritter im mittelalterlichen Polen*, *Quaestiones Mediaevi Novae* 3 (1998), pp. 19–49; idem, *Rotacja elity dworskiej na Śląsku w XII–XIV w.*, [In]: *Genealogia. Władza i społeczeństwo w Polsce średniowiecznej*, ed. A. Radziwiński, J. Wroniszewski, Toruń 1999, pp. 7–27.

² K. Guzikowski, *Obce rycerstwo na Pomorzu Zachodnim do początku XIV wieku*, Szczecin 2013; idem, *Napływ rycerzy na Pomorze Zachodnie do początku XIV wieku – ujęcie kwantytatywne*, *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 33 (2014), pp. 7–20.

³ M. R. Pauk, *Bêheim hân ich mir erkorn. Obce rycerstwo w Czechach Przemyslidów (1150–1300)*, Warszawa 2022 (forthcoming).

paper is one particular character – Hoyer of Friedeburg, East Saxon nobleman who was making chivalric career at the Czech royal court in the first half of the 13th century. His case can be referred to as unique and typical alike.⁴ The social and political phenomena accompanying knightly migrations to Central and Eastern Europe will be shown from the individual perspective. The diversity and complexity of records concerning Hoyer can also highlight some aspects of methodological approach, and reveal some essential research limitations as well.

The Friedeburg family in Upper Saxony

The oldest sources concerning noble family of Friedeburg in Upper Saxony are rather scarce and do not reach far back before the first half of the 13th century. This can be considered the rule more than exception. The family took their name from the Friedeburg castle on the Saale river, nearby Halle, located in the very heartland of Wettin's oldest possessions east of the Harz Mountains. Although in one of the first records in 1219, Hoyer was called *comes*, the family did not stand out with the comital status.⁵ The Friedeburgs belonged, however, to the upper stratum of the Saxon free noble elite. The use of a similar set of family names (e.g. Hoyer) and the geographical location of landed property indicate that they may have been related to the Counts of Mansfeld. The ancestor of the Friedeburgs is considered to be Ulrich of Polleben, who was probably the first to own the Friedeburg castle. However, this is the same conjecture as the kinship to the Mansfelds. The case of the Friedeburgs illustrates a problems typical for the research on lesser nobility at the time: they did not produce autonomous documentation, so they are present almost exclusively in the charters of more powerful territorial rulers of the German Reich – margraves of Meissen and landgraves of Thuringia, bishops of Merseburg or archbishops of Magdeburg. The charters often testified stays in a margrave's entourage during court assemblies in Osterland or Mark Meissen.⁶ The family held its own monastic founda-

⁴ On the feasibility of research on knightly families in the 13th-century Saxony, recently A. Thieme, *Die frühen Herren von Bünau. Entwicklung und Strukturen bis zum 14. Jahrhundert (mit einem Regestenanhang)*, In: *Die Familie von Bünau. Adelherrschaften in Sachsen und Böhmen vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, ed. M. Schattkowsky, Leipzig 2008, pp. 97–150.

⁵ CDSR ser. IA, vol. 3, no. 268.

⁶ On the court assemblies due to judicial prerogatives of the markgrave: W. Schlesinger, *Zur Gerichtsverfassung des Markengebietes östlich der Saale im Zeitalter der deutschen Ostsiedlung (12. und 13. Jahrhundert)*, *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 2

tion, as well as vassals and ministerials.⁷ Ulrich and Hoyer of Friedeburg, who are believed to have been Ulrich's sons, have been appearing as witnesses in charters issued by Ludwig, Landgrave of Thuringia and Henry III the Illustrious, Markgarve of Meissen, from the second decade of the 13th century onward.⁸ The Friedeburgs are a good example of a middle-stratum aristocratic lineage who had rather limited capabilities of building up their own territorial power, due to existence of more powerful dynastic and ecclesiastical territorial lordships in their vicinity. The family's allodial land resources were located in the area under undisputed dominance of the Margraves of Meissen and Landgraves of Thuringia from the house of Wettin. The expansion of territorial lordships realised during the 12th–13th century through the promotion of their own ministerials, the extension of feudal bonds, establishing new cities and castles. These processes usually took place at the expense of the media-tized free lesser nobility.⁹ The latter were therefore looking for new opportunities for wealth and social advancement, and, like the Rhineland counts of Hückeswagen in the same period, also migrated far away. These phenomena should additionally be considered against the backdrop of increased mobility and expansiveness of the Saxon nobility, which emerged during the conquest and colonization of Polabian territories. Mark of Meissen, Upper Lusatia, and Pleissenland were the lands of origin for ca. 40 percent of chivalric families whose members arrived in the Czech Lands during the 13th century. Migrations from the same territories prevailed also in Silesia, which makes reasonable a view that without social dynamics developed in

(1953), pp. 1–92; R. Rink, *Dingen, Tagen und Beraten. Politische Partizipation im obersächsisch – meißnischen Raum bis zum Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Ostfildern 2021.

⁷ Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Merseburg, vol. 1, ed. P. Kehr, Halle 1899, nos 340, 341.

⁸ CDSR ser. IA, vol. 3, nos 268, 275, 325, 429, 430, 434, 497, 506; CDSR ser. IA, vol. 4, nos 3, 12, 13, 25; CDSR ser. IA, vol. 5, nos 79, 103, 123; H. Schieckel, *Herrschaftsbereich und Ministerialität der Markgrafen von Meissen im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen über Stand und Stammort der Zeugen markgräflichen Urkunden*, (Mitteldeutsche Forschungen vol. 7), Köln–Graz 1956, pp. 8 and 106.

⁹ Cf. H.K. Schulze, *Adelsherrschaft und Landesherrschaft. Studien zur Verfassungs- und Besitzgeschichte der Altmark, des ostsächsischen Raumes und des hannoverschen Wendlandes im hohen Mittelalter*, (Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, vol. 29), Köln–Graz 1963; H. Wittmann, *Im Schatten der Landgrafen. Studien zur adeligen Herrschaftsbildung im hochmittelalterlichen Thüringen*, (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Thüringen, Kleine Reihe vol. 17), Köln 2008; synthesizing the territorialization processes of the Reich in the High Middle Ages recently: *The Origins of the German Principalities, 1100–1350*, ed. G. Loud, J. Schenk, London–New York 2017.

the so-called *Germania Slavica*, the migration of German chivalry to the East would have been on a very negligible scale.¹⁰

The presence of the Friedeburgs in Upper Lusatia can be explained by the fact that they were looking for new prospects for development through colonization of new areas in the East. This may have been one of the premises for contact with the Přemyslids who ruled Upper Lusatia from the mid 12th century.¹¹ The Friedeburg property there left its mark on the name of the Upper Lusatian town of Hoyerswerda as well as the episcopal tithes in the Hoyers' holding from the whole area, held as a fief from the bishops of Meissen.¹² Pretty soon, most likely shortly after 1253, the dominion of the lords of Friedeburg around Hoyerswerda, became the property of markgraves of Brandenburg, new lords of the entire Upper Lusatia after Czech kings.¹³ There is no doubt about the colonization genesis of Hoyerswerda proprietary complex, located on the distant northern edge of the Bautzen land. The entrepreneurs starting up a rural and town settlement in this area, as evidenced by the name of the town, derived from the personal name.¹⁴ Hoyer's public activity, as seen in the sources, covers thus a relatively long-time span of more than thirty years, from ca. 1216 until 1249, and is mentioned as deceased in 1253.¹⁵ After 1229, Hoyer's activities in Saxony were no longer reflected in diplomatic sources, which

¹⁰ On the chivalric mobility associated with participation in the crusades to Palestine see recently: S. Tebruck, *Kreuzfahrer und JerusalemPilger aus dem sächsisch-thüringischen Raum (1100–1300)*, In: *Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im römisch-deutschen Reich (11.–13. Jahrhundert)*, ed. N. Jaspert, S. Tebruck, Ostfildern 2017, pp. 41–83.

¹¹ G.E. Schrage, *Die Oberlausitz bis zum Jahr 1346*, In: *Geschichte der Oberlausitz. Herrschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. J. Bahlcke, Leipzig 2001, pp. 55–66; K. Fokt, *Governance of a Distant Province in the Middle Ages: Case Study on Upper Lusatia*, Berlin–Boston 2017; L. Bobková, *Nejstarší doklady české vlády nad Budišínskem a Zhořeleckem*, In: L. Bobková et al., *Královská Horní Lužice. Panovnická reprezentace – mechanismy vlády – komunikace*, Praha 2021, pp. 20–44.

¹² *Historisches Ortsnamenbuch von Sachsen*, vol. 1, ed. E. Eichler, H. Walther, Berlin 2001, p. 442; CDSR ser. II/1, nos 215, 216; H. Knothe, *Geschichte des Oberlausitzer Adels und seiner Güter vom XIII. bis gegen Ende des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1879, p. 541.

¹³ The division of the Upper Lusatia between the two lines of the Ascanian house of 1268 also provided for fragmentation of Hoyerswerda dominion; see: CDLS vol. 1, no 58.

¹⁴ On the settlement of Upper Lusatia in this period: H. Helbig, *Die Oberlausitz im 13. Jahrhundert. Herrschaften und Zuwanderung des Adels*, Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands 5 (1956), pp. 59–127 (on Friedeburgs and Hoyerswerda, pp. 78–79).

¹⁵ Still useful survey of sources concerning the family of Friedeburg: H. Größler, *Geschichtskunde der edlen Herren von Friedeburg*, Mansfelder Blätter 5 (1889), pp. 80–103.

may indicate a permanent transfer of his interests to Lusatia and Bohemia. This does not mean, however, that he was no longer present north of the Ore Mountains: for example, he was mentioned in 1243 and 1246 in documents of his brother Ulrich and Burchard of Querfurt. The source base is, however, too tenuous for such a definite conclusion, but it is a fact that his brother Ulrich continued to be mentioned in the charters from Eastern Saxony.

Hoyer of Friedeburg in Bohemia: diplomatic records

Hoyer first appeared on Bohemian soil definitely in 1233, and we owe this information to chance. During a short civil war waged by King Vaclav I against his younger brother Premysl, Margrave of Moravia, the king's army plundered landed property owned by the Teutonic Order.¹⁶ The latter enjoyed, however, special protection of the East German territorial rulers since its very beginning, and many Thuringian and Saxon aristocrats became its members in the 13th century. For this reason, through the intercession of his German allies, Vaclav I provided the Teutonic Order with a village as compensation for the aforementioned loss. The king's charter, issued on that occasion in Sedlec monastery, mentions many of war participants presented as witnesses - first of all three Ascanian territorial rulers: Albrecht, duke of Saxony, Henry, count of Anhalt and Otto III, margrave of Brandenburg, as well as Turingian count Günther of Käfernburg. Hoyer of Friedeburg was also present there, together with a group of lesser noblemen from territories under the influence of the Wettins, margraves of Meissen: Meinher, burgrave of Meissen and Otto, burgrave of Dohna.¹⁷ Such distinguished Saxon lords had to be accompanied by great retinues of vassals and ministerials. A clear echo of participation in this expedition is the mention in the *Saxon Universal Chronicle* about the great army of king Vaclav I plundering Moravia.¹⁸ The opposite party in this conflict also benefited from the military support of German allies. Margrave Přemysl's father-in-law, Otto of Andechs, duke of Meran, visited Moravia at the same time heading a large group of his Frankish vassals and ministerials.¹⁹

¹⁶ On the political background of the conflict between king Vaclav I and his brother: V. Novotný, *České dějiny*, vol. 1/3, Praha 1928, pp. 649–653.

¹⁷ CDB vol. 3/1, no 54.

¹⁸ *Sächsische Weltchronik*, ed. L. Weiland, MGH Dt. Chron, vol. 2, Hannoverae 1877, cap. 377, p. 249.

¹⁹ Duke of Meran and his retainers witnessed margrave's donation for Andechs' family monastery at Langheim – CDB vol. 3/1, no 50.

The next testimony of Hoyer's stay in Bohemia differs very little from the previous one, as once again military activity is concerned. He was a member of Vaclav I's entourage in May 7, 1241 in Königstein on the occasion of the demarcation of the Czech estates and the Bishopric of Meissen in Upper Lusatia, and again a few months later – in October 1241 – in Hradec Králové in another royal privilege for the Teutonic Order.²⁰ The first testimony probably proves that in the spring 1241, Hoyer joined the Czech army marching north to reinforce Polish duke Henry II the Pious, the king's brother-in-law, fighting against the Mongols in western Silesia. Bohemian troops, however, were late to the battlefield at Legnica, which resulted in the Polish ruler's defeat and death. King Vaclav, fearing the Mongol invasion of the Kingdom of Bohemia, apparently kept his knights and Saxon allies under arms and, reinforced by the Thuringian knights of Landgrave Henry Raspe IV, marched towards Moravia. A permanent stay of the lord of Friedeburg at the court of Bohemia probably could not have been yet mentioned. He did not reappear in the royal diplomas until 1249.

Particularly well attested is Hoyer's participation in the civil war waged in late 1248 and early 1249 by King Vaclav I against his rebellious younger son, the future King Přemysl Otakar II and the Czech noblemen who supported him.²¹ For the Saxon nobleman this was a time of increased activity in Bohemia, and the apogee of his position at the royal court should be linked to it. In February 1249, Hoyer stayed at the king's side in Žatec in northern Bohemia, where Vaclav gathered his supporters and solicited reinforcements from the Reich, planning a decisive strike against the rebels. Two documents issued by the king at the time featured a sizable group of German knights, including from Lusatia and Pleissenland.²² His assisting in the royal grant to another influential newcomer and ally from Saxony, Erkenbert the Younger of Starkenberg, seems quite significant. Contacts between the lords of Friedeburg and the burgraves of Starkenberg-Döben precede Hoyer's arrival in Bohemia. The brothers Hoyer and Ulrich of Friedeburg testified jointly with any of the Erkenberts of Starkenbergs in several documents of the Margrave of Meissen, Henry the Illustrious, and Bishop Engelhard of Naumburg between 1228 and 1234. Due to his connections and position in Saxony, Hoyer could have had his merit in orga-

²⁰ CDB vol. 4/1, nos 4, 8.

²¹ L. Jan, *Domáci šlechtická opozice a přemyslovští králové 13. věku*, In: *Ritual smíření. Konflikt a jeho řešení ve středověku*, ed. M. Nodl, M. Wihoda, Brno 2008, pp. 87–95.

²² CDB vol. 4/1, nos 158, 160.

nizing military support of foreign knights for the Czech King. By this time, Hoyer usually occupied the first position on witness lists – such as in the royal diploma to the Bishop of Meissen in June 1249.²³ He testified royal diploma for the last time in December 1249 in Brno and, most probably, died shortly after that date.

A military involvement of German territorial lords in the internal conflicts in Bohemia and Moravia should be considered a new phenomenon. The numerous rivalries for power between members of the Přemyslid family in the 11th and 12th centuries could have involved only, although rather sporadically, personal interventions of the emperor himself. Meanwhile, in the 13th century, military expeditions to the Czech Kingdom, then also partaking in wars waged by the Czech king against Hungarians, or crusades to Pruthenia, became an opportunity for German knights to contact the royal court and the ruling elite of the country. Participation in military undertakings of own lords or foreign rulers could have brought not only adventure and fame but also certain material benefits in form of loots and ransoms for the prisoners. It also gave rulers an opportunity to reciprocate military services and honorable presence at the court. Experiences of such expeditions and exchange of information were by no means without influence on the decisions about individual trips or migrations to the Czech lands. Military escapades, as well as wandering due to participation in courtly feasts and tournaments, became a part of the new style of life of the knightly elite.²⁴ The agonistic model of courtly culture, with lookout for social advancement, knightly activities and generosity of the new lords, stimulated various elitary forms of mobility as a social practice.²⁵

Similarly to the rulers' assemblies in the German Reich, numerous armed conflicts that took place in the the mid-13th century in various parts of Central Europe were certainly a convenient opportunity for the German knights to spatial mobility. At the beginning of a wide wave of knightly immigrants to Silesia, as has been convincingly demonstrated by Tomasz Jurek, a large group of Saxon noblemen took part in the civil war between two Piast brothers in 1249. During this conflict, duke Boleslav II the Bald was supported by Wilbrand, archbishop of Magdeburg, and his vassals, while his younger brother Henry III of Wroclaw made an alliance with Henry the Illustrious, markgrave of Meissen. From among the participants of this

²³ CDB vol. 4/1, no 165.

²⁴ CDB vol. 4/1, no 175.

²⁵ CDLS vol. 1, no 61: “De decimis vero in Hoyerswerde, quas vir nobilis dominus Hogerus de Vredeberc a memorata ecclesia et episcopis Misnensibus in pheodo tenuit, sic etiam est tractatum, ut nos et fratres nostri eundem episcopum et succesores nunquam impediemus [...]”.

seemingly episodic expedition, many knights stayed longer in Silesia, and their next generation descendants settled there permanently.²⁶ This episode became a turning point for the presence of foreign knights at the Silesian ducal courts.

Conrad of Friedeburg, failed bishop of Olomouc

Clergymen from the German Reich were the first foreigners in Bohemia, long before German knights, who arrived in greater numbers in the 13th century. The progressive Bohemization of the clergy in the 12th century did not stop them from coming in search of lucrative Church benefices in Bohemia and Moravia. They often came from the same families of the Saxon noble elite as knightly newcomers. This was the case of Conrad of Friedeburg. Possibly, the considerable influence at the court of Wenceslas I made it easier for the lord of Friedeburg to promote other members of his family in Bohemia. Although Hoyer's well attested brother Ulrich may never have come to Bohemia, in 1241 a canon from Hildesheim, Conrad of Friedeburg, was nominated by the king for the bishopric of Olomouc and ordained by the Archbishop of Mainz, Siegfried, in contrary to the election of the chapter.²⁷ The date of this nomination, however, raises the question if in this case it was not a relative's ecclesiastical career that opened Hoyer's access to the Prague court. The degree of relationship between Conrad and Hoyer is not known because the family affiliation of the ephemeral bishop of Olomouc is only indicated by the opening note of the thirteenth-century chapter obituary, the so-called *Vita Brunonis*, and a catalog of Olomouc bishops known only from a late medieval copy.²⁸ This source clearly mentions King Vaclav I's interference in the election of Conrad, to the detriment of canon Wilhelm, who had previously been elected by the chapter. The politically minded new bishop, however, encountered resistance within his own chapter, which he tried to suppress by force. Nor was he recognized by the pope, who in 1245

²⁶ T. Jurek, *U początków niemieckiej migracji na Śląsk. Świadkowie układu Bolesława Rogatki z arcybiskupem magdeburskim Wilbrandem z 1249 roku*, [In:] *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, vol. 7, ed. S.K. Kuczyński, Warszawa 1996, pp. 107–127.

²⁷ On this figure recently at length: T. Sommer, E. Svobodová, *Konrad z Friedberka. Biskup, na kterého se mělo zapomenout*, *Časopis Matice moravské* 132 (2013), pp. 3–24.

²⁸ B. Dudík, *Über Nekrologe der Olmützer Domkirche*, *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* 65 (1883), p. 494: "Chunradus de Vriderberch"; *Das Granum catalogi praesulum Moraviae*, ed. J. Loserth, *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* 78 (1892), p. 80: "Chuonradus de Wrideberg".

appointed the provost of Lübeck, Bruno of Schaumburg, to the bishopric and ordered Vaclav I to accept him as bishop. However, Conrad's position in the Moravian Church, perhaps through the patronage of an influential relative at court, remained very strong. In 1248, he made a donation to the monastery at Velehrad, which was a forest given to him by the young margrave Přemysl.²⁹ It was not until 1252 that he was officially called bishop in the latter's charter, which may indicate that Přemysl may have used Conrad for some time to undermine the position of Bishop Bruno of Schaumburg, a supporter of King Vaclav. Vaclav I himself endowed solid material resources of the deposed hierarch in his bishopric: at the king's request, the pope granted Conrad a lifetime *beneficium* and accepted ecclesiastical prebends granted by the latter.³⁰ In this papal charter, Conrad was described as "in partibus illis nobilis [...] et potens" which seems to reflect well the position of the lords of Friedeburg at the Prague court at that time. Bishop Conrad also promoted members of his family during his short pontificate in Olomouc – his nephew and Hoyer's namesake was given a parochial prebend at Pohorelice in southern Moravia, which he lost shortly after his uncle was deposed.³¹

Hoyer of Friedeburg and so-called Dalimil: courtly fiction tradition?

The most important information about Hoyer's activity at the Czech royal court is provided by the Old Bohemian chronicle by an anonymous author called Dalimil, written in the second decade of the 14th century. This vernacular rhymed narrative is a concise compendium of homeland history, a strongly idealized vision of the distant and more recent past based not only on older historiographical records (eg. Cosmas' Chronicle and his continuators) but also the author's inventiveness. The worldview of so-called Dalimi was undoubtedly influenced by the contemporary political events. The chronicler's main concern was the accession to the throne of a foreign king, John of Luxemburg, as successor to an extinct native dynasty, and the threat to deprive the Czech lords of influence at the expense of John's foreign advisers. The

²⁹ CDB vol. 4/1, no 133.

³⁰ CDB vol. 4/1, nos 109, 110, 259; see D. Janiš, *Léno Holešov, jeho sídlo a držitelé ve 13. a 14 století (K vývoji lenních statků olomouckého biskupství ve středověku)*, [In:] *Castellum resurrectionis – Zámek opět vskříšený. Sborník odborné konference 13.–14.10.2015*, Holešov 2016, pp. 150–151.

³¹ CDB vol. 4/1, no 108.

text was written shortly after 1312, when the problem of foreign counsellors at John's court became a major political controversy in Bohemia. Bohemian magnates forced the king to temporarily dismiss German aristocrats from the court.³² However, it was not only current politics that shaped the author's extremely negative attitude toward the German newcomers. According to the chronicler, the Germans' hostility towards the Czechs was deeply rooted in the past, and the foreigners who came and settled in Bohemia posed a threat to the Czech political community. Since the end of the 11th century, the chronicler's narrative was almost obsessively subordinated to the idea of fighting the incoming Germans to preserve the Czech political community and its 'traditional values'. This conservative vision can be regarded an early form of politically motivated xenophobia and proto-nationalism. Although the term 'Němci' does not have a clear social qualification, it is evident from the context that in most cases it refers to noblemen, courtiers, and knights.³³ The ambivalent attitude of so-called Dalimil's to the Přemyslide rulers is manifested in the fact that most of them were accused of protecting intruders, favouring them as well as rewarding their services with material goods. The chronicler was traumatized by the prospect of the Czechs being deprived of their hereditary rights to property and land. Dalimil did not shy from glorifying the physical violence against the German newcomers, and he attributed to them the worst traits: treachery, greed, deceit and relentless conspiracy against the Czechs.

It seems somewhat strange, therefore, that Hoyer was not entirely a part of the aforementioned interpretive schemes of thinking about Germans. In chapter 79 (according to modern numeration) of his work, the author presented two loosely interconnected stories about king Vaclav familiarity with Hoyer, which share the place of action – an undisclosed court assembly (old Czech 'sněm') held by Emperor Frederick II. The concept of the story is simple: Hoyer defended the king twice – first the royal honor, and then he helped the king to avoid physical oppression. The first story concerns the conflict between the Czech ruler and the presumptuous abbot

³² *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, ed. J. Jireček, J. Emler, (Fontes rerum Bohemicarum, vol. 4), Pragae 1884, lib. 1, cap. 126, pp. 227–228.

³³ This problem has been a subject of controversy among Czech researchers, see: Z. Uhlíř, *Národnostní proměny 13. století a český nacionalismus*, *Folia Historica Bohemica* 12 (1988), pp. 143–170; J. Mezník, *Němci a Češi v Kronice tak řečeného Dalimila*, *Časopis Matice moravské* 112 (1993), pp. 3–10; most recently: M. Nodl, *Nationalismus und Nationalbewusstsein zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts und Karls Bemühen um ein konfliktfreies Bild des Zusammenlebens von Tschechen und Deutschen in Böhmen*, [in:] *Chronicon Aulae regiae – Die Königsaal-Chronik. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, ed. S. Albrecht, Frankfurt/Main 2013, pp. 192–196.

of Fulda, in which the Saxon nobleman rescued his master's honor. He was about to slap the abbot with a combat gauntlet for mocking the Czech ruler and calling him a "petty king". The plot of the story seems to refer to disputes about precedence which often broke out at court diets in the emperor's entourage. In this part of the story, Hoyer acted as an arbiter of courtliness, who mocked and punished bad manners of the abbot.³⁴ The second adventure of Vaclav I and Hoyer at the imperial court took an even more dramatic course. The King was threatened with imprisonment by the Emperor in order to force the cession of the revenues from six cities.³⁵ As a result, they both resorted to subterfuge to leave the imperial court safely. They brought hidden weapons into the palace to terrorize the emperor and his courtiers and then escape unharmed. As a reward for Hoyer's loyalty and help, the King granted him the town of Bilina.

The source of this story is unknown, and there is no reason to analyze the historical facts described here, as older positivist historiography used to do. The information about Hoyer's merits seems to be an epic court plot, perhaps passed down orally. It emphasizes the basic characteristics of a faithful vassal and courtier – concern for the honor of the suzerain, loyalty, and protection that he owes to his master. Mentioning Hoyer by the name is nevertheless unique when viewed alongside Dalimil's other references to German newcomers in Bohemia. The distinctiveness of Dalimil's account of the Saxon nobleman becomes even clearer in the light of the fact that he was described not in a negative manner, contrary to his other anonymous German countrymen: the chronicler did not even deny him the title of a 'hero'.³⁶ It seems relevant that the chronicler failed to refer to Hoyer directly as a German, but used the ethnically neutral term of newcomer – 'host' (visitor), also known from the almost contemporary Old Bohemian epic about Alexander the Great.³⁷ However, the figure of a foreign nobleman who undermined old Czech virtues returned immediately in the next verse of the chapter, once the chronicler went on to describe Hoyer's negative role as a promoter of a new pernicious courtly custom – chivalrous tournaments:

³⁴ *Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila*, vydání textu a veškerého textového materiálu J. Daňhelka, K. Hádek, B. Havránek, N. Kvítková, Praha 1988, vol. 2, c. 79, p. 326.

³⁵ *Ibidem*: this fictional thread seems to be a reference to the early 14th century claim of Albrecht I Habsburg to the revenues from the Kuttenberg mines.

³⁶ *Staročeská kronika*, vol. 2, c. 79, p. 327.

³⁷ *Alexandreida*, ed. A. Pražák, Praha 1947, p. 126.

Ojieř kláně a turnaj do Čech přinese / A tiem chudobu v zemi vnese. / Od té doby jechu se na turnejě jezdit, / A neužitečne navy činiti.³⁸

At this point, the author finally abandoned his hero and devoted the rest of the chapter to a sharp, even slightly derisive, criticism of the new knightly custom. According to the chronicler, the Czech noblemen were too much devoted to the new expensive form of entertainment, so their fighting efficiency started to deteriorate.³⁹ Possibly, the fable about introducing the tournaments to Bohemia existed originally as the third part of Hoyer's story, maybe from oral court tradition. The author, however, resigned from providing the details in order to draw attention to moral instructions, typical of his narrative style. The reliability of this account is doubtful and has been disputed by researchers, although the tournament tradition at Vaclav I's royal court comes from other sources, independent from Dalimil.⁴⁰ The chronicler's conviction of Hoyer's personal responsibility seems particularly interesting. It is difficult to find a similar source that would convey information about the emergence of some significant cultural fact in such a personalized way. The belief in the knightly tournaments as a cultural novelty during Vaclav I's reign was also shared by the anonymous late continuator of Cosmas' Chronicle from the Prague cathedral chapter. However, he did not identify a specific person responsible for it.⁴¹ The second quarter of the 13th century indeed seems to have been a breakthrough in the reception of elements of the Western chivalric culture in the Czech kingdom, as well as other parts of Eastern and Central Europe. This phenomenon is clearly related to the influx of knightly immigrants from the Reich. We do not know for sure if the first tournament in Bohemia was actually organized at the king Vaclav's court but we know from literary sources that the famous participants of the tournaments were

³⁸ *Staročeská kronika*, vol. 2, c. 79, p. 327 (vv. 61–64) [Hoyer brings tournament and jousting to Bohemia /and with it a great poorness to the land. /From this time on, they started going to tournaments / and cultivate useless manners].

³⁹ Ibidem: “Neumějí toho věděti, / by mi kto ráčil pověděti / proč Čechy za lidi stáchu / když turnejě ni klánie znachu. / A když počechu v turnej hráti, / tak za vilu počechu v boji státi. / Žet' jsú někteří dobří turnejníci, / jižť jsú u boji praví špatníci”.

⁴⁰ On the beginnings of chivalrous tournaments in Bohemia see: J. Macek, *Turnaj ve středověkých Čechách*, [In:] idem, *Česká středověká šlechta*, Praha 1997, pp. 114–133; most recently: L. Jan, *Počátky turnajů v českých zemích*, *Listy filologické* 128 (2005), pp. 1–19; idem, *Václav II. Král na stříbrném trůnu*, Praha 2015, pp. 419–430; also D. Dvořáčková-Malá, J. Zelenka, *Curia ducis, curia regis. Panovnický dvůr za vlády Přemyslovců*, Praha 2011, pp. 209–221.

⁴¹ *Přiběhy krále Václava I*, ed. J. Emler, (Fontes rerum Bohemicarum, vol. 2), Pragae 1874, p. 303: “Sub eius etiam temporibus adinventus est in Boemia ludus torneamentorum”.

two Austrian noblemen from Moravia, Kadold and Siegfried Waise who were also member of the king's entourage.⁴² It is therefore not a matter of sheer coincidence that the first tournament in Silesia, organized by duke Boleslaw II of Legnica in Lwówek (Lowenberg), was also recorded under 1247.⁴³

Grants for service

So-called Dalimil's account of King Vaclav I's endowment to Hoyer deserves more attention. The German knight was to come into possession of a castle or town Bilina, There was a very important early medieval settlement and local power center (castellany) in northern Bohemia.⁴⁴ Although the chronicler did not indicate any precise moment of Hoyer's remuneration, in his narrative it seems to be closely connected with defending the king's honor at the imperial assembly. Did it really happen just then? The record's credibility can be verified only by confrontation with other sources. Two other unrelated records inform about generous grants of the Czech king to his Saxon allies who supported him during the 1248–1249 rebellion. The donation to burgrave Erkenbert von Starckenberg is best documented in the royal charter: in 1249 he was given the town of Ustí on the Elbe and the village of Počaply⁴⁵. Notably, as a participant of the Bohemian civil war, Hoyer of Friedeburg was assisted by this donation in Žatec in February 1249. Another king Vaclav's ally, who was rewarded with landed property in Bohemia, undoubtedly due to his military service by the same occasion, was Frederick of Schönburg - powerful ministerial of Pleissenland. This time the information is provided in a late chronicle record by John Neplach, an abbot of a benedictine monastery in Opatovice.⁴⁶ Lord of Schönburg received then

⁴² A.M. Drabek, *Die Waisen. Eine niederösterreichisch-mährische Adelsfamilie unter Babenberger und Přemysliden*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 74 (1966), pp. 292–332; M. Weltin, *Die „Laaer Briefsammlung“. Eine Quelle zur inneren Geschichte Österreichs unter Ottokar II Přemysl*, Wien 1975.

⁴³ The information is provided by the chronicle of the monastery in Henryków, because the duke's knights conditioned their participation in the tournament on a religious feast day to a pious ruler's donation to the monastery; *Liber foundationis claustris sancte Marie Virginis in Heinrichow, czyli Księga Henrykowska*, ed. R. Grodecki, Wrocław 1991, lib. 1/6, p. 129.

⁴⁴ Recently T. Velínský, *Vzestupy a pády bilinských hradských správců*, In: *Středověká Evropa v pochybu. K počtĕ Jana Klápště*, ed. I. Boháčová, P. Sommer, Praha 2014, pp. 325–366.

⁴⁵ CDB vol. 4/1, no 158.

⁴⁶ *Johannis Neplachonis abbatis Opatovicensis chronicon*, ed. J. Emler, (Fontes rerum Bohemicarum vol. 3), Pragae 1882, p. 479: "A.d. MCCCX obiit Fridericus de Cymburk, cuius pater

the town of Děčín. Despite the diversity of respective records, all the three grants for German noblemen and king's allies have one important feature in common: the donations were important castles and town centers in Northern Bohemia, close to the place of origin of the benefactors. They came from the most prominent noble or ministerial families of Pleissenland and Upper Saxony,⁴⁷ and all the granted locations were of strategic importance from the point of view of transport across the Ore Mountains to the north. These findings allow us to conclude that the granting of Bilina. To Hoyer was compellingly placed in the context of the events of 1249: he also received a grant for his participation in the civil war.

As I have tried to prove elsewhere, on the basis of an analysis of the laconic account in the Colmar Chronicle and the late account of the Chronicle of Francis of Prague, the grants of Vaclav I to foreign knights were taken away from them immediately after the ruler's death in the autumn of 1253 in the course of a palace coup.⁴⁸ According to Francis, Vaclav's I demise was concealed by the courtiers and his body was taken to the Prague Castle. Subsequently, his beneficiaries were summoned by letters bearing the royal seal and forced to give up their possessions in front of the late king.⁴⁹ The chronicler emphasized that the victims of the conspiracy were receivers of the *castra regalia*, which perfectly fits the German beneficiaries of Vaclav I's generosity. His policy violated the interests of the powerful Bohemian magnate families in Northern Bohemia.

The two Hoyer sons (and the namesakes!) did not appear at the Bohemian court anymore. Political contacts with Bohemia were maintained, however, as evidenced by one of the brother's participation in the war expedition of King Přemysl Otakar

castrum Dyeczyn primum fundavit, quem rex Wenceslaus tercius propter victoriam habitam contra filium et per suam industriam procuratam in regno suo collocavit et regno tamquam fidelem et strenuum incorporavit". Contrary to the view of W. Schlesinger, *Die Landesherrschaft der Herren von Schönburg. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Staates in Deutschland*, Münster-Köln 1954, p. 93, this may obviously not refer to Vaclav III, but to his great-grandfather, Vaclav I. The reliability of Neplach's account has been questioned, among others by J.V. Šimák, *České dějiny*, vol. 1/5, Praha 1934, p. 674, albeit without full knowledge of the historical context.

⁴⁷ On the nobility of Pleissenland D. Rübsamen, *Kleine Herrschaftsträger in Pleissenland. Studien zur Geschichte des mitteldeutschen Adels im 13. Jahrhundert*, Köln-Wien 1987.

⁴⁸ For further details see: M.R. Pauk, *Niemieccy przybysze na dworze Wacława I. W kwestii początków migracji rycerskich do Czech*, [In:] *Dvory a rezidence ve středověku*, (Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica, Supplementum 1), ed. D. Dvořáčková-Malá, Praha 2006, pp. 87–106.

⁴⁹ *Chronicon Francisci Pragensis*, ed. J. Zachová, FRB ser. nova, Praha 1997, lib. 1/1, p. 7.

II against Hungarians in 1260 which ended with the victory at Groißenbrunn.⁵⁰ By participating in the military undertakings of the Bohemian king, the son in a way imitated the mode of participation of the Bohemian elite exercised by his father. It is very likely, however, that the brothers of Friedeburg inherited at least a part of their father's Bohemian land. However, they did not play any significant role at the Přemysl's court. The possession of landed estate in Bohemia by a lord of Friedeburg, besides Dalimil's record, is also reported in a charter of king Přemysl Otakar II for the Benedictines of Ostrov in 1277. As a compensation for unspecified landed property that had been previously taken away from the monastery, Přemysl granted the Benedictines several estates in the vicinity of Prague, including "bona nostra in Gemnik cum omnibus respectibus, videlicet universum districtum, qui fuit domini Hogeri de Vridberch."⁵¹ The word *districtus* should probably be understood here as a great estate, including Jemniký and its surroundings, a piece of the village of Pchery, a village and forest called Humny, and the settlements in Libušín, Vinařice and Žehrovice. It is reasonable to assume that also this property was granted by King Vaclav I and maybe provided a useful material background for Hoyer's stay at the Prague court. However, under unknown circumstances the estate was reverted to the crown. Hoyer's sons must have been in financial trouble because between 1262 and 1269, there was a massive sale of their German possessions. In 1267 Hoyer the Elder and Hoyer the Younger divided eventually the rest of their father's heritage: the property located in Bohemia went to the younger of them.⁵² However, it is not known which estates were involved. Probably soon afterwards, they were ceded to the king. The court and church career of the Lords of Friedeburg in the Přemyslid state lasted only one generation.

Reinmar of Zweter's *Her Hoier*: wandering knights and courtly poets

Researchers agree that at the time of the last Přemyslids, Prague was considered one of the main centres of courtly culture within the German Reich.⁵³ The royal

⁵⁰ CDB vol. 5/1, no 231: "Dominus Hoygerus de Vrideberch" was mentioned in an honourable place in the royal privilege for marshal Vok of Rožmberk, issued at the military camp near Laa an der Thaya.

⁵¹ CDB vol. 5/2, no. 841.

⁵² CDB vol. 5/3, no. 1395.

⁵³ J. Bumke, *Mäzene im Mittelalter. Gönner und Auftraggeber der höfischen Literatur in Deutschland*, München 1979, pp. 202–204; H.-J. Behr, *Literatur als Machtlegitimation. Studien*

court was in focus of interest for Minnesingers and itinerant poets, much more consistently than in the case of other German newcomers. Its cultural impact in the 13th century was to surpass other political centres of the Reich. This orientation towards the king himself – not only as a generous patron, but also the only recipient of poems – is most evident in the artworks of Reinmar of Zweter, the first well-known courtly poet on the Přemyslid court.⁵⁴ According to his own words, born on the Rhine, he has chosen Bohemia as a new homeland “mère durch den hêrren dan durch das lant.”⁵⁵ But what was the connection between the German Minne-singers in Prague and the much more wide-spread phenomenon of knightly migration to Bohemia? In a slightly exaggerated form, in a metaphorical camouflage of a game of chess (although with the intention of attracting a public), Reinmar complained about the lack of interest in his works on the part of other members of the courtly milieu.⁵⁶ This passage allows us to conclude that, at least at an early stage of chivalrous journeys, German-speaking poets like Reinmar did not follow their listeners, competent to receive *Spruch-* and *Minnedichtung* or heroic epics. Rather, they were in search of completely new patronage and audience. Reinmar’s testimony on the lack of broader interest in his compositions may therefore be regarded as consistent with the Bohemian social realities before the mid-13th century, where newcomers still represented a small group, and the new model of elitist culture was to be adopted in the native noble society. According to Dalimil, Hoyer of Friedeburg was one of the most influential *Kulturtägers*.

The source of knowledge about itinerant poets are almost exclusively their own works. Such material is rather scarce in more detailed autobiographical data, significantly limiting the knowledge about their social and material status, or family circle. Even visits and long-term stays of itinerant poets in Bohemia have left traces only

zur Funktion der deutschsprachigen Dichtung am böhmischen Königshof im 13. Jahrhundert, München 1989; an anthology of literary text in translation: *Moravo, Čechy, radujte se!* *Němectí a rakouští básníci v českých zemích za posledních Přemyslovců*, (Literaria germano-austro-bohemica, vol. 1), eds J. Bok, J. Pokorný, Praha 1998.

⁵⁴ J. Bumke, *Geschichte des deutschen Literatur im hohen Mittelalter*, München 1990, pp. 319–320; M.J. Schubert, *Reinmar von Zweter*, [In:] *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 21, Berlin 2003, pp. 379–380, [online] <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118599518.html#ndb-content> [Accessed 5.07.2022].

⁵⁵ *Die Gedichte Reinmars von Zweter*, ed. G. Roethe, Leipzig 1887, no 150, p. 486.

⁵⁶ R. Nedoma, *Ich hân den künec al eine noch: Zur Schachmetaphorik bei Reinmar von Zweter (Roethe, Spruch Nr. 150)*, [In:] *Vindærinne wunderbærer mære. Gedenkschrift für Ute Schwab*, ed. M. Schulz, Wien 2013, pp. 349–358.

in the chivalric poetry. These assertions can be applied to Reinmar of Zweter, the undoubtedly first and most outstanding author of the knightly lyrics called *Spruchdichtung* in the 13th-century Bohemia. The difficulty with determining the chronology of his residence at the Přemyslid court also seems telling. It is reconstructed only upon indirect premises and political events mirrored in his poems, rendering it strongly disputable. Reinmar's activity in Bohemia was once placed between 1234 and 1241, although recent scholars tend to date his arrival to Prague around 1237.⁵⁷

The social rank of the migrant poets, including Reinmar's, was usually too low to be disclosed in any Czech records; similarly they were not mentioned in royal diplomas. On the other hand, the other German newcomers were also absent from their king-centered poetry, although the poets must have had contacts with their compatriots visiting Bohemia.⁵⁸ It is probably a piece by Reinmar of Zweter that offers an exception to this rule – again the case of Hoyer of Friedeburg. The *Spruch* no. 182 by Reinmar is particularly noteworthy as it mentions a certain *her Hoier* whose identity is rather difficult to determine. The poem deals with a problem of summoning an old man for a court duel which was regarded as defying the norms of courtly behavior. Sir Hoyer appears as an authority whose opinion the poet relies on. According to the older scholarly interpretation, Reinmar meant here his contemporary, count Hoyer II of Falkenstein, a prominent figure known as a lord and protector of Eike von Reggow, author of the *Saxon Mirror*. Henceforth the alleged legal norm referred to in Reinmar's poem was to refer to the judicial duel in the *Saxon Mirror*. However, Gustaw Roethe, the first editor of Reinmar's works, pointed out that the prohibition of forcing the old man to a duel did not appear in any part of the *Sachsenspiegel* and could only be rather a moral standard than a legal norm.⁵⁹ This notion seems to be very plausible. The *hoverecht* mentioned in the piece should therefore be interpreted as a good courtly manner, and its arbiter does not necessarily be Hoyer of Falkenstein. Reinmar's activity on the Prague royal court coincided with Hoyer's visits there. It is more likely therefore, that the poet mentioned the lord of Friedeburg rather than the count of Falkenstein. This motive seems to fit Hoyer's image as a propagator of chivalric culture and courtly customs in Prague.

⁵⁷ H.-J. Behr, *Literatur*, pp. 83–96.

⁵⁸ Only the anonymous author of the epic about the crusade of landgrave Ludwig of Thuringen, active around 1300 in Silesia in the entourage of duke Bolko I of Fürstenstein, mentioned two newcomers from Thuringia who settled in Moravia or the Opavian region – Ludwig of Medlice recognized in Moravian sources and the unidentified Heinrich von der Mere.

⁵⁹ See the introduction to the edition: *Die Gedichte*, pp. 77–78.

Hoyer's liturgical commemoration in Bohemia

The verification of Dalimil's account on Hoyer's prominent role at the King Vaclav I's court is yielded by unprecedented forms of his *memoria* in Bohemia. Royal pious bestowal in favour of the hospital of Crusaders of the Red Star in Prague seems particularly unprecedented. The monastery of St. Francis was founded by Vaclav I and his sister Agnes of Prague, situated in the very heart of Prague's Old Town near the bridge over the Vltava. The royal donation was made a few weeks before the king's death for the salvation of the donor's soul as well as "*dilecti nobis Hogeri de Vredeberc.*"⁶⁰ Inclusion of the commemoration of a courtier or a vassal in the act of the ruler's piety should be considered rather exceptional. It clearly proves a special personal relationship between the donor and the beneficiary, while even members of the indigenous noble elite were not customarily included in royal acts of liturgical commemoration. There is more: the obituary entries of Hoyer and his wife Sophia were also included in the obituary of the Dominican nunnery in Prague, preserved in a 14th-century manuscript.⁶¹ Admittedly, the monastery of St. Anne was founded only in the late 13th century but its obituary contains indisputably older entries, dating back to the mid-century. The people commemorated therein were strictly associated with the Přemyslid court during the reigns of Vaclav I and his son Přemysl Otakar II. There are other royal courtiers and officers mentioned, for example *iudex terre*, Oldřich of Říčany and three generations of the Schlieben family, immigrants from Mark Meissen, whose members Rudolf, Albert, and Jaroš enjoyed highest offices at the royal court.⁶² The presence of Hoyer and his wife in this obituary is therefore not accidental. This accumulation of commemorative mentions can be considered the consequence of Hoyer's distinguished position in the Czech power elite. His death and burial may also have occurred in Bohemia, maybe in one of the royal church foundations in Prague.

⁶⁰ CDB vol. 4/1, no 288.

⁶¹ J. Emler, *O necrologiu kláštera sv. Anny v Praze*, Zvláštní otisk ze zpráv zasedacích Kralovské české společnosti nauk, Praha 1878, p. 5: "VII Id. Febr. obiit dominus Hogerius de Friedberch"; "VIII Id. Febr. Obiit Sophia uxor domini Hogerii".

⁶² See further M.R. Pauk, *Migrace – protekce – asimilace. Lužičtí Schliebenové v české politické elitě 13. století*, Časopis Matice moravské 131 (2012), pp. 117–128.

Conclusions

A distinctive feature of the foreign knights at the Prague court in the time of the last Přemyslids, like Hoyer of Friedeburg, was a high social status, higher than of the average newcomer at the time at the courts of Silesian dukes. The case of Hoyer illustrates the issue of the exclusive nature of the Prague court where promotion and career were much more difficult for the immigrants than at the numerous and therefore more easily accessible Silesian courts. However, a large number of noble newcomers did not treat Prague or Bohemia as a permanent destination. There are only few examples in this social circle that fully met the definition of migration. Being a part of the king's entourage could facilitate proprietary expansion to the south of the Ore Mountains, where new allodial or beneficiary lands were located.

The case of Hoyer and the family from Friedeburg illustrate the problems related to the free knightly family of middle social status in the formation and consolidation of the territorial lords of the Wettins, Askanians and bishoprics in Eastern Saxony in the 13th century. Tours to the Czech lands, a career at the royal court of Prague and a search for new estates in the lands under the Czech king's authority can be interpreted as a strive for new opportunities to enjoy the prestige, reputation and material advantage of the family. However, the existence of a single power center, like the royal court in Prague, which in fact accepted only the most socially powerful individuals, seems to have been the main feature that conditioned the scale and the success of migrating to Bohemia. What is particularly original about Hoyer is that courtly tradition and fictional motifs in historiography are intertwined in his biography with bare facts, well attested in diplomatic sources. Sometimes their accounts seem to coincide and complement each other, but eventually they are too laconic for a complete reconstruction of the life of this interesting figure. The limitations inherent in the source material itself seem all too obvious.

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Résumé

Chivalric migrations to Bohemia in the 13th century and the perspectives of research into them: case of Hoyer of Friedeburg reconsidered

The article focuses on the issues of the migration of German knights to Bohemia in the 13th century from the perspective of a significant figure, a Saxon nobleman Hoyer of Friedeburg – a courtier and favorite of king Wenceslaus I. Hoyer's figure serves as a point of reference for more general remarks on the mobility of knights in the High Middle Ages – such as the typicality or uniqueness of his career as a migrant, the variety of the available source accounts, and the possibilities of source research on migration in the 13th century.

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