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„Late Medieval Economic Change in the Austrian Danube Region: Towards an Empirical Perspective Based on the Rent Rolls of the Bishopric of Passau (c. 1250 – 1367)“

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1. Introduction

In this thesis, I investigate changes in the relations of production on estates of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, mainly along the stretch of the Danube in what is today Austria. I want to explore how the relations among those involved in the production process changed in said area over this period of significant economic, climatic, and demographic changes. Previous research on the subject matter, timeframe and area in question is sparse and often merely descriptive, remaining disconnected from wider debates in the late medieval economic history of Europe. Therefore, I seek to lay the groundwork for embedding this area in the emerging picture of regionally diverging late-medieval economic and social development.

I attempt to do this by addressing five aspects of the late medieval feudal economy. First, I describe the form and mode of surplus appropriation over time by considering manorial organization, the structure of feudal rent and land use. Second, I seek to ascertain what changes there were to dues and services. Third, I explore forms of and changes in producers' property rights to land. Fourth, I attempt to determine the development of feudal rent recorded in coin and grain. Fifth, I endeavour to provide an insight into how producers were differentiated internally.

I seek to anchor my research in the debates around the late-medieval crisis and the ensuing regionally diverging paths of economic development and to provide an empirical base for further discussions. I do this by initially deriving parameters of economic change from the scholarly debate on the late medieval crisis. Next, I review the existing literature regarding said parameters on Austria and its adjacent areas to the West. Lastly, I selected rent rolls of the Bishopric of Passau between around 1250 and 1367 as my source basis and adjusted the corpus of parameters to the list of research questions given above. From the rent rolls, I took the data from 15 Austrian estates included in the rental at least twice. I then made them operable using Microsoft Excel and create an additional database of all persons and

institutions mentioned. This enables me to seek answers to my research questions, working both qualitatively and quantitatively.

Thus, I find regional differences in lordly involvement in agriculture, depending on proximity to urban centres, navigable waterways and the practice of viticulture. Moreover, I find differentiating sources of surplus and partly intensified land use. Regarding dues and property rights, there is a superficial shift to payments in coin and increased heritability over time. Results regarding the development of feudal rent in coin and grain are often implausible, casting the applicability of the sources employed for this endeavour into doubt. The differentiation of producers finally increases as far as professions and positions, as well as labels of personal status are concerned, though largely concomitant with the increase in source quality.

2. The Late Medieval Crisis: Research Discussions and Parameters for Empirical Research

To explore the impact of crises on relations of production in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, I first review the existing literature to lay out the viewpoints under which crises have been considered in the historiography of late medieval economic history. Grounded in this comparative investigation, I will establish the parameters I deem important in distinguishing one region from another in the emerging picture of regionally divergent development towards capitalism in late-medieval Europe. These parameters will form the basis of my research questions in this thesis. The research questions described above in the introduction constitute a selection I have made based on the feasibility of answering them with the sources and resources available to me. I will give more detail on the sources I chose and why they do not lend themselves well to investigation into some of the parameters in sections 3.1. and 3.2. Subsequently, after laying out the general parameters based on the discussions in the literature, I describe what the results regarding empirical work on the region and its adjacent areas show.

Research into the effects the crises of the late Middle Ages in Europe had on labour relations may be summarized by considering the terms and questions that addressed this problem.¹

¹ This description of the history of research in the field is partly based on previous seminar papers I have written. One about the economic impact of the second plague pandemic on Austria in the fourteenth century, using a collection of customals, the other concerning the applicability of the Brenner-Theses on Upper and Lower Austria in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. In my structuring of different theoretical traditions, I follow Peter Kriedte, see Peter Kriedte, "Spätmittelalterliche Agrarkrise oder Krise des Feudalismus?," *Geschichte und*

On the one hand, some base their analysis on demographic factors and the ratio between the production factors land and labour. Major early proponents of this strand of research were Wilhelm Abel and Michael M. Postan. Research questions following this approach centre on movements of population, prices and wages. The resulting hypotheses are long-term demographic and economic trends. According to these, the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries saw demographic growth, rising prices for staple foods like grain and low wages. Over the course of the fourteenth century, demographic decline, falling grain prices and rising wages set in. In this explanatory tradition, the ratio of population and land explains the famines of the early fourteenth century. Then, following the plague, a persistent crisis of agricultural production began, as productivity grew while prices fell, combined with the rising cost of wage labour, where utilized.²

On the other hand, there are those whose questions focus on relations of production and exploitation. Consequentially, differing evidence comes into focus. Instead of the movements of population and prices, relations between feudal landlords and their subjects, as well as the mode of production in which they operate, Feudalism, are considered.³ Therefore, questions regarding personal dependence, property rights, as well as modes and rates of exploitation took the centre stage. An influential contribution from this perspective was Maurice Dobb's *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*. According to Dobb, low productivity in agriculture combined with growing appropriation of peasants' surplus by feudal landlords was responsible for the economic crisis of the fourteenth century. Moreover, he argued that lordly appropriation already exceeded actual surplus before the beginning of the second plague pandemic, causing peasants to flee the estates.⁴ While he did attribute an effect to the demographic decline, he saw it as merely abetting an already ongoing process. In Dobb's narrative, lords met the problem of a diminishing labour force with restrictions on mobility

Gesellschaft (1981), 7, 42–68. For an overview of research on the crisis of the fourteenth century that also includes approaches such as Institutional Economics and climate history, see Harry Kitsikopoulos, "Introduction," in *Agrarian Change and Crisis in Europe, 1200-1500*, ed. Harry Kitsikopoulos (New York/London, 2012), 1–22. For a general overview of the economic history of the Middle Ages using the example of England with a similar structuring of theoretical approaches, consider John Hatcher and Mark Bailey, *Modelling the Middle Ages: The History and Theory of England's Economic Development* (Oxford, 2011).

² See Kriedte, "Spätmittelalterliche Agrarkrise oder Krise des Feudalismus?," 43–44; where he gives an overview of the arguments by Abel and Postan.

³ See Hatcher und Bailey, *Modelling the Middle Ages*, 66.

⁴ See Maurice Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (London, 1946). Specifically 42–43 and 47–48.

and higher dues. This process is summarized under the term *seigneurial* or *feudal reaction*,⁵ which is said to have had different outcomes in western and eastern Europe.

Over the course of the second half of the twentieth century, the study of the effects of crises in the late Middle Ages developed further. Resulting from the interaction of the two major approaches described above, new questions were raised. Exemplary of this interaction was the so-called *Brenner-Debate*.⁶ In his controversial 1976 article,⁷ the eponymous Robert Brenner argued for the secondary status of demographic factors. Their effects, he held, depend on the class structure founded in the specific relations of production of a particular society. According to Brenner, changes in this class structure only came about in a mediated manner as a result of the class struggle inherent to said structure.⁸ This constitutes an advance vis-à-vis Dobb's vision of a flight of producers. Instead, Brenner argues for investigating their resistance. It also brings me to another important question of this strain of research: the fate of serfdom. For Brenner, whether serfdom vanishes, persists or is reintroduced as an outcome of the class struggle of the fourteenth century and onwards is an important crossroads for the differentiating development taken by European regions towards capitalism.⁹ Conversely, for historians arguing from the viewpoint of population and resources, the demographic decline of the fourteenth century was what forced feudal lords to offer better conditions to retain a labour force on their land and maintain their revenue from it.¹⁰

To me, the major questions raised by the Brenner-Debate are twofold. First, regarding causation: is there a primacy of the social or the demographic? Brenner criticized proponents of the demographic approach, particularly M. M. Postan and Emanuel Le Roy Ladurie, for merely examining the distribution of what is produced, regardless of the conditions under which production was organized. In addition, he quite convincingly described thinking

⁵ See Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, 48 and 51.

⁶ For the most important contributions to this debate, see Trevor Henry Aston and Charles Harding English Philipin, *The Brenner debate* (Cambridge: Cambridge university press, 1993).

⁷ First published in 1976: Robert Brenner, "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe," *Past and Present* (1976), 70: 1, 30–75. I will be quoting from the version published in the summary volume by Aston and Philipin: Robert Brenner, "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe," in *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe*, eds. T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philipin (Cambridge, 1985), 10–63.

⁸ See Brenner, "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe," 11–12.

⁹ See Brenner, "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe," 12 and 34–35.

¹⁰ For an example falling into this line of reasoning, see for instance Richard H. Britnell, "Land and lordship: common themes and regional variations," in *Agriculture and Rural Society after the Black Death: Common themes and regional variations*, eds. Ben Dodds and R. H. Britnell (Hatfield, 2008), 149–167. Particularly 151–152 and 158.

exclusively in the terms of supply and demand as inadequate for understanding the relations between producers and landlords. In his reasoning, it was not supply and demand alone that mediated between the production factors land and labour, but ultimately the arrangements of property and exploitation upon which the relations of production are founded.¹¹

The second question raised concerns the role of empirical evidence behind various arguments in the discussion of the effects of crisis in the late Middle Ages. Postan, together with John Hatcher, charged Brenner with misunderstanding or even ignoring the empirical impact of demography justified by the source material.¹² Even Guy Bois, who, in principle, shares in Brenner's valuing of the social and political over the demographic,¹³ echoed the critique of Brenner's treatment of empirical findings.¹⁴ This question also extends to the question of overexploitation, i.e. direct producers having to render dues beyond the surplus yielded by their labour. John Hatcher and Mark Bailey, for example, argue that feudal dues were already fixed before the advent of the crisis. Accordingly, feudal income must have been dependent on the number of subjects and the continuation of assarting. The end of the period of population growth must therefore have had a negative impact on feudal rents, thus weakening the position of lords.¹⁵ They perceive a lack of attention paid to the development of actual feudal income during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Moreover, the actual point at which overexploitation occurs and whether all peasant producers were equally affected is often unclear in their opinion.¹⁶

Past the Brenner-Debate,¹⁷ international research into the effects of crisis in the late Middle Ages has seen some important changes. While the facts of the crisis remain in consensus,¹⁸ earlier research has come under scrutiny.¹⁹ One major development has been a reconsidering

¹¹ See. Brenner, "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe," 16–17.

¹² See Michael M. Postan and John Hatcher, "Population and Class Relations in Feudal Society," in *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe*, eds. T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philipin (Cambridge, 1985), 64–78. Here: 64.

¹³ See Guy Bois, "Against the Neo-Malthusian Orthodoxy," in *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe*, eds. Aston, T. H. and Philipin, C. H. E. (Cambridge, 1985), 107–118. Here: 107–108.

¹⁴ See Bois, "Against the Neo-Malthusian Orthodoxy," 116.

¹⁵ See Hatcher and Bailey, *Modelling the Middle Ages*, 89.

¹⁶ See Hatcher und Bailey, *Modelling the Middle Ages*, 104–105.

¹⁷ Christopher Dyer and Philipp Schofield put the ending of this debate into the last decade of the twentieth century, see Christopher Dyer and Philipp Schofield, "Recent Work on the Agrarian History of Medieval Britain," in *The Rural History of Medieval European Societies: Trend and Perspectives*, ed. Isabel Alfonso (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007), 57–92. Here: 44.

¹⁸ See Dyer and Schofield, "Recent Work on the Agrarian History of Medieval Britain," 42.

¹⁹ See Dyer and Schofield, "Recent Work on the Agrarian History of Medieval Britain," 22.

of central terms, such as *peasants*. The critique of often ideological projections on medieval peasant farmers has opened up the field to new questions. Rural land markets, market participation in general, economic inequality on the village level and technological change, among others, are important new issues.²⁰ In line with other fields, the 1990s also saw the decline in the importance of master-narratives in the field of rural medieval history.²¹

Ultimately, what are the central aspects of late-medieval economic development which have to be addressed to answer the questions of how and why relations between the groups involved in the production process changed in Austria in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries? Where would empirical research on these aspects help situate the region of Austria within the discussions outlined above? First would be the factors of production, land and labour, as well as prices and productivity. To establish the ratio of existing labour to the available land, the demography of the region has to be investigated to determine how population developed over the timeframe outlined above. In connection with this, the development of prices and wages has to be considered. In addition, agricultural technology, yields and environmental factors would have to be studied to determine the productivity of agriculture. Furthermore, research into how these factors actually played out in the realm of rural production would be necessary. This includes the form and mode of surplus appropriation, the development of dues and services, overexploitation, property rights by producers to the land and also their resistance. Finally, the internal differentiation of producers, both economic and social, would have to be observed over time according to the aspects outlined before. As stated above, why I have chosen to disregard some of these factors in this thesis at hand will be discussed in section 3.2.

2.1. The State of Research on the Late Medieval Economic Development of Austria

Research into the socio-economic dynamic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has largely passed by the area of Austria and remains scarce. Modern contributions often seem to omit the area to focus either on what is today Germany or on the other central European countries to the north and east.²² This was not always so, as is evident in the work of historians

²⁰ See Isabel Alfonso, "Comparing National Historiographies of the Medieval Countryside: An Introduction," in *The Rural History of Medieval European Societies: Trend and Perspectives*, ed. Isabel Alfonso (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007), 1–20. Here: 9–10.

²¹ See Alfonso, "Comparing National Historiographies of the Medieval Countryside: An Introduction," 11.

²² For an example of this tendency, see Shami Ghosh, "Rural Economies and Transitions to Capitalism," *Journal of Agrarian Change* (April 2016), 16: 2, 255–290. See also Grzegorz Mysiowski, "Central Europe," in *Agrarian Change and Crisis in Europe, 1200–1500*, ed. Harry Kitsikopoulos (New York/London, 2012), 250–291. The reason

like Alfons Dopsch. His work on the rent rolls of the territorial princes, published in 1904, is largely descriptive and when it veers into the theoretical it remains very much in the frames of its day. Nevertheless, much of the empirical results and the quality of source work remains seminal.²³ Since then, however, research in medieval rural history in general and into the effects of crisis on rural medieval society in particular has been sparse. Herbert Klein's 1960 article "*Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkungen auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer*" is a notable exception. Very much in the tradition of Wilhelm Abel, Klein uses primary sources to gather evidence on the demographic impact of the beginning second plague pandemic, mainly paying attention to lords' disposal of labour power.

Since then, however, there has been little advance. In a 1974 overview article, Roman Sandgruber also argues from Abel's viewpoint, but without taking recourse to findings originating from the area.²⁴ In this, he is not alone. Indeed, it is a common occurrence when following up citations supporting statements on late-medieval Austrian economic and social circumstances to arrive at research actually dealing with other regions.²⁵ Empirical, data-based studies undertaking small scale research into socio-economic changes in the area often only focus on centuries after the year 1400.²⁶

Why has Austrian historiography been unable to produce much work in the field of medieval rural history, not to mention theoretical innovations or contributions to international discussions? Julien Demade's attempt to answer these questions for German-language historiography in general stresses two main points. First, the persistent thematic and organizational influence of historians who had participated in the ideological undergirding of mid-twentieth-century fascism throughout the second half of the century.²⁷ Despite changing

for this may of course, quite simply, be that there is little to no empirical studies on the area and the time published in a manner that is easily available to an international audience (or published at all).

²³ Alfons Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, ed. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien/Leipzig, 1904).

²⁴ See Roman Sandgruber, "Agrarpolitik zwischen Krisen und Konjunkturen," in *Bauernland Oberösterreich: Entwicklungsgeschichte seiner Land- und Forstwirtschaft*, ed. Alfred Hoffmann (Linz, 1974), 96–117.

²⁵ This is especially the case for overview works, which I have been forced to consult here also due to the lack of research explicitly the late medieval economy of Austria.

²⁶ Among them are the following: Georg Grüll, *Der Bauer im Lande ob der Enns am Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts: Abgaben und Leistungen im Lichte der Beschwerden und Verträge von 1597-1598* (Linz, 1969); Helmuth Feigl, *Die niederösterreichische Grundherrschaft* (St. Pölten: Verein für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich, 1998); Herbert Knittler, *Nutzen, Renten, Erträge* (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1989); Thomas Ertl, Thomas Frank, and Samuel Nussbaum, eds, *Busy tenants: peasant land markets in Central Europe (15th to 16th Century)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2021).

²⁷ Primarily for the field: Wilhelm Abel, Friedrich Lütge and Günther Franz, but also Otto Brunner and Alphons Dopsch. See Julien Demade, "The Medieval Countryside in German-language Historiography since the 1930s," in *The rural history of medieval European societies: trends and perspectives*, ed. Isabel Alfonso (Turnhout, Belgium:

monikers for the kind of historiography pursued,²⁸ this legacy, according to Demade, has resulted mainly in a narrowed focus on the nobility.²⁹ The second point concerns the institutional development of history as a field in general and rural history in particular. On the one hand, Demade argues, German-language historiography has not taken over historical subject matters relinquished by other fields.³⁰ On the other hand, rural history has increasingly become institutionalized separately as *Landesgeschichte*.³¹ Finally, while Demade grants that there has been some productive intervention by historians from other countries and work trying to test Abel's theses,³² his conclusion, especially as it concerns Austrian historiography is damning: while Germany and Switzerland are both covered in the conclusion, modern Austrian research is not even featured.³³ Consequentially, the alpine lands still need to be situated in the emerging picture of different European regions and their medieval agrarian development.³⁴

Below, I have sought to outline the existing research in this field. Since it is often very much connected to research on South-Western Germany and Bavaria, I have found it unavoidable to also include authors working on these regions. However, I strive to point out where I am referring to circumstances actually attested for the region of Austria and where I am merely building on research results from the adjacent areas to the west. Unfortunately, this causes a marked imbalance in the literature reviewed, as the research states on the remaining adjacent regions to the north, east and south, are not covered.

Brepols, 2007), 173–252. Here: 173, 175–177. Of the Austrian historians I have mentioned here before, Georg Grüll is also to be counted among this group.

²⁸ These being *Verfassungsgeschichte*, *Strukturgeschichte* and *Sozialgeschichte*. See Demade, "The Medieval Countryside in German-language Historiography since the 1930s," 201.

²⁹ See Demade, "The Medieval Countryside in German-language Historiography since the 1930s," 206–208.

³⁰ See Demade, "The Medieval Countryside in German-language Historiography since the 1930s," 199–201.

³¹ See Demade, "The Medieval Countryside in German-language Historiography since the 1930s," 206.

³² See Demade, "The Medieval Countryside in German-language Historiography since the 1930s," 216–217 for international interventions and historians trying to test Abel's theses. On 218–219, Demade also mentions work done by Austrian historians: Herbert Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* (1960), 100, 91–170; Kurt Klein, "Quantitative Informationen zu Verödungserscheinungen des 14.-16. Jahrhunderts in Niederösterreich," in *Mittelalterliche Wüstungen in Niederösterreich. Vorträge und Diskussionen des dritten Symposions des Niederösterreichischen Instituts für Landeskunde. Bildungshaus Großrußbach, 5.-7. Juli 1982*, eds. Helmuth Feigl and Andreas Kusternig (1983), 55–74; and Othmar Pickl, "Die Auswirkungen des grossen Sterbens auf die Siedlungsstruktur der Steiermark," in *Wirtschafts- und sozialhistorische Beiträge: Festschrift für Alfred Hoffmann zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Herbert Knittler (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1979).

³³ See Demade, "The Medieval Countryside in German-language Historiography since the 1930s," 237.

³⁴ See Ludolf Kuchenbuch, "Vom Dienst zum Zins? Bemerkungen über agrarische Transformationen in Europa vom späten 11. zum Beginnenden 14. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie* (2003), 51, 11–29. Here: 11.

2.2. Population, Prices and Agricultural Production

A sizeable part of previous research on that part of the east-alpine regions and its adjacent regions to the west has been conducted within the population and resources paradigm. Therefore, established results in this area cover the development of population, settlement and prices. While Herbert Klein in his mid-twentieth-century work on Salzburg argued for population decrease as the sole cause of crisis phenomena, such as the desertion of villages,³⁵ more recent research in this vein seems to be unanimous in detecting a late medieval agrarian crisis. An important voice in this field is Werner Rösener. Working on south-western Germany, his argumentation is often oriented along the framing of Postan and Abel but also stresses the weight of feudal dues as having played an important role.³⁶ For the late medieval crisis phenomena, he both speaks of an *Agrardepression* (i.e. late medieval agrarian crisis) and of a crisis of manorialism (*Krise der Grundherrschaft* in German).³⁷ Falling somewhat out of line here is Philippe Dollinger. In his work on Bavaria, he also stressed lasting peasant resistance³⁸ and thus to an extent class struggle, rather than a mere negotiation of differing interests via supply and demand. Among those few working in the field more recently, Markus Cerman in his 2006 overview of the medieval foundations of economic and social changes in the Waldviertel quarter of Lower Austria explicitly opts for an agrarian crisis for the Waldviertel as well as the other Austrian lands.³⁹

Reflecting the abovementioned predominant theoretical mode, comparatively extensive research has been conducted previously on medieval population development in the region. Much in line with the general picture of high- and late-medieval European population development, Austria experienced population growth in the thirteenth century up until the middle of the fourteenth century followed by a decrease in population. Generally, pre-plague levels were only reached again in the sixteenth century,⁴⁰ though there was a difference between the western lands (Salzburg, Tyrol, and Vorarlberg), where growth continued

³⁵ H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 156.

³⁶ See Werner Rösener, "Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter," in *Bäuerliche Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters: Internationaler Kongress Krems an der Donau 21. bis 24. September 1982*, ed. Heinrich Appelt (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 9–47. Here: 32–33.

³⁷ See Rösener, "Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter," 33.

³⁸ See Philippe Dollinger, Franz Irsigler, and Ursula Irsigler, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert* (München: C.H. Beck, 1982). Here: 365.

³⁹ See Markus Cerman, "Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert," in *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Waldviertels*, ed. Herbert Knittler (Horn ; Waidhofen an der Thaya: Waldviertler Heimatbund, 2006), 1–75. Here: 4.

⁴⁰ See Ernst Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2001). Here: 86.

according to Alois Niederstätter due to a lesser impact of the plague, better property rights and the growth of mining, and the eastern lands, where population growth stalled.⁴¹

The pre-fourteenth century era of population growth has been treated in the research under the terms of eastward colonisation, *Landesausbau* and urbanisation. This process in the area in question began in the eleventh century, peaked in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries,⁴² eventually ending in the thirteenth century.⁴³ Partial continuation can be seen in those eastern and elevated areas of Austria, where individual farms predominated over village settlements, such as parts of the Waldviertel and in the Alpine foothills.⁴⁴ In the fourteenth century up, until the impact of plague, processes of compaction, such as division of holdings, superseded the geographic spread of settlements.⁴⁵ H. Klein attributes the definitive end and partial regression of settlement spread and compaction to the second plague pandemic.⁴⁶

The peak of eastward colonisation coincided with the nadir of high-medieval urbanisation in the area. A common term in the research is a veritable *wave* of the foundation of new cities (*Städtegründungswelle*), with its core period between 1180 and 1270.⁴⁷ Overall, the percentage of the population living in an urban setting remained low. In the middle of the thirteenth century, houses in cities made up about five per cent of overall houses in Lower Austria. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was 6,5 per cent. In addition, about 3,5 per cent of houses in fourteenth-century Lower Austria were in market towns.⁴⁸ Cerman attributes the late medieval growth of cities along with the developments in north-western Europe and Italy to a favourable price ratio between agricultural and artisanal goods, rising wages, increasing specialization and growth of trade.⁴⁹ In the fourteenth century, urbanisation

⁴¹ See Alois Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich* (Wien: Ueberreuter, 2001). Here: 11.

⁴² See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 91–92.

⁴³ See Kurt Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* (1977), NF 43, 1–63. Here: 1.

⁴⁴ Village settlements predominated in most of Lower Austria, with the exception of the region south of the Danube. In Upper Austria, the individual farm settlement was the dominate type. See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CII.

⁴⁵ See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 24.

⁴⁶ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 91–92.

⁴⁷ See Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs*, 76–77.

⁴⁸ See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 25–26.

⁴⁹ See Cerman, "Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert," 51.

in Lower Austria slowed down considerably, this slow growth lasted until the sixteenth century.⁵⁰

For the western part of my geographical research area, especially for Upper Austria proper, less so for the bordering areas to Salzburg, the existing research is less extensive than for the eastern region, Lower Austria along the Danube. This is partly due to a simple lack of comprehensive research on the population history of the area. Another part is played by the difficulty posed by the individual farm settlement type dominant there, providing a tenuous base for quantifying work.⁵¹ There are, however, occasional spotlights, unfortunately all from the latter half of the fourteenth century. In the county of Schaunberg, in which Marsbach, Eferding and Ebelsberg lay, a large number of peasant holdings were vacant in 1371. Since this was however not the case for the count's own holdings, powerful lords seem to have been able to find tenants.⁵² For the population history of late medieval Salzburg, there is H. Klein's work. According to him, the onset of the second plague pandemic and the population decline it caused was responsible for the retreat and contraction of settlement especially in the mountainous areas of Pongau, Pinzgau and the upper Enns valley.⁵³ Meanwhile in the Alpine foothills, the impact seems to have been less severe, for instance in the area of Mattsee.⁵⁴ This was not just due to varying mortality rates, but also caused by a retreat of the population from elevated areas, as former cultivators of marginal land resettled onto more fertile, low lying lands.⁵⁵

For Lower Austria, the state of research on the population development of the late Middle Ages is comparably good, thanks to the work of Kurt Klein. In a 1977 article, he attempted to construct the picture of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century demography for each of the four quarters of Lower Austria, using the number of houses contained in rentals as a basis.⁵⁶ I will be reviewing his results as far as they concern the areas where the estates I have chosen

⁵⁰ See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 25–26.

⁵¹ For this settlement type predominating in Upper Austria, see Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, XCV. For the difficulty posed by this settlement type, see K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 16.

⁵² See Othmar Hageneder, "Die spätmittelalterlichen Wüstungen in der Grafschaft Schaunberg," *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* (1957), NF 33, 65–81. Here: 76.

⁵³ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 92.

⁵⁴ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 98.

⁵⁵ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 119.

⁵⁶ See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 4.

for this thesis are located. The selected locations fall into the four quarters of Lower Austria as follows. Going west to east and starting north of the Danube is first the *Waldviertel*, where Krems and Stein are situated on the southern border on the north bank of the river. The majority of estates are to be found south of the Danube in the *Mostviertel*, with Amstetten, Petzenkirchen, Schönbühel, Mautern, St. Pölten and Zeiselmauer. In the two eastern quarters, the *Weinviertel* north of the Danube and the *Industrieviertel* to the south, only part of the holdings of the Zeiselmauer and the Schwadorf estates, respectively, are to be found.

Schönbühel, Krems and Stein, Mautern and the part of the Zeiselmauer estate south of the Danube are part of a wine producing region which experienced marked late-medieval population growth.⁵⁷ There were also comparatively fewer holdings lying vacant in the second half of the fourteenth century.⁵⁸ Krems itself, which already counted 200 houses in the late twelfth century, saw its city walls expanded around 1300 to make space for more buildings. Stein, just to the west of Krems, also experienced strong growth in the second half of the thirteenth century.⁵⁹ However, the population crisis of the fourteenth century seems to have been considerable in both cities. For Krems in the fourteenth and Stein in the fifteenth century, there is evidence of many empty and derelict houses.⁶⁰ In the wine-growing villages opposite Krems and Stein, where Mautern is situated, Klein also finds pronounced growth in the number of houses in the late Middle Ages.⁶¹ In Königstetten, finally, in the east of the Tulln basin and part of the Zeiselmauer estate, Klein reports evidence of many newly established holdings in 1324.⁶²

The single farm settlement type predominant in most of the Mostviertel area makes an assessment of population growth difficult.⁶³ Nevertheless, Klein assumes an overall late medieval increase of houses in the Mostviertel above the average for Lower Austria.⁶⁴ Amstetten experienced a doubling of the houses between 1324 and the late sixteenth century.⁶⁵ Possibly, this growth is in concordance with the dynamic development of the iron-

⁵⁷ See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 16.

⁵⁸ See Cerman, "Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert," 13.

⁵⁹ See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 16.

⁶⁰ See Cerman, "Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert," 15–16.

⁶¹ See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 17.

⁶² See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 19.

⁶³ See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 16–17.

⁶⁴ See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 17.

⁶⁵ See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 18.

producing region in the elevated areas to the south of Amstetten and Petzenkirchen.⁶⁶ For St. Pölten and its surroundings, where the village settlement type is prevalent, there is little late medieval change in population in the smaller villages. St. Pölten itself grew in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, with city walls being built in the second half of the thirteenth century and a suburb around those walls existing in the fourteenth century. By the late sixteenth century, however, there was a decrease in the number of houses within the wall and the suburbs disappeared.⁶⁷

Coming finally to the *Weinviertel* and *Industrieviertel*, in the undulating terrain on the southern border of the *Weinviertel*, where the Unterolberndorf part of Zeiselmauer estate is located, K. Klein reports late medieval population development to have been uneven. There was a doubling of houses in some villages, while others remained the same. Overall, he assumes strong population growth there for the late Middle Ages.⁶⁸ Lastly, in the *Industrieviertel*, Klein finds population growth from the thirteenth to the early fifteenth and late sixteenth centuries in two towns in the Vienna Basin east of the city, Bruck an der Leitha and Himberg, respectively.⁶⁹ Schwadorf is located between these two settlements, though he does not give any data on this location.

Coming now to prices and agricultural production in late-medieval Austria and beginning with the former, I will largely have to take recourse to Rösener's research on south-western Germany. He paints a picture congruent with that for much of western Europe at the end of the thirteenth and during the fourteenth century: high prices at and up to the beginning of the fourteenth century, followed by falling prices for food staples and rising wages. Caused by high demand emanating from the increased population combined with poor productivity, grain prices were high at the beginning of the fourteenth century according to Rösener.⁷⁰ With the population depression in the middle of the century came a considerable decrease in grain prices lasting up until the end of the following century.⁷¹ Concurrently, the improved real value

⁶⁶ See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 17.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 12.

⁶⁹ See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 21 for Bruck an der Leitha, 19 and 22 for Himberg.

⁷⁰ See Rösener, "Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter," 30. He bases his assertion on work on Germany by Henning, see Friedrich-Wilhelm Henning, *Landwirtschaft und ländliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland* (Paderborn ; München ; Wien ; Zürich: Schöningh, 1978).

⁷¹ See Cerman, "Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert," 4.

of already rising nominal wages⁷² favoured wage labourers, despite evidence of attempted wage depression through labour legislation by territorial princes.⁷³ For agricultural producers focused on grain production and dependent on the market, however, this meant a worsening of conditions.⁷⁴

The productivity of late-medieval agriculture in Austria was likely low and the conditions of peasant agricultural holdings poor. In the overview literature on Austria by Niederstätter, grain yields are reported to have been at a ratio of 1:3 even on fertile soil and during good harvests before the mid-fourteenth-century population depression.⁷⁵ These numbers are however based on an article by Rösener.⁷⁶ On average, grain yields were even lower due to the expansion of agriculture to less fertile soils⁷⁷ and the exhaustion of fertile soils.⁷⁸ Evidence based on tithe records points to grain yields sinking further throughout the fourteenth century.⁷⁹ This may have resulted in poor living standards. Based on empirical work by Karl Lamprecht and Abel on Germany, Rösener surmises that after paying dues and ensuring subsistence, most peasant producers in the area under his consideration did not have the wherewithal to accrue wealth or even lay down food stocks.⁸⁰ Although, as Dollinger points out, living standards differed greatly between rich and poor peasant producers, with the former generally seeing their living standards increase over the long period between the ninth

⁷² See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 57–58. Niederstätter bases this on Rösener, “Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter,” 33–34 who in turn does not give a specific citation but generally bases the passage on the work of Wilhelm Abel.

⁷³ See Cerman, “Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert,” 27.

⁷⁴ See Rösener, “Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter,” 35–36.

⁷⁵ See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 57.

⁷⁶ The information cited by Niederstätter can be found in Rösener’s work here: Rösener, “Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter,” 26. Rösener bases the yield ratio of 1:3 on work by Henning, *Landwirtschaft und ländliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland*, 27; as well as Bernard Slicher van Bath, *The agrarian history of Western Europe: a.d. 500-1850* (London: Arnold, 1963). Here: 18–19, 328–329; and Georges Duby, “Die Landwirtschaft des Mittelalters,” in *Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, ed. Carlo Cipolla (Stuttgart: Fischer, 1978), 1, 111–139. Here: 124.

⁷⁷ See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 26; based on Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs*, 134.

⁷⁸ See Cerman, “Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert,” 5–6.

⁷⁹ See Cerman, “Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert,” –5–6; where he discusses evidence on tithes provided by Christoph Sonnlechner, “Landschaft und Tradition. Aspekte einer Umweltgeschichte des Mittelalters,” in *Text--Schrift--Codex: quellenkundliche Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, eds. Christoph Egger and Herwig Weigl (Wien: R. Oldenbourg, 2000), 123–223. Here: 199–200.

⁸⁰ See Rösener, “Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter,” 27.

and thirteenth centuries.⁸¹ Overall however, famine conditions already existed at times in the first half of the fourteenth century in Austria when the harvest was poor.⁸²

Regarding the development of agricultural production generally, the fourteenth century is described by Cerman for the Waldviertel as dominated by extensification and intensification. There was thus a reduction of land under agricultural use in general and especially of the amount of land used for grain production, which was reduced to the more fertile soils. On less fertile soils, land use shifted to less labour-intensive pursuits, such as pasture for animal husbandry. This shift had positive repercussions, in the sense that better availability of manure could lead to improved fertilization and animals could substitute human labour in these times of high wages. Where environmental conditions allowed, viticulture and the cultivation of other high value crops, such as saffron, increased. Low prices for staple foods and high wages provided favourable market conditions for the sale of wine, dairy, meat and other more expensive foodstuff.⁸³ For Salzburg, for instance, H. Klein argues that the amount of land under agricultural use did not actually decrease in the same way that settlements receded even in the areas of high elevation, since arable land was converted to pasture.⁸⁴

2.3. Form and Mode of Surplus Appropriation

The form and mode of surplus appropriation are treated in the literature roughly under three major themes. First, the development of manorial organization; second, the structure of feudal rent; third, holding sizes and ownership structure. These three areas are of course intimately connected to the development of dues and services, property rights, feudal rent and the internal differentiation of producers.

The development of manorial organization in central Europe during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has been treated in German-language research under the topic of the dissolution of the *Villikationsverfassung*. *Villikationsverfassung* or *Fronhofs*system denote an organization of land use consisting of a larger unit of directly administrated demesne land worked by personally dependent subjects on connected holding (*mansi*) who also render dues.⁸⁵ The central units of demesne land, in this case, are referred to as *Villikationen* (from

⁸¹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 365–366.

⁸² See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 26; based on Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs*, 134.

⁸³ See Cerman, “Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert,” 26.

⁸⁴ See H. Klein, “Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer,” 160–161.

⁸⁵ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 18.

villicatio) or *Fronhöfe*. In the process of dissolution, these central units were given out to tenants, either as a whole or in pieces, and the connection between them and the dependent holdings was severed since their labour services were no longer needed.⁸⁶ According to Rösener, this process took place from the eleventh to the fourteenth century and experienced a peak in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁸⁷ To underline the impact of this development, Dollinger even speaks of an economic revolution for the twelfth century.⁸⁸ Whether these economic changes were really so momentous for peasant producers depended on the strength of the old manorial system in a given area.⁸⁹ In addition, it is also important to stress that the end of the old manorial system did not spell the end of all manorial agriculture. Demesne land and labour services still existed, although to a lesser extent.⁹⁰

I will now consider the regional expression, extent and timeframe of the dissolution of the old manorial system. Going region by region, I will begin with Rösener's account of south-western Germany. By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, manorial agriculture in this area had largely diminished. Labour services were lessened and the former connection between central units of manorial agriculture and peasant holdings was cut.⁹¹ Rösener lists three forms that the giving out of demesne land to tenants could take. In the first, it was given either in one piece or in several if it was very large in return either for fixed dues or under a sharecropping arrangement. In the second, it was parcelled out as independent holdings large enough to support small peasant proprietorship. In the third, it was parcelled out in small pieces either to establish sub-peasant holdings or to add to already existing independent peasant holdings. Of these three types, Rösener names the first as having been the most common in the area under his consideration.⁹² The larger agricultural units (*curiae*, *curiae villicalis*, *Meierhöfe*) emerging in this way retained some of the administrative responsibilities formerly performed by the central units of manorial agriculture (*villicationes*).⁹³ If they were given out under a sharecropping arrangement, lords often contributed to their endowment with tools or livestock, making it a favourable arrangement for capital intensive agriculture and allowing

⁸⁶ See Werner Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991). Here: 49–50.

⁸⁷ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 382.

⁸⁸ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 432.

⁸⁹ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 489.

⁹⁰ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 50.

⁹¹ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 49.

⁹² See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 468–469.

⁹³ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 484; for the different names given for these new agricultural units see Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 480.

lords to benefit from resulting increases in production and productivity.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, directly administrated units of manorial agriculture continued to exist. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, they could be found at centres of consumption (castles, monasteries) or sometimes also in viticulture. They were however worked with wage labour and live-in servants, rather than labour services.⁹⁵ Instead of the old manorial organization in *villicationes*, new administrative districts (*Ämter*) were established.⁹⁶

For Bavaria including parts of Salzburg and today's Upper Austria Dollinger makes out two kinds of manorial organization which existed there in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Each of them represents the general development at a different stage. In the first, the demesne was given out to a single proprietor (*villicus*) and the connection to the formerly dependent holdings still existed, including labour services and dues rendered to the *villicus*. This kind of manorial organization was more common on the estates of religious institutions in Bavaria and the adjacent Salzburg. In the second, the demesne land was parcelled out and the formerly dependent holdings were then independent from it. The proprietors of the larger holdings emerging from the partition of demesne land were also referred to as *villici*. This kind was more common on the estates of lay lords in the area.⁹⁷ The larger holdings emerging from this process were originally only referred to as *villicatio*, *curia villicalis* or *Meierhof* if they still retained administrative functions. Over time, however, these labels were attached to all larger holdings.⁹⁸ They were largely given out under sharecropping arrangements,⁹⁹ which Dollinger considers still adjacent to direct manorial agriculture (*Eigenwirtschaft*).¹⁰⁰ Another arrangement was for dues to be fixed each year at harvest (*ad examen, mit der Saig*), which he considers another transitional stage between direct manorial agriculture and sharecropping. This latter mode was especially widespread in Austria in the thirteenth century, according to Dollinger.¹⁰¹ Overall, the old manorial organisation was superseded by what Dollinger refers to as a *Zinshofverfassung*, which expresses lordly withdrawal from direct agriculture in favour of dues-paying tenants.¹⁰²

⁹⁴ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 474.

⁹⁵ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 484.

⁹⁶ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 467.

⁹⁷ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 126.

⁹⁸ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 127.

⁹⁹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 121.

¹⁰⁰ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 131.

¹⁰¹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 133.

¹⁰² See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 18.

Regarding the existing research on the dissolution of the old manorial organization in Austria proper, there are differences in scholarly opinions regarding the extent to which direct manorial agriculture decreased. Dopsch in his 1939 work *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit* still very much contested any large-scale abandonment of manorial agriculture up to the thirteenth century. The argument he put forward based itself first on a different interpretation of the commutation of labour services to payments in coin, which he held to have remained interchangeable depending on the needs of both landlords and tenants.¹⁰³ To him, the enduring presence of labour services in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries attested to this. Secondly, he argued that the size of the demesne had been underestimated and the extent of its partitioning overestimated. Not only was demesne land notoriously underreported in rentals,¹⁰⁴ other researchers to his mind had also interpreted key vocabulary erroneously.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, he finds equal evidence of manorial agricultural units (*Meierhöfe*) being given to tenants as of new ones being established by combining land formerly under tenant cultivation. If they were given out, the common sharecropping arrangement with the option of termination of the tenancy at poor performance still put them in proximity to manorial agriculture to him.¹⁰⁶ This argument forms the basis for Dopsch's narrative of both lords and peasants having profited from manorial agriculture up to and including the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁷

More recent work on Austria, while acknowledging differences regarding regional extent, is unanimous in assuming a reduction in manorial agriculture concomitant with the dissolution of the *Villikationsverfassung*. Generally, the development set in later than in western areas such as Lothringia or Burgundy.¹⁰⁸ Within Austria, the process began earlier in the east than in the west, according to Ernst Bruckmüller. The reason for this, he speculates, could have been the prevalence of viticulture, the influence of Vienna as a larger city or the still malleable structures in the more recently colonised area.¹⁰⁹ Yet even in Lower Austria, as K. Klein

¹⁰³ See Alfons Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit: Untersuchungen zur Agrar- und Sozial-Geschichte des hohen Mittelalters mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des südostdeutschen Raumes* (Jena, 1939). Here: 231.

¹⁰⁴ See Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 232 for both points.

¹⁰⁵ Specifically, he argues that *destructa* should not be translated as *divided* in this context, but rather as the opposite of *instructa*, i.e. not provided with animals or tools, see Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 233.

¹⁰⁶ See Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 233.

¹⁰⁷ See Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 234–235.

¹⁰⁸ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 382.

¹⁰⁹ See Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs*, 66.

observes, there were still many manorial agricultural units (*Meierhöfe*) in the thirteenth century which were then partitioned and given out to tenants over the course of that century.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, as Roman Zehetmayer also mentions, it is important to stress that the dissolution of the *Villikationssystem* did not mean the end of manorial agriculture altogether. Larger agricultural units under direct manorial administration continued to exist and play an economic role into the late middle ages.¹¹¹ There also seems to be somewhat of a terminological problem in relation to the research, emanating from the fact that both units of manorial agriculture and large agricultural units under tenant proprietorship (by a tenant referred to as *villicus*), possibly resulting from the partition of demesne land, are referred to as *Meierhöfe*.

In their work on Lower Austria, both Zehetmayer and Cerman stress the change in the form of manorial agriculture taking place in the late Middle Ages. The rental of the count of Hardegg from 1363, for which Zehetmayer produced a thorough source analysis, shows the process of the dissolution of the *Villikationssystem* still in progress. On the Hardegg manors, the parcelling out of demesne land would only come to a halt at the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹¹² While he is unable to establish the exact ratio of demesne land to land given out to tenants due to a lack of information contained in the rental on the exact size of the demesne, Zehetmayer holds the extent of manorial agriculture to have been substantial.¹¹³ Cerman points out that the reduction in manorial agriculture did not entail a retreat from lordly engagement in the economy. Where conditions allowed for it to be profitable, such as in the undulating landscape between the rivers Krems and Kamp, lords even continued commercial grain production, oriented to the opportunities offered regarding markets and transportation along the Danube.¹¹⁴

In his seminal 1904 edition and study of the Austrian territorial princes' rentals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Dopsch himself also finds the dissolution of the old manorial system to have taken place. While he still finds some larger agricultural units (*Meierhöfe*) operated by the manorial administration, many were otherwise given to tenants

¹¹⁰ See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 3.

¹¹¹ See Roman Zehetmayer, *Das Urbar des Grafen Burkhard III. von Maidburg-Hardegg aus dem Jahre 1363* (Wien: Böhlau, 2001). Here: 108.

¹¹² See Zehetmayer, *Das Urbar des Grafen Burkhard III. von Maidburg-Hardegg aus dem Jahre 1363*, 109–110.

¹¹³ See Zehetmayer, *Das Urbar des Grafen Burkhard III. von Maidburg-Hardegg aus dem Jahre 1363*, 108–109.

¹¹⁴ See Cerman, "Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert," 27–29.

on a sharecropping arrangement or with variable (*mit der Saig/ad examen*) or fixed dues.¹¹⁵ Only where the focus of cultivation, such as viticulture, or the environmental conditions allowed for profitable conditions, such as in the Tulln Basin and Morava Field of Lower Austria, were they still kept under direct administration.¹¹⁶ Occasionally, other peasant holdings still rendered dues to those larger agricultural units, otherwise they and their tenants, even if they might still be referred to as *villici*, did not play a large role in the manorial economy.¹¹⁷ Already by the thirteenth century, the ratio between demesne land and land given out to tenants entirely favoured the latter.¹¹⁸

On the manors of religious institutions in Austria, the dissolution of the *Villikationsverfassung* took place at a slower pace, according to Dopsch.¹¹⁹ Tenancy arrangements closer to direct manorial administration, such as tenure with yearly variable dues (*mit der Saig/ad examen*) was also more common there, as Dopsch finds evident in the rentals of the Bishopric of Passau at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, as well as those of some monasteries.¹²⁰ For religious institutions, large agricultural units (*Meierhöfe*) also sometimes retained the additional function as a collection point for tithes.¹²¹ Again for Passau specifically, Dolinger deduces from the small size of its administrative units (*Ämter*) in the middle of the thirteenth century that they still reflected the old manorial organization.¹²²

The second major theme regarding the form and mode of surplus appropriation is the structure of feudal rent. The central point to stress here is that feudal rent was grounded in a variety of different relationships of lordship. This included dues and services owed in return for the tenure of land on the manor, incurred by ownership of rights to the judicial authority, and in the case of the bishopric also taxes and tithes. According to Rösener, concomitant with these different kinds of lordship (*Herrschaft*), the sources of feudal rent became more

¹¹⁵ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CIX–CX.

¹¹⁶ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CLXXXI and CXIII.

¹¹⁷ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXII–CXIII.

¹¹⁸ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CIV–CV and CXC.

¹¹⁹ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXIII.

¹²⁰ See Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 70–71.

¹²¹ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXIII–CXIV.

¹²² See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 136.

differentiated during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹²³ Increasingly, judicial rights came to make up a greater part of income than ownership of land.¹²⁴ Banal lordship, utilizing income from jurisdiction and monopolies,¹²⁵ may however have developed comparably late in the area under consideration here, since according to Dollinger it also came about late in Bavaria and only made up a negligible part of feudal rent in the thirteenth century.¹²⁶ Cerman gives the example of a worldly manor in the *Waldviertel*, where in the late fourteenth-century rent in coin was the prime category of income, followed by dues in kind, both presumably from landholding. Dues in kind made up a similar amount as income from judicial rights, regalian rights, tolls and taxes.¹²⁷

Dues and services incurred from ownership of land could be rendered in coin, kind or labour services. Let me first consider the ratio between dues in kind and in coin. In south-western Germany, according to Rösener, money rent did not surpass rent in kind in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Even by the early fourteenth century, a considerable part of rent tended to be given in kind, though in more urbanized areas coin did begin to predominate.¹²⁸ For Bavaria and the parts of Upper Austria under Dollinger's investigation, dues in kind were also still in the majority during the thirteenth century. Especially on the manors of worldly lords, agricultural goods remained very important vis-à-vis rent in coin. He however also points out that establishing these ratios is made more difficult by the fact that dues in kind may often have been commuted to money payments in practice.¹²⁹

For Austria, Dopsch argues that the ratio between dues in kind and coin also depended on the local settlement type. Dues in coin held sway in village settlement areas, such as in large parts of Lower Austria, perhaps also due to comparatively favourable access to markets. Dues in kind on the other hand were more common in areas of the single farm settlement type.¹³⁰ Smaller agricultural units tended to render their dues in coin, while larger ones tended to do so in kind; a vestige of their former economic role within the manor, according to Dopsch.¹³¹

¹²³ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 49.

¹²⁴ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 551.

¹²⁵ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 551-552.

¹²⁶ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 178-179.

¹²⁷ See Cerman, "Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert," 29-30

¹²⁸ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 501.

¹²⁹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 146.

¹³⁰ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CLIII.

¹³¹ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CLIII-CLIV.

An account given by Cerman from the rental of a manor in the Lower Austrian Waldviertel shows that in the second half of the fourteenth century, among the dues from ownership of land, dues in coin slightly outweighed the value of dues in kind.¹³²

Labour services according to Dopsch are not regularly represented in the rentals of the princely manors with differences from one administrative unit to another.¹³³ Like other dues, they were generally not exacted on a specific person but rather on a holding. Often, they were commuted to money payments, with the kind of labour service they substituted still evident in the pertinence of the payment (*Ackerpfennig*, *Werchartpfennig* for work such as tilling, *pro vini vectione*, *pro vinfur* for transportation of wine, *snitpfennige* for harvest work).¹³⁴

Ownership of the judicial authority could also entitle a lord to dues in kind, coin or labour services. These dues and services had to be rendered by everyone under a given jurisdiction, regardless of their tenorial relationship to the estate.¹³⁵ In addition, part of this income was also made up by fines and penalties which could also be paid in coin.¹³⁶ On the lower level, jurisdiction was the responsibility of the landlord and could also be leased for a fixed sum payment.¹³⁷ For all crimes punishable by death, the *iudicium provinciale* or *Landgericht* was responsible, which technically was the domain of the territorial prince, who often gave over its administration to other nobles. Already from the tenth century, the Bishopric of Passau had the judicial authority over all people on their estates, regardless of personal status.¹³⁸ In practice, however, this was not always the case. According to Dollinger, the Duke of Austria, for instance, had the *iudicium provinciale* as well as the higher and lower jurisdiction on the Bishopric's estate of Schwadorf.¹³⁹ Considering the significance of dues from judicial rights vis-à-vis dues from ownership of land, the sums given by Cerman for the already mentioned Lower Austrian manor show that the former were lower than the latter.¹⁴⁰

¹³² See Cerman, "Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert," 29.

¹³³ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CLXIV.

¹³⁴ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CLXIV–CLXV.

¹³⁵ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 496 and 538.

¹³⁶ See Heinz Dopsch, Karl Brunner, and Maximilian Weltin, *Die Länder und das Reich* (Wien: Überreuther, 1999). Here: 38.

¹³⁷ See Dopsch, Brunner and Weltin, *Die Länder und das Reich*, 39.

¹³⁸ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 68–69 and 225–226.

¹³⁹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 69.

¹⁴⁰ See Cerman, "Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert," 29–30.

Finally, dues were also extracted via taxation, tithes and *Vogtei*. In Austria, taxes going to the territorial princes developed earlier than elsewhere in the Empire.¹⁴¹ The bishopric however attained immunity from taxation also for free persons on their estates early on at the end of the tenth century.¹⁴² Moreover, religious institutions drew surplus from tithes. On their estates, surplus could also be extracted by the *Vogt*.¹⁴³

The third theme, holding sizes, their partition, combination and sharing by multiple households can be evidence of population pressure and producers' living standards. In the long term, there seems to have been a development towards smaller holding sizes. This development is not always easy to observe, since rentals may record whole holdings where partitioning had long taken place on the ground.¹⁴⁴ For south-western Germany, Rösener names twelfth- and thirteenth-century population growth, intensified land use, as well as the parcelling of demesne land and the formerly connected holdings as reasons for the trend towards smaller holding sizes.¹⁴⁵ The partition of holdings in this area also continued in the fourteenth century.¹⁴⁶ Dollinger, too, stresses population growth and intensification.¹⁴⁷ A mitigating influence however seems to have been played by landlords, who attempted to abate further partition to ease effort in property administration and rent collection.¹⁴⁸

For Austria, the research paints a similar picture. Following Bruckmüller, the increasing population in the thirteenth century caused differentiation among producers by forcing more than one household to work a single holding (*Gemeinerschaft*), increasing landless households (*Kleinhäusler*) and leading to further partitioning of holdings in the fourteenth century.¹⁴⁹ For the second half of the fourteenth century then, Niederstätter draws on Rösener and Styrian empirical evidence from Gerald Gänser to argue that the population decline together with the agrarian crisis caused holdings to gain in size again by adding land from vacant holdings and also gave formerly landless populations the opportunity to acquire land.¹⁵⁰ For Lower Austria

¹⁴¹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 439.

¹⁴² See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 68–69 and 225–226.

¹⁴³ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 433.

¹⁴⁴ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 129.

¹⁴⁵ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 526.

¹⁴⁶ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 521–522.

¹⁴⁷ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 110.

¹⁴⁸ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 520–521.

¹⁴⁹ See Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs*, 89.

¹⁵⁰ See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 59; Rösener, "Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter," 35–36; and Gerald Gänser, "Strukturveränderungen im agrarischen Bereich während des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Steiermark* (1984), 75, 23–30.

specifically, K. Klein attests that there were few partitioned holdings in the middle of the thirteenth century. The yet ongoing process of colonisation then allowed non-inheriting offspring to attain land elsewhere. Only at the end of the colonisation period, the partition of holdings began.¹⁵¹ The population decline of the fourteenth century did not reverse this process.¹⁵² Regarding the increased presence of landless populations in Lower Austria, Cerman however argues that some landless holdings had already existed concurrently with the establishment of villages themselves during colonisation.¹⁵³ In Salzburg, a compaction of settlement via partition of holdings took place in the first half of the fourteenth century, according to H. Klein. Yet he also takes care to add that already divided holdings were not always recorded as such,¹⁵⁴ partition therefore may have taken place at an earlier time.

2.4. Dues and Services

In the long view, the existing research observes a reduction of labour services and a general shift towards rent in coin. Let me begin with the former. One problem with tracking the development of labour services is that they may not always have been recorded, as they were seen to be less liable to change. With the change of the manorial organization, however, they came to be recorded more often.¹⁵⁵ It is this change of the manorial organization that also contributed to their reduction. Previously required weekly labour services by the proprietors of holdings connected to direct manorial agriculture became less common.¹⁵⁶ Sometimes, they were commuted to payments in coin.¹⁵⁷ What labour services remained were those that were performed only two or three times per year, often only by a limited number of persons per holding for specific tasks like ploughing, harvesting,¹⁵⁸ or transport services.¹⁵⁹

Considering the general shift towards rent in coin, there are several differentiating factors to be considered. Both Dollinger and Rösener connect the spread of coin as a means of paying

¹⁵¹ See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 6.

¹⁵² See K. Klein, "Siedlungswachstum und Häuserbestand Niederösterreichs im späten Mittelalter," 24.

¹⁵³ See Cerman, "Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert," 46.

¹⁵⁴ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 159.

¹⁵⁵ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 147.

¹⁵⁶ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 59; Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 431–432; Cerman, "Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert," 41.

¹⁵⁷ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 432.

¹⁵⁸ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 148 and 431–432.

¹⁵⁹ See Cerman, "Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert," 41.

dues to the twelfth-century increase in trade.¹⁶⁰ Accordingly, dues in coin were more common near cities, but also in recently cleared areas.¹⁶¹ It also may have been connected to the personal status of the person rendering the dues, such as on the smallholdings of burghers.¹⁶² Dollinger adds that they were also more widespread on religious estates than on those of worldly estates, as well as in Austria compared to Bavaria.¹⁶³ Importantly, when dues in kind were commuted to dues in coin, they remained interchangeable and could be demanded in kind by landlords.¹⁶⁴ When dues in kind are presented in the rentals with equivalents in coin, this may, on the one hand, have been a measure to ensure their quality, on the other hand it, can be a sign of ongoing change.¹⁶⁵ Whether dues in kind could be commuted at all also depended on their specific properties. Expensive and perishable goods such as the *servitia minuta*, wine and cheese were more likely to be commuted, and staple foods like grain, on the other hand, remained unchanged.¹⁶⁶ However, even if dues were locally still rendered in kind, the revenue might still be transferred to the lord in coin, as Dopsch observes for the estates of the territorial princes.¹⁶⁷

The question of whether dues were fixed in their amount or not is difficult to answer using only existing research. Writing about changes to the dates when dues were to be rendered, Dopsch mentions that the reduction to a single due date per year better-enabled lords to increase dues.¹⁶⁸ Whether dues could be increased or not, however, seems to have depended on the property rights under which producers held their holdings. Johannes Kaska in his study of the tenants of the Lambach estate finds that those who held their land under heritable tenure (about one-third of tenants) were protected from rent increases.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁰ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 498; Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 141.

¹⁶¹ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, *ibid.*; Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 143.

¹⁶² See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 144.

¹⁶³ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 143–144.

¹⁶⁴ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 498; Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 142–143.

¹⁶⁵ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CCVI.

¹⁶⁶ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 144 and 172; Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CLV.

¹⁶⁷ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CCVI.

¹⁶⁸ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CLXXIII.

¹⁶⁹ See Johannes Kaska, “The Influence of Institutional Factors on Land Transactions: An Analysis of the Practice of Partible Inheritance and Tenancy in Common in the Lambach Estate in Late Medieval Austria,” in *Busy tenants: peasant land markets in Central Europe (15th to 16th Century)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2021), 15–44. Here: 17.

The effects of crises in the fourteenth century certainly brought movement into the system of feudal dues, yet lordly attempts to raise dues seem to have been unsuccessful overall. For the areas to the west of Austria from which colonisation originated, Rösener surmises that there were attempts to increase dues and services. However, they failed in the long run where lords could not consolidate and use their judicial rights to fix their claims. The reason for this failure according to him was peasant resistance by flight or other means of subterfuge combined with lordly inability to effectively curtail peasant mobility and inter-feudal competition for labour by offering better dues.¹⁷⁰

A thorough account of the development of feudal dues in an area that is today in Austria in the second half of the fourteenth century is provided by H. Klein in his article on the impact of the plague on the manors of the Salzburg Benedictine Abbey St. Peter. Particularly for the areas of Pongau, Pinzgau and Lungau, Klein finds evidence that the bishopric of Salzburg reduced the dues demanded from holdings because of the effects of labour shortage resulting from plague depopulation.¹⁷¹ Moreover, tax payments fell after the initial plague outbreak. The amount of tax demanded seems to have been determined by the economic situation of each holding. With initial attempts to offset losses by imposing additional taxes and resulting resistance by producers, the tax burden then fluctuated for a couple of decades before rising and eventually freezing in the fifteenth century.¹⁷² Despite reductions, outstanding dues are still a common occurrence after 1350.¹⁷³ In order to facilitate the repopulation of previously vacant holdings, lords also reduced their dues for a limited period and waived entry fines (*Anlait*).¹⁷⁴ According to H. Klein, an “equilibrium” between the available labour and land was only reached between the 1370s and the end of the century, without pre-plague circumstances ever being restored.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ See Rösener, “Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter,” 37–39 and 41.

¹⁷¹ See H. Klein, “Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer,” 99.

¹⁷² See H. Klein, “Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer,” 111.

¹⁷³ See H. Klein, “Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer,” 130–131.

¹⁷⁴ See H. Klein, “Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer,” *ibid.* and 151.

¹⁷⁵ See H. Klein, “Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer,” 120.

2.5. Property Rights to Land

With the early exception of Dopsch, there seems to have been a unanimous consensus in the research that the relation between population development and available land was the main factor in the development of agricultural producers' property rights in Austria in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Dopsch argued in 1939 that producers' property rights had improved up to and including the thirteenth century, not as a result of struggle with landlords but with their help and to one another's mutual benefit.¹⁷⁶ H. Klein, however, concluded that it was landlords reacting to the dearth of available labour that governed the development of property rights in the following century.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, Bruckmüller shares the narrative of population pressure causing unfavourable property rights in the thirteenth century, with population losses due to plague leading to a reverse.¹⁷⁸ Rösener observes that for south-western Germany, lordly attempts to worsen tenurial rights ultimately failed. He also points out that larger lords, such as the territorial prince of Bavaria, could favour better tenurial rights in their own interest, hoping for higher dues and lessened flight of producers.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, Niederstätter adds that wherever the territorial princes had secured their influence vis-a-vis smaller landlords, in Salzburg, Tyrol and smaller manors in Vorarlberg, producers enjoyed more favourable property rights.¹⁸⁰

The main types of property rights existing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Austria were short-term tenure (*Freistift*, *Baumannsrecht*),¹⁸¹ tenure for life (*Leibgedinge*) and hereditary tenure (*Erbrecht*). In addition, *ius montane* for vineyards, *Ackerzins* for individual fields usually close to cities,¹⁸² and *ius emticium* (*Kaufrecht*) also existed.¹⁸³ Holdings were no

¹⁷⁶ See Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 242.

¹⁷⁷ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 120.

¹⁷⁸ See Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs*, 89.

¹⁷⁹ See Rösener, "Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter," 39–40.

¹⁸⁰ See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 19 and 58.

¹⁸¹ Fixed term-tenure, that is *Freistift* but also especially when it is referred to as *Baumannsrecht*, has sometimes been equated with the *ius colonum*. See Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 223. Dollinger objects to this equation, likening the *ius colonum* rather to the categories of *ius censuale* and *ius feudale*. The first being based solely in holding land from an estate irrespective of personal status and stipulating mostly dues, services and responsibilities of the tenant, the second being based in the tenant's personal status and the third being based in honorable service. See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 354.

¹⁸² See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 173.

¹⁸³ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXLI.

longer differentiated by free and unfree tenure,¹⁸⁴ as they had been under the old manorial organization,¹⁸⁵ but rather by the duration of tenure and the rights proprietors enjoyed.¹⁸⁶

Under short-term tenure, producers held a holding for a limited period, from one to several years.¹⁸⁷ After this period, at the manor court, the holding reverted to the landlord, who could decide what to do with it.¹⁸⁸ An even more precarious form was commonly practiced for tenure under a sharecropping arrangement. In these cases, producers accused of poor cultivation could be removed from the holding at any time.¹⁸⁹ Whenever entering into the tenure of a holding, according to Dollinger, producers had to render an entry fee (*institutio, Anleit, Stiftung*).¹⁹⁰ This is in contrast to what H. Klein observed for Salzburg, as will be pointed out below. Under short-term tenure, producers could also not sell the land. They, therefore, had no property rights to the land per se.¹⁹¹ These insecure tenurial rights may have induced peasant producers to cultivate the land without regard for long-term fertility and caused them to forego investments in favour of immediate gains.¹⁹² Tenancy for life meant that the land reverted to the lord upon the death of the producer who held it.¹⁹³ Consequentially, tenure for life did not necessarily allow for heritability, however, it could also be expanded to the lives of several persons, such as the spouse or offspring.¹⁹⁴

Hereditary tenure, finally, existed in several forms. *Ius civile* (*Burgrecht*), present mostly in and around cities, was the most favourable, as only money dues were demanded and no labour services.¹⁹⁵ Hereditary tenure also existed in rural areas. For the estates of Lambach

¹⁸⁴ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CIV.

¹⁸⁵ Under the old manorial organization (*Villikationsverfassung*) according to Dollinger, holdings connected to the manorial agricultural units (*villicationes*) usually had to render dues and services to a greater extent. They were theoretically terminable at any time, even though in practice tenure was often renewed for the same person and even passed on to a spouse or offspring. This tenurial arrangement however affected the personal status of the tenant and often the tenants were personally unfree. Conversely, free tenure existed including less dues and services, greater heritability, rights to sale, improved access to higher courts in the form of the *iudicium provinciale*. Importantly, this form of tenure did not affect personal status. See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 101–102.

¹⁸⁶ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 366.

¹⁸⁷ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 475–476.

¹⁸⁸ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXLII–CXLIII.

¹⁸⁹ See Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 241.

¹⁹⁰ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 176.

¹⁹¹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 366.

¹⁹² See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 475.

¹⁹³ See Werner Ogris, “Leibgeding,” *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1999 1977), 5, 10 vols, 1848.

¹⁹⁴ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 475–476.

¹⁹⁵ See Dopsch, Brunner and Weltin, *Die Länder und das Reich*, 29–30; Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXLI.

monastery, for instance, Kaska finds that hereditary tenure meant that “rents were fixed, the transaction fee for transferring land was low, and the tenants were allowed to bequeath, debit and transfer a property”.¹⁹⁶ In this case, hereditary tenure for rural agricultural holdings provided much the same conditions as *ius civile*.¹⁹⁷ Producers holding land under heritable tenure could sell their holding under certain conditions.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, tenants under hereditary tenure could also divide their holdings, even though this behaviour was subject to the intervention of the landlord.¹⁹⁹ Upon inheritance or other transaction of a holding, entry fines (*Laudemium, Anlait, pro institutione*)²⁰⁰ or transaction fees had to be paid. The former were higher for holdings under heritable tenure than for those under short-term tenure.²⁰¹ The latter were usually determined in relation to property value, but could also be fixed, as was the case for Lambach.²⁰² Heritability however could also be restricted. One such restriction could be the exclusion of offspring personally dependent on another lord than the one whose manor the holding in question belonged to.²⁰³ Another, was to restrict inheritance to direct descendants or to demand higher entry fines from indirectly descendent heirs.²⁰⁴ Finally, if they did not render their dues for some time or cultivated the land insufficiently, producers under hereditary tenure could also be removed from their holding.²⁰⁵

Of all of these forms, short-term, non-hereditary tenure was the most widespread in the thirteenth century and up to the middle of the fourteenth century.²⁰⁶ While there is not much extant evidence in charters regarding tenure on individual holdings, owing to the fact that often no charters were written in this case, other sources refer to it as the norm.²⁰⁷ Already under the old manorial organization, short-term tenure had been the standard.²⁰⁸ Yet also after parcellation of the large demesnes, lords attempted to maintain terminability after fixed

¹⁹⁶ Kaska, “The Influence of Institutional Factors on Land Transactions,” 17.

¹⁹⁷ See Kaska, “The Influence of Institutional Factors on Land Transactions,” 17.

¹⁹⁸ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 371.

¹⁹⁹ See Kaska, “The Influence of Institutional Factors on Land Transactions,” 17; Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 372.

²⁰⁰ See H. Klein, “Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer,” 108.

²⁰¹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 176.

²⁰² See Kaska, “The Influence of Institutional Factors on Land Transactions,” 17.

²⁰³ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 372.

²⁰⁴ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 373.

²⁰⁵ See H. Klein, “Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer,” 109; Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 371.

²⁰⁶ See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 58.

²⁰⁷ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXLII–CXLIII.

²⁰⁸ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 367.

terms.²⁰⁹ For south-western Germany, Rösener observes that holdings emerging in this way originally had worse tenurial rights.²¹⁰ As already mentioned above, short-term tenure was particularly common for the tenure of large agricultural units.²¹¹ In practice, however, independent holdings under short-term tenure were often given to the same person every year, which could lead to heritability despite lordly resistance.²¹² This trend is attested as early as the twelfth century.²¹³ Nevertheless, short-term tenure remained common throughout the Middle Ages in the pre-colonisation areas to the west of Austria.²¹⁴ In Austria, short-term tenure with terms of several years was more common.²¹⁵

Regarding Salzburg, H. Klein found some regional variation in the prevalence of short-term tenure. While it persisted in its regular form on the manors of St. Peter abbey in the lowland areas, circumstances in the mountainous areas already showed a tendency for improved property rights. Here, an entry fine, usually associated with hereditary tenure in the area, was charged when entering into a short-term tenure. He considers this a transitional form (*veranlaitete Freistift*), likely stemming from the influence of the manors of the archbishopric of Salzburg nearby, where hereditary tenure had already surpassed short-term tenure. Entry fines were however only demanded from holdings intended to be given out to tenants permanently, not from those which were only instituted temporarily. Nevertheless, the former seems to have been common, since H. Klein finds frequent evidence of holdings under short-term tenure being transferred to the widow or children of a deceased agricultural producer.²¹⁶

Tenure for life became more common over the period under investigation. Evidence of this mode of tenure is often found in the charter record, where it is just as common as that for hereditary tenure.²¹⁷ This evidence, however, is not quite straightforward, since charters on tenures for life may not have only concerned peasant holdings, but in fact often concerned a person's right to enjoy the income from one or more holdings.²¹⁸ From the twelfth century

²⁰⁹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 368.

²¹⁰ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 471–472.

²¹¹ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 475.

²¹² See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 368.

²¹³ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 371.

²¹⁴ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 368.

²¹⁵ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 369.

²¹⁶ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 108–109.

²¹⁷ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CLI.

²¹⁸ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 369.

onwards, tenure for life was also practiced for direct producers' holdings.²¹⁹ For the following century, the amount of evidence increases. Dollinger concluded that at least in Bavaria, tenure for life was more common than short-term or heritable tenure, based on evidence from Niederaltaich.²²⁰ It was widespread for large agricultural units in south-western Germany and Bavaria during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. In both cases, a trend to heritability by including spouse and offspring in the tenure for life is observable.²²¹ This tenorial mode experienced another upswing in the middle of the fourteenth century.²²²

Heritable tenure also increased in the late Middle Ages, though it did not reach the same ubiquity as short-term tenure. As aforementioned, heritability in practice, that is, offspring entering into the same holding already held by their parents, existed already in the high Middle Ages.²²³ That said, as long as the old manorial organization existed, it did not become common.²²⁴ Moreover, at least for the pre-colonisation areas, there seems to have been an attempt to contravene heritability in practice on the part of lords in the thirteenth century.²²⁵ Consequentially, it remained less common there. In areas cleared and colonised during the high medieval expansion it did become more common, as early as the twelfth century.²²⁶

In Austria, specifically, hereditary tenure was already common in the thirteenth century, in particular in the form of *ius civile*. In this form, however, it was limited to fields and *areae* (*Hofstätten*) in or near urban centres, as well as to vineyards.²²⁷ For Krems, *ius civile* is attested as early as 1136.²²⁸ Since producers who held their land under hereditary tenure were issued a charter to that extent, which they had to present at the specific yearly manor court session (*Stiftstaiding*, *Bautaiding*), the evidence for these property rights is also commonly found in charters.²²⁹ These favourable source conditions, however, should not lead us to overestimate

²¹⁹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 369–370.

²²⁰ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 370.

²²¹ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 477; Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 369.

²²² See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 58.

²²³ In addition, heritability spread by producers purchasing the right not to be taken off their holding, *censuales* being sold or given as an endowment together with the land they cultivated and lords granting heritability to producers who were members of their *familia* to prevent alienation. See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 363, 371 and 374–375.

²²⁴ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 371.

²²⁵ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 263.

²²⁶ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 373–374.

²²⁷ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXLI and CXVI; Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 373.

²²⁸ See Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs*, 78.

²²⁹ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXLI; Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 241.

its importance vis a vis short-term tenures.²³⁰ Hereditary tenure became more common from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards.²³¹ As already mentioned above, it was dominant in the manors of the archbishopric of Salzburg in mountainous areas.²³² In Tyrol, too, hereditary tenure became the most common form of property right in the late Middle Ages.²³³ On the estates of Lambach Monastery, Kaska finds that one third of the holdings were held in this way.²³⁴

An important issue is whether tenants were allowed to sell their land. Generally, for some modes of tenure such as those with short terms, sale seems to have been out of the question.²³⁵ For Salzburg, H. Klein found no evidence at all regarding the sale of holdings.²³⁶ Dollinger also found no evidence at least for unrestricted rights to sell until the end of the thirteenth century.²³⁷ Under certain conditions, however, given the consent of the lord, who often had pre-emption on his part, or within the lord's *familia*, it was possible.²³⁸ Cerman, too, presents evidence regarding subjects in the Waldviertel selling their holdings in the fourteenth century. Granted the permission of the landlord, subjects there were also able to acquire credit by placing a debit on their holding.²³⁹ On the estates of Lambach monastery, finally, Kaska observes tenants partitioning their holding and selling parts of it.²⁴⁰

Perhaps the polar opposite of rights to the sale of land were mobility controls placed upon tenants. Finding clear evidence in the literature for this has been difficult. According to

²³⁰ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXLI–CXLI.

²³¹ See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 58; with reference to Ernst Bruckmüller, "Herren und 'Gemeine Leut': Sozialer Wandel in der Krise des Spätmittelalters," in *Andreas Baumkircher und seine Zeit: Symposium im Rahmen der "Schlaininger Gespräche" vom 24. - 26. September 1982 auf Burg Schlaining*, ed. Rudolf Kropf (Eisenstadt: Burgenländ. Landesmuseum, 1983), 29–61. Here: 35.

²³² See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 108.

²³³ See Rösener, "Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter," 40; with reference to Hermann Wopfner, *Die Lage Tirols zu Ausgang des Mittelalters und die Ursachen des Bauernkrieges* (Berlin: Rothschild, 1908). Here: 108 and 7–9; Hermann Wopfner, *Bäuerliches Besitzrecht und Besitzverteilung in Tirol* (s.l., 1907). Here: 390–392; Otto Stolz, *Rechtsgeschichte des Bauernstandes und der Landwirtschaft in Tirol und Vorarlberg* (Bozen: Ferrari-Auer, 1949). Here: 105–107; Alfons Dopsch, *Die ältere Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der Bauern in den Alpenländern Österreichs* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1930). Here: 106–108.

²³⁴ See Kaska, "The Influence of Institutional Factors on Land Transactions," 17.

²³⁵ See Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 223.

²³⁶ See Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 109.

²³⁷ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 104.

²³⁸ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 372.

²³⁹ See Cerman, "Mittelalterliche Grundlagen: Wirtschaftlicher und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Waldviertel bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert," 45.

²⁴⁰ See Kaska, "The Influence of Institutional Factors on Land Transactions," 28–29.

Dopsch, writing about the time up to and including the thirteenth century, tenants under hereditary tenure could generally be required to live on their holding.²⁴¹ Whether this was the case or not depended on the exact stipulations in the charter they held to their land.²⁴² This however did not mean that they could not leave, but rather that as long as they held the holding, they also had to live there. In any case, the ability to leave depended on specific conditions, such as the estate a holding belonged to changing hands from one lord to another.²⁴³ Transaction fees²⁴⁴ may also be seen as a hindrance to producers leaving.

Most of the evidence in the literature regarding mobility restrictions refers to the effects of population decline in the second half of the fourteenth century. Niederstätter for instance cites one case of forced initiation into a holding in the Pustertal.²⁴⁵ In his study of Salzburg, H. Klein finds that producers had to name guarantors to vouch for their remaining on the holding or otherwise had to find a suitable successor. In addition, he observes that with the impact of the plague, widows or daughters of peasants who had passed away were less likely to be allowed to relinquish their holding.²⁴⁶ Dollinger argues that whether or not mobility controls were put in place depended on how easy or difficult it was to find a replacement for a leaving producer. The difficulty of administration on far-off estates could however favour mobility controls, whereas these mobility controls were stipulated by the contractual terms of tenancy, not by personal status.²⁴⁷ For the area under his purview, Rösener reports failing attempts to curtail peasant mobility leading to improved conditions instead.²⁴⁸

The practice of inheritance of holdings often depended on local customs. Both partible and impartible inheritance were common in Austria at the time. Yet even within areas where one or the other was more common, outcomes still very much depended on local practices. Beginning with partible inheritance, that is “distributing the parental properties between all or at least more of the heirs”,²⁴⁹ this mode was practiced in parts of Upper Austria, Tyrol,

²⁴¹ See Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 241.

²⁴² See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 361.

²⁴³ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 360.

²⁴⁴ See for instance Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 177.

²⁴⁵ See Niederstätter, *Bevölkerungswachstum und Katastrophen*, 19.

²⁴⁶ See H. Klein, “Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer,” 107, 109 and 150.

²⁴⁷ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 361.

²⁴⁸ See Rösener, “Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter,” 36–38.

²⁴⁹ Kaska, “The Influence of Institutional Factors on Land Transactions,” 16.

Vorarlberg and Burgenland.²⁵⁰ Since Dopsch observes evidence of joint ownership (*zur gesamten Hand*) in Upper Austria south of the Danube as well as in the adjacent Mostviertel in Lower Austria,²⁵¹ I assume that partible inheritance was practiced there as well. In the general literature, partible inheritance on the one hand is associated with far-reaching partition of holdings, even endangering producers' subsistence basis.²⁵² As Kaska shows in his study of inheritance practices on the estates of Lambach monastery in Upper Austria, the outcomes could nevertheless vary widely. Whether partitioning actually occurred depended on the arrangement agreed upon by the heirs.²⁵³ Impartible inheritance (*Anerbenrecht*, also referred to as *Germanic inheritance law*) on the other hand, was practiced in other parts of Lower Austria²⁵⁴ and is associated with stable and large holding sizes for a minority of peasant proprietors.²⁵⁵

In practice, partible inheritance customs led to various forms of shared ownership of holdings on the part of producers. As to whether producers or landlords profited more from shared ownership, this again seems to have depended upon specific local practices. The mode of shared ownership practiced in south-western Germany, *Zinsträgerschaft*, for instance, seems to have posed a problem to lords. In this case, the holding was partitioned among several producers, yet only one of them was responsible for collecting the dues from the others and

²⁵⁰ For Upper Austria, see Kaska "The Influence of Institutional Factors on Land Transactions," 15; for the rest see Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 60. Niederstätter cites Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Die Vorarlberger Landsbräuche und ihr Standort in der Weistumsforschung* (Zurich, 1970). Here: 96; Stolz, *Rechtsgeschichte des Bauernstandes und der Landwirtschaft in Tirol und Vorarlberg*, 438; Michael Mitterauer, "Historisch-anthropologische Familienforschung: Fragestellungen und Zugangsweisen," in *Kulturstudien* (Wien/Köln, 1990), 15, 289–314. Here: 144.

²⁵¹ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXXII.

²⁵² See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 60; with reference to Burmeister, *Die Vorarlberger Landsbräuche und ihr Standort in der Weistumsforschung*, 96; Stolz, *Rechtsgeschichte des Bauernstandes und der Landwirtschaft in Tirol und Vorarlberg*, 438; Mitterauer, "Historisch-anthropologische Familienforschung," 144.

²⁵³ See Kaska, "The Influence of Institutional Factors on Land Transactions," 19.

²⁵⁴ See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 59; with reference to Helmuth Feigl, "Zur Rechtslage der unterbäuerlichen Schichten im 15., 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Wirtschafts- und sozialhistorische Beiträge. Festschrift für Alfred Hoffmann zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Herbert Knittler (München: Oldenbourg, 1979), 247–271. Here: 250–251.

²⁵⁵ See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 60; with reference to Burmeister, *Die Vorarlberger Landsbräuche und ihr Standort in der Weistumsforschung*, 96; Stolz, *Rechtsgeschichte des Bauernstandes und der Landwirtschaft in Tirol und Vorarlberg*, 438; Mitterauer, "Historisch-anthropologische Familienforschung," 144. Also Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 61 with reference to Michael Mitterauer, "Zur Struktur alteuropäischer Gesellschaftssysteme am Beispiel des mittelalterlichen Österreich," in *Grundtypen alteuropäischer Sozialformen: Haus u. Gemeinde in vorindustriellen Gesellschaften* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1979), 13–34. Here: 27; Stolz, *Rechtsgeschichte des Bauernstandes und der Landwirtschaft in Tirol und Vorarlberg*, 155–156; Gänser, "Strukturveränderungen im agrarischen Bereich während des 15. Jahrhunderts," 25; Heinz Dopsch, "Die soziale Entwicklung," in *Vorgeschichte, Altertum, Mittelalter 1. Teil*, eds. Heinz Dopsch and Hans Spatzenegger (Salzburg, 1983), 1, 2 vols, 361–418. Here: 417–418.

rendering them to the lord. Rösener observes that this practice necessitated meticulous manorial administration in order to maintain an overview of all the holdings belonging to the estates as well as the dues owed from them. Moreover, producers seem to have used the complexity of conditions to their advantage, obscuring property arrangements and obligations.²⁵⁶

For an Austrian case, Kaska in his study of Lambach estate differentiates between *joint tenancy* and *tenancy in common*. In the case of the former, “proprietors had to act in accordance with each other and could only sell their shares to all of the remaining proprietors”.²⁵⁷ In the case of the latter, proprietors could sell their shares to a selection of or even to somebody outside the group of proprietors. Compared to partition, but also depending on the mode of shared ownership, the proprietors had different economic opportunities. For one, it was thus possible that proprietors of the same holding held dissimilarly sized parts of it. Regarding tenancy in common, a proprietor’s options as to what to do with their shares were not too different from partition.²⁵⁸ However, Kaska finds that with tenancy in common, the holding remained undivided with regard to cultivation. Whichever heir cultivated the holding compensated the others for their parts in it, largely curtailing further partition.²⁵⁹ He also finds cases of leasehold and subtenancy, with the cultivator in the last instance rendering the dues to the landlord.²⁶⁰ Considering the point of view of the landlord, joint ownership, on the one hand, was desirable over excessive partition threatening the viability of the holding.²⁶¹ On the other hand, complicated arrangements differentiating parts of different sizes, as well as between proprietorship and cultivation could make it difficult to avoid alienation and maintain claims to dues.²⁶²

2.6. Volume of Feudal Rent

The development of feudal rent is of considerable importance regarding the crises of the fourteenth century. After all, as Rösener states, how producers were affected depended in large part on how their lords reacted to these crises.²⁶³ Nevertheless, previous empirical work on the subject for the area under consideration here has been hard to find. For south-western

²⁵⁶ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 528–529.

²⁵⁷ Kaska, “The Influence of Institutional Factors on Land Transactions,” 21.

²⁵⁸ See Kaska, “The Influence of Institutional Factors on Land Transactions,” 21–22.

²⁵⁹ See Kaska, “The Influence of Institutional Factors on Land Transactions,” 23.

²⁶⁰ See Kaska, “The Influence of Institutional Factors on Land Transactions,” 26–27.

²⁶¹ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXXIII.

²⁶² See Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 242.

²⁶³ See Rösener, “Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter,” 36.

Germany, Rösener attests to something of a feudal reaction. Its expression depended however on the type of landlord. First, because the impact of falling feudal rent fell heavier on smaller landlords; second, because the structure of their estates codetermined the means which they had to counteract falling feudal rent. Among the lower ranks of the feudal order, he observed the struggle for rent heating up violently.²⁶⁴

For Austria, a fall in feudal rent causing a crisis, especially for smaller landlords, is generally assumed in the literature. Actual empirical work, however, is again rare. According to Bruckmüller, the fall in buying power of feudal rent largely rendered in coin, combined with falling wheat prices and attenuated by the sinking land demand, as well as claims to the feudal rent by the state, were detrimental to smaller, but also bigger lords.²⁶⁵ For smaller landlords, the crisis did not begin in the middle of the fourteenth century, but rather had already begun at the end of the previous one.²⁶⁶ For empirical work, one again has to go back to H. Klein's work on Salzburg. He admits that he cannot make directly substantiated claims about the development of feudal rent for the St. Peter abbey, as the extant accounts do not allow us to follow the yearly development of total feudal rent, only the outstanding sums to be brought in by officials.²⁶⁷ From the evidence he finds for vacant holdings, outstanding and reduced dues, however, he indirectly deduces a substantial decrease in feudal rent that lasted decades and never reached previous levels again. He also stresses that this would have had a greater effect on smaller lords.²⁶⁸

2.7. Internal Differentiation Among Producers

While in the thirteenth century, personal dependence and distinctions by personal status still existed among agricultural producers, the producers underwent a process of assimilation. Agricultural producers, who were part of the *familia*, had been divided internally by personal status. These internal divisions by personal status will be further discussed below. At the end of the high Middle Ages and the beginning of the late Middle Ages, the severity of personal dependence became alleviated and distinctions by personal status lost their contours. Rösener sums up the state of the research for south-west Germany, assessing a loosening of

²⁶⁴ See Rösener, "Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter," 37–38.

²⁶⁵ See Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs*, 90–93.

²⁶⁶ See Rösener, "Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter," 37.

²⁶⁷ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 112–113.

²⁶⁸ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 157.

the personal dependence of producers on their lords during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁶⁹ Dollinger also detects a loss of differentiating power for the categories of free and unfree status in the twelfth century. While this does not mean that personal status was not important anymore,²⁷⁰ there was a decrease in unfreedom which continued into the thirteenth century.²⁷¹ Increasingly, differentiation by profession gained importance,²⁷² as well as differences in economic means, which will be discussed later.

Reasons for this change discussed in the literature revolve around changes in the composition of the lordly *familia*, as well as in the manorial and judicial organization. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the *familia* of a lord still encompassed all his *homines*. Whoever held land from him, was personally dependent.²⁷³ Moreover, the *familia* included those in a relationship of service to the lord, including knights and higher officials (*ministeriales*) as well as burghers.²⁷⁴ *Homines* of a lord were therefore not, as Hofbauer rightly points out, exclusively personally unfree or dependent subjects (*Hörige*).²⁷⁵ With the emergence of increased functional differentiation within the *familia*, its upper-status members, such as *ministeriales* exited from it,²⁷⁶ leaving mostly agricultural producers and undermining differentiation by personal status.

With these changes to the manorial organization, peasant producers as a whole became more distinct from other social groups.²⁷⁷ At the same time, producers came to be more difficult to differentiate, as the distinction between free and unfree holdings vanished²⁷⁸ and labour services were reduced. Entrance fines, marriage restrictions and restrictions on what a tenant could do with their holding came to be applied regardless of personal status.²⁷⁹ Another aspect of the assimilation of peasant producers into one group is the development of judicial immunity (*Immunitätsgerichtsbarkeit*), which engendered a decrease of legal distinctions

²⁶⁹ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 49.

²⁷⁰ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 195.

²⁷¹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 218.

²⁷² See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 531–532; Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 20 and 382.

²⁷³ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 226.

²⁷⁴ See Martin Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert (in geographischer, wirtschaftlicher und sozialer Hinsicht), dargestellt an den Passauer Urbaren* (Hamburg: Helmut-Schmidt-Universität - Universität der Bundeswehr Hamburg, 2005), 1, 3 vols. Here: 156 and 211–212.

²⁷⁵ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 155.

²⁷⁶ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 534–535.

²⁷⁷ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 531–532.

²⁷⁸ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 431.

²⁷⁹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 433.

between the free and unfree population.²⁸⁰ Producers were subject to the same jurisdiction on a local level, regardless of personal status or manorial affiliation.²⁸¹

Before assimilation, peasant producers could roughly be sorted into groups in accordance with their personal status of dependence. However, as Dollinger points out, there exist no uniform criteria as to what it meant to be free or unfree in Germany from the eleventh century onwards,²⁸² which seems to be extendable to Austria. Nevertheless, a rough grouping may be made up to the beginning of the thirteenth century. First, there were personally unfree persons living on manorial agricultural units who were liable for unlimited labour services (*servi cottidiani, proprii*).²⁸³ Second were unfree persons on individual holdings (*servi manentes*) and free persons, who had their freedom diminished by holding land from a lord (*coloni, liti, liberi*). Both of these already merged in the twelfth century.²⁸⁴ Third were personally free tenants on holdings from a lord.²⁸⁵ Fourth were *censuales* (*Zinser, Zinsleute*), i.e. formerly unfree persons given to a church institution as part of an endowment and thereby freed from the personal dependence to their former lord or free persons giving themselves into the protection of a religious institution. These had to render specific dues to the church institution they were given to (*Kopfzins*) but could take holdings from estates other than those of said church institution.²⁸⁶

The result of the assimilation process of status groups and of the alleviation of unfreedom was one comprehensive label for agricultural producers and a further merging of status groups. Peasant producers came to be referred to collectively under terms such as *coloni* (*Bauleute* in German) or *rustici* in the thirteenth century.²⁸⁷ These comprehensive labels are seen as evidence that the status categories lost their power.²⁸⁸ They were comprised of persons of

²⁸⁰ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 534. Dollinger also observes this, see Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 431.

²⁸¹ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 537–538.

²⁸² See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 198.

²⁸³ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 198; Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 532.

²⁸⁴ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 198, 224 and 245; Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 532.

²⁸⁵ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 532.

²⁸⁶ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 532–533; Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 261, 304 and 313. Dollinger also provides a table based on the traditions of the Bishopric of Passau, listing free persons and *censuales*, see Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 312.

²⁸⁷ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 350; Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs*, 68.

²⁸⁸ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 535.

free and unfree personal status holding land from a lord. While they could still be distinguished from the aforementioned *censuales*,²⁸⁹ *coloni* were the more numerous group.²⁹⁰ Even though the traditions documenting the endowments creating new *censuales* mostly ceased by the beginning of the thirteenth century, there is still some evidence that people acquired this status reaching up to the fourteenth century.²⁹¹ However, over the thirteenth century, they came to be regarded as persons of unfree status.²⁹² In addition to their specific dues (*Kopfzins*) they were then also liable to rendering heriot (*Besthaupt*), taxes, as well as dues to the *Vogt*. Those living on the estate of the religious institution they belonged to merged with the *coloni*, while those living on the estates of other lords tended to lose the connection to said religious institution and became dependent to the lord whose land they held.²⁹³ Both of these groups were from the middle of the thirteenth century liable to have part of their inheritance in movable goods claimed by the lord (*Heimfallrecht*), often practiced in the form of heriot (*Besthaupt*), which in the fourteenth century was regularly just a money payment.²⁹⁴

An important aspect regarding the perpetuation of unfreedom were restrictions on marriage. According to Dollinger, marriage to subjects of another lord remained forbidden in Bavaria up to the thirteenth century, unless the lords in question had an agreement regarding the offspring of such an alliance.²⁹⁵ The purpose of these agreements was to prevent the alienation of holdings, especially by the upper strata of the *familia*, the *ministeriales*. Nevertheless, they also applied to all other members of the *familia*, including *coloni* and *censuales*²⁹⁶ throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁹⁷ Relevant agreements for the subject matter here at hand are first, one between the Duke of Austria and the Bishopric of Passau to allow their subjects to marry in 1244.²⁹⁸ Second, the Austrian territorial law from 1314, which prescribed the principle of *partus sequitur ventrem* in the absence of an agreement between the affected lords.²⁹⁹

²⁸⁹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 350.

²⁹⁰ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 433.

²⁹¹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 342.

²⁹² See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 218.

²⁹³ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 343 and 433.

²⁹⁴ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 230 and 232. Heriot had only been introduced in Bavaria in the thirteenth century, see Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 235.

²⁹⁵ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 236.

²⁹⁶ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 238.

²⁹⁷ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 242.

²⁹⁸ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 238.

²⁹⁹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 239.

The process of assimilation however does not mean that distinctions by personal status became obsolete. In south-western Germany, Rösener observes attempts at increasing personal dependence again to curtail peasant flight and shore up feudal rent.³⁰⁰ For thirteenth and fourteenth-century Austria, Dopsch assumes by extension from comparable monastic estates that there was still a minority of personally dependent subjects (*Hörige*) on the estates of the territorial princes.³⁰¹ H. Klein paints a detailed picture of the role relations of personal dependence continued to play in fourteenth-century Salzburg. Not only does he observe the phenomenon of peasant flight especially in the mountain areas,³⁰² but he also perceives an attempt to revive forms of personal dependence that had already been waning as a reaction to population losses. Ultimately, this effort remained unsuccessful and was abandoned in the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, he argues that the ability of larger lords to recall producers personally dependent on them onto their own estates was very detrimental to smaller lords with fewer personally dependent subjects.³⁰³

These observations rest on the specific circumstances H. Klein found for the group of the *proprii* in fourteenth-century Salzburg. Among these personally dependent subjects was a specific group locally referred to as *Freisassen*. They consisted of the *proprii* of one lord (often the archbishop of Salzburg) holding land from another (smaller lords and other religious institutions).³⁰⁴ They are fairly well documented, as estate administrations attempted to keep track of them in the proceedings of the manor court (*Stifttaiding*), which *Freisassen* also had to attend.³⁰⁵ *Proprii* as well as *Freisassen* inherited the personal dependence via the mother according to the rule *partus sequitur ventrem*.³⁰⁶ Marriages between the *proprius* of one lord and the *propria* of another were punished.³⁰⁷ Moreover, they could be called upon to take over a holding from the lord they were personally dependent to (a practice called *Anstiften*),

³⁰⁰ See Rösener, "Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter," 38–39.

³⁰¹ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXLI.

³⁰² See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 152.

³⁰³ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 154.

³⁰⁴ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 107; whereas Dollinger sees *Freisassen* as identical to *censuales*, see Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 343–344.

³⁰⁵ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 151–152.

³⁰⁶ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 151.

³⁰⁷ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 153.

in which case they did not have to render an entry fine (*Anlait*). In addition, they could buy the right to be exempted from this practice.³⁰⁸ If they already held land from their lord, they were not allowed to leave this holding. Finally, they also had to render special dues (*Leibzins* or *Leibsteuer*, as well as *Todfall*, i.e. heriot).³⁰⁹

Personal status and tenurial mode did not necessarily have to match, as was the case with *proprii* being able to hold land under hereditary tenure. Improved personal status and property rights also did not automatically result in improved economic positions.³¹⁰ Moreover, producers could endure subject status on account of being under a lord's jurisdiction. This was the case in the eastern part of Austria where, unlike Salzburg, producers were in the main not personally dependent to a lord. However, they still remained under noble jurisdiction.³¹¹

What superseded personal status as the main mode of differentiation among direct producers during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was their economic means. Besides mere holding size, economic means were determined by the height of their dues and their position within village society,³¹² as well as by the settlement type and the structure of noble rule in the respective parts of Austria.³¹³ As already mentioned above, holding size was strongly influenced by local and regional inheritance customs. In areas where impartible inheritance predominated, an upper peasant stratum based on large holdings existed.³¹⁴ Rösener, observing the emergence of an upper peasant stratum also for the areas under his consideration in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, argues that they did not merely prosper on account of their holding sizes. They also profited from the expansion of agriculture and the high demand for agricultural products. What is more, they capitalized on these developments by raising the intensity of their labour. Larger holdings allowed them to realize market opportunities, especially around cities and in fertile areas. Profits could then be reinvested in agricultural production and the further acquisition of land.³¹⁵

³⁰⁸ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 152.

³⁰⁹ See H. Klein, "Das große Sterben von 1348/49 und seine Auswirkung auf die Besiedlung der Ostalpenländer," 152.

³¹⁰ See Rösener, "Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter," 23.

³¹¹ See Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs*, 92.

³¹² See Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs*, 68.

³¹³ See Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs*, 92.

³¹⁴ See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 59; referencing Feigl, "Zur Rechtslage der unterbäuerlichen Schichten," 250–251.

³¹⁵ See Rösener, "Zur sozialökonomischen Lage der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung im Spätmittelalter," 23–24.

Beside the upper peasant stratum, existed a medium stratum of peasants and a much larger sub-peasant stratum, made up of craftspeople and day labourers.³¹⁶ The number of smallholdings insufficient for subsistence on agriculture increased according to Rösener in the fourteenth century.³¹⁷ This differentiation was even greater where land transfers were not only possible but also frequent, such as in the wine growing regions.³¹⁸ There, especially in the area in between and around Krems and Vienna, wage labour was also more common and saw an increase concomitant with the general expansion of viticulture in the fourteenth century.³¹⁹ Cities and market towns, in general, favoured a comparatively larger presence of wage labour, with landholding by burghers requiring labour power, especially at harvest time.³²⁰

3. Sources and Research Questions

Having established the aspects to be addressed in investigating changing relations of production in Austria in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, I will now consider the available sources and the research questions that I can answer. This includes first, a passing glance at the availability of sources for the region during the timeframe in general, and the source type I have chosen, rentals, in more depth. Second, I will discuss rentals as a source type for historical investigations and the possible problems that can arise, especially for quantifying research in economic and social history. Third, I will describe the sources I eventually decided to use, the rent rolls of the Bishopric of Passau in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. After detailing my choice of estates from among these sources, as well as the character and quality of the sources as a whole and the data basis of the fifteen estates in particular, I will finally evaluate the feasibility of treating the abovementioned aspects with the source material at hand.

3.1. Source Availability and the Explanatory Power of Late Medieval Rentals

To address the parameters established at the end of the first part of section two, a wide variety of late-medieval sources would be required. Among them are not only rentals, but also charters, customals, manor and village court records and account books. However, a master's thesis is necessarily limited in scope. Moreover, availability for many of these source types is

³¹⁶ See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 59; referencing Feigl, "Zur Rechtslage der unterbäuerlichen Schichten," 250–251.

³¹⁷ See Rösener, *Grundherrschaft im Wandel*, 542.

³¹⁸ See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 59; referencing Feigl, "Zur Rechtslage der unterbäuerlichen Schichten," 250–251.

³¹⁹ See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 55.

³²⁰ See Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 61.

poor for Austria in the Late Medieval era. While rentals, charters and customals exist and can be accessed in printed editions,³²¹ I am aware of no detailed court records extant for the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Some individual account books do still exist,³²² but I am not aware of one which would be relevant to the rentals I have chosen here. Due to time constraints, I have chosen to consider rentals exclusively.

Rentals (German *Urbare*), list and describe properties, revenues, dues and services, that is mostly agricultural holdings belonging to estates and given to tenants for rent.³²³ They are generally considered to have been tools of manorial administration in the economic sense and in the legal sense, i.e. by securing ownership through documentation.³²⁴ An increasing number of rentals are extant from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries onwards.³²⁵ Traditionally, this increase has been attributed firstly to the dissolution of the old manorial system, causing more land to be given to tenants under various modes of tenure and thus requiring more detailed documentation.³²⁶ An additional reason often given is the spread of the use of writing in and the rationalization of administration.³²⁷ The comprehensiveness of both explanations has however been questioned by Roger Sablonier. He points out that in the former case,

³²¹ Numerous rentals are available in edited form: First, the editions selected here: Adam Maidhof, *Die Passauer Urbare* (Passau: Egger, 1939 1933), 3 vols. Moreover, medieval rentals from Austria are available in printed editions in the series Alfons Dopsch, Friederike Klos-Bužek, and Hanns Bachmann, eds, *Österreichische Urbare 1. Abteilung, Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Braumüller, 1970 1904), 4 vols.; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, ed, *Österreichische Urbare 3. Abteilung, Urbare geistlicher Grundherrschaften* (Graz/Wien/Köln: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; Braumüller; Böhlau, 1906), 15 vols. A more recent individual edition is the already referenced Zehetmayer, *Das Urbar des Grafen Burkhard III. von Maidburg-Hardegg aus dem Jahre 1363*. Relevant printed collections of charters in this case would be: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften and Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, eds, *Monumenta Boica* (München: Monachii; Marzell, 1763), 54 vols. For customals, the edition to consult would be: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften and Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, eds, *Österreichische Weistümer* (Innsbruck/Wien, 1870), 20 vols.

³²² For instance: Claudia Feller, *Das Rechnungsbuch Heinrichs von Rottenburg* (Wien : München: Böhlau Verlag ; Oldenbourg Verlag, 2010).

³²³ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 24; Elisabeth Schöggel-Ernst, "Historische Bodendokumentation," in *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.-18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch*, eds. Josef Pauser, Martin Scheutz, and Thomas Winkelbauer (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, December 2004), 516–529. Here: 516.

³²⁴ See Schöggel-Ernst, "Historische Bodendokumentation," 516.

³²⁵ See Schöggel-Ernst, "Historische Bodendokumentation," 519; Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 28.

³²⁶ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 28; Schöggel-Ernst, "Historische Bodendokumentation," 519; Adam Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Passau, 1933), 1, 3 vols. Here: LXI.

³²⁷ See Schöggel-Ernst, "Historische Bodendokumentation," 519; Roger Sablonier, "Verschriftlichung und Herrschaftspraxis: urbariales Schriftgut im spätmittelalterlichen Gebrauch," in *Pragmatische Dimensionen mittelalterlicher Schriftkultur: Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums, 26.-29. Mai 1999*, eds. Christel Meier and Universität Münster (München: W. Fink, 2002), 91–120. Here: 91.

chronologies do not entirely match and in the latter case, modern research tends to project the roots of a later development back in time.³²⁸

One general problem with using rentals as a source basis is that they vary greatly in form and content depending on the occasion and mode of their compilation³²⁹ Thus, they may only describe circumstances at one point in time unless they were used in everyday administration and therefore updated continuously. What is more, they may not even reflect the contemporaneous condition of the estate described.³³⁰ The occasions for compiling a rental could generally include confirmation of or changes in ownership of an estate, a change to the estate by size or quality (increase, decrease, destructive events) or administrative reform.³³¹ The mode they were compiled under was either by gathering information from local notables, officials and tenants or by combining already existing fragmentary written material.³³²

Sablonier can empirically describe the consequences of the fact that the content of rentals was changeable in this way. For instance, even if rentals were created to preserve the norm with regard to dues, this can still mean that the dues contained in the rental did not match what was actually rendered. The described holdings may not represent the actual state of the holdings on the ground and the described dues may have rather functioned as a statement about the value that the paid dues were supposed to have. The form in which dues were paid in meanwhile may have been subject to everyday negotiation. Moreover, documenting holdings and dues in one way and leaving this unchanged, even though the actual circumstances were changeable both in the short and long term, could, in fact, serve the purpose of stressing the legitimacy of the claim to dues.³³³ At other points, Sablonier demonstrates that rentals could be created to fix practices of manorial administration and interaction with tenants, thus again improving legitimacy by standardization,³³⁴ or merely as a device used internally in the administration of a manorial archive. In this latter case, older

³²⁸ See Sablonier, "Verschriftlichung und Herrschaftspraxis," 96–97.

³²⁹ See Schöggel-Ernst, "Historische Bodendokumentation," 518; Sablonier, "Verschriftlichung und Herrschaftspraxis," whose examples for this I will be referencing below.

³³⁰ See Schöggel-Ernst, "Historische Bodendokumentation," 516.

³³¹ See Schöggel-Ernst, "Historische Bodendokumentation," 19; Sablonier, "Verschriftlichung und Herrschaftspraxis," 103.

³³² See Schöggel-Ernst, "Historische Bodendokumentation," 516–517.

³³³ See Sablonier, "Verschriftlichung und Herrschaftspraxis," 99–100.

³³⁴ See Sablonier, "Verschriftlichung und Herrschaftspraxis," 101.

rentals could be reproduced entirely or partially in newly created ones to ensure comprehensibility between an older and newer generation of archival documentation.³³⁵

What are the consequences of these insights for the use of rentals in economic and social history, especially for using quantifying methods? Traditionally, rentals have been considered a key source for investigating the development of the structure and revenue of the estates and of agricultural production, at least as far as the land given out to tenants is concerned, granted that a given rental is detailed enough to include descriptions of holdings, modes of tenancy, dues and services.³³⁶ Sablonier, however, cautions against using rentals in an unreflected way, especially when pursuing a quantifying approach. Firstly, because the contained data on dues and revenues has to be approached carefully. Often, the data should not be considered as factual evidence, but rather expected revenues, averages or estimates.³³⁷ Secondly, rentals were not exclusively instruments either of manorial economic administration or legal documentation of property rights. They were also used practically in the relationship of lordship³³⁸ and as such they also describe this social relationship between lords and producers.³³⁹ In addition, Sablonier stresses the importance of avoiding the projection of modern principles and ideologies of property, business administration and legal documentation onto the past when interpreting rentals. Instead, he suggests considering their role in contemporary everyday practices and rituals.³⁴⁰

3.2. The Rentals of the Bishopric of Passau

To facilitate a comparative study, I required rent rolls which would allow me to compile data on feudal estates over time. Therefore, my qualifier was that the rent rolls should contain data on estates located in what is today Austria from at least two different points in time during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. To this end, I have chosen the rent rolls of the Bishopric of Passau. I chose this source, because among the sources of its kind that I am aware of, it allows for the most cross-sections through time. An additional advantage is that the rent rolls of the Bishopric of Passau are available in edited form.

The rent rolls of the bishopric and chapter house of Passau were edited by Adam Maidhof, who published them in three volumes throughout the 1930s. Volume one contains the rent

³³⁵ See Sablonier, "Verschriftlichung und Herrschaftspraxis," 103–105.

³³⁶ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 24 and 28–29.

³³⁷ See Sablonier, "Verschriftlichung und Herrschaftspraxis," 100–101.

³³⁸ See Sablonier, "Verschriftlichung und Herrschaftspraxis," 92–93.

³³⁹ See Sablonier, "Verschriftlichung und Herrschaftspraxis," 110.

³⁴⁰ See Sablonier, "Verschriftlichung und Herrschaftspraxis," 101, 109 and 119.

rolls of the bishopric, volume two of the chapter house and volume three a register and glossary of places, names and terminology. Previous work using these editions and treating the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century estates of the Bishopric of Passau has been conducted in a dissertation by Martin Hofbauer. Hofbauer analysed the structural and geographical development of the bishopric's estates.³⁴¹ I mainly draw on his findings to supplement my understanding of the makeup and development of Passau's estates. Before Maidhof, Josef Chmel published a partial printed edition of the bishopric's early fourteenth-century rentals for estates in Austria in 1853.³⁴² The traditions of the bishopric are available in an edition by Max Heuwieser.³⁴³

Published in Germany between 1933 and 1939, Maidhof's three-volume-edition of the rent rolls of the bishopric and chapter house of Passau share many of the ideological preoccupations of German-language historiography described by Julien Demade.³⁴⁴ All three volumes were published in the series "Veröffentlichungen des Institutes zur Erforschung des deutschen Volkstums im Süden und Südosten in München und des Institutes für ostbairische Heimatforschung in Passau".³⁴⁵ Moreover, in the preface to the first volume, the aforementioned Heuwieser, one of the series editors, lists "the irrefutable evidence of its [the "borderland's", i.e. Bavaria and what is today Austria] ethnical [orig. *völkisch*] belonging" as one of the merits of this kind of research. The author Adam Maidhof himself clearly shared these notions, speaking, for instance, of "*German* cultivation in the *Ostmark*" during the early medieval era.³⁴⁶ Traces of this also remain present in Hofbauer's work. Besides the repeated use of the term *Ostmark* to describe the polity in its late medieval era,³⁴⁷ it also exhibits a concern about the divergence between *Volk* (a Bavarian *people*) and *Staatsvolk* (the subjects

³⁴¹ Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*.

³⁴² Josef Chmel, "Register der Einkünfte des Bischofs von Passau von den Besitzungen in Oesterreich im ersten Viertel des XIV. Jahrhunderts," ed. Historische Kommission der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Notizenblatt. Beilage zum Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen* (1853), 12–16, 27–32, 40–45, 57–64, 75–88, 92–96, 112–118, 142–150, 162–176, 193–200.

³⁴³ Max Heuwieser, ed, *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Passau* (München: Verlag der Kommission für Bayerische Landesgeschichte, 1930).

³⁴⁴ See Demade, "The Medieval Countryside in German-language Historiography since the 1930s."

³⁴⁵ In my translation: Publications of the Institute for the Study of the German Nationhood in the South and Southeast and the Institute for east-Bavarian research into local history in Passau.

³⁴⁶ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, Geleitwort and LXXX, respectively. Translations and emphases are mine.

³⁴⁷ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 106 and 235, for instance.

of the emerging Bavarian and Austrian polities) in the high Middle Ages. Hofbauer accredits to this circumstance the bishopric's late medieval decline.³⁴⁸

The Bishopric of Passau's extant rent rolls form two main groups. The first group dates to the middle of the thirteenth century, and the second to around 1324. There is additional, less extensive material dating to 1367.³⁴⁹ The first group is made up of manuscripts P₂ and P₃. Both were compiled early on in the office of Bishop Otto of Lonsdorf, around 1255,³⁵⁰ or in the case of P₂ even earlier.³⁵¹ They also share a common basis with earlier manuscripts, which are dated to the first half of the thirteenth century.³⁵² In between the first and the second group is the manuscript P₄, also created during the term of Bishop Otto von Lonsdorf.³⁵³

The second group consists of the manuscripts P₁₀ and P_{10 ½}. The former is dated to the year 1333,³⁵⁴ while the latter may have been created as early as 1331.³⁵⁵ Manuscripts P₁₀ and P_{10 ½} also share a common basis in a manuscript compiled between 1320 and 1324.³⁵⁶ Their content mostly concerns holdings in Upper and Lower Austria, the information on which was compiled by way of officials questioning the tenants.³⁵⁷ The information contained in both manuscripts is mostly overlapping, except for the entries on the Hofmark Schwadorf and the income from Ebelsberg in the year 1351, which are only included in the latter.³⁵⁸

From the second half of the fourteenth century, finally, are the manuscripts P₁₁ and P_{11 1/2}. Manuscript P₁₁ contains, among other material, an *Urbar* finished in 1367³⁵⁹ concerning mostly St. Pölten, Schönbühel and Michaelbach. According to Maidhof, the reason for this partial overview of the Bishopric's holdings lies in an exchange of property in the area between Bishop Albrecht II. von Winkel and the Augustine canons of St. Pölten made just before.³⁶⁰ Manuscript P_{11 ½} is a copy of P₁₁ created in 1391.³⁶¹

³⁴⁸ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 235.

³⁴⁹ For an overview of the extant rent rolls of the bishopric and how they relate to one another, see: Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, LVI–LVII.

³⁵⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 31–32.

³⁵¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 33.

³⁵² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 27.

³⁵³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 34.

³⁵⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 41.

³⁵⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, LVI.

³⁵⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 42–43.

³⁵⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 47–48.

³⁵⁸ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 44.

³⁵⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 50.

³⁶⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 51–52.

³⁶¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 54–55.

From these groups, I have chosen estates which are today predominantly located in Austria and which are present in at least two of these three groups; 1250, 1324 and 1367. The result was a list of 15 estates. Going from west to east, one of these locations, Mattsee,³⁶² is today in Salzburg. Seven of them are today at least mainly in Upper Austria: Obernberg,³⁶³ Vichtenstein,³⁶⁴ Marsbach,³⁶⁵ Neufelden,³⁶⁶ Eferding³⁶⁷ and Ebelsberg.³⁶⁸ Nine are today in

³⁶² I have selected the Data on Mattsee from “Herrschaft Mattsee” based on manuscripts P2 and P3, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 1–3; “Hofmark Straßwalchen” based on P2, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 4; and “Pfandbesitz im Amte Mattsee” based on P4, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 280; for 1250. For 1324, I have selected the data from “Herrschaft Mattsee” based on P10 B, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 664–686.

³⁶³ For the locality of Obernberg, I have selected data from “Herrschaft und Hofmark Obernberg” based on P2 and P3 side by side, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 5–10; and “Urbar von Obernberg am Inn (OÖ)” based on P4, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 355–362; for 1250. I did not include the “Inwärtseigen des Amtes Obernberg (am Hausruck)” see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 11–23; since they are located to the south on the Hausruck heights and therefore separated by quite some distance from the rest of the possessions in Obernberg am Inn itself. For 1324, I have selected “Herrschaft Obernberg am Inn” based on P1ß and P10 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 634–642.

³⁶⁴ For Vichtenstein, I have selected data from a part of the section “Vichtensteinische Güter” based on P2 and P3 together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 116–131; as well as the entry “Ämter zu Vichtenstein und Engelhartzell (OÖ)” based on P4 from among the “Aufzeichnungen über Verpachtung von Ämtern und Gerichten; Einnahmen und Ausgaben von der maut auf Inn und Donau”, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 393–394; for 1250. Part of the section *Vichtensteinsche Güter* is from possessions on the other side of Passau in Bavaria. Specifically, this is the case for the sections “1. Verpfändeter Besitz an der Vils,” see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 114–116; “2. Güter zu Gaishofen” see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 116; and “3. Lehensgüter daselbst” see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 116–118. I have therefore decided to exclude the data from said sections, especially since the section I have selected for 1324, “Herrschaft Vichtenstein,” does no longer contain entries from these areas, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 611–613.

³⁶⁵ For Marsbach, I have selected the data from “Herrschaft Marsbach” based on two versions of the rental contained in P3 side by side, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 91–96; for 1250 and from “Herrschaft Marsbach” based on 10 B for 1324, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 658–660.

³⁶⁶ For Neufelden, I have selected the data from “Amt und Herrschaft Neufelden” based on P2 and P3 together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 97–105; “Einkünfte in Rummersdorf und Fischbach n. Neufelden (OÖ)” based on P4, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 352–353; as well as the entries “Amt Neufelden (OÖ)” based on P4 and “Gericht in Neufelden” also based on P4, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 394 and 396, respectively. For 1324, I have selected the data from “Schloß Neufelden” based on P10 and P10 ½ side by side, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 653–654.

³⁶⁷ For Eferding, I have selected the data from “Amt Eferding” based on P2 and P3 together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 132; and from the entry “Gericht in Eferding (OÖ)” based on P4, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 395; for 1250. I have excluded the “Inwärtseigen zwischen Hausruck und Eferding,” see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 26–29. For 1324, I have selected the data from “Amt Eferding” based on P1ß and P10 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 600–606.

³⁶⁸ For Ebelsberg around 1250, I have selected the data from “Herrschaft und Hofmark Ebelsberg” based on P2 and P3 together from page 132 to 135 and side by side from 136 to 140, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 132–140; “Zehnthäuser des Zehnthofes Hart im Amt Ebelsberg” based on P3, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 140–142; “Inwärtseigen des Amtes Ebelsberg” based on P3, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 143–144; “Urbar des Amtes Ebelsberg” based on P4, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 366–376; and the entry “Amt Ebelsberg (OÖ)” about the lease of the administrative unit Ebelsberg in 1256, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 395. For 1324, I have selected the data from “Herrschaft Ebelsberg” based on P10 and P10 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 583–598. In addition, I have used the “Gesamtgeldeinnahme aus der Hofmark Ebelsberg im J. 1351” based on P10 ½, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 599.

Lower Austria: Amstetten,³⁶⁹ Petzenkirchen/Wieselburg,³⁷⁰ Schönbühel,³⁷¹ Krems/Stein,³⁷² Mautern,³⁷³ St. Pölten,³⁷⁴ Zeiselmauer³⁷⁵ and Schwadorf.³⁷⁶ Among the total, thirteen are contained in the bishopric's rent rolls from the middle of the thirteenth century and from 1324. As for the remaining two, Schönbühel is present only in the rentals from 1324 and 1367,

³⁶⁹ For Amstetten, I have selected the data from "Amstetten und Hofmark Gleiß" based on P2 and P3 together for 1250, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 154–159. For 1324, the data is from "Hofmark Amstetten" based on P10 and P10 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 546–565; as well as "Herrschaft Gleiß" based on P10 and P10 ½, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 566–583.

³⁷⁰ For Petzenkirchen and Wieselburg in the middle of the thirteenth century, I have selected data from the "Amt Petzenkirchen" based on P2 and P3 together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 151; and the "Hofmark Wieselburg" based on P3, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 151; in addition to "Amt Petzenkirchen mit Hofmark Wieselburg" based on P11 but constituting a copy of an earlier source which was based on P3; for the source section see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 152–153; for the specific manuscript history, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, XX–XXI. For 1324, I have selected the data from "Hofmark Petzenkirchen" based on P10 and P10 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 537–546.

³⁷¹ For Schönbühel, I have selected data from the sections "Herrschaft Schönbühel" based on P10 and P 10 ½ together from 1324, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 522–537; and "Rechnisse von Schönbühel bei Melk" based on P11 and P11 ½ together for 1367, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 792–794.

³⁷² For Krems and Stein in the middle of the thirteenth century, I have selected "Übergriffe des Zehentners von Stein in Besitzrechte um Krems und Stein" based on P3, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 179–183; "Lehen des Selker von Gedersdorf ö. u. n.ö. Krems" based on P3, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 184–185; "Hofstätten in Stein" based on P3, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 186; and "Lehengüter um Stein a. d. Donau (NÖ)" based on P4, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 388–391. For 1324, I have chosen "Weinberge und Zehente um Mautern, Krems und Langenlois," based on P10 B, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 696–699.

³⁷³ For Mautern in the middle of the thirteenth century, I have selected data from "Hofstätten in Mautern" based on P3, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 186–188; "Weingärten bei Mautern u.a." based on P3, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 188–190; and "Weinberg- und andere Lehen bei Hundsheim (nächst Mautern, NÖ)" based on P4, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 385–387. For 1324, I have selected the data from "Herrschaft Mautern" based on P10 and P10 ½, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 517–522.

³⁷⁴ For St. Pölten in the middle of the thirteenth century, I have selected data from "Herrschaft und Hofmark St. Pölten" based on P2 and P11 side by side. For the source section see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 160–171. For the reason why P2 and P11 are presented side by side, see Maidhof *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, XIX. Moreover, I have chosen "Inwärtseigen bei der Hofmark St. Pölten," based on P3, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 171–179. For 1324, I have selected data from "Hofmark St. Pölten" based on P10 and P10 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 472–517. The additional data from 1367 is contained in the sections "Rechnisse aus dem Weichbild der Stadt St. Pölten" based on P11 and P11 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 719–762; "Rechnisse von Gütern der Hofmark St. Pölten aus der Umgebung der Stadt" based on P11 and P11 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 762–791; "Reutweizendienst aus Orten der Hofmark und der Stadt St. Pölten" based on P11 and P11 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 813–833; "Gersten- und Roggendienst von Überlendgründen" based on P11 and P11 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 834; "Roggendienst von Gütern des Pibringer" based on P11 and P11 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 835–837; and "Verpfändungen von Zehenten des Kastenamtes St. Pölten" based on P11 and P11 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 848.

³⁷⁵ For Zeiselmauer in the thirteenth century, I have selected data from "Hofmark Zeiselmauer" based on P2 and P3 side by side, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 192–197; and the "Urbar von Unterlberndorf", see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 247–251. For 1324, the data is from "Hofmark Zeiselmauer" based on P10 and P 10 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 415–471.

³⁷⁶ For Schwadorf in the middle of the thirteenth century, I have selected the data from "Hofmark Schwadorf" based on P2 and P3 together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 197–201. For 1324, the data is from the eponymous section "Hofmark Schwadorf" based on P10 and P10 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 407–408.

while St. Pölten is present in all three. In addition, for Ebelsberg there is also an account of revenue from 1351.

The rent rolls of the thirteenth and fourteenth century are the first of their quality and extent still extant for the Bishopric of Passau.³⁷⁷ Concerning their overall style, internal structure and comprehensiveness, Maidhof and Hofbauer observe firstly, that there are great differences between the two main groups on account of changing practices of documentation.³⁷⁸ Especially the rent rolls of the thirteenth, but also those of the fourteenth century still sometimes exhibit characteristics of other kinds of documents (charters, *Traditionen*, *Salbücher*).³⁷⁹ Secondly, they do not follow a consistent ordering principle in the way they present the information. Hofbauer attributes this to the mode of their creation, being pieced together from numerous individual documents.³⁸⁰ Possessions are often grouped in administrative units called *Ämter* and *Hofmarken*.³⁸¹ Moreover, they also contain sections on holdings which were enfeoffed, pawned or held under other legal titles, such as the *Inwärtseigen*.³⁸² Thirdly, a large part of the Bishopric's possessions in Bavaria are missing from the rent rolls,³⁸³ which does not pose a problem for me since I am focusing on the area of what is today Austria. Generally, the records grow more detailed in the fourteenth century.³⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the information often consists only of the dues to be rendered, making no mention of the particular holdings themselves.³⁸⁵ Especially the rent rolls of the thirteenth century often omit one or more of these elements.³⁸⁶

The comparison attempted here is problematized in five ways: the differing reason for compilation, the extended process of compilation for each source, the development of the extent of the Bishopric's possessions, the changing structural organization of administration,

³⁷⁷ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 23.

³⁷⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, LVII; Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 13.

³⁷⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, LVII; Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 21.

³⁸⁰ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 13.

³⁸¹ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 17–18.

³⁸² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, LVII–LVIII; Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 18.

³⁸³ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 19–20.

³⁸⁴ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 14.

³⁸⁵ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 13.

³⁸⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, LVIII–LIX; Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 14.

and the sources' comprehensiveness. The first complication is that while Maidhof considers the fourteenth-century rentals to have been, for the most part, devices of actual and practical manorial administration,³⁸⁷ the thirteenth-century rentals decidedly were not. Instead, he considers their purpose to have been the provision of a cursory overview of estates for the central administration in Passau.³⁸⁸

The second and possibly gravest problem concerns the period of compilation. In effect, the question is whether what Maidhof's edition presents as two rent rolls, one of the thirteenth, the other of the fourteenth century, can actually be considered separate. Hofbauer would answer this in the negative and therefore likely caution against the comparison I undertake here. Rather than "independent temporal cross-sections", he considers the rent rolls a "single rent roll, [...] the creation of which extended over the period of more than a century".³⁸⁹ His reason behind this assertion is that both rent rolls were compiled over a period of time under difficult circumstances as far as the availability of the necessary on-the-ground information is concerned. Consequentially, the rent rolls contain "overlaps, doubling, but also discontinuity" owing to the structural change that Passau's possessions underwent during that time.³⁹⁰ I seek to mitigate this problem first by choosing only data from a select few localities attested in more than one rent roll and second by paying close attention to evidence of the formation process of the source sections for each of these localities.

The third problem is that the extent of the Bishopric's possessions and therefore my basis of comparison changed over time. The Bishopric's possessions were at their largest extent at the end of the thirteenth century, which they held for the better part of the first half of the fourteenth century. In the second half of the fourteenth century, Passau's possessions shrank again.³⁹¹ On the one hand, the acquisition or loss of manors by the Bishopric does not pose a problem for my investigation, as I have selected only those localities where possessions are attested in two different rent rolls over the period. On the other hand, the number of holdings belonging to the Bishopric in a single locality may naturally change, too. I will be making note of such changes and adding them as a qualifier to my results. A similar fourth problem is posed

³⁸⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, LXIV.

³⁸⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, LX.

³⁸⁹ Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 24. Translations are mine.

³⁹⁰ Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 24. Translations are mine.

³⁹¹ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 23–24.

by the changing structure of manorial administration. Administrative units, *Ämter*, *Hofmarken*, etc., change, they are introduced and discarded, extended and contracted. Holdings at a single location may therefore be subsumed under different administrative units at different points in time. To meet this problem, I draw on Hofbauer's work to understand the development of local administration and undergird my decisions as to which sections concerning one administrative unit or another to exclude or include.

The final problem now is the one of comprehensiveness. As already described above, the rent rolls are very varied concerning the quality of information they provide on Passau's holdings in a given locality. They variably neglect to include the label for a holding, dues rendered from, or the persons associated with it. The omissions go beyond that, however, with fourteenth-century sources at times indicating individual or multiple holdings the bishopric had held, but not described in the thirteenth-century sources.³⁹² Moreover, as mentioned above, especially the thirteenth-century rentals include many holdings that were not given to peasant producers but instead enfeoffed, pawned or leased to noblemen, often contained in separate sections on *Inwärtseigen*. Where this can be observed, I will be pointing it out, again drawing on Hofbauer's work.

Looking at the formation process of the source sections, possible changes in administrative units, sections included or excluded by myself, and omissions evident by comparing the sources for one place at two points in time, I will go through the sources on the locations from west to east. Beginning with Mattsee, the data is still divided among sections on Mattsee and Straßwalchen in the thirteenth century. By the fourteenth century, Straßwalchen was incorporated into Mattssee manor.³⁹³ The quality of the administration of property was poor, and no comprehensive documentation of holdings was made in the fourteenth century. Existing documentation exhibits omissions and ignorance.³⁹⁴ Nevertheless, at least the places where Mattsee manor had holdings remained mostly unchanged from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century.³⁹⁵

³⁹² See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 97.

³⁹³ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 230.

³⁹⁴ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 123.

³⁹⁵ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 130. Hofbauer also undertakes an in-detail investigation into changes to Passau's estate in the places Mehrnbach and Eberschwang, see Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 125.

Moving eastward to Obernberg and Vichtenstein, the majority of Passau's possessions in Obernberg are partly on the side of the river Inn that is today Bavaria.³⁹⁶ The centre of the estate, the market town of Obernberg itself, is located in today's Austrian side. I have decided to exclude one section on the *Inwärtseigen* of Obernberg administrative unit,³⁹⁷ since they were quite far removed from the centre to the south of the Hausruck Heights. From the thirteenth to the fourteenth century, Hofbauer observes administrative concentration in Obernberg. In the fourteenth century, there remains only one administrative unit, the *Herrschaft Obernberg am Inn*, whereas previously, there had been two.³⁹⁸ For Vichtenstein, possessions in Bavaria were given in individual subsections.³⁹⁹ Since the source on Vichtenstein from the fourteenth century does not include these possessions in Bavaria anymore, I have decided to exclude them from the data for the thirteenth century as well. Completing the selected holdings north of the Danube in Upper Austria, the thirteenth-century rental for Marsbach is ordered internally by how the bishopric acquired the holdings it is made up of. The estate was hotly contested and only acquired by the bishopric from its *ministeriales* in the thirteenth century.⁴⁰⁰ This ordering principle is no longer present anymore in the fourteenth century. Hofbauer has undertaken a comparison of the holdings over time in one of the modern municipalities then part of the Marsbach estate, Niederkappel. He finds that the number of individual holdings may have more than doubled. Moreover, the placenames given differed. Since the source does not give an explicit number of holdings, only their dues, it is difficult to precisely calculate the number of holdings.⁴⁰¹ In Neufelden, meanwhile, most of the holdings from the thirteenth century are also attested for the fourteenth century.⁴⁰²

Also still in Upper Austria, but south of the Danube, are Eferding and Ebelsberg. For Eferding, I have decided to exclude the section "Inwärtseigen zwischen Hausruck und Eferding"⁴⁰³ for

³⁹⁶ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 111.

³⁹⁷ Based on P2 and P3 together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 11–23..

³⁹⁸ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 116–117.

³⁹⁹ "1. Verpfändeter Besitz an der Vils" based on P2 and P3 together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 114–116; "2. Güter zu Gaishofen" based on P2 and P3 together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 116; and "3. Lehensgüter daselbst" based on P2 and P3 together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 116–118.

⁴⁰⁰ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 191–192.

⁴⁰¹ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 194–195.

⁴⁰² See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 200.

⁴⁰³ Based on P2 and P3 together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 26–29.

much the same reason as I excluded a similar section for Obernberg. In Ebelsberg, the number of administrative units was reduced by the fourteenth century due to a simplification of administration. Comparability between the two time periods is somewhat uncertain there. There were several villages named under the administrative units of the thirteenth century that remain absent in those of the fourteenth century.⁴⁰⁴ Hofbauer does not ascribe this circumstance to losses accrued by the Bishopric, however. He undertakes a comparison of all holdings by the Bishopric of whatever administrative unit of two villages in the area and finds that they remained largely the same. For those holdings not named in the fourteenth century, he speculates they may have been named more than once for different dues in the thirteenth century or that the source material on them was lost.⁴⁰⁵

Today in Lower Austria are first Amstetten and Petzenkirchen. In the thirteenth century, the bishopric's holdings in and around Amstetten were contained in just one source section, *Amstetten and Hofmark Gleiß*.⁴⁰⁶ By 1324, it was spread across two sections, *Hofmark Amstetten*⁴⁰⁷ and *Herrschaft Gleiß*.⁴⁰⁸ The holdings in Gleiß had only entered into the bishopric's possession definitively since about 1232.⁴⁰⁹ With the market of Blindenmarkt, the rentals from the early fourteenth century treat something that is not included in the thirteenth century. Before, Blindenmarkt was presented under the section "Besitz in der Riedmark"⁴¹⁰ and is therefore also not included in the data utilized here. In Petzenkirchen, the sources from the thirteenth century include separate as well as joined sections on Petzenkirchen and the neighbouring Wieselburg. These sections constitute rentals regarding the same possessions, created at a similar time,⁴¹¹ but varying in detail. By 1324, information on the bishopric's holdings in the area, both in Petzenkirchen and Wieselburg, is subsumed in a single section of the source, "Hofmark Petzenkirchen".⁴¹²

Following the Danube further east, one comes to Schönbühel, Krems/Stein and Mautern. Ownership of the castle in Schönbühel and therefore likely also the estate there had been

⁴⁰⁴ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 176.

⁴⁰⁵ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 178–179.

⁴⁰⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 154–159.

⁴⁰⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 546–565.

⁴⁰⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 566–583.

⁴⁰⁹ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 240.

⁴¹⁰ Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 275–276.

⁴¹¹ See Maidhof, *Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, XX–XXI.

⁴¹² Based on P10 and P 10 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 537–546.

divided between two of the Bishopric's *ministeriales* in the thirteenth century. Therefore, the first rental on Schönbühel considered here is only from 1324, as the estate reverted to the bishop at the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁴¹³ Lastingly difficult property relations are still evident in 1324, making for a very detailed rental. For Krems, Stein and Mautern, I have decided to analyse the data together, due to their geographical proximity, the connections existing between them administratively and most of all because administrative changes cause holdings to be included under the sections on Krems and Stein at one time and under those for Mautern at another time. In Krems and Stein, there seems to have been a significant loss of possessions for the Bishopric from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century. Part of it is explained by a reorganization of administrative units, with holdings subsumed under the administrative unit *Herrschaft Mautern* in the fourteenth century.⁴¹⁴ A loss of control nevertheless was already evident in the thirteenth century, as a significant part of the Bishopric's possessions in the area was described as being claimed by the official responsible for gathering the tithe in Stein. Hofbauer shows that all holdings from some villages still present in the thirteenth century were lost by the fourteenth century.⁴¹⁵ He argues that the fact that the bishopric's possessions around Krems in the thirteenth century were divided over several administrative units also played a role in this process.⁴¹⁶ By the fourteenth century, there was considerable concentration of the administrative structure in the area. While the data on Krems, Stein and Mautern is contained in nine sections in the thirteenth century, it is subsumed under merely two in the fourteenth century.⁴¹⁷ Considerable losses of property were a factor in this concentration, but so is the administrative reorganization of holdings under Mautern manor.⁴¹⁸ There, possessions of the Bishopric were quite numerous in the fourteenth century.⁴¹⁹

For St. Pölten, Hofbauer also observes a concentration of administrative units in the area from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century.⁴²⁰ Especially the fiefs (*Inwärtseigen*) recorded for the area seem to have been lost by the fourteenth century, which Hofbauer attributes to their

⁴¹³ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 265–266.

⁴¹⁴ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 362.

⁴¹⁵ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 363.

⁴¹⁶ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 362.

⁴¹⁷ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 367.

⁴¹⁸ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 362.

⁴¹⁹ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 368.

⁴²⁰ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 291.

varied nature both in term of legal status and location. The remainder may also be contained in the registers of leased tithes for the year 1366,⁴²¹ or may have changed legal status and come to be subsumed under other fourteenth-century administrative units. The majority, however, would have been lost according to Hofbauer,⁴²² who also observes a process of alienation already present in the thirteenth century.⁴²³ Possible omissions are another aspect that makes comparison over time for the St Pölten data, particularly for the register of leased tithes from 1366, problematic. Hofbauer himself therefore advises against adding up their revenue, to avoid distortions.⁴²⁴

Second to last is Zeiselmayer. Here, I have selected the data from the sections “Hofmark Zeislmayer”⁴²⁵ and “Urbar von Unterolberndorf”⁴²⁶ for the middle of the thirteenth century, since the 1324 section “Hofmark Zeiselmayer”⁴²⁷ incorporates holdings formerly presented under Amt Unterolberndorf.⁴²⁸ However, there was also considerable shrinkage of the bishopric’s possessions north of the Danube over this stretch over time. Comparing the places named in the modern district of Korneuburg, north of the Danube opposite Zeiselmayer, from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century, Hofbauer finds that there were only four in the fourteenth century, where there were eight in the thirteenth. Only a single place, Hausleiten, is featured at both times. He attributes this to restructuring, omissions and concentration of possessions. Evidence for omissions could be the fact that the place Hausleiten features a lot of possessions in the fourteenth century and only tithes in the thirteenth century. Hofbauer argues that this could either be simply due to omission or because the possessions might have been enfeoffed then.⁴²⁹

Finally coming to the easternmost estate, Schwadorf, one of the younger possessions of the Bishopric in Lower Austria, was acquired at the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁴³⁰ The quality of the thirteenth-century source section *Hofmark Schwadorf* surpasses that of the eponymous fourteenth-century section. Damage to the Bishopric’s possessions there may

⁴²¹ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 284.

⁴²² See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 299.

⁴²³ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 307–308.

⁴²⁴ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 274.

⁴²⁵ Based on P2 and P3 side by side, Maidhof, see *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 192–197.

⁴²⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 247–251.

⁴²⁷ Sed on P10 and P10 ½ together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 415–471.

⁴²⁸ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 342.

⁴²⁹ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 346.

⁴³⁰ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 324.

have been sustained in violent conflicts with the Hungarians in the thirteenth century.⁴³¹ Moreover, there are several contested holdings in the thirteenth century.⁴³² The placenames given in the thirteenth century appear again in the fourteenth century,⁴³³ however, indicating that a common base of comparison is still given.

3.3. Feasible Research Questions

Which of the aspects outlined at the end of section 2 may be addressed with this data basis?

The approach chosen here, using rent roll data describing 15 estates at two to three points in time during the thirteenth and mostly early fourteenth century favours questions related to the mode-of-production approach over those closer to the population-and-resources approach. In addition, the fact that I only have data from the second half of the fourteenth century for two locations means that the impact of the second plague pandemic is underrepresented. Conversely, evidence of crisis already setting in before the mid-fourteenth-century population depression would be favoured by the data basis.

Why is it that the rentals I am using do not yield themselves easily to pursuing many of the issues related to the population and resources approach? As for the development of demography and prices, the rentals would allow some conclusions to be drawn, but they would be incomplete. To observe agricultural productivity, the rentals would also have to provide more detailed information. The impact of demography does show up in the rentals in the form of patterns of land use. This includes vacant land, divisions or combinations of holdings. However, the rent rolls merely offer information on the individual pieces of property belonging to the bishopric in each locality. Consequently, they are not a complete register of all properties in a given place. It is therefore not feasible to draw conclusions about total population size. Similarly, the rentals do contain tentative evidence on prices and labour costs by giving value estimates in coin for dues in kind, by stating alternative dues in coin to dues in kind and by way of remuneration for work in the vineyards at harvest time. This should however not be mistaken for actual market prices at the time in the region, for which evidence from account books would be necessary. Agricultural productivity could be pursued at least approximately via expected yield rates mirrored in fixed-sum leases on tithes. This would

⁴³¹ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 324 for those conflicts.

⁴³² See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 323–324.

⁴³³ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 325.

however require knowledge of the size of land these tithes were taken from, which the rentals do not provide. More detailed accounts would again be required in this case.

Likewise, the source basis also does not allow me to pursue the central pillars of the mode of production approach, specifically overexploitation and peasant resistance. Apart from some notes pointing towards temporary waivers of dues, there is little in these sources to indicate the economic state of an individual production unit, such as a farm. Acquiring such data would require inventories, for instance, which, to my knowledge, are not yet commonly available for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the region. Additionally, since I have neither workable holding sizes nor yield rates, I cannot calculate the relative appropriation rate for a holding. Similarly, peasant resistance possibly only shows up in cases of conflict regarding the payment of dues. These instances are rare and do not give any further context. Manor court records would be required here to better illuminate existing resistance. The questions I *can* address using the source material here at hand are therefore first, what the form and mode of surplus appropriation was. Second, how dues and services developed. Third, how producers' property rights to the land they worked changed. Fourth, how feudal rent developed and fifth, how producers were differentiated internally over time.

4. Methods

I have transcribed the data from the 15 selected estates from the rent rolls into Microsoft Excel to conduct my analysis. Per location, I created two to three tables, depending on whether the individual location was included in the rental from around 1250, 1324, and/or 1367. In this process, I attempted to retain the internal logic of the original sources as much as possible, given the constraints of the software. This is to say that I strove to retain the order information was given in, its full content and expression. The goal was to be able to convey all pertaining information for each individual holding. In addition, I created personal databases, recording for each of the tables all persons mentioned, their professions, positions, status labels, familial connections and associated holdings. A detailed description of how the Excel tables and personal databases are made up and which problems I encountered in the process of processing the data in this way can be found in section 10. I will now discuss how I approached my research questions both qualitatively and quantitatively.

4.1. Approaching the Research Questions Qualitatively

To answer my research questions on surplus appropriation, the development of dues and services as well as property rights to land and the internal differentiation of producers, I

gathered qualitative evidence from the tables on the rentals in these four areas. The last of these research questions, concerning the internal differentiation of producers, I also approached quantitatively. Based on the literature, I detected and selected appropriate evidence. For each of the locations, I then sought to present the evidence contained in the rentals and on this basis to make a comparison over time. Not every area could be covered in full or to an equal extent for every location, as not every rental contains evidence on these issues. Where a comparison has not been feasible, I have attempted to make this clear in the introductory paragraph for each location.

Beginning with surplus appropriation, I divided my investigation into three subcategories, based on the reviewed literature: manorial organization, the structure of feudal rent, and finally holding sizes as well as multiple ownership. Regarding manorial administration, I sought to establish the ratio between land under more or less direct manorial administration, on the one hand, and agricultural land parcelled out to tenants on the other hand. As for the former, I counted the exact number of holdings carrying labels that allow a qualified assumption of their being large agricultural units (*villicationes*, *curiae villicalis*, *curia decimalis* and *curiae*). For these large agricultural units, I aimed to understand whether they were given out to tenants and whether they had any form of dues associated with them, rendered fixed dues, had an established ratio of the harvest or had their dues assessed at harvest time. Moreover, I particularly highlighted any evidence pointing to the dissolution of large agricultural units. In addition, I looked for entries on land that could be identified as demesne land.

For the land parcelled out to tenants, I made an approximate account of the individual agricultural holdings and the plots of land given out. Using this approximate number, I could make a comparison of the proportion of land under direct manorial administration and land parcelled out to tenants. An exact account was not always possible, since numbers were not always given in the sources and holdings were sometimes described in groups of several different holding types. The most common labels for agricultural holdings are *huba* and *laneus* for a medium-sized holding, *area* for a smallholding, *agri*, *orti*, *vineae* and *prati* for fields, gardens, vineyards and pastures, respectively, as well as *novalia* for newly cleared fields.

Proceeding to the structure of feudal rent, holding sizes and multiple ownership, I first attempted to find sources of income other than dues in money and kind from giving rural and semi-urban land to tenants. This meant finding evidence for the presence or absence of tithes,

income from judicial rights and taxes. In addition, I looked for income from market activity, such as dues paid from market stalls, tolls, customs, and fees for the use of regulated measurements. Furthermore, I recorded the presence of dues from urban landholdings, mostly from houses. Then, I looked for labour services. Second, concerning holding sizes, I avoided any attempt at discerning actual holding sizes due to the lack of standardized measurements in the sources and the regional variability of the actual holdings behind the labels for agricultural holdings listed above. Instead, I made note of and described any evidence of the partitioning of holdings. Third, pertaining to multiple ownership or tenancy, I looked for cases of multiple persons being associated with the same holding or plot of land and attempted to evaluate whether these persons were agricultural producers or members of the nobility or clergy. Additionally, I also pointed out where evidence of ongoing agricultural expansion was present.

After dealing with the form and mode of surplus appropriation, I then ventured to describe the development of dues and services as well as property rights based on the information from the rentals. To this end I gathered all mentions of changes to dues in money and kind and compared if and what labour services were described from one rental to another over time. Changes to dues could include changes in the form that a due was rendered, consisting mostly of commutation of dues and services to money payments but also decreases or increases of their amount. Additional changes to dues could include instances of non-payment or outstanding dues, cancellation or imposition. In addition, I also made note of any instances where there seems to have been conflict regarding the payment of dues, their amount or form. Having described the development of dues and services, I proceeded similarly regarding the development of agricultural producers' property rights. Departing from the literature, I searched the source passages recorded in the tables for any mention of tenurial modes such as short-term tenure, tenure-for-life, and hereditary tenure. In addition, I also made note of evidence which may point to one or more of these tenurial modes, such as entry fines or heriot.

Finally, I qualitatively approached the internal differentiation of producers by compiling instances of the use of status labels in the source. In recourse to the literature, the labels I selected were *homines*, *proprii*, *coloni* and *rustici*. For each location, I compared the presence or absence of these labels over time. Furthermore, for each usage of one of these labels per

location, I attempted to describe the way the individual label was used, to learn more about its specific meaning in context.

4.2. Approaching the Research Questions Quantitatively

For the research questions on the development of feudal rent and the internal differentiation of producers, I chose a quantitative approach. Beginning with the former, I tallied up the quantities of dues in money, rye, oats, wheat and barley from the respective columns in the tables for each location at a specific point in time. However, this process was more than just the drawing of sums, as the character of the source caused several problems.

Specifically, I was confronted with seven separate problems. First, it remains questionable whether these sources provide a suitable data basis for the comparison of quantitative data over time. Second, not all forms of income lend themselves easily to being summed up neatly under the assumption that the dues recorded equalled the income of one year. Third, the dues rendered from an individual holding themselves and their quantities may differ in a given rental, due to differences in the manuscripts the edition is based on. Fourth, not all feudal rent went to the bishopric. Fifth and applicable only to money rent, the source does not clearly state the currency, making calculations including changes in silver value difficult. Sixth regarding only grain dues, the source uses various local measurements, for which no conversion to modern units is possible and some of which are not even mutually convertible. In these last two cases, I eventually decided to use the values of the Viennese coin and created a conversion table for the measurements to standardize them as much as possible. An in-depth discussion of how I went about this can be found in section 11. I will now discuss problems one through five.

I will begin by discussing the issue of the comparability of the data generated from the rentals. Foremost is the fact that the landholding of the bishopric and whatever else it drew income from, could change over time, thus changing the data basis in itself. This should be made apparent for every location in the comparison of land under manorial administration with land parcelled out, and in the discussion of the structure of feudal rent. Moreover, not just what the bishopric owned in a place could change, but also how it is compiled in the source. With changes in administrative organization, the same property could be recorded under different names or in other administrative units. Finally, the way the rentals were compiled, with obtaining information on circumstances on the ground from local officials, notables and

subjects, could yield differing results even if the basis of the bishopric's property and income structure itself did not change.

The next problem arises from the fact that not all income recorded in the rentals originates from giving land to tenants in return for dues to be paid at certain points over a year. The bishopric also recorded the lease (*locatio*) and pawning (*obligatio*) of agricultural holdings, revenue from them, individual or groups of tithes and whole administrative units for large lump sums in coin and/or grain. For leases, it is not always made clear in the source on what timeframe leases were arranged, i.e. whether the payments recorded constituted the payment for one year or multiple. Theoretically, a comparison of the size of the payment could sustain an estimation of the term of the lease. In order to forego the uncertainty incurred by applying this method to a small data basis, I have instead created an additional total sum where income from leases and pawns is included to go along with the sum calculated solely from income by tenancies.

Since the edition by Maidhof is partly based on multiple manuscripts, there may be differing dues of varying quantity to be rendered from the same holding from one source text to another. Moreover, sometimes one source text includes holdings which the other does not. In these instances, I have included all differing information while creating the tables. Consequentially, I eventually also arrived at more than one sum for each affected column.

The problem that not all of the recorded income went to the bishopric is twofold, caused by both the organization of manorial administration and central taxation. It is a regular occurrence in the rentals to see officials receive a fixed part of the dues rendered from a holding as compensation for their services. Nevertheless, the whole amount of dues rendered, including the official's part, was feudal rent appropriated from an agricultural producer. Therefore, I have chosen to include the full amount of dues rendered in the total sum I drew for comparisons over time. Whatever part of it that did not go to the bishopric I have then pointed out in the discussion of these sums. Even greater difficulty is posed by taxes since the rentals do not make clear whether what they present as tax went to the territorial prince as part of irregular levies or remained with the bishopric. Since payments labelled tax only make up a small proportion of total money payments, I have included them in the total sum and also pointed them out, where present, in the discussion.

5. Relations of Production on 15 Estates, ca. 1250 - 1324/1367

Having laid out the methodology with which I will approach the research questions arrived at in section 3.3., I will now begin to discuss the results my investigation has yielded for the 15 estates selected as described in section 3.3. I will be moving from the easternmost estate (Mattsee) to the westernmost one (Schwadorf). I treat each estate by shortly summarizing the results for each research question and then describing the results for each one in detail.

5.1. Mattsee

The organization of surplus appropriation in Mattsee in the middle of the thirteenth century still shows traces of the old manorial system. By 1324, the source only records independent holdings. Apart from landholdings, the bishopric also drew income from tithes and judicial rights in Mattsee. There is no evidence of labour services. Partitions of holdings had increased strongly by 1324. Evidence of change in dues is also present from the early fourteenth century, consisting of commutations of dues in kind and labour services to payments in coin. The source does not yield any evidence to allow insight into tenurial rights. Feudal rent in coin may have fallen, whereas the evidence regarding the development of grain dues suggests an increase. Substantial conclusions about the differentiation of producers are not possible due to the source quality for this locality.

While there are also independent holdings documented for Mattsee in the middle of the thirteenth century, large agricultural units, possibly under manorial administration, seem to have played a big role. Among others, there were about 25 holdings labelled as *hubae* and two as *predia*. Moreover, in the *Hofmark*, the bishopric had (*habemus*) a *curia villicalis* for which no tenant was named and which rendered its dues together with 18 and a half of the above-mentioned *hubae*.⁴³⁴ Even though the absence of a named tenant is tenuous evidence since the source overall only mentions a name once, this may imply that it retained some of the characteristics of a *villicatio* in the old sense. In Mattsee there was a large agricultural unit which had administrative functions in tithe collection (*curia decimalis*).⁴³⁵ Furthermore, of the four *curiae* in Mattsee, three rendered grain by proportion, two of them a third of the yield in wheat and rye,⁴³⁶ the third in rye and oats.⁴³⁷ There is no evidence of demesne land. By 1324,

⁴³⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 4.

⁴³⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 2. For the lack of a recorded tenant being evidence, see Zehetmayer, *Das Urbar des Grafen Burkhard III. von Maidburg-Hardegg aus dem Jahre 1363*, 110.

⁴³⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 1–2.

⁴³⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 2.

the source for Mattsee records only independent holdings. These holdings grew in number and may have been different in size, with almost eighty referred to as *hubae*, above forty as *bona* and 21,5 as *curiae*. Moreover, the source records extensive vineyards, at almost 130 *quartalia*.⁴³⁸ There is no evidence of sharecropping or connections between large agricultural units and dependent holdings anymore, and neither is there any for demesne land.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, sources of revenue other than landholding were present in Mattsee. Beginning with tithes, the earlier source records the tithes in Lochen, pawned to Heinrich of Mattsee for 30 *talenta* in Salzburgian coin. Intriguingly, the source comments that Heinrich returned these tithes, together with a *curia* in Mattsee also pawned to him, to the Bishop without being forced to do so.⁴³⁹ By 1324, the bishopric recorded 105 tithes, of which in some cases it only received half or two thirds. As for judicial rights, there is no revenue recorded in the earlier source from them. The label *Hofmark* for the area of Straßwalchen could point to the existence of judicial rights in the hands of the bishopric,⁴⁴⁰ though this is disputed by Maidhof.⁴⁴¹ The later source contains several chickens rendered from Berndorf in Mattsee and Reith in Seekirchen, which are referred to as *court chickens*, “Gerichthuner”.⁴⁴² Moreover, the earlier source also records revenues from forest rights, such as 20 *modii* oats from a *ius silvatico*⁴⁴³ and more opaque revenues, such as six *talenta* “censualibus quam de aliis redditibus”.⁴⁴⁴

The rental on Mattsee from the early fourteenth century shows a substantially progressed partition of holdings, as well as changes to dues and services. Around 1250, there were merely three partitioned *hubae*.⁴⁴⁵ By 1324, there were 24 half-*hubae*.⁴⁴⁶ Moreover, there was one half-*curia*.⁴⁴⁷ In neither source is there any evidence of multiple persons working the same holding. There is no evidence of changes in dues and services from Mattsee around 1250.

⁴³⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 676–678.

⁴³⁹ “que omnia ad gratiam domini Ottonis Pataviensis episcopi remisit spontanee, non coactus”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 280.

⁴⁴⁰ At least this is the case in Bavaria, see Pankraz Fried, “Hofmark,” *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1999 1977), 5, 10 vols, 74.

⁴⁴¹ Maidhof argues that the equation of the term *Hofmark* with a self-contained area of the lower judiciary is not applicable for the rentals of the rentals of the Bishopric of Passau, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, LXV-LXVI.

⁴⁴² Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 685.

⁴⁴³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 4.

⁴⁴⁴ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 4.

⁴⁴⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 2–4.

⁴⁴⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 668.

⁴⁴⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 669.

From 1324, there is evidence of dues in kind and labour services having been commuted to payments in coin. The already mentioned *quartalia* around Straßwalchen and the *curia* in Ursdorf, for which Maidhof does not provide a localisation, rendered two and 16 *denarii* each, respectively, *pro weisat*.⁴⁴⁸ 30 whole *hubae* in Mattsee paid 21 *denarii* a year *pro werichart*,⁴⁴⁹ 23 more half-*hubae* rendered eleven *denarii* a year in the same way.⁴⁵⁰

Recorded feudal rent in coin probably decreased from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century. However, the results are tenuous, as income in coin in the thirteenth century was largely made up of pawn sums. Total feudal rent in coin from Mattsee in the middle of the thirteenth century amounted to 10200 *denarii*. Of these 10200, 7200 were from the pawning of the tithe on Lochen, possibly together with a *curia* there, to *Heinrico de Matse*.⁴⁵¹ The remaining 3000 *denarii* come from land rent and commutations. In 1324, the total feudal rent in coin was 8126 *denarii*, made up of 7937 *denarii* from land rent and commutations and 390 *denarii* rendered specifically under *ius civile*. Figure 1 below shows the percentual change in total feudal rent in coin from Mattsee from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324.

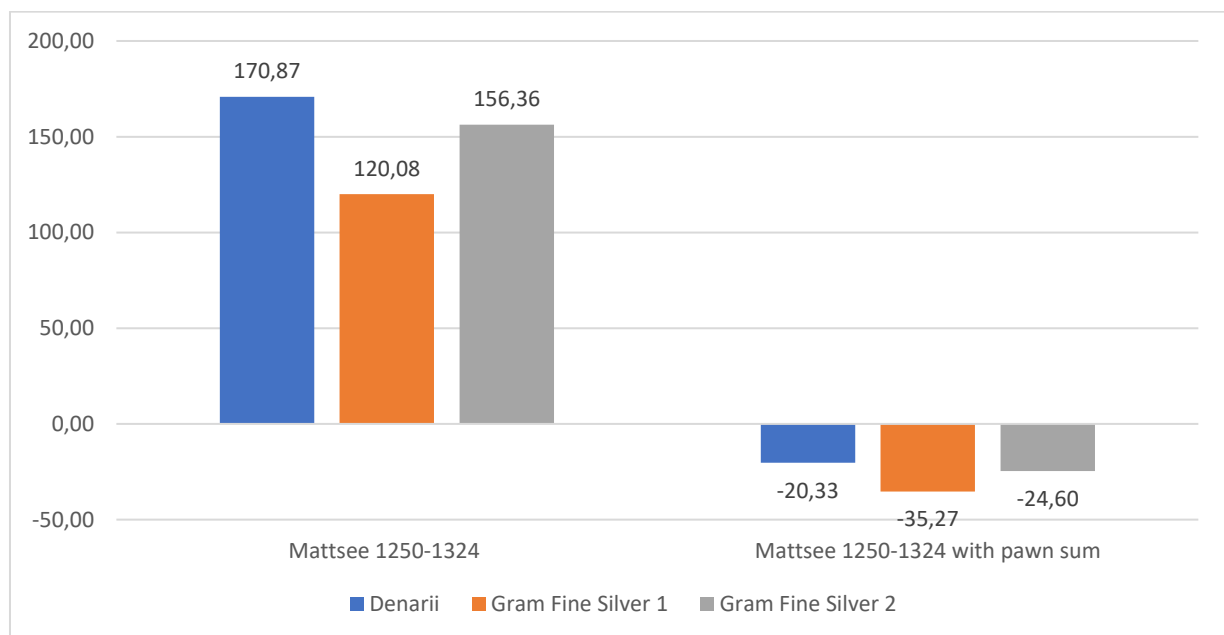


Figure 1 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from Mattsee by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1324

Without the pawn sum, feudal rent in coin recorded from Mattsee sees a relative increase of 170,9 per cent from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324. Calculated in grams of

⁴⁴⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 676–678. For the term *Weisat*, see Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CLVI–CLVII.

⁴⁴⁹ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CLXIV.

⁴⁵⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 686.

⁴⁵¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 280.

silver, this constitutes a change between 120,1 and 156,4 per cent. Including the pawn sum, however, there is a relative decrease of 20,33 per cent. Calculated in grams of fine silver, this decrease lies between 24,6 and 35,27 per cent.

Dues in rye from Mattsee experienced a decline, as can be seen in *Table 2*. For dues in oats, it is unclear whether there is an increase or a decrease due to differences in measurements. Wheat only features in the source from the middle of the thirteenth century. While the rental on Mattsee from around 1250 still contained a total of 43,9 *modii* rye, the later one only records 32,5 *modii* for this kind of grain. In the case of oats, the dues measured in *modii* fall from 246,6 to 148,5 *modii*. However, the rental from 1324 also records 293,5 buckets (*Kübel*) of oats. Since I have not been able to find an exchange ratio between *modii* and buckets, no clear conclusion can be drawn here. Wheat finally is only recorded around the middle of the thirteenth century in Mattsee, at 18 *modii*.

Total Grain Rents Mattsee	Modii	Buckets (<i>Kübel</i>)
Rye 1250	43,9	
Rye 1324	32,5	
Wheat 1250	18	
Oats 1250	246,5	
Oats 1324	148,5	293,5

Table 1 Grain rents from Mattsee

Evidence regarding the differentiation of producers is poor due to the lack of names or status group labels in either source. The earlier source only contains the already mentioned Heinrich von Mattsee, most likely belonging to the local nobility. The already mentioned income in coin from *censualibus*⁴⁵² might point towards the presence of *censuales*. The latter source also only records one person. A certain Eickenpergar rendered three *modi* each in rye and oats from three *hubae* in Astätt.⁴⁵³

5.2. Obernberg

The bishopric's income from Obernberg came, on the one hand, from fixed dues rendered by independent holdings. On the other hand, the bishopric had tithes, though these seem to have been difficult to collect in the middle of the thirteenth century. By the early fourteenth century, the bishopric still received income from tithes and additionally also had recourse to

⁴⁵² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 4.

⁴⁵³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 671.

labour services. There is substantial evidence for the partitioning of holdings, especially in the early fourteenth century. Changes to dues and services were already evident in the middle of the thirteenth century and became more common over time. Neither source passage contains any evidence of tenurial rights. Recorded feudal rent in coin decreases by more than half. For grain, differences in units over time preclude conclusion. The differentiation of producers by profession was exceptionally advanced around 1250 in Obernberg. Likely due to the source quality, the number of professions and positions decreases over time. Producers were differentiated earlier by using *homines* and *coloni*, later by *homines*, *coloni* and *proprii*.

There is no evidence of direct manorial agriculture in Obernberg. For the middle of the thirteenth century, the agricultural holdings recorded are comprised of about 60 *hubae*, 41 *areae*, 20 *beneficia*, eleven *curtes*, thirteen smaller *curtes* (*curtilia* and *curticula*), three *predia* and a *curia*. In 1324, the agricultural holdings and plots of land were made up of a combined total of 53,75 *hubae*, thirteen *curiae*, 8,5 *feuda*, four *mansi*, three *agris* and at least two gardens (*hortus*). For these holdings there is no evidence of dues fixed at harvest, sharecropping or roles in manorial administration. Neither is there anything that points towards the existence of demesne land.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, the bishopric also drew income from market activity, as well as tithes. In the early fourteenth century, there was no more income from the market, only tithes. The earlier source records eight butcher's stalls (*macellum*), the proprietors of which rendered six *denarii* each.⁴⁵⁴ Moreover, it contains three tithes. The first went to the noble Hugo von Safferstetten.⁴⁵⁵ The second yielded 20 *solidi* and ten pigs every second year.⁴⁵⁶ The third yielded ten pigs worth two *talenta*, but it had yielded 150 *modi* rye and oats before.⁴⁵⁷ As the source notes, many of the tithes had been assigned to or unlawfully appropriated by unnamed clerics and three named local nobles. Moreover, 80 holdings were reported vacant (*desolate sunt*).⁴⁵⁸ The later source records two tithes from two different villages, Eggfing and Waldzell. Of the former, it is noted that it was leased out every year, with the expected yield of the tithe given, but not the lease sum paid.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 361.

⁴⁵⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 6.

⁴⁵⁶ "De decimis ecclesie in Mehrnbach secundum cursum anni ordinari debet et 20 sol. Et 10 porci", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 8.

⁴⁵⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 9.

⁴⁵⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 9.

⁴⁵⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 637.

In addition, the source from the early fourteenth century for Obernberg records a *ius foresti* by which the bishopric is entitled to labour services. One *huba* in Bruck/Wippenham had to fence off the lord's forest by right of this *ius foresti*.⁴⁶⁰ By the same right, the *coloni* from Senftenbach and all other *coloni* of the bishopric had to bring wood and straw to the bridge at Senftenbach.⁴⁶¹ The source also records the forest in which this wood had to be gathered.⁴⁶² Another *feudum* in Obernberg had to bring wood to the bishop's kitchen when he was present.⁴⁶³ Finally, all the *homines* in Obernberg had to bring wood to the kitchen.⁴⁶⁴

There is substantial evidence of partitioned holdings already from the middle of the thirteenth and especially by the early fourteenth century. Most partitions in the earlier source concern *areae*. They are present either as half-*areae*⁴⁶⁵ or in one case as a one-and-a-half-*area*.⁴⁶⁶ *Hubae* were also recorded as partitioned. There are three entries featuring half-*hubae*⁴⁶⁷ and two entries featuring a quarter-*huba* each.⁴⁶⁸ In fact, even gardens were split. There are five entries of half-*orti* and one with one-and-a-half-*ortus*.⁴⁶⁹ In the earlier source, there are also still cases where multiple persons were associated with the same holding, which are no longer present in the latter. This may be because the latter source only contains few names. Interestingly, the holdings associated with multiple persons around 1250 were all comparatively small: a field, a sub-peasant holding and a garden. Anwicus and Wizeleupoltinne are recorded with two *Joch*, likely fields,⁴⁷⁰ Hertingus and Siboto Voitshover are named with half an *area*⁴⁷¹ and Ulricus Institor and Wernhardus are named together for an *ortus*.⁴⁷² In 1324, there were many more partitioned holdings. Mostly, these consist of

⁴⁶⁰ "debet [...] claudi illud forestum 4 portis et ubicumque terra culta servitor cuiuscumque contigui, ibi forestum episcopi incipit", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 638.

⁴⁶¹ "iura foresti pertinentis ad pontem et structionem in Obernperig, scilicet in Senftenbach; debent enim coloni de Senftenbach ducere asseres ad pontem et ligna, que vulgariter streu dicitur. Omnes vero proprii ecclesie quorumcumque coloni similiter", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 639.

⁴⁶² "in quo foresto debent recipi ligna ad structuras in Obernberg et diligenter custodiri", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 641.

⁴⁶³ "quando dominus episcopus in Obernberg est, residentes in eisdem feodis ducunt ligna ad coquinam episcopi", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 639.

⁴⁶⁴ "Homines vero ubicumque residentes tales, sicut dictum est, debent ducere ligna ad coquinam, sicut iuris est ab antiquo et consuetum", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 639.

⁴⁶⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 358–361.

⁴⁶⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 359.

⁴⁶⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 6–7 and 10.

⁴⁶⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 6 and 8.

⁴⁶⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 358–361.

⁴⁷⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 357.

⁴⁷¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 360.

⁴⁷² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 362.

hubae, divided in two or four parts. In total, there are 72 entries recording half a *huba* each.⁴⁷³ Three entries record a quarter *huba*.⁴⁷⁴ In addition, there is one half *feudum* recorded.⁴⁷⁵

Changes to dues and services were already present in Obernberg in the middle of the thirteenth century, though they became more common in the early fourteenth century. In the earlier source, there is a *beneficium* in Wippenham for which dues in grain had been reduced. The large amount of dues suggests that in this case, *beneficium* may not have denoted a peasant holding. The source explicitly states that the old due (*antiquum servicium*) of 70 *modii* of oats had been changed to fourteen *modii maioris mensure*.⁴⁷⁶ In the later source, there is evidence of dues in kind being commuted to money payments and of fixed dues being introduced. Seven half-*hubae* and one *huba* of unclear size in Aigen render 20 *denarii pro porcis*, which went to the local *prepositus*.⁴⁷⁷ Two *curiae* in Wenig are described as having given (*dabant*) an amount of dues set yearly (*ad examen*) in the past (*antiquitus*) which then rendered fixed dues.⁴⁷⁸ A similar note is made of an undefined holding around Wippenham.⁴⁷⁹ The feudal rent in coin recorded in the sources decreased by more than half. Total feudal rent in coin from Obernberg in the middle of the thirteenth century amounted to 10576,75 *denarii*, comprised of 8844,25 *denarii* from land rent and commutations, 1132,5 *denarii* going to officials and 600 *denarii* from tithes. For 1324, the source records a total rent in coin of 4107 *denarii*, made up of 1725 *denarii* in land rent and commutations, 1470 *denarii* going to officials and 912 *denarii* in taxes. Figure 2 shows the relative change in total feudal rent in coin from Obernberg in the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324. There is a relative decrease of 61,17 per cent in total nominal feudal rent in coin recorded from Obernberg in the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324. Converted into grams of fine silver, the decrease lies between 63,25 and 68,45 per cent.

⁴⁷³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 634–637.

⁴⁷⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 635–636.

⁴⁷⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 641.

⁴⁷⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 10.

⁴⁷⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 635.

⁴⁷⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 636.

⁴⁷⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 638.

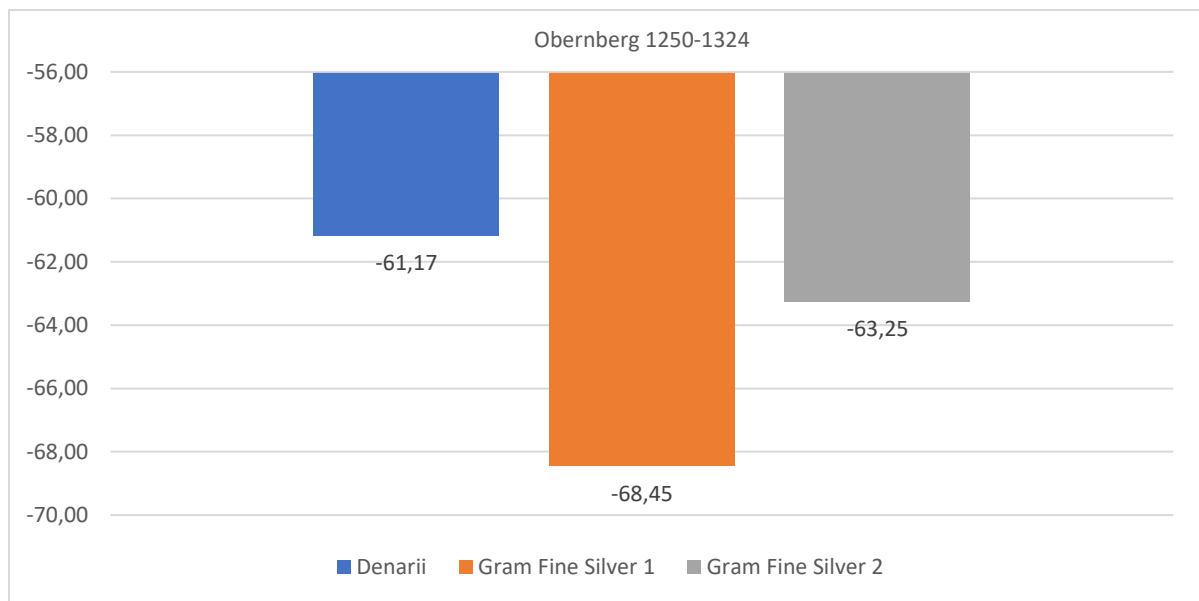


Figure 2 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from Obernberg by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1324

As far as feudal rent in grain is concerned, differences in measurements make it difficult to draw clear conclusions. As *table 3* shows, there may have been a decrease in rye, oats and wheat, but the measurement units changed. Dues in barley only appear in the rental from 1324. While the rental from around 1250 still records an income of 123,75 *modii* and 17,5 *modii maioris mensure* in oats, the latter one only contains a total of 25,23 *modii* and 86 *modii maioris mensure*. In the case of rye and wheat, the change is from just *modii* to *modii* and bushels. The rental from around 1250 records 82,5 *modii* rye. By 1324, the total sum recorded is 43,4 *modii* and 179 bushels of rye. Coming to wheat, the change is from 98,67 *modii* around 1250 to six *modii* and 76 bushels in 1324. Barley in 1324 makes up a total of just 0,6 *modii*.

Total Grain Rents Obernberg	Modii	Modii Mensure Maioris	Bushels (<i>Scheffel, Scaffia</i>)
Rye 1250	82,5		
Rye 1324	43,4		179
Oats 1250	123,75	17,5	
Oats 1324	25,23	86	
Wheat 1250	98,67		
Wheat 1324	6		76
Barley 1324	0,608		

Table 2 Grain rent from Obernberg

Already in the middle of the thirteenth century, differentiation by profession is quite strong in Obernberg. Regarding status groups for producers, only the term *homines* is used. Due to a lack of names given in the source from the beginning of the fourteenth century, there are far fewer documented professions. However, producers are referred to not only as *homines* but also as *coloni* and *proprii*. The earlier source contains 121 persons attested with holdings, of which 88 per cent are male, seven per cent female and four per cent are made up of unclear names, groups and institutions. Documentation of professions is the highest here of all the sources from the middle of the thirteenth century. Thirteen different professions are attested, that is 22 per cent of all the professions documented across localities and thus far above the average of six per cent for the sources from around 1250. This includes a number of higher-status positions, including a judge, six manorial officials, two chamberlains and a tithe collector. The remaining professions are two bakers, a bathhouse proprietor, four butchers, six cobblers, three cooks, two hucksters, a feed trader, a scribe and two smiths. Coming to status labels, the bishopric fairly consistently refers to its subjects as *homines*. In Aigen am Inn, the chamberlain (*cammerarius*), has to give two *talenta* “de hominibus spectantibus ad cameram”.⁴⁸⁰ For Mehrnbach, it is recorded that the “*homines de provincia*” used to render (*solvebant*) 60 *denari* before the noble Otto Phnurro caused them to flee due to the exactions he placed upon them as *Vogt (advocatus)*.⁴⁸¹ From around St. Johann, the source records no dues, as the bishopric’s *homines* from the villages Meinharting and Polling had been co-opted and caused to flee by the noble Ludwig von Hagenau due to the negligence of an unnamed manorial official.⁴⁸²

The latter source contains far fewer professions but is rather rich in information regarding status groups among producers. Of the six persons attested with holdings, three are male. The remaining three are either unclear regarding their name, or are groups or institutions. With four different professions documented, this source is at about half the average for the sources from 1324. Among the professions are manorial officials, a *prepositus* and a *magister coquina*, as well as the local bakers and butchers, who are referred to collectively. Moving to status groups, the terms *homines*, *coloni* and *proprii* are used exclusively to stake claims to labour

⁴⁸⁰ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 7.

⁴⁸¹ "Otto Phnurro per advocati exactionem fugavit homines de provincia, qui solvebant 60 den.", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 8–9.

⁴⁸² “per negligentiam officialum perdimus homines de Meinharting et homines de Polling, quos Ludwig von Hagenau captivavit et fugavit de provincia sancte ecclesie Pataviensis”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 10.

services. Regarding the already mentioned duty to bring wood to the bishop's kitchen in Obernberg, the source records that its *homines*, wherever they may have had their holdings, had to do so on account of the old custom.⁴⁸³ Then regarding the *ius foresti*, the source relates that the *coloni* from Senftenberg had to bring strewing to the bridge in Obernberg, as well as all the *proprii* of the bishopric.⁴⁸⁴ Of the market town of Obernberg itself finally, it is stated that the *homines* living there had gardens on the surrounding land, from which they each had to render dues in coin to the burgrave.⁴⁸⁵

5.3. Vichtenstein

In Vichtenstein, there is evidence of large agricultural units from the middle of the thirteenth century, yet little definitive evidence on whether they were connected to other holdings or how exactly they were operated. From the early fourteenth century, little evidence remains of large agricultural units and no evidence of any direct manorial involvement in agriculture is present. Additional sources of revenue are only given in tithes in the later rental. The bishopric did have judicial rights in Vichtenstein then, but the revenue went to an official. For the middle of the thirteenth century, there is abundant evidence of partitions, as well as some evidence of agricultural contraction. In the source from 1324, hardly any partitions could still be observed. Instead, agriculture seems to have expanded again. At the same time, substantial evidence appears regarding changes to dues. Moreover, the later rental includes descriptions of heriot and entry fines. From around 1250 to 1324, the recorded feudal rent in coin increased to a possibly unrealistic degree. As for feudal rent in grain, there was a significant decrease in dues in rye, while dues in oats increased equally dramatically. Differentiation of producers by profession and position is low. Status labels in the later source include *homini* and *rustici*. Though there were still many large agricultural holdings in Vichtenstein around 1250, their number decreased greatly by 1324. The agricultural holdings and plots of land in Vichtenstein around 1250 consisted of 73,66 *hubae*, eight *beneficia*, eight *predia*, two vineyards and 8,5 *villicationes*. Of these *villicationes*, three and a half were pawned (*obligata*) to Hugo of

⁴⁸³ "Homines vero ubicumque residentes tales, sicut dictum est, debent ducere ligna ad coquinam, sicut iuris est ab antiquo et consuetum", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 639

⁴⁸⁴ "Hic nota iura foresti pertinentis ad pontem et structionem in Obernperig, scilicet in Senftenbach; debent enim coloni de Senftenbach ducere asseres ad pontem et ligna, que vulgariter streu dicitur. Omnes vero proprii ecclesie quorumcumque coloni similiter", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 639

⁴⁸⁵ "omnes homines fori hebentes ortos circa Obernberg in terris contiguus", "tententur dare unusquisque purgravio 12 den. De unoquoque orto integro", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 642

Safferstetten. Their dues, then likely going to Safferstetten, are recorded in kind.⁴⁸⁶ Additionally, the source states of the whole *villicationes* that Safferstetten has them “pro communi cultura”.⁴⁸⁷ The remaining five *villicationes* are recorded without a tenant named or dues detailed. The former is not out of the ordinary, since the section they are listed in generally does not provide any names of tenants.⁴⁸⁸ There is no evidence of connections between the *villicationes* and the *hubae*. The fact that they are recorded without dues could point towards direct manorial administration. By 1324, few of these large agricultural units were left. Among the agricultural holdings and plots of land in the early fourteenth century were 49 *beneficia*, eleven *predia* and one each of a *curia*, *huba*, *laneus* and a pasture. The revenue of the *curia* was received by the burgrave of the castle in Vichtenstein.⁴⁸⁹

Income in addition to landholding, namely in the form of tithes, is only in evidence in Vichtenstein from the beginning of the fourteenth century. Additionally, the later rental records judicial rights, however, no dues from these rights were included. The earlier rental contains no additional income. Neither does the 1261 record of a lease of the administrative units (*officinium*) Vichtenstein and Engelhartzell tell whether this included anything but the agricultural holdings.⁴⁹⁰ The later rental contains two tithes, both went to a higher official.⁴⁹¹ Moving to judicial rights, the same higher official also operated as a judge of the lower judiciary for the bishopric and retained what was incurred in fines.⁴⁹² Moreover, the bishopric received money payments from *Hofzinspfennig*.⁴⁹³ There is no evidence of labour services.

A substantial change in manorial organization may also be observed when considering partitions in the rentals of Vichtenstein. While in the earlier rental, partitioned holdings make up the majority of holdings recorded, there is hardly any hint of them in the later one. Additionally, the earlier rental records some empty holdings. Meanwhile, the later one

⁴⁸⁶ For the three whole *villicationes*, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 118. For the half *villicatio*, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 120.

⁴⁸⁷ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 118.

⁴⁸⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 124.

⁴⁸⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 632–633.

⁴⁹⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 393–394.

⁴⁹¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 632.

⁴⁹² “idem officialis habet iudicare in officio Inferioris Chezzla de omnibus causis realibus et personalibus et de omnibus contraversiis sive litibus criminalibus preter illas, que tendunt ad penam mortis. Eodem modo per omnia habet iudicare in Pirichenbanch et Chasten omnes causas et lites preter illas, que tendunt ad penam mortis. In aliis vero 2 officiis, videlicet in Superiori Chezzla et in Gugring, habet iudicare tantum causas reales. Item de quibuscumque causis iudicat, de illic recipit etiam emendas conswetas”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 632–633.

⁴⁹³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 632.

exhibits signs of agricultural expansion. Most of the *hubae* in Vichtenstein around 1250 were divided in two. Moreover, divisions by four were also present, as were holdings labelled as one-and-a-half- or two-and-a-half-*hubae*. Of the total of 73,66 *hubae*, only 33 were whole.⁴⁹⁴ A whole section of these holdings was recorded as not being cultivated.⁴⁹⁵ Moreover, the source records a “mons desolatus” and a “locus desolatus”.⁴⁹⁶ In the later rental, only two half-*hubae* remain.⁴⁹⁷ Moreover, there is one case of multiple persons being associated with the same holding: Chuonradus and Lyebhardus rendered Hofzinspfennig from a non-specified holding in Kasten.⁴⁹⁸ This source section does not contain many names of persons, however. Therefore, it is not surprising that there is not much more evidence in this direction. Evidence of agricultural expansion is present first in an unlabelled holding of which the source states that it had only been cultivated recently⁴⁹⁹ and second in one of the tithes having been taken from newly cleared land.⁵⁰⁰

Only in the source for Vichtenstein from 1324 is there evidence of changes in dues. Changes consist of dues in kind being commuted to money payments, as well as nonpayment, imposition and cancellation of dues. Around St. Ägidi and in Wiltperch, for which Maidhof does not give a localisation, the lower and higher officials are entitled to dues from four undefined holdings, two of which however are at the time not under cultivation. Among the set dues were four *denarii* each of *Muttphenning*, that went to the lower official.⁵⁰¹ Maidhof identifies this as a commutation of grain to coin payment.⁵⁰² The same is the case for two more undefined holdings around St. Ägidi and between Rotzenedt and Haugstein.⁵⁰³ Also the *ius institutionis*, which will be discussed in detail below, is said to have consisted of either one sheep, one sheep’s stomach or two chickens, but under the last official, it was 32 *denarii*.⁵⁰⁴ The largest part of the evidence is made up of non-payment of dues, but there is also clear evidence of the imposition and cancellation of dues. For an undefined holding around

⁴⁹⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 118–127.

⁴⁹⁵ “iste hube penitus sunt inculte, quas etiam (ibidem) pro urbor habemus”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 126.

⁴⁹⁶ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 131.

⁴⁹⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 615.

⁴⁹⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 632.

⁴⁹⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 620.

⁵⁰⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 632.

⁵⁰¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 630.

⁵⁰² See Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 373.

⁵⁰³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 631.

⁵⁰⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 632–633.

Münzkirchen, the source records an expected revenue of two *metretae* or *modii* of rye, four *modii* oats, two chickens, two cheeses and thirty eggs, of which it is simply stated that it never rendered them.⁵⁰⁵ Of other holdings, the source states that they cannot give their dues (*non potest dare/portari*). This was the case for an undefined holding in Altenbuch and its dues of two or three *metretae* of rye, six *modii* oats, and two chickens,⁵⁰⁶ for Petrus in Perging who is supposed to render three *metretae* rye, six *modii* oats, two chickens and one *carrata* hay from an undefined holding near Esternberg, and six more *bona*.⁵⁰⁷ Lastly for non-payment of dues, manuscript 10 ½ relates that the bishopric used to have a revenue of 18 chickens and cheeses from a forest near Esternberg.⁵⁰⁸ Coming now to imposition, concerning the *cultum* already mentioned above, manuscript 10 ½ notes that it was only put to cultivation recently (*de novo*) and a service was yet to be determined.⁵⁰⁹ Cancellation finally is evident concerning an undefined holding near Esternberg, which was supposed to render four *modii* oats and three *solidi*. The source records in German that the lordship had decided to waive all dues.⁵¹⁰

As far as producers' property rights are concerned, the source for Vichtenstein from 1324 contains one of the rare descriptions of heriot and entry fines. The same official in charge of the local lower judiciary was reported as having the right to the *Todrecht*, which is described as follows: "quando moritur aliquis rusticus, tunc recipit melius pecus, quod habet primum".⁵¹¹ Moreover, this superior official had the *ius institutionis* or *Stiftrecht*. This is described as a due incurred whenever a *rusticus* has left, changed, traded or given up a holding, to be paid by the next person entering into said holding.⁵¹² The term used here for holding is *predium*. It is therefore not entirely clear whether this applies to all agricultural holdings or just to those also labelled *predia*. In any case, both heriot and entry fines could be indicative of short-term and hereditary tenancy.

The difference between the rent in coin recorded in the earlier rental versus the one contained in the later rental is so large as to draw the basis of comparison into question. Total feudal

⁵⁰⁵ "sed numquam dedit", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 615.

⁵⁰⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 615.

⁵⁰⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 617–619.

⁵⁰⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 623.

⁵⁰⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 620.

⁵¹⁰ "daz man hat abgenumen", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 617.

⁵¹¹ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 632.

⁵¹² "quandocumque aliquis rusticorum predium suum alienat vel abinde recedit, tunc ab illo, qui in eodem predio instituitur, habet officialis superior ius institutionis, quod dicitur stiftrecht", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 633.

rent in coin recorded from Vichtenstein in the middle of the thirteenth century amounts to a mere 380 *denarii*, exclusively from land rent and commutations. For 1324, the source manuscripts making up the edition contain different information, with one containing an additional rent from pawning an undefined holding at 1440 *denarii*.⁵¹³ Consequentially, the sum is either 5368,5 or 3928,5 *denarii*. The remainder is made up of 2715 *denarii* from land rent and commutations, 640 rendered specifically under *ius civile*, 549,5 via the Vogt's (*advocatus*) rights and 24 belonging to officials. Figure 3 shows the relative development of feudal rent in coin in Vichtenstein from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324.

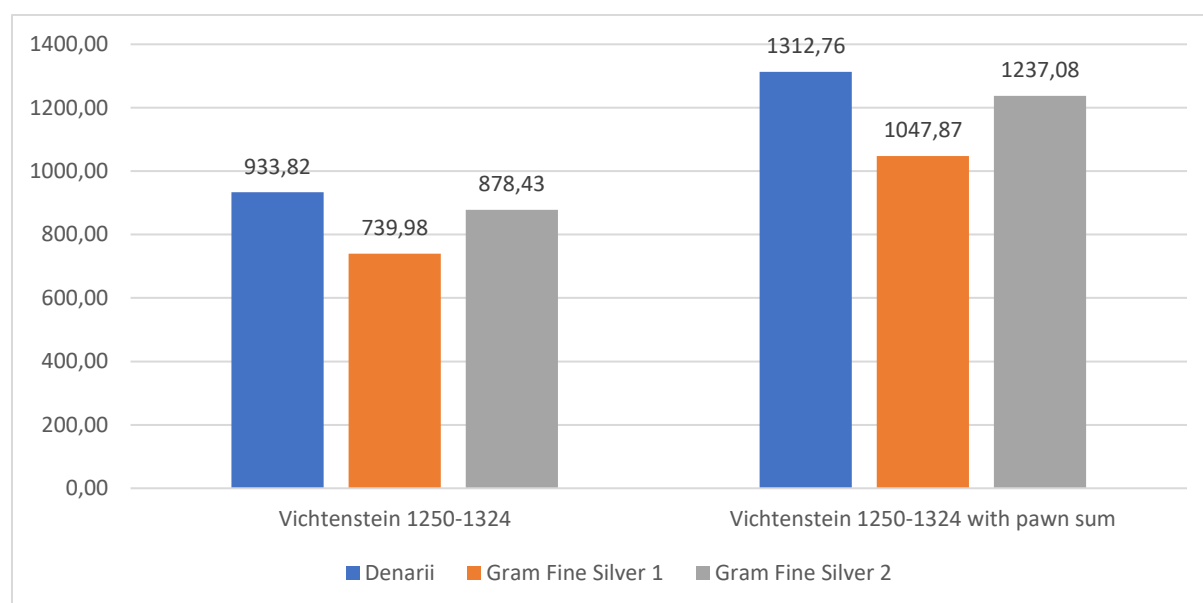


Figure 3 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from Vichtenstein by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1324

As Figure 3 shows, the increase in feudal rent in Vichtenstein from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324 is 933,82 per cent, not considering rent in coin including the pawn sum. Converted into grams of fine silver, the increase without the pawn sum lies between 739,98 and 878,43 per cent. Including rent in coin from pawning, the increase is even larger at 1312,76 per cent for the nominal coinage, or between 1047,87 and 1237,08 per cent with the value of the coin calculated in grams of fine silver. It seems questionable to me, whether an increase at this scale is realistic. There does not seem to have been an increase in the number of holdings, which might have explained this increase in income in coin.

As illustrated by Table 4, total grain rents in Vichtenstein decreased dramatically for rye but increased considerably for oats. While the sum of rent in rye was still 29,83 *modii* in the

⁵¹³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 619.

thirteenth-century rental, it is only 5,08 or 5,28 *modii* in the rental from 1324. Rent in oats is already high in the thirteenth century, at 379,5 *modii*. In 1261, a lease of the administrative units (*Ämter*) Vichtenstein and Engelhartzell resulted in an income of 200 *modii* oats to the bishopric. This decrease is maybe a bit too stark to be offset by sinking overhead costs in administration. The total grain rent from 1324, however, constituted a large increase in rent in oats. This later rental not only contains 541,98 or 546,5 *modii* oats, but in one manuscript also 16,5 *modioli* and one *sextale*.

Total Grain Rents Vichtenstein	Modii	Modioli	Sextale
Rye 1250	29,83		
Rye 1324	5,08 or 5,28		
Oats 1250	379,5		
Oats 1261 from lease	200		
Oats 1324	541,98 or 546,5	16,5 or 0	0 or 1

Table 3 Grain rent from Vichtenstein

Differentiation of producers by profession and position remained at the same low level over time in Vichtenstein. Status labels for producers used in the later source were *homines* and *rustici*. In the earlier rental, 25 persons are attested with holdings, of whom 92 per cent are male and eight per cent belong to entries with unclear names, of groups or institutions. The only profession contained in this rental was a smith, resulting in a low two per cent of professions and positions attested across all rentals. Similarly, in the later rental, there were 20 people, divided into 95 per cent males and five per cent females. There were three mentions of officials, which is at one mentioned position again two per cent of all professions and positions. Moving on to status groups in the rental from 1324, the term *homines* is used in one rather opaque reference to the allocation of forests.⁵¹⁴ Meanwhile the label *rustici* appears exclusively in reference to heriot and entry fines.⁵¹⁵

5.4. Marsbach

The information provided by the rentals from Marsbach is comparatively poor. I could find no evidence of a manorial organization diverging from rent-taking from independent holdings. Neither was there any other income but landholding. Partitions were negligible, multiple ownership is not present in the sources. There was some commutation to coin in the rental

⁵¹⁴ "Et nota, quo predictae foreste per singulos officiales tempore creacionis sue conferentur de novo hominibus, quibus placet", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 622–623

⁵¹⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 623–633.

by 1324, but no evidence for the mode of tenure. Recorded feudal rent in coin saw a decrease by about two-thirds. Since there were no grain dues recorded in the earlier rental, a comparison over time was also not possible here. For the differentiation of producers too, the information provided by the rentals on Marsbach was too scarce for any meaningful conclusions.

The holdings recorded by the bishopric in Marsbach in the middle of the thirteenth and in the early fourteenth century seem to be exclusively independent holdings rendering dues. The dues from these holdings were the only revenue in this locality. Evidence of partitions is slim both for around 1250 and 1324. The rental from 1250 lists among the agricultural holdings and plots of land 56,5 *beneficia*, two *curiae* and one pasture. One of the *curiae* yielded its revenue to the burgrave (*castellanus*),⁵¹⁶ the other rendered dues in coin. This second one was labelled as two *beneficia* in another version of the manuscript.⁵¹⁷ The later rental contains 30 *bona* and 4,5 *feuda*, as far as agricultural holdings are concerned. Regarding partitioned holdings, the earlier rental contains one half *beneficium*,⁵¹⁸ the later one a half *feudum*.⁵¹⁹ Both rentals contain hardly any names for the recorded holdings. Whether multiple ownership existed could thus not be determined.

In the rental from 1324 on Marsbach, there is some evidence of commutation of dues in kind to rent in coin. Two *bona* around Witzersdorf each rendered 40 *denarii pro porcis* and 20 *denarii pro minutis servicii*,⁵²⁰ indicating that dues formerly rendered in the form of pigs and small fowl (such as chicken or geese, *Kleindienste* in German) were commuted to money payments.

The feudal rent in coin recorded for Marsbach decreased by about two-thirds from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324. Total feudal rent in coin recorded from Marsbach in the middle of the thirteenth century amounted to 10046 *denarii*, entirely from land rent and commutations. For 1324, the source records an income of 3970 *denarii* for Marsbach, also from land rent and commutations. *Figure 4* shows the relative change in total feudal rent in coin recorded from Marsbach from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324. Income in coin from Marsbach consequentially saw a relative decrease of 60,5 per cent from the middle

⁵¹⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 92–93.

⁵¹⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 95.

⁵¹⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 92 and 96.

⁵¹⁹ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 659.

⁵²⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 660.

of the thirteenth century to 1324. Calculated in grams of fine silver, the decrease lies between 62,6 and 67,9 per cent.

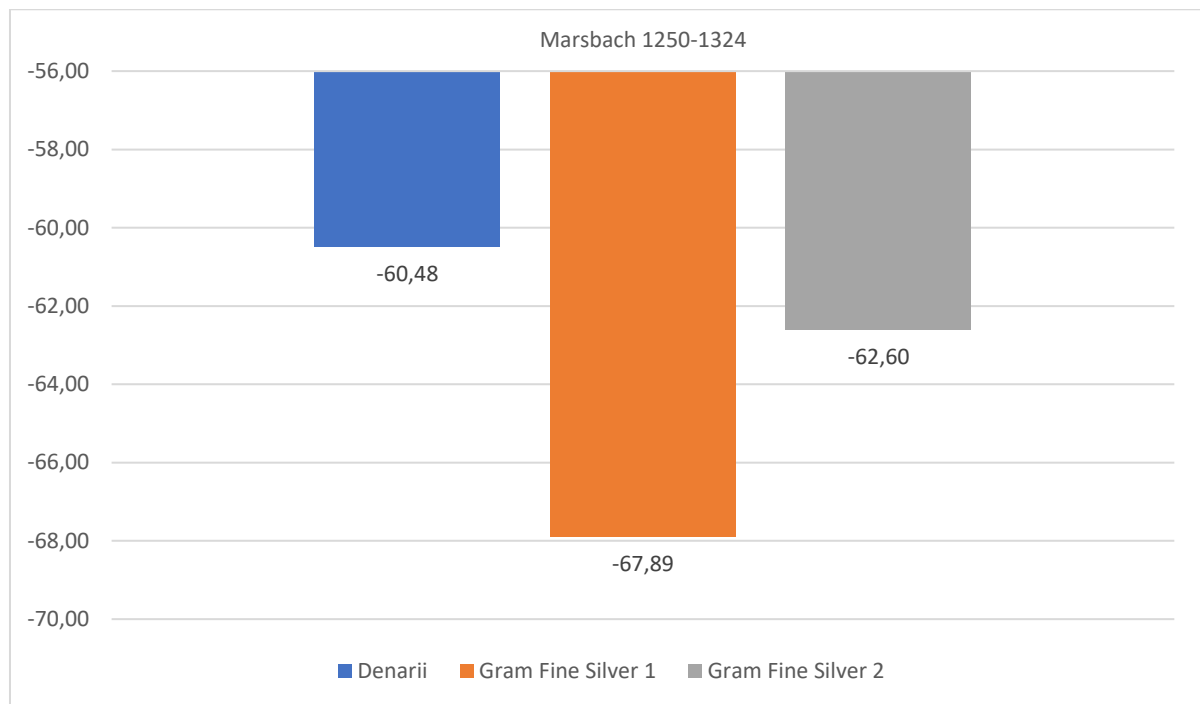


Figure 4 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from Marsbach by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1324

Comparisons of total recorded feudal rent in grain and differentiation by professions, positions or status groups over time are not possible for Marsbach. *Table 5* merely contains the grain dues from the rental on Marsbach from 1324, as the source for the middle of the thirteenth century does not contain any dues in grain. They are fairly low, at just 1,73 *modii* and five bushels of rye and 1,68 *modii* and five bushels of oats. The source also does not yield much on differentiation by profession, position, or status groups. The rental from around 1250 on Marsbach only contains four persons associated with holdings, all of them male. The only position is a burgrave. The rental from 1324 contains no persons at all.

Total Grain Rents Marsbach	Modii	Bushels (<i>Scheffel, Scaffia</i>)
Rye 1324	1,73	5
Oats 1324	1,68	5

Table 4 Grain rent from Marsbach

5.5. Neufelden

There is no definitive evidence of direct manorial agriculture from Neufelden neither from the middle of the thirteenth nor from the early fourteenth century. Other than landholding, the Bishopric drew revenue from a variety of other sources, including judicial rights and

stewardship in the thirteenth century and later also from market activity and taxes. There is no evidence of labour services, partitions, or multiple ownership. From 1324, there is little evidence of commutation to rent in coin, consisting of two mills rendering coin instead of dues in bread.⁵²¹ No hints could be found regarding modes of tenure. A meaningful comparison of total feudal rent recorded in coin is not possible due to differences in the revenue sources contained in the rentals. Grain dues in Neufelden experienced a sharp decline from around 1250 to 1324. The source does not allow for any conclusions about the differentiation of producers.

The rental on Neufelden from the middle of the thirteenth century does record large agricultural units, it is however difficult to establish whether they were given out to tenants or under direct manorial administration. In total, there were 139 *beneficia*, nine *curiae*, two *mansi*, a *curia villicalis* and a *predium*. Two of the *curiae* are listed with fixed dues,⁵²² three *curiae* are listed without names of tenants or dues,⁵²³ two more are also given without a specific tenant or fixed dues, but described as *urbor*, i.e. given to a tenant⁵²⁴ and the final two are enfeoffed (*infeodata*).⁵²⁵ The *curia villicalis* is also described as *urbor* without a named tenant or enumerated dues.⁵²⁶ The source from 1324 does not make it easier to come to any conclusions in this regard. Generally, it contains hardly any individual holdings but instead the total revenue from settlements or rights. The only agricultural holding was one *curia* rendering fixed dues in money, grain and kind.⁵²⁷

The bishopric had judicial rights in Neufelden from which it already drew income in the middle of the thirteenth century. Additionally, it recorded dues by way of the stewardship. The rental from 1324 also lists income from the stewardship, as well as tolls, customs and taxes. The holdings in the rental from around 1250 were ordered partly by whether they were within or outside of the judicial district.⁵²⁸ Moreover, the bishopric received dues in oats labelled “avena

⁵²¹ Two mills, one in Neufelden, the other in Öpping, rendered 32 and 16 *denarii*, respectively, *pro pane*, indicating dues formerly consisting of bread had been commuted to a money payment. See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 654.

⁵²² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 97–98.

⁵²³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 100.

⁵²⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 104.

⁵²⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 105.

⁵²⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 104.

⁵²⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 653.

⁵²⁸ “Ista bona sunt sita infra terminos iudicii”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 99; “[h]ec, que modo subscribo, sunt extra iudicium”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 103.

advocatie".⁵²⁹ In 1260, the judicial district was leased to a certain Habervelder, according to Maidhof, possibly a burgher in Neufelden, for 30 *libra Pataviensibus*.⁵³⁰ The administrative unit (*Amt, officium*) of Neufelden was also already leased in 1257 to four burghers. The higher lease sum of 50 *talenta*⁵³¹ makes it possible that this included both the rights from landholding and the judicial rights. The rental from 1324 gives an estimation both for the judicial rights on the market of Neufelden as well as for the *iudicium provinciale*, at five and twelve *libra*, respectively. Moreover, it included income in money and kind from the *Vogtei*, money from customs (*Zoll*) and toll (*muta*), as well as money from *Hofzins* and the king's tax (*chunigstewr*).⁵³²

A sound comparison of recorded feudal rent in coin over time is not possible for Neufelden, since the latter source contains many more sources of income than the former. Total feudal rent in coin recorded from Neufelden in the middle of the thirteenth century amounts to 480 *denarii*, entirely from land rent and commutations. For 1324, the source records a total income of either 15588 or 17163 *denarii*. The difference in the sums for 1324 is due to differences in the source manuscripts. In one, the income was made up of 6000 *denarii* from customs and tolls, 4608 *denarii* from land rent and commutations, 4080 *denarii* from jurisdiction, 600 *denarii* from rights of the *Vogt (advocatus)* and 300 *denarii* from taxes. In the other, the income was made up of 7440 *denarii* from customs and tolls, 4668 *denarii* from land rent and commutations, 4080 *denarii* from jurisdiction, 660 *denarii* from rights of the reeve and 315 *denarii* from taxes. *Figure 5* shows the relative change in total recorded feudal rent in coin from Neufelden in the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324.

⁵²⁹ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 98.

⁵³⁰ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 396.

⁵³¹ "locavimus officium nostrum in Velden 4 civibus ibidem a Kathedra Petri per annum pro 50 tal. Anno domini 1257", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 394

⁵³² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 654.

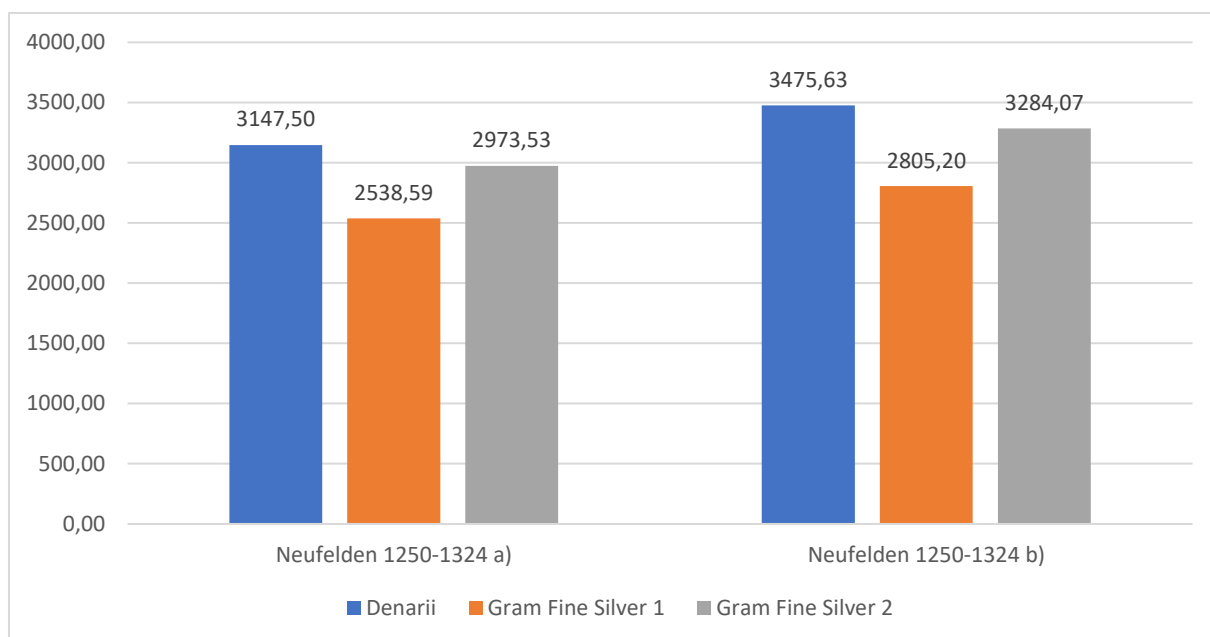


Figure 5 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from Neufelden by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1324

The differences in the revenue sources recorded between the earlier and the later rental of Neufelden show a stark relative increase in recorded feudal rent. Concerning the nominal value of coin, the relative increase was 3147,5 or 3475,63 per cent for Neufelden from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324. Percentages a) and b) represent the two different sums emanating from the two manuscripts for 1324. Calculated in grams of fine silver, the increase is either between 2538,59 and 2973,53 per cent or between 2805,2 and 3284,07 per cent.

In Neufelden, dues in both rye and oats saw a sharp decline, as presented in *table 6*. For the differentiation of producers, meanwhile, the sources do not provide enough material. Already low around 1250 with just 9,33 *modii* and 5,5 Passau bushels, dues in rye fell to just 0,67 *modii* in 1324. Similarly for oats, which decreased from ten *modii* and 4,97 *Vogtmetzen* around 1250 to 0,97 *modii* in 1324. Dues in wheat feature only in the rental from 1324 and are almost negligible. The information on professions and positions, as well as producers' status groups is poor in the rentals for Neufelden. The earlier rental only contains four persons attested with holdings. All of them are male, none are given with a profession. The later rental does not contain any persons at all and makes no mention of labels used for status groups.

Total	Grain	Rents	Modii	Passau bushels	Vogtmetzen
Neufelden				(Scheffel, Scaffia)	

Rye 1250	9,33	5,5	
Rye 1324	0,67		
Oats 1250	10		4,97
Oats 1324	0,97		
Wheat 1324	0,067		

Table 5 Grain rent from Neufelden

5.6. Eferding

There is no evidence of direct manorial agriculture in Eferding in the early fourteenth century. As for the middle of the thirteenth century, the character of the rental does not allow for any conclusions in this regard, since it only gives sums for different sources of revenue. This earlier rental also still contains revenue from judicial rights. Meanwhile, the only additional revenue to landholding in the early fourteenth century was from market activity. There are no labour services recorded and there is negligible evidence of partitioned holdings and multiple ownership from the early fourteenth century. Neither is there any evidence for changes to dues and services. The tenurial mode, however, is well attested in the later source, providing ample evidence of *ius civile*. No meaningful conclusions about the development of feudal rent in coin can be drawn on account of different revenue sources being recorded. A comparison of grain dues is also not possible, since the later source only contains dues in coin. Producers were well differentiated in 1324 by professions.

For Eferding around 1250, the rental does not give information on individual holdings. The rental from 1324 only contains individual holdings from the market town of Eferding itself. Besides the income from landholding, the earlier source also contains revenue from judicial rights, which the latter one does not. From the individual holdings described in the later rental, it is possible to observe that the bishopric drew revenue from local market activity. The earlier rental gives the total grain dues from the administrative unit (*Amt*) and an estimate of the revenue from the court (*Gericht*) in Eferding at about 40 *libra*.⁵³³ In addition, it also informs us of the lease of the court to the city judge (*Stadtrichter*) in 1256 for 30 *talenta* in Viennese coin.⁵³⁴ The later source, conversely, exclusively contains information on individual holdings and plots of land: 62,5 *areae*, 26 gardens, 25 *agri*, one *curia* and one pasture. The *curia*

⁵³³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 132.

⁵³⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 395.

rendered its dues exclusively in money.⁵³⁵ Moreover, there were dues paid in coin from the houses in the market town, as well as one baker's stall and two butcher's stalls.⁵³⁶

Since only the later rental on Eferding details individual holdings, it is also the only one that exhibits very limited evidence of partitioned holdings and multiple ownership. In addition, this later rental is the only one providing evidence regarding tenurial rights. Evidence of partitioned holdings is only present in one case. A certain Oeder in Foro rendered half a *denarius* from half an *area* under *ius civile*.⁵³⁷ Similarly, there is only one case of more than one person rendering dues from the same holding. A certain Ovenkins and Werntzlo, a cobbler, rendered half a *denarius* each from something referred to as an *ytigang*.⁵³⁸ All of the holdings listed in the rental from Eferding for 1324 rendered their dues under *ius civile* (*Burgrecht*).

A comparison of total feudal rent, both in coin and in grain is not possible for Eferding. In the case of coin, this is because the two rentals record revenue from different sources. The total feudal rent in coin from Eferding in the middle of the thirteenth century amounted to 9600 *denarii* from jurisdiction. In 1256, the iudicium in Eferding was leased for 7200 *denarii*. For 1324, the source records an income of 1139 *denarii* under *ius civile*. Figure 6 shows the percentual changes in feudal rent in Eferding from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324. Income in coin in Eferding saw an absolute decrease from 9600 *denarii* in 1250, to 1139 *denarii* in 1324. Relatively, this is a decrease of 88,13 per cent from 1250 to 1324. Calculated in grams of fine silver, the decrease was between 88,77 and 90,36 per cent. Regarding rent in grain, the issue is that only the earlier rental lists dues in grain. Nevertheless, the grain dues accrued from Eferding around 1250 were quite high, at 160 *modii* each in rye and oats, as can be seen in Table 7.

⁵³⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 606.

⁵³⁶ The houses are dispersed across the whole source section, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 600–606. For the market stalls, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 603–604.

⁵³⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 603.

⁵³⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 601.

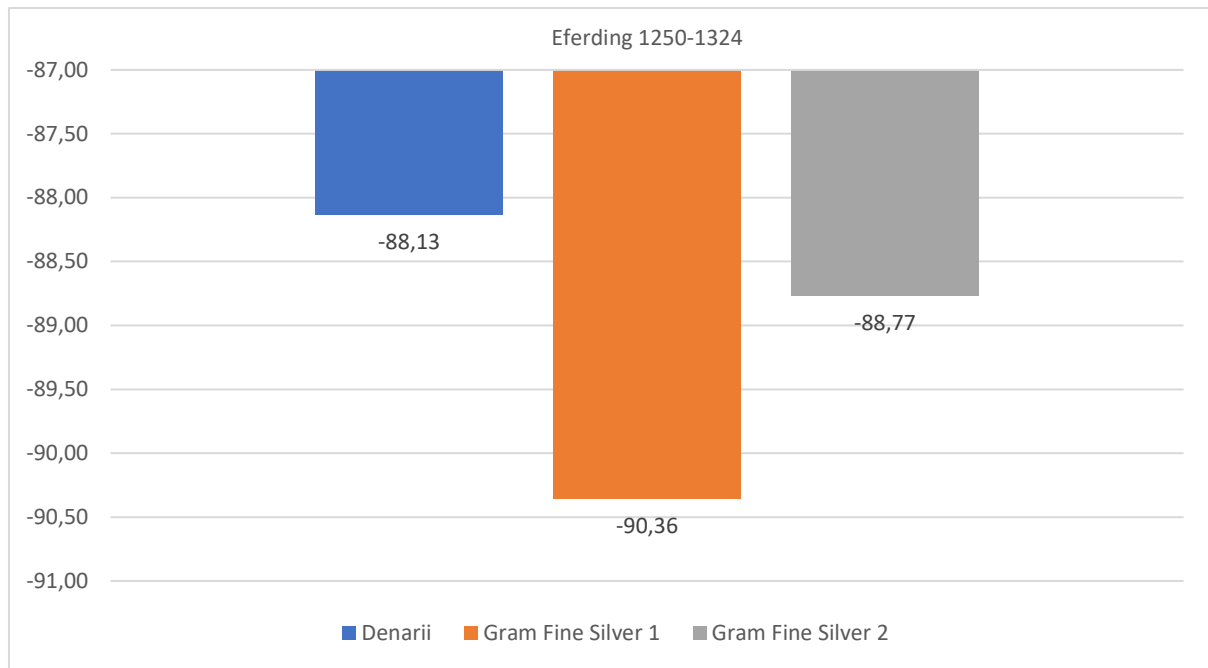


Figure 6 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from Eferding by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1324

Total Grain Rent Eferding	Modii
Rye 1250	160
Oats 1250	160

Table 6 Grain rent from Eferding

Coming now to the differentiation among producers in Eferding, the rental from around 1250 only mentions one person, the local judge. Meanwhile, the rental from 1324 shows high differentiation by profession but does not make any mention of status groups regarding producers. Of the 121 persons attested with holdings in the source, 87 per cent are male, twelve per cent female and one per cent was made up of unclear names, groups and institutions. Fifteen different professions were documented. This equals 26 per cent of the total professions attested in the rentals for all the locations under consideration here, which is the third highest share. Among the professions are four bakers, two butchers, a carter, a cheesemaker, seven cobblers, two cutlers, two furriers, a hatmaker, a judge, a miller, a potter, a shosole maker, a smith, two swordsmiths, two taylors, and two weavers. Interestingly, there are no persons mentioned who occupied positions in manorial administration, except for the judge.

5.7. Ebelsberg

The rentals from Ebelsberg provide strong evidence of a substantial operation of direct manorial agriculture on large manorial complexes, possibly including dependent holdings,

during the middle of the thirteenth century. By the early fourteenth century, these were greatly reduced but still present. From just tithes alone, additional revenue to landholding differentiated from the earlier to the 1324 rental to also include tolls, taxes, judicial rights and labour services. Meanwhile, the account of revenue from 1351 contains income from taxes and *Vogtei* rights besides income from landholding. Partitioned holdings can only be found in the thirteenth-century rental and are of a rather insignificant number. Changes to dues and services appear by 1324 and concern mostly commutation of labour services to rent in coin. Tenurial rights in evidence are mostly *ius civile*. Whereas other tenurial modes for producers are also attested for 1324, the source remains unclear as to their exact character. Total recorded feudal rent in coin fell over the period from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century in Ebelsberg. Grain dues meanwhile mostly increased from around 1250 to 1324 but had decreased dramatically by 1351. Differentiation by profession and position decreased from the middle of the thirteenth to the early fourteenth century. Around 1250, producers were referred to as *homines*, later they were called *coloni* and *rustici*. Besides a large number of independent holdings, there is an exceptionally strong presence of large agricultural units in the rental for Ebelsberg from around 1250, many of them were probably under manorial administration or not far removed from it. In addition, there was a large agricultural unit fulfilling an administrative function. As far as agricultural holdings and plots of land are concerned, the source lists 107 or 108 *feuda*, 46,5 *hubae*, 37 or 39 *villicationes*, one *curia decimalis*, at least four *curiae*, thirteen *areae*, eleven *agri*, nine *lanei*, several gardens and a *mansus*. Apart from one, the *curiae* were all either pawned to or given in some other way to nobles and burghers. One *curia* in Ebelsberg rendered fixed dues in money, grain and pigs.⁵³⁹ Two *curiae* and the *mansus* in Leonding belonging to the bishopric had been pawned to the sons of Heinrich I. von Traun in the Traungau by Ulricus von Lonsdorf, brother of the then bishop of Passau, Otto von Lonsdorf.⁵⁴⁰ Another *curia* and an unnamed number of *curiae* were held (*tenent*) by the Widow of Ulrich Chraier and the sons of Alram, a lawyer (*advocatus*), respectively. In both cases, no dues and no lease- or pawn-sums are given, so it is not clear under what title they held these *curiae*.⁵⁴¹ With the *curia decimalis* no tenant

⁵³⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 132.

⁵⁴⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 139.

⁵⁴¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 376.

is named. It rendered the entire yearly harvest.⁵⁴² In the heading of the later section on tithes, the rental notes that the tithes recorded there belonged to this *curia decimalis*.⁵⁴³

The *villicationes*, if they were not leased or pawned to nobles, were operated in several modes: First, rendering the entire yearly grain harvest and pigs at a value determined by a manorial official (*prior*). This was the case for two *villicationes*.⁵⁴⁴ For one of them, the rental notes that the value of the pigs was to be determined, but also gives a fixed value for them in coin.⁵⁴⁵ The second mode of operation was rendering fixed dues in pigs and the entire yearly grain harvest. This was also the case for two other *villicationes*.⁵⁴⁶ The third mode was rendering fixed grain dues and pigs that were assessed by a manorial official. Six *villicationes* operated in this way.⁵⁴⁷ For one of them, a tenant, Isenrich, is named.⁵⁴⁸ The fourth one was rendering fixed dues, as was the practice for eleven and thus the majority of non-leased or pawned *villicationes* in Ebelsberg.⁵⁴⁹ In one case, a tenant, Fridericus, a forester, is given.⁵⁵⁰ The remainder of the *villicationes* were leased or pawned for comparatively large sums, indicating that these were more than mere independent large agricultural units but rather *villicationes* in the old sense, whole manorial complexes with connected dependent holdings. To compare the sums, it is useful to recall the lease-sums for whole administrative units: the lease of the entire *officium* of Neufelden yielded 50 *talenta* in 1257, as related above. The judicial rights from Neufelden and Eferding were leased at one point for 30 *libra* and 30 *talenta*, respectively. In Ebelsberg around 1250, six *villicationes* were in the hands of the then bishop's brothers. One brother, Ulricus von Lonsdorf, held one *villicatio* as a pawn for 20 *talenta*,⁵⁵¹ one *villa* as a pawn for 45 *talenta* in Viennese coin⁵⁵² and another large agricultural unit that was referred to alternatively as a *villicatio* or a *curia* in different manuscripts of the rental in tenure for life.⁵⁵³ Another brother, Siboto von Lonsdorf, held (*detinet*) one *villicatio*

⁵⁴² "solvet, quantum annus demonstrabit", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 134.

⁵⁴³ "Hee sunt domus decimales ad curiam decimalem in Superiori Harde, que est in officio Ebelsperch, spectantia", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 140

⁵⁴⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 135.

⁵⁴⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 133.

⁵⁴⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 134–135.

⁵⁴⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 133 and 135.

⁵⁴⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 132–133.

⁵⁴⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 133–136 and 139.

⁵⁵⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 136 138–139.

⁵⁵¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 371.

⁵⁵² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 376.

⁵⁵³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 136 and 139.

for 60 *talenta* and another together with Heinrich Alharting for 24 *talenta*.⁵⁵⁴ A third brother, Arnold von Lonsdorf, held (*detinet*) one *villicatio* and four *feoda* for 24 *talenta*.⁵⁵⁵

Thirteen more *villicationes* were held by other local nobles and a burgher. Some of them had already been pawned (*obligata*) to others before. Konrad, Heinrich and Ulrich von Hartheim had five for sums between 20 and 50 *talenta*. One of them had previously been pawned to Hadmar von Liebenstein.⁵⁵⁶ The last seven were held by Walther von Thannberg (no pawn sum given),⁵⁵⁷ Ulrich von Jetzing (25 *talenta*),⁵⁵⁸ Alrammus Speiser (also previously pawned to Hadmar von Liebenstein, 40 *talenta*),⁵⁵⁹ Meinhart Tröstlin von Zierberg (two *villicationes* for 50 *talenta*),⁵⁶⁰ Ulrich I. von Kapellen (25 *talenta*)⁵⁶¹ and Ortolf II. von Volkersdorf (together with a mill, both of which, had already been pawned to his father, for 30 *talenta*).⁵⁶²

Considering this plethora of large manorial complexes and the sums earned by pawning them, it is all the more surprising that when the whole administrative unit was leased out in 1256, the payment was comparatively tiny. When the bishopric leased (*locavimus*) the entire *officinam* to Rudolf von Alharting, it did so for only 60 *talenta* a year in Viennese coin!⁵⁶³ Also included in this lease were *homines* of the Bishopric in Pettenbach.⁵⁶⁴ In return, Rudolf von Alharting and his brother Ulricus von Perg had to serve the bishop in the castle in Ebelsberg with a stipulated number of armed men.⁵⁶⁵ The lease, finally, was extended to the next year.⁵⁶⁶ By 1324, the rental no longer recorded any *villicationes*. There is however evidence that large manorial complexes still existed in Ebelsberg then. The account from Ebelsberg only contained sums of income and therefore does not provide any evidence in this direction. Among the agricultural holdings and plots of land recorded in Ebelsberg in 1324 are 53 *feuda*, 19 *lanei*,

⁵⁵⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 374.

⁵⁵⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 374.

⁵⁵⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 372–374.

⁵⁵⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 372.

⁵⁵⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 373.

⁵⁵⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 373–374.

⁵⁶⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 375.

⁵⁶¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 375.

⁵⁶² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 376.

⁵⁶³ “Anno domini 1256 locavimus officinam nostrum in Ebilsperch domino Rudolfo de Alhartingen a festo beati Jacobi per annum pro 60 tal. Wiennensium”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 395.

⁵⁶⁴ “Commisimus etiam ei homines nostros in Pettenbach et alios eidem officio adtinentes, qui per dominum Berchtoldum [Bischof Berthold 1250-1254], antecessorem nostrum, alii commissi fuerant”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 395.

⁵⁶⁵ “Promisit etiam nobis servire in eodem castro per annum cum 4 armaturis et frater suus dominus Ulricus de Perge cum 2 armaturis, cui ipse dabit 6 libr. de suo, non de nostro”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 395.

⁵⁶⁶ “Annexum fuit etiam, quod in futuro anno eodem pacto eandem teneat officinam omni pacto quo isto anno”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 395.

seven *agri* and *hubae* each and 20 *curiae*. Of the *curiae*, five were given with fixed dues in grain, eggs and pigs.⁵⁶⁷ They all rendered part of their grain dues to an official and were given with a tenant. Three of the named tenants were referred to as *villicus*.⁵⁶⁸ One of these *curiae* was pawned to the local official Espinus von Hag together with other holdings for 130 *libra*.⁵⁶⁹ Twelve more *curiae* were given out under feudal tenure but remained under the lower judiciary of the bishop and his local official.⁵⁷⁰ Moreover, the bishop's official in Ebelsberg, likely identical with the aforementioned Espinus von Hag, had three more *curiae*. They were all given without tenants or fixed dues. For two of them, the source notes: "et omnia attinentia ad illas curias tam decimam quam areas",⁵⁷¹ indicating that these were still *villicationes* in the old sense.

In addition, there are sections providing information about the organization of large parts of the bishopric's holdings in Ebelsberg. Of the island Goldwörth, the rental relates that it belonged to the bishop "directo domino et utili".⁵⁷² The *bona* on this island did not render fixed dues, but had their services imposed yearly depending on the harvest.⁵⁷³ As to the relationship between the bishopric and the producers working these *bona*, the source is not entirely clear. On the one hand, it suggests feudal tenure: "omnia bona sita in eadem insula preter predicta sunt feodalia ab ecclesia Pataviensi".⁵⁷⁴ At the same time, the rental stresses its claim to the lower judiciary over everybody on the island.⁵⁷⁵ In addition, it reports *coloni* of the bishop on the island, of whom there seem to have been about five.⁵⁷⁶ There were three more islands, belonging to the castle in Ebelsberg, as well as two forests.⁵⁷⁷

While the rental from around 1250 record only tithes as income additional to landholding, the rental from 1324 also contains income from a toll, judicial rights and taxes. In addition, it also records labour services. The account from 1351 meanwhile includes taxes and revenue from

⁵⁶⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 584, 588–589 and 593–594.

⁵⁶⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 584, 588 and 594.

⁵⁶⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 594.

⁵⁷⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 595.

⁵⁷¹ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 597.

⁵⁷² Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 598.

⁵⁷³ "bona non serviunt certum censum, sed inponitur eis servitium iuxta cursum et qualitatem anni", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 598.

⁵⁷⁴ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 598.

⁵⁷⁵ "officialis domini episcopi presidet generali iudicio ibidem ter in anno; ad quod iudicium omnes indifferenter de tota insula tenentur venire", "deberent idem officialis iudicare de causis omnium hominum de insula preter illas, que tendunt ad mortem", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 598.

⁵⁷⁶ "quilibet colonus domini episcopi servit 2 pullos autumpnales et 1 pullum carnisbrivalem, quorum sunt in numero nunc 16 vel 15 pulli", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 598.

⁵⁷⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 595.

Vogtei-rights in addition to income from landholding. Partitioned holdings, conversely, were only present around 1250, albeit to a limited extent. On tithes, the earliest rental is more detailed. It lists 27 full tithes, whereas the rental from 1324 contains only three. Of these three, one was leased.⁵⁷⁸ Moreover, the early-fourteenth-century rental contains claims to enact a toll on everything moving between Ebelsberg and St. Florian.⁵⁷⁹ Income from judicial rights and taxes went to the local official, likely Espinus von Hag. The rental does not state how much the judicial rights and taxes brought in and points towards an inability to calculate their revenue from the other kinds.⁵⁸⁰ As for labour services, they were levied on an individual *huba*, called “*huoba camere*”.⁵⁸¹ Whoever held this *huba*, in 1324 it was Heinricus Swedel, was required to render transport services with his *currus* from Ebelsberg to Eferding whenever necessary.⁵⁸² In addition, there were twelve *feuda*, the owners of which had to fish “*ad mensam domini episcopi*”.⁵⁸³ The partitioned holdings around 1250, finally, were three half-*hubae*.⁵⁸⁴ Finally, the account of revenues from the *Hofmark Ebelsberg* lists income from taxes from Ebelsberg, as well as from *Vogtei* rights over the estates of St. Nikola abbey in Passau, along the river Traun and in the settlement Traun.⁵⁸⁵

Changes to dues and services only appeared in the rental on Ebelsberg by the early fourteenth century. There is evidence of conflict regarding dues and commutation of labour services to money rent. From around Traun, the source records an income of three *solidi* a year which went to the local official, this was, however, disputed by the local *rustici*, who claimed to have a charter (*privilegium*) to the effect, which the author of the passage professed not to have seen.⁵⁸⁶ There were several holdings, which rendered money dues instead of manual labour services (*pro werichart*, manual labour as opposed to serving with plough or cart, *Handfrone* in German). In this way, three *hubae* and ten *feuda* in Asten rendered between 16,5 and 23 *denarii*,⁵⁸⁷ two undefined holdings in Traunleiten between four and 23 *denarii*,⁵⁸⁸ one *laneus*

⁵⁷⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 598–599.

⁵⁷⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 595.

⁵⁸⁰ “*officialis in Ebelsperch habet iudicium et steuram, quod non potest sibi certidunaliter nunc computare inter alios redditos*”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 597.

⁵⁸¹ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 585.

⁵⁸² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 585–586.

⁵⁸³ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 597.

⁵⁸⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 136–137.

⁵⁸⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 599.

⁵⁸⁶ “*Rusticis autem ibidem fatentur habere privilegium, quod non debeant magis dare; hoc ego non vidi*”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 588.

⁵⁸⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 585–586.

⁵⁸⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 586.

and six undefined holdings around Leonding and two *hubae*, five *lanei*, two *feuda* and one undefined holding around Linz between twelve and 33 *denarii*,⁵⁸⁹ twelve *lanei* in Ansfelden 20 *denarii* each⁵⁹⁰ and six *feuda* around Alkoven slightly over 21 *denarii* each.⁵⁹¹

Regarding tenurial rights, both rentals and the account for Ebelsberg contain evidence of *ius civile*, increasingly for agricultural holdings and holdings being given out as recompense to those holding positions in manorial administration. In addition, the 1324 rental contains information on the rights of the local official vis-à-vis the local *coloni*. Around 1250, the bishopric drew income in coin under *ius civile* from *areae*, *fabricae*, a bathhouse, garden and undefined holdings in Ebelsberg.⁵⁹² Moreover, there were holdings which were connected to certain offices within the bishopric's local administration (*Dienstlehen*), made up of two *hubae*, one *Lehen*, eight *Fischlehen* as well as seven *feuda* in and around Ebelsberg and near St. Florian.⁵⁹³

In the rental from 1324, one *feudum* near Ebelsberg was given out to Heinricus Prunner, who held (*tenet*) it under *ius civile*.⁵⁹⁴ Moreover, the source gives the sum of 387,5 *denarii* as the total income from an unnamed number of houses and gardens in Ebelsberg under *ius civile*.⁵⁹⁵ This is likely also the source of the income from Ebelsberg under *ius civile* given in the account from 1351.⁵⁹⁶ Some holdings are given out as compensation for offices within the local administration. Pillungus, the local forester (*magister foresti*) possessed (*possidet*) one *huba* referred to as a *huba forestarii*.⁵⁹⁷ Others which are likely to have been such *Dienstlehen* are twelve *feuda* owned (*possident*) individually by fishermen whose catch went to the bishop's table,⁵⁹⁸ as well as two *feuda* owned (*possidet*) by Pilgrimus, the local *cellerarius*, one belonging to the bakery (*pistrinum*), and the other to the messengers (*nuntios*).⁵⁹⁹

In the rental from Ebelsberg in 1324, there is also evidence of the property rights of the producers more generally. When listing the claim to judicial dues and taxes held by the local official, it adds that he “[h]abet etiam ex officio suo instituere et destituere omnes colonos,

⁵⁸⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 590–592.

⁵⁹⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 591–592.

⁵⁹¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 593–594.

⁵⁹² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 367–369.

⁵⁹³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 370–371.

⁵⁹⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 588.

⁵⁹⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 597.

⁵⁹⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 599.

⁵⁹⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 594.

⁵⁹⁸ “*piscare tenentur ad mensam domini episcopi*”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 597.

⁵⁹⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 597.

habet etiam alia iura, que vulgariter dicuntur totrecht, et omnia alia similia, que in suo officio tractantur”.⁶⁰⁰ The right to institute and dismiss *coloni* could point towards tenancy-at-will, but also to hereditary tenure, where heirs presumably would also have to be instituted into their holding upon inheritance and could also be dismissed in instances of non-payment of dues. Similarly, the claim to a part of the inheritance, *Totrecht*, could apply to both producers under tenancy-at-will and under hereditary tenure.

Recorded feudal rent in coin in Ebelsberg overall fell from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1351. This is however only the case if large sums incurred from pawning in the earliest rental and the one from 1324 are included. Otherwise, the development would constitute a dramatic increase over the period. The total feudal rent recorded in coin from Ebelsberg in the middle of the thirteenth century amounted to 221781 *denarii*. The largest proportion, 221280 *denarii*, originated from pawns. The rental on Ebelsberg from the middle of the thirteenth century contains a whole section on holdings either pawned or given to nobles.⁶⁰¹ As far as the holdings being pawned were large agricultural units, they have already been discussed above. In addition, *hubae* and *feuda* were also pawned.⁶⁰² The remainder of the recorded income in coin in the middle of the thirteenth century came from land rent and commutations (234 *denarii*), dues specifically under *ius civile* (177 *denarii*) and jurisdiction (90 *denarii*).

For 1324, the source records a total of 51512,5 *denarii*. The largest part again originated from pawns, 48000 *denarii* in total. These 48000 *denarii* were entirely from the pawning of seven *feuda* to Simon der Mautner.⁶⁰³ In addition, 1865 *denarii* were rendered as land rent and commutations, 1095 *denarii* as taxes and 477,5 under *ius civile*. The account from 1351, finally, contains a total recorded revenue of 17190 *denarii*. This total was made up of 9585 *denarii* from landholding generally,⁶⁰⁴ 480 *denarii* under *ius civile*, 2310 *denarii* from dues to the *Vogt* (*advocatus*) and 4815 *denarii* from taxes.⁶⁰⁵ Figures 7, 8 and 9 show the percentual changes in recorded feudal rent in coin in Ebelsberg from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324,

⁶⁰⁰ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 597.

⁶⁰¹ See "5. Verpfändete und besetzte Güter", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 371–375.

⁶⁰² See for instance Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 372.

⁶⁰³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 597.

⁶⁰⁴ One of the sums given in the account, 9630 *denarii*, refers to both taxes and income from landholding ("servicio"). In this case, half of the sum has been accounted by me as taxes, the other half as revenue from landholding. For the account, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 599.

⁶⁰⁵ See previous footnote for how I arrived at this sum.

from 1324 to 1351 and overall from the middle of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fourteenth century.

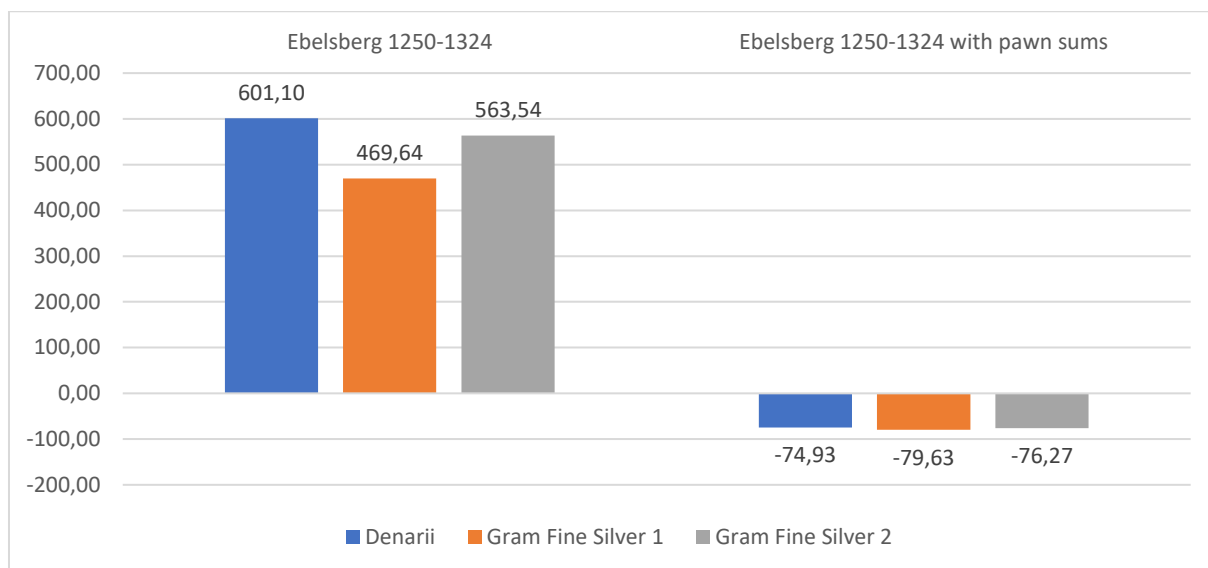


Figure 7 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from Ebelsberg by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1324

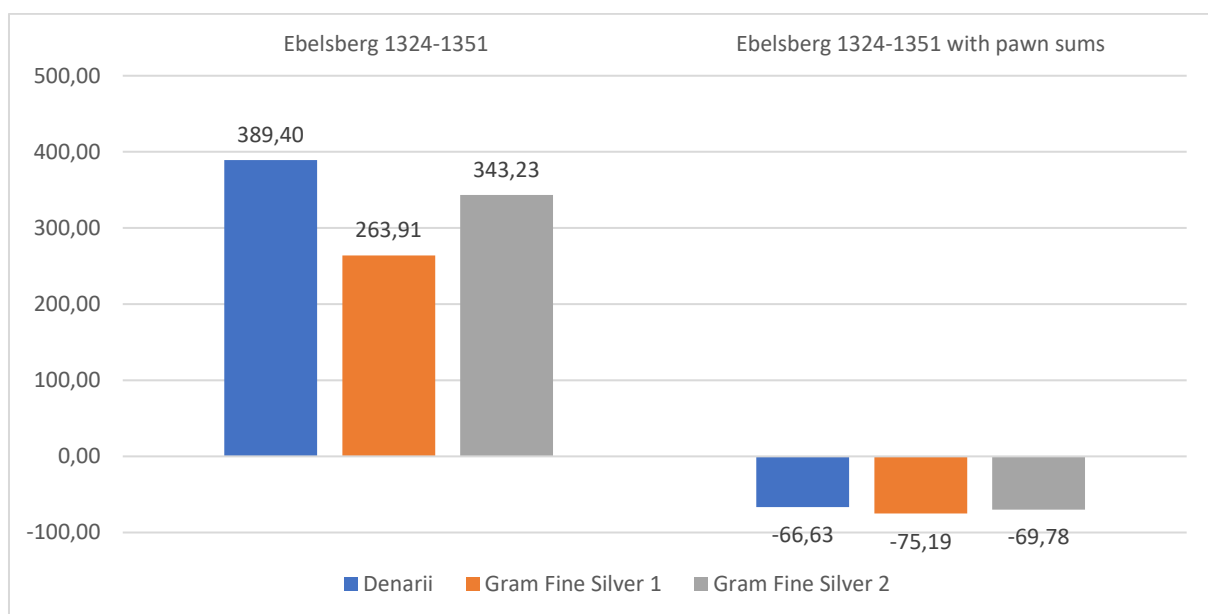


Figure 8 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from Ebelsberg by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, 1324-1351

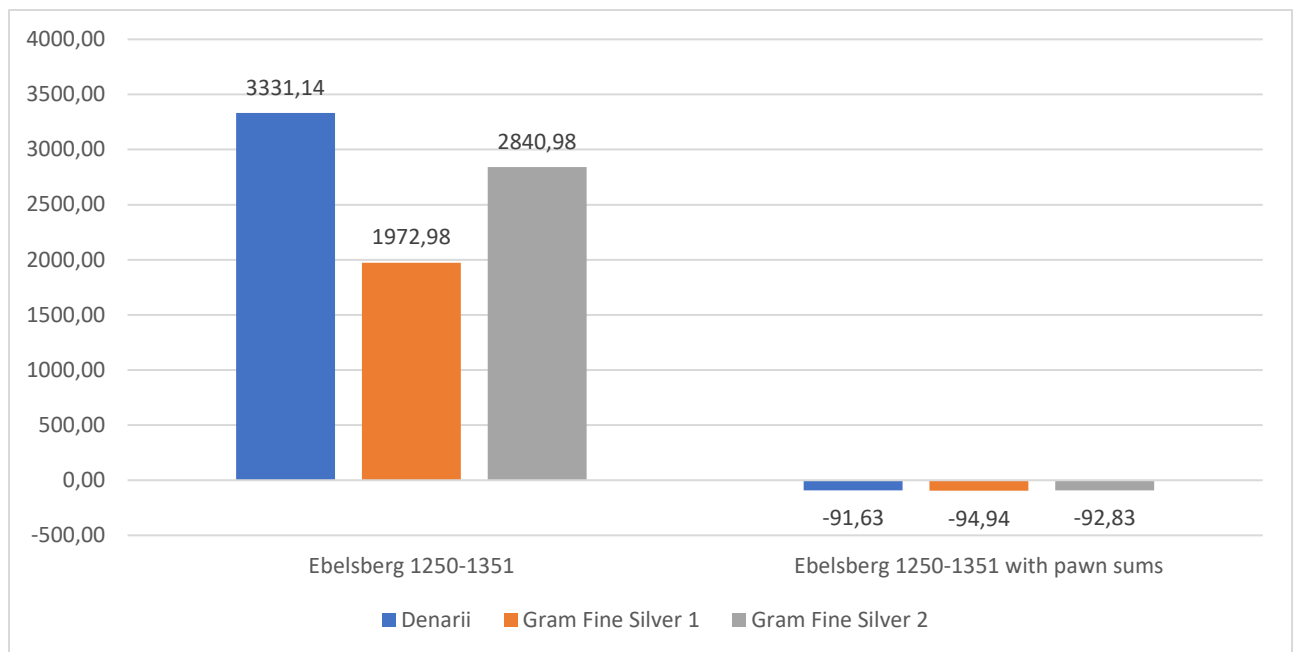


Figure 9 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from Ebelsberg by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1351

Recorded income in coin without pawn sums saw an absolute increase from 501 *denarii* in 1250 to 3512,5 *denarii* in 1324. Figure 7 shows the relative changes of total recorded rent in coin from around 1250 to 1324. Relatively, the increase in nominal value therefore is 601,1 per cent. Calculated in grams of fine silver, the increase is between 469,64 and at most 563,5 per cent. Including the pawn sums, recorded income in coin saw an absolute decrease from 221280 *denarii* in 1250 to 51512,5 *denarii* in 1324. Relatively, this is a decrease of nominal value of 74,93 per cent. Calculated in grams of fine silver, the decrease is between 76,27 and 79,63 per cent.

From 1324 to 1351, feudal rent in coin including income from pawning decreased nominally from 51512,5 to 17190 *denarii*. As can be seen in Figure 8, this constituted a relative decrease of 66,63 per cent. When calculating the value of the coins in grams of fine silver, the decrease was between 69,78 and 75,19 per cent. Without income from pawning, recorded nominal feudal rent in coin increased by 389,4 per cent, while calculated in grams of fine silver the increase lies between 263,91 and 343,23 per cent. Lastly, seen over the entire period from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century, total feudal rent in coin recorded for Ebelsberg fell from 221781 to 17190 *denarii*. The relative change is presented in Figure 9. The nominal decrease including pawn sums was 91,63 per cent. Calculated in grams of fine silver, the decrease lies between 92,83 and 94,94 per cent. However, if the pawn sums

are excluded, the relative development constituted a nominal increase of 3331,14 per cent, as well as a rise between 1972,98 and 2840,98 per cent calculated in grams of fine silver.

Grain dues in rye and oats in Ebelsberg, listed in *Table 8*, grew from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324, while dues in wheat decreased. Barley only appears in the source for 1324. By 1351, income recorded in rye and oats had decreased dramatically, while dues in wheat had only fallen a little. Considering the dues in rye without including income from leases, the increase is not quite as clear. Whereas the rent in rye encompassed 183,5 *modii* around 1258, it is either less at 159,82 or more at 194,35 *modii* in 1324, depending on the manuscript. In addition, the rental from 1324 records an income of nine bushels of rye. The clear increase in rye partly depended on income in grain from the lease of the tithe of Naarn in Upper Austria. In total, the rental from 1324 records 229,82 or 264,35 *modii* of rye, along with the already mentioned nine bushels. Of this sum, 4,2 *modii* went to an official. In the account from 1351, the total dues in rye are only 40,53 *modii* or even less at just 0,4 *modii*.⁶⁰⁶ Similarly for oats, the increase depended on the income from a lease, also of the tithe on Naarn. Without the lease, dues in oats would sink from 334 *modii* around 1250 to 313,34 *modii* and 8 bushels in 1324. If included, the dues in oats in the unit of *modii* in 1324 were 383,34 *modii*. Of the total sum, 9,5 *modii* went to an unnamed official, 32 *metretae* went to an official called *hantmaister* for his work and three *modii* went to the cellarer. In 1351, the revenue in oats was just 113,29 *modii*. As for wheat, the yield of the rent sank by ten *modii* from 54 around 1250 to 44 in 1324. In 1351, the dues in wheat were 41,13 *modii* at most.⁶⁰⁷ Barley is only attested for the first half of the fourteenth century, at the low sum of 1,13 *modii*.

Total Grain Rents Ebelsberg	Modii	Bushels (<i>Scheffel</i> , <i>Scaffia</i>)
Rye 1250	183,5	
Rye 1324	159,82 or 194,35	9
Rye 1324 with leases	229,82 or 264,35	9
Rye 1351	40,53 or 0,4	

⁶⁰⁶ The difference between either a revenue of 40,53 or 0,4 *modii* of rye from Ebelsberg in 1351 comes about by an unclear entry regarding income from along the river Traun: "Summa silignis ibidem: 41 mod., 4 metr. Tritici et silignis," Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 599. Maybe the 41 *modii* and four *metretae* were made up of *both* rye and wheat. It is however not possible to determine the proportions. Therefore, I have included the revenue as either entirely rye or entirely wheat.

⁶⁰⁷ See previous footnote for an explanation of the two numbers given in *Table 8*.

Oats 1250	334	
Oats 1324	313,34	8
Oats 1324 with leases	383,34	8
Oats 1351	113,29	
Wheat 1250	54	
Wheat 1324	44	
Wheat 1351	0 or 41,13	
Barley 1324	1,13	

Table 7 Grain rent from Ebelsberg

Differentiation of producers by profession and position was well evidenced in Ebelsberg around 1250. Moreover, the bishopric had *homines* it could lease to somebody together with land. Of the 122 persons attested with holdings in the thirteenth-century rental, 92 per cent were male and 8 per cent female. Twelve different professions and positions are documented. At 21 per cent of all professions and positions documented across the rentals under consideration here, this is the second highest proportion among the rentals from around 1250. The professions and positions were made up by two bakers, a butcher, two cellarers, a cloth cutter, five cobblers, a cutler, a feed trader, a forester, a furrier, a guard, two smiths and a tanner. In the already discussed lease of the administrative unit of Ebelsberg in 1256, the bishopric also leased “*homines nostros in Pettenbach et alios eidem officio adtinentes*”.⁶⁰⁸ In the early fourteenth-century source, differentiation by profession and position was less pronounced. As far as producers’ status groups are concerned, however, the source labels them with greater variation as *coloni* and *rustici*. The account of revenue from Ebelsberg from 1351 does not contain any persons. Of the 95 persons attested with holdings in 1324, 95 per cent were male, four per cent female and one per cent is made up of unclear names, groups and institutions. There are eight different professions and positions recorded, which provides fourteen percent of all the professions and positions contained in the rentals under consideration here. Among the positions documented here were two officials, a cellarer, ten *villici*, two tithe collectors, a toll collector and two foresters. As for professions, there were two weavers and a cooper.

⁶⁰⁸ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 395.

Moving on to status groups for producers in the rental from 1324, they are mostly referred to as *coloni*, but also as *rustici*. The passage of the rental on Ebelsberg in 1324 opens with a statement on the persons providing information for its compilation. Among them are “omnium colonum tunc temporis in curiis ac aliis feodis residentium et ad predictum castrum pertinentium”.⁶⁰⁹ Regarding the dues of one unlabelled holding in Ebelsberg, the source cites the *coloni* and the official as sources.⁶¹⁰ In the already mentioned passages on the official’s rights to institute and dismiss, the affected persons were also referred to as *colonos*,⁶¹¹ as are some of the inhabitants of the island of Göldwörth.⁶¹² The label *rustici* was only employed once, in the conflict about dues to pay to the official also discussed above.⁶¹³

5.8. Amstetten

In Amstetten, there is possible evidence of demesne land, as well as large agricultural units with administrative functions from the early fourteenth century that were not there around 1250. Income, besides rent from land, was derived from local market activity, customs and tithes. There were also judicial dues, these however do not seem to have gone to the bishopric. Furthermore, there were no labour services besides an obligation in 1324 on the mill to grind the dues in grain.⁶¹⁴ Agricultural expansion was ongoing in Amstetten throughout the period under investigation here. Changes to dues and services began to show strongly in the early fourteenth century. Modes of tenure were only made explicit in the latter source concerning market town holdings, but also individual agricultural ones, under *ius civile*. While recorded feudal rent in coin grew from the thirteenth to the early fourteenth century, a comparison of grain dues is not possible due to their absence in the earlier rental. Similarly, meaningful conclusions about the differentiation of professions, positions and status groups could only be drawn for 1324, where differentiation is strong by professions and positions and producers are referred to as *homines* and *coloni*.

While there are no traces of manorial agriculture in the middle of the thirteenth century, the source from 1324 for Amstetten contains what might have been demesne land, as well as some remaining large agricultural units with administrative functions. The earlier source records among the agricultural holdings and plots of land 52 *feuda*, four *hubae* and five *areae*.

⁶⁰⁹ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 584.

⁶¹⁰ “ut fatentur coloni et officialis”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 596.

⁶¹¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 597.

⁶¹² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 598.

⁶¹³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 588.

⁶¹⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 576

These holdings seem to have been given to independent tenants rendering dues. By 1324, the bishopric recorded 143 *lanei*, five *hubae*, four *curiae*, three *curiae decimalis*, 19 *areae* and some gardens and pastures in the area, besides houses in the market town of Amstetten itself. In addition, there was one *Schwaighof*, i.e. a dairy farm.⁶¹⁵ Moreover, the source records a number of pastures and forests belonging to the castle in Gleiß,⁶¹⁶ which may indicate that they were demesne land.

I will now describe the different *curiae* attested in Amstetten in 1324. Two of the *curiae* rendered fixed dues, one in kind, the other in money.⁶¹⁷ Of this latter one, the source notes that it used to be a *curia decimalis*.⁶¹⁸ The remaining two *curiae* belonged to the castle in Gleiß and in both cases the revenue went to a nobleman.⁶¹⁹ Of the *curiae decimalis*, two are recorded without the name of a tenant or dues given. The third rendered fixed dues.⁶²⁰ Their exact administrative function remains opaque, as the source records the local tithes in six sections, with the tithes in each section being either brought in, owned or leased by a different person. In the first section, the source states that the tithes went to a *curia decimalis* near St. Georgen am Ybbsfeld.⁶²¹ Of the second, it states that they went to a second *curia decimalis*, held by a Fridricus.⁶²² In this section, a number of the individual tithes are labelled either "Viehdorfer",⁶²³ or "Teuschelmannus".⁶²⁴ Of the third, it states that they were brought in by a Fridmannus of Winklarn parish.⁶²⁵ Of the fourth, it states that they belonged to the Teuschelmann just mentioned.⁶²⁶ Of the fifth, it states that they were collected by a Conradus Swevus.⁶²⁷ Of the sixth, it states that the tithes were leased to the local judge, Alram von

⁶¹⁵ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXI.

⁶¹⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 581–582.

⁶¹⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 547.

⁶¹⁸ "qui dicitur [missing], que quondam fuit decimalis", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 547.

⁶¹⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 581.

⁶²⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 546–547.

⁶²¹ "Ad curiam decimalem prope St. Georgen am Ybbsfeld condividuntur decime de laneis infrascriptis", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 550.

⁶²² "Ad secundam curiam decimalem, quam habet Fridricus, concluduntur decime infrascripte", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 552.

⁶²³ For instance, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 554.

⁶²⁴ For instance, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 553.

⁶²⁵ "Nota decimam, quam duxit Fridmannus de parrochia in Winklarn; colligitur de laneis infrascriptis", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 556.

⁶²⁶ "Nota decimam Taeuschelmanni, que colligitur de laneis infrascriptis", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 558.

⁶²⁷ "Nota: decima maior et minor, quam conducit Conradus Swevus, colligitur de laneis infrascriptis", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 560.

Reickersdorf.⁶²⁸ Nevertheless, it seems plausible that some of these people may have been local officials in charge of these three *curiae decimalis*, which functioned as centres of collection.

The structure of the bishopric's feudal rent from Amstetten apart from those dues from landholding was defined by income from market, customs and tithes in the middle of the thirteenth century. Income from the market was also included in 1324, as were tithes and some judicial dues. Income from the market in the earlier source is evident in three entries. The first records 735 *denarii* from the market (*forum*), together with some *areae* and mills. The second and the third are of the customs (*theloneum*) and a fee for the use of the local measure (*ius metratatum*). In neither case is there a specific number given to the revenue received, instead it is simply noted that they brought in "quantum habere possumus".⁶²⁹ As for tithes, the earlier sources only generally records that the bishopric had the tithe from Amstetten and again remains rather vague as to its yield, merely noting that it depended on the year's harvest.⁶³⁰ The market income from 1324 consisted of dues in coin rendered by tenants of butcher's and baker's stalls, which fell under *ius civile*.⁶³¹ As already described above, the records of the tithes are far more detailed in the later source. Of the 238 individual tithes the bishopric received, it mostly only had one-half of each one. As for judicial rights, the holdings in the section "Herrschaft Gleiß" almost all rendered dues to the judges thrice yearly.⁶³²

The spread of agricultural land seems to have continued in Amstetten throughout, including the early fourteenth century. Nevertheless, there is some evidence of partitions and multiple ownership in 1324. For the middle of the thirteenth century, meanwhile, there is not yet any hint of either. On the contrary, the presence of a newly cleared field (*novalium*) recorded in Opponitz⁶³³ suggests that agricultural expansion was ongoing then. In the later source, too, there are five mentions of newly cleared fields.⁶³⁴ In one case, the source even makes explicit reference to the improvement of this land, as will be discussed below. The evidence of

⁶²⁸ "Nota decimam, que locatur domino Alramo iudici; colligitur in laneis et areis infrascriptis et nota, quod eadem decima iacet ex utraque parte Ybbs per totam parrochiam Amstetten et nichilominus in parrochia Euratsfeld de 4 laneis in Umberg et in omnibus predictis 0,5 decimam", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 564

⁶²⁹ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 158.

⁶³⁰ "ministrabit tantum, quantum demonstraverit annus", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 158.

⁶³¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 550.

⁶³² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 566–573.

⁶³³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 158.

⁶³⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 566–567, 570, 578 and 583.

partitions in 1324 conversely is rather meagre. A half tithe in Winklarn was rendered from half a *curia* and a *laneus*.⁶³⁵ A plebanus and Heinz, a weaver, rendered three *denarii* from the *area* of the potter in Amstetten.⁶³⁶ Waltungus and Richildis rendered four wagonloads of hay from a new pasture in Schwarzenberg.⁶³⁷

There is not yet any evidence of change in dues and services in Amstetten in the middle of the thirteenth century. For 1324, however, the source exhibits evidence of conflict regarding dues, commutation of dues in kind and services to money payments, change in the amount of money payments and the imposition of new dues. Beginning with conflict, there was a house in Amstetten from which a certain Helmhart rendered fourteen *denarii* under *ius civile*. The author of that entry noted that he believed Helmhart was required to pay (*servire*) 15 *denarii*.⁶³⁸

Commutation to money rent is by far the most common form of change to be found here. This concerns payments in coin referred to as being *pro fodro*, thus probably instead of the *Marchfutter* dues in kind.⁶³⁹ In this way, 53 *lanei* in and around Opponitz rendered an amount of money between 0,5 and 15 *denarii pro fodro*.⁶⁴⁰ Around Sonntagberg and Windhag, 17 *lanei* rendered between two and 15 *denarii* in the same way,⁶⁴¹ as did twelve *lanei* and two *areae* in Zell-Arzberg for 2,5 to 15 *denarii*.⁶⁴² and another *laneus* in a location not traceable by Maidhof.⁶⁴³ From Ulmerfeld, the bishopric received 270 *denarii pro fodro*, 60 of which was paid instead of the cutting of hay (*pro tonsura feni*).⁶⁴⁴

Others additionally rendered coin *pro enseniis*, that is instead of customary provisions and hospitality to administrative staff of the lordship, such as officials and judges.⁶⁴⁵ This was the case for three *hubae* and one *laneus* in Sonntagberg and another *laneus* in Windberg, with amounts of coin ranging from six to 15 *denarii pro fodro* and two to five *denarii pro enseniis*. In this case, the local official of the bishopric seems to have received the latter either in the

⁶³⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 556.

⁶³⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 548.

⁶³⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 578.

⁶³⁸ "sed credo, quod debeat servie 15", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 550.

⁶³⁹ See Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 343.

⁶⁴⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 570–573.

⁶⁴¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 576–578 and 580.

⁶⁴² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 579.

⁶⁴³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 578.

⁶⁴⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 583.

⁶⁴⁵ See Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 349.

past or only sometimes (*quondam*).⁶⁴⁶ Moreover, there was one *huba* and one *laneus* in Windberg as well as four *lanei* around Sontagberg which rendered between two and 15 *denarii pro fodro* and between two and five *pro enseniis*.⁶⁴⁷ Exceptionally, one *huba* around Sonntagberg rendered a total of five *solidi* and 15 *denarii pro fodro* as well as five *pro enseniis*.⁶⁴⁸

Change in the amount of money rendered is evident in one instance and, imposition of dues in two instances. Regarding the dues a *iudex* in Amstetten rendered from his house and attached gardens, the source notes that he of late (*de novo*) rendered two *denarii* but fails to mention the amount rendered before.⁶⁴⁹ Belonging to the castle in Gleiß, the bishopric had a house in Zell an der Ybbs where court meetings (*placita*) used to be held. With this house came a pasture and a cabbage patch, of which the source notes that dues may still be imposed.⁶⁵⁰ For *novalia* in Opponitz, the source notes that their yield was assessed at harvest over three years and the dues set every time in accordance with the improvements made by the *coloni*. After the third assessment, the dues were not to be changed anymore.⁶⁵¹

In the latter source, the bishopric recorded income from the market settlements Amstetten and Windberg under *ius civile*. The earlier rental does not make any mention of tenurial modes. In Amstetten in 1324, houses, *areae*, gardens (*orto*, *pomerio*), butchers' and bakers' stalls and one agricultural holding, a *laneus*, rendered dues in coin under *ius civile*.⁶⁵² Income in coin from *ius civile* in Windberg is given largely separately, in addition to the listing of holdings in Windberg and largely without specifying the kind of holding the due was taken from. Where this is the case, it is possible that the dues under *ius civile* belonged to some of the holdings in Windberg listed elsewhere.⁶⁵³

The amount of feudal rent in coin recorded for Amstetten rose from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century. In the middle of the thirteenth century, the recorded rent in coin amounted to 4984,5 *denarii* without differentiation as to the rights under which the coin was rendered. For 1324, the source recorded a total of 8830,5 *denarii*. The largest part, 6425,5 *denarii*, originated from land rent and commutations. 1181 *denarii* were incurred from

⁶⁴⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 575.

⁶⁴⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 575–577.

⁶⁴⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 577.

⁶⁴⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 549.

⁶⁵⁰ “cui etiam posset imponi certum servitium, si placeret”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 582.

⁶⁵¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 583.

⁶⁵² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 547–550.

⁶⁵³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 580–581.

jurisdiction. Six *denarii* were brought in by taxes. 960 *denarii* were rendered under *ius civile*. 264 *denarii*, finally, were paid for leases. Specifically, they are *arra* or *denarii bibales*, that is small sums of money (between 30 and 90 *denarii* in this case) paid upon closing a legal transaction.⁶⁵⁴ The legal transaction in question here were four instances of the lease of tithes for fixed sums of rye and oats.⁶⁵⁵

Figure 10 shows the percentual changes in feudal rent in coin recorded for Amstetten from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324. Relatively, the increases with and without rent from leases amounted to 71,86 and 77,16 per cent, respectively. Calculated in grams of fine silver, the increase without rent from leases was between 39,64 and 62,66 per cent. Including rent from leases, the increase in value lies between 43,94 and 67,67 per cent.

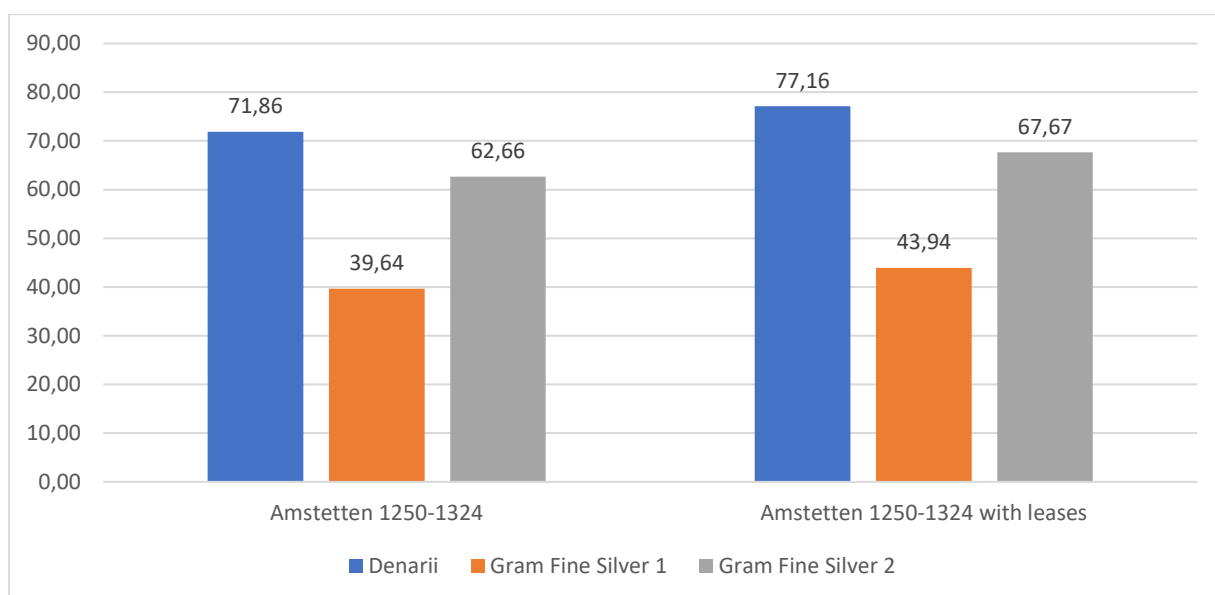


Figure 10 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from Amstetten by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1324

The source for Amstetten from the middle of the thirteenth century does not contain any dues in grain. Therefore, I only have data for 1324, presented in Table 9. Regular dues were small then, with just 0,33 *modii* rye and two *modii* oats. The majority of the grain dues came from some leased tithes. Thus, the entire yield of the grain rent in Amstetten in 1324 was 41,33 *modii* rye and 43 *modii* oats.

Total Grain Rents Amstetten	Modii
Rye 1324	0,33
Rye 1324 with leases	41,33

⁶⁵⁴ See Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 321 and 342.

⁶⁵⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 552, 557, 560 and 564.

Oats 1324	2
Oats 1324 with leases	43

Table 8 Grain rent from Amstetten

Due to differences in the quality of the sources, the amount of evidence available on status groups and professions for the middle of the thirteenth century is vastly smaller. Thus, the earlier rental is not particularly informative compared to the later one. In 1324, however, producers were collectively referred to as *homines* and *coloni* and also fairly well differentiated by professions. Of the 26 persons attested with holdings in the earlier source, all were male and one was described as a weaver. In the later source, there are 184 persons recorded. Among them, 93 per cent were male, five per cent were female and two per cent were made up of unclear names, groups and institutions. Differentiation by profession and position was quite well documented. Twelve different professions or positions were mentioned, that is 21 per cent of the total professions and positions present in all the rentals considered here. Compared to the other rentals from 1324, this is the fourth-highest percentage. There was one judge, one official, six smiths, five cobblers, a potter, four weavers, a bathhouse proprietor, a carpenter, a teacher, a fisherman, two foresters and a baker.

Regarding the status group terms used for the producers, there is one instance of the use of *homines* and three of *colonus* or *coloni*. Beginning with *homines*, the passage on Amstetten in the 1324 rental opens with the statement that the information it is based on was provided among others by the local *homines*.⁶⁵⁶ Moving on to *colonus*, there was a half tithe in Berging that is placed upon the *colonus* on Smith's Lane ("*semita fabri*").⁶⁵⁷ Finally coming to *coloni*, regarding the commutation of dues and services in Ulmerfeld described above, the source refers to those rendering those dues in coin as *coloni*.⁶⁵⁸ Finally, regarding the newly cleared land in Opponitz which had its dues assessed over time with the improvement of the land, those working the land were also referred to as *coloni*.⁶⁵⁹

5.9. Petzenkirchen and Wieselburg

There are two versions of the rental on Petzenkirchen and Wieselburg from the middle of the thirteenth century. One may point to the existence of a manorial complex of the old type, the other does not. By 1324, large manorial agricultural units had been partly dissolved, and partly

⁶⁵⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 546.

⁶⁵⁷ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 559.

⁶⁵⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 583.

⁶⁵⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 583.

used as demesne land. The only revenue in addition to landholding was from the lease of tithes and some transport services in 1324. Regarding partitions and multiple ownership, the picture is still unclear in the middle of the thirteenth century, since there is both evidence of agricultural expansion and multiple ownership. In the later rental, multiple ownership is still evident, as are partitions. Changes to dues and services are present from 1324, and so are tenurial rights under *ius civile*. As for the development of feudal rent, the recorded rent in coin from Petzenkirchen and Wieselburg decreased over the time under consideration here. For grain dues, meanwhile, no unambiguous conclusion is possible due to different measurements. Differentiation by profession and positions is much greater in the source from 1324, where producers are also referred to as *homines* and *coloni*.

In the first of two passages on Petzenkirchen and Wieselburg from around 1250, the agricultural holdings are made up of two *predia*, two *feuda*, one or two *curiae decimalis* and 25 *areae*. The first *curia decimalis* is presented without a named tenant and rendering fixed dues in grain and kind. The second is also listed without a tenant and rendering an amount of linen. The two entries are separated by the dues rendered by the 25 *areae*, which rendered money and kind.⁶⁶⁰ Even though there is no definitive evidence, these *areae* could be connected to the first *curia decimalis*, since their entry is introduced with *ibidem*. In the second passage on Petzenkirchen and Wieselburg, the agricultural holdings are at least 35 *feuda*, one *huba*, at least one *area* and an unclear number of *agri* and newly cleared fields (*novalia*). Thus, there is no evidence of large agricultural units.

In the later rental, the agricultural holdings and plots of land consist of 41 *lanei*, 59,5 *areae*, one *curia*, one *curia villicalis*, half a *huba*, some gardens, a pasture and an unnamed number of vineyards (*quartali*). From the *curia villicalis*, one Heinrich, the son of Chuenon only rendered a very small money due, at just 33 *denarii*. It seems to have been partitioned since the source notes for the following entry regarding a payment of twelve *denarii* that these were “de agris obligatis de curia villicali”.⁶⁶¹ To the same effect, there is a whole section further down in the rental titled “Nota servitium de agris in Petzenkirchen, qui sunt extracti de curia villicali”.⁶⁶² In this section, labour services are recorded, as will be discussed below. In the same section, the source recounts that the bishop had (*habet*) a *curia* inhabited by Rugerus, a judge.

⁶⁶⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 151.

⁶⁶¹ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 540.

⁶⁶² Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 543–544.

The source then goes on to detail the approximate amount of grain needed for the fields belonging to this *curia* to be sown.⁶⁶³ This may imply that the agriculture on this large agricultural unit was still under direct manorial administration as demesne land.

While there is no additional income to landholding in either passage from the middle of the thirteenth century, the rental from 1324 on Petzenkirchen and Wieselburg contains tithes and labour services. As for tithes, there were 22 of them. Mostly, the bishopric had one-half of every tithe, in some cases two-thirds or the whole. The bishopric's part in them is leased for a fixed grain sum to the judge.⁶⁶⁴ Regarding labour services, the *coloni* in Petzenkirchen had to bring hay to a *curia*.⁶⁶⁵ This could have been either the *curia vilicalis* or the *curia* inhabited by Rugerus, the judge. Since only the latter still seems to be fulfilling a function in manorial organization, it was likely to this one that the hay had to be transported.

While the process of agricultural expansion seems to have been still ongoing, multiple ownership is also present in one of the sections from the middle of the thirteenth century. By 1324, there were also partitioned holdings. In the passage "Amt Petzenkirchen with Hofmark Wieselburg", the earlier rental contains not only an unnamed number of *novalia*, but also nine *feuda* with two associated persons. In all of these cases, the names of the tenants do not indicate nobility. In four cases, one person is referred to as the *socius* of the other.⁶⁶⁶ By 1324, partitions affected *lanei*, *hubae* and *areae*. There are five entries featuring half-*lanei*,⁶⁶⁷ the one half-*huba* already mentioned⁶⁶⁸ and one half-*area*.⁶⁶⁹ Multiple persons were mainly associated with *agri* in six entries.⁶⁷⁰ In addition, there was also a *laneus* in Weinzierlberg in the municipality of Ratzenberg, for which the names Andreas and Ditlinus were given.⁶⁷¹ There were no more *novalia*.

Changes to dues and services again only set in by 1324, with evidence of dues in kind as well as labour services being commuted to money payments and possibly of outstanding dues. Tenurial rights are also only documented in the later rental. Four whole and one half-*lanei* in

⁶⁶³ "ad quam spectat agricultura, que seminatur cum 0,5 mod. Grani duri et cum 20 metr. Levis grani vel circa hoc." Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 543–544.

⁶⁶⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 546.

⁶⁶⁵ "coloni de villa Petzenkirchen tenentur ducere fenum ad curiam" Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 544.

⁶⁶⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 153.

⁶⁶⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 538.

⁶⁶⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 540.

⁶⁶⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 542.

⁶⁷⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 539 and Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 543.

⁶⁷¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 543.

Bodensdorf rendered between one and two *denarii* each for salt.⁶⁷² Moreover, the bishopric recorded money dues of eight *denarii* each from four cabbage patches in Petzenkirchen for the cutting of hay.⁶⁷³ The dues of a mill in Bodensdorf were set at twelve *metretae* oats, three *solidi* and half a pig worth 60 *denarii*, of which the *iudex* retained all the oats, 45 *denarii* and the pig “ex debito”.⁶⁷⁴ This may be evidence of outstanding dues, but could just as well be the result of any other debt. Regarding tenurial rights, the source from 1324 records income in coin under *ius civile* from a number of fields (*ager civilis*), three *areae* and two undefined holdings.⁶⁷⁵

The total recorded feudal rent in coin from Petzenkirchen and Wieselburg decreased from the middle of the thirteenth to the early fourteenth century. Total feudal rent in coin recorded from Petzenkirchen and Wieselburg in the middle of the thirteenth century amounted to 7499 *denarii*, entirely from land rent and commutations. For 1324, the source records a total of 4146 *denarii*, comprised of 3832,5 *denarii* from land rent and commutations, 256,6 *denarii* rendered specifically under *ius civile*, 45 *denarii* from jurisdiction and 30 *denarii* from tithes. *Figure 11* shows the relative development of feudal rent in coin in Petzenkirchen from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324. There was a relative decrease of feudal rent in coin recorded from Petzenkirchen and Wieselburg in the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324 of 44,47 per cent. Calculated in grams of fine silver, the decrease lies between 47,45 and 54,88 per cent.

⁶⁷² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 538.

⁶⁷³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 544.

⁶⁷⁴ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 538.

⁶⁷⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 539–540.

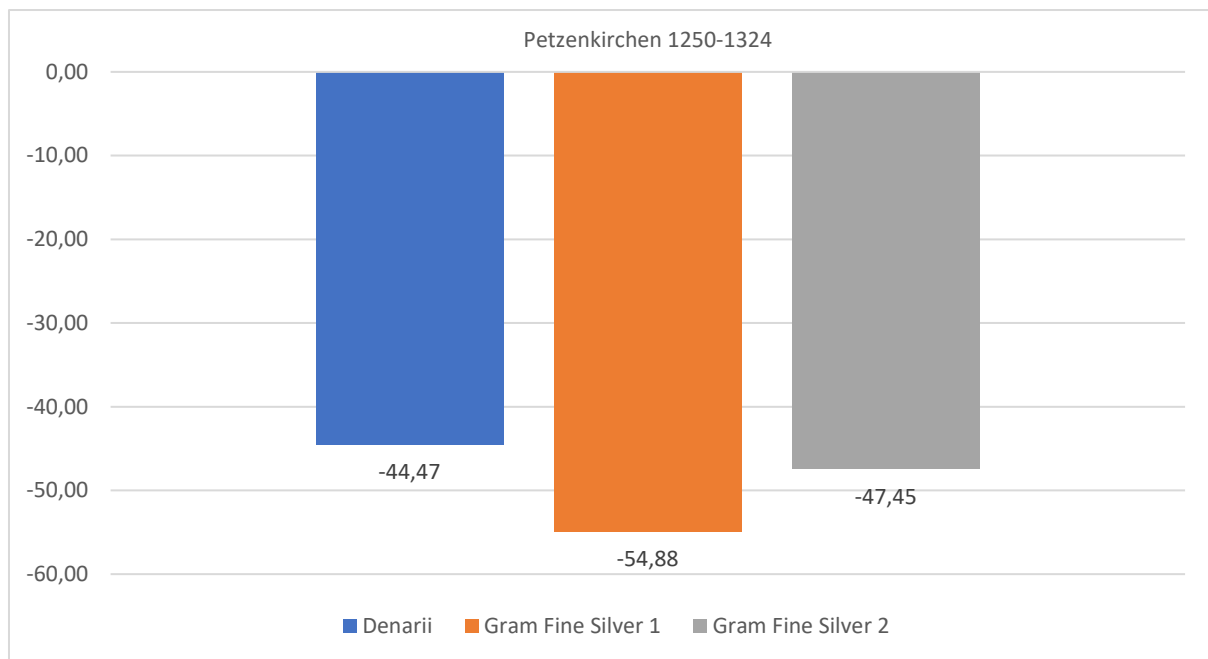


Figure 11 Relative change in feudal rent in coin from Petzenkirchen and Wieselburg by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1324

Due to differences in measurements, it is difficult to establish whether dues in grain increased or decreased in Petzenkirchen and Wieselburg from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324. As can be seen in *Table 10*, dues from the thirteenth century were given in a local unit and with a large *modius*, while dues in 1324 were given in an unspecified *modius*. As for rye, there might have been an increase from fourteen *modii* in the local measurement to 18 or 20 *modii*, entirely from the lease of tithes. In the case of oats, a development in one direction or the other is not discernible if oats coming in by way of leased tithes are included. The rent in oats around 1250 was 37 *modii maioris mensure* and 14 *modii Amstettner*, while in 1324, it was 15,48 *modii* without and 34 or 36 *modii* with income from leases.

Total Grain Rents	Modii	Modii Maioris Mensure	Modii Amstettner
Petzenkirchen			
Rye 1250			14
Rye 1324 with leases	18 or 20		
Oats 1250		37	14
Oats 1324	15,48		

Oats 1324 with leases	34 or 36		
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Table 9 Grain rent from Petzenkirchen and Wieselburg

Differentiation by profession and position increased greatly from the middle of the thirteenth to the early fourteenth century. Moreover, the rental from 1324 contains the labels *homines* and *coloni*. Of the 33 persons attested with holdings in the earlier rental, 82 per cent were male, and nine per cent each were female or had unclear names, belong to groups or institutions. The only profession named is that of a forester. In the later rental, there are 70 persons attested with holdings. Of these persons, 86 per cent were male, eleven per cent were female and three per cent were made up of persons with unclear names, groups or institutions. The ten different professions and positions documented here equal a proportion of 17 per cent of professions and positions across all rentals under consideration here. Among the positions is a judge and a tithe collector. The professions consist of a baker, a butcher, a *famulus*, an innkeeper, two millers, two smiths, a tailor and two weavers. Regarding the status groups of producers, the source opens again with a statement on the informants on local circumstances. Among them are also “quorundam huminum de villis”,⁶⁷⁶ though the author states that it is necessary to find out more about them.⁶⁷⁷ Moreover, the source gives stipulated values for dues in pigs and cheese on information of *coloni*.⁶⁷⁸ Pigs are only rendered from *lanei* and a mill, cheese however is also a due placed upon other holdings, some of them under *ius civile*.⁶⁷⁹ Finally, the duty to transport of hay discussed above is placed upon all the “coloni de villa Petzenkirchen”.⁶⁸⁰

5.10. Schönbühel

In the early fourteenth century, the bishopric retained some control over manorial production in Schönbühel via sharecropping arrangements on large agricultural units. Moreover, there seems to have been demesne land. By 1367, no evidence of direct manorial agriculture remained. There is some possible evidence for the partition of large agricultural units. Only

⁶⁷⁶ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 538.

⁶⁷⁷ “sed necesse est aput homines spectans fortassis melius investigari.” Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 538

⁶⁷⁸ “dicunt coloni, quod quilibet porcus debeat valere 60 den. Et quilibet caseus, qui servitur in Pasca vel Pentecosten, debeat valere 1 den., et qui servitur in Nativitate, 2 den.” Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 540

⁶⁷⁹ This is the case for two unlabelled holdings, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 540.

⁶⁸⁰ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 544.

the rental from 1324 contains tithes and labour services, as well as evidence of multiple ownership and agricultural expansion. Change of dues and services, commutation and cancellation to be precise, is also only documented in the rental from the first half of the fourteenth century. As far as property rights are concerned, besides *ius civile* being evident in both rentals, tenancy-at-will and tenancy for life, as well as heriot, are documented in the 1324-rental, both mostly for large agricultural units. While recorded feudal rent can be observed as falling in Schönbühel, it is not possible to observe the development of grain dues, since they are not present in the later rental. Differentiation of producers by professions and positions is higher in the rental from 1324 than in the one from 1367. In addition, the earlier rental uses the status group labels *coloni* and *rustici*.

In the rental from Schönbühel in 1324, the agricultural holdings and plots of land consist of independent holdings, many of them small, and several large agricultural units, which were however not all at the bishop's disposal. Among the agricultural holdings in Schönbühel at 1324 were 33,5 *areae*, 32 *agri*, 30,5 *vineae*, nine *lanei*, some gardens, pastures and forests, eleven *curiae* and an *agricultura*. Three of the *curiae* were in the possession of a noble, Hadmar II. von Eisenbeutel, often referred to in the source as the *dominus de Wesen*, or his wife, the *domina de Wesen*. One of them rendered fixed dues in grain,⁶⁸¹ presumably to Hadmar and his wife, the second was pawned for 20 *libra* but used to render money and kind,⁶⁸² the third rendered dues in grain and in kind. In this latter case, the lord retained the right to change the tenant.⁶⁸³ At that time, the tenant was Nycolaus, a *villicus*. Three other *curiae* seem to have been given out to tenants, who were also named. They either rendered dues in grain,⁶⁸⁴ money and kind,⁶⁸⁵ or, in some cases, only in money.⁶⁸⁶ Two more *curiae* rendered fixed dues in money and kind, but no tenant was associated with them.⁶⁸⁷

If the bishopric did retain *curiae* in Schönbühel in 1324, however, they were run under a sharecropping arrangement by a manorial official, a *villicus*. In the entries for two *curiae*, the source stresses that they are owned (*possidet*) by the Bishop. Interestingly, these two large agricultural units, besides both having a *villicus* associated with them, did not render fixed

⁶⁸¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 527.

⁶⁸² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 527.

⁶⁸³ "rusticus, qui curiam tenet, habet mutare, quando placet domino." Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 527.

⁶⁸⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 527.

⁶⁸⁵ See the *curia* held by Heinrich Lintberger: Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 528.

⁶⁸⁶ See the *curia* held by Ulrich Bawarus: Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 528.

⁶⁸⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 527.

dues. From one of them, Heinricus Maier (*villicus*) had to render either half the yield in grain or a certain sum to be agreed upon with him.⁶⁸⁸ From the other, Wuelflinus, also a *villicus*, rendered half the grain yield or half of what he could attain by leasing the grain revenue of the *curia* for a fixed sum.⁶⁸⁹ Another interesting case is the last *curia*, of which the author of the passage relates that it had not had a tenant for about 30 years, but a new tenant had been found and the dues were limited.⁶⁹⁰

In addition, there is evidence of demesne land in the rental on Schönbühel in 1324. In the section "Servicium ville in Schoenpuhel"⁶⁹¹ the rental lists first an *agricultura* and a number of *areae*, gardens, pastures, fields, as well as a mill.⁶⁹² Regarding this *agricultura*, the source describes its size (32 or 34 *iugera*), gives an estimate of the grain needed to sow it and specifies the property rights, with Hadmar II. von Eisenbeutel holding half of it in pawn (*obligatione*).⁶⁹³ In addition, it mentions labour services, which will be discussed below. The *areae* and other holdings in this section partly rendered money dues to Eisenbeutel and partly to the Bishop. Moreover, the source records a number of orchards, vineyards and forests for which no tenants were given. Instead, they are described as belonging to the *Domina de Wesen*, the Bishop and Wolflinus, famulus of the bishop, possibly to be identified with the official responsible for one of the bishop's *curiae* described above. For the forests, the source relates them as belonging to the local castle. In all except one case, there are no dues recorded.⁶⁹⁴ How this land was worked is therefore not entirely clear.

By the latter half of the fourteenth century, little of these large agricultural units and demesne land seems to have been left among the possessions of the bishopric in Schönbühel. The agricultural holdings and plots of land recorded by the rental consist of 21 *agri*, six *lanei* and *vineae*, four *areae*, some gardens, other smaller plots and two *curiae*. Seydlinus auf dem Pach had (*habet*) one of the *curiae* for a money rent of one *libra*. This *curia* however was probably no longer a large agricultural unit, since its size is given at just two *Joch*.⁶⁹⁵ For comparison,

⁶⁸⁸ "servit medietatem bladi, quod sibi advenit, vel certam summam bladi, de qua cum ea poterit conveniri" Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 527.

⁶⁸⁹ "servit medietatem bladi, quod sibi obvenit vel quod sibi vel alteri locari poterit" Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 528

⁶⁹⁰ "que bene 30 annis fuit deserta, sed modo prestituatur ibidem colonus et tunc servicium limitabitur." Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 528

⁶⁹¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 529.

⁶⁹² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 529–530.

⁶⁹³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 529.

⁶⁹⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 533–535.

⁶⁹⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 793.

one *laneus* in Schönbühel for which the later rental gives a closer description consists of “6 Jewch, vinea et pomerium”.⁶⁹⁶ The second *curia* was held (*habet*) by Fridricus Chrumpmezzer, who rendered 720 *denarii* in return.⁶⁹⁷ In one last case, it is not entirely clear whether it constituted part of a divided *curia* or whether the source does not distinguish neatly between this label and the label *laneus*. Under the heading “De Curia in Gerolding”⁶⁹⁸ the rental presents a *laneus* which rendered half a *libra* in coin as well as some dues in kind.⁶⁹⁹

Only the rental on Schönbühel from 1324 contains additional income to landholding. It consisted first of 35 tithes, which again went mostly to the *Domina de Wesen* and the bishop. Some of the tithes were pawned,⁷⁰⁰ given for life,⁷⁰¹ or given to administrative personnel.⁷⁰² Moreover, it contains the labour services already mentioned above. For the *agricultura*, the source relates that all the *coloni* belonging to the castle had to partake in the harvest of grain: “Ad hanc etiam agriculturam promovent omnes coloni spectantes ad castrum cum aristis messoribus agri non de iure”.⁷⁰³

In the earlier rental, I found very limited evidence regarding the partition of holdings, as well as some evidence of multiple ownership and ongoing agricultural expansion. The latter source does not feature any evidence in this direction. In 1324, there was merely one case of a partitioned holding, specifically half an *area* in Gerolding.⁷⁰⁴ Regarding multiple ownership, however, there is more evidence. However, not all of the holdings associated with multiple persons in this rental constitute cases of multiple ownership. Some of these holdings were held by local lower nobles, such as a *laneus* in Gerolding, which was held in feudal tenure by the family of the Reichger, in particular a mother and her sons⁷⁰⁵, and an *ager* in Pergarn held

⁶⁹⁶ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 794.

⁶⁹⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 794.

⁶⁹⁸ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 794.

⁶⁹⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 794.

⁷⁰⁰ Two tithes in Gerolding from the *lanei* of Otto in Fine and Marin “ipsa domina obligavit sorori Richgeri et tenetur eam redimere propria pecunia” Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 536; one tithe in Siernreut of which one half was pawned to Heinrich Sweinwarter, together with one *laneus* in Gerolding pawned to said Sweinwarter by Hadmar II. Eisenbeutel for eight *libra* (“mediatas domini episcopi est obligata Heinricho Sweinwartario una cum 1 laneo in Gerolting per Eysenpaeutel tantum pro 8 libr., quas arbitratus est sibi dominus Zendel, magister curie.” Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 537).

⁷⁰¹ One tithe in Gerolding from a *curia* held by Ulricus Huber, which he “retinet decimam at dies suos, postea vacat [domino] episcopo.” Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 536–537

⁷⁰² One tithe in Schönbühel from the *laneus* of Wolhardus, servant (famulus) of the bishop “de quo idem decimam retinet” Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 537.

⁷⁰³ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 529.

⁷⁰⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 525.

⁷⁰⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 524.

by Nycolaus and Otto of Pergarn.⁷⁰⁶ Nevertheless, there were four holdings for which the associated persons really could have been those working the land. These are an *area* and a small garden in Schönbühel held by Gedrudis Weickhartinna and Heinricus Funschel,⁷⁰⁷ an *area* held by Chunradus Gaemel and Brenil, another held by a certain Gremel and Otto and two *areae* with *vineae* held by Wilhalmus the *Villicus* and Ulricus Waid.⁷⁰⁸ In addition, the source features an entire section with newly cleared fields.⁷⁰⁹ This could indicate that agricultural expansion had not yet stalled in Schönbühel by 1324.

In the source for Schönbühel from 1324, apart from dues being limited, there is evidence of dues in kind commuted to rent in coin and of cancelled dues. A Ruedlo rendered three *solidi* from half an *area* in Gerolding “pro omni servicio”. In former times, the source notes however, he used to render (*serviebat*) 40 *denarii*, five chickens and nine cheeses. In this case, the change towards money payments may have been due to the immediate need for coin among the local nobility. The *area* in question, along with other holdings, had been given to a priest in the testament of Hadmar II. of Wesen. In this testament, Hadmar II. had also promised 37 *libra* to the parish church. Since his widow had not been able to come up with this amount of money, she gave said church an income of nine *solidi* from the holdings given to the priest in the first place, which the author of the passage did not consider to be legally permissible.⁷¹⁰ In another case, a Balberius had (*habet*) a *curia* southwest of Gerolding as a pawn (*in obligatione*) from the same Hadmar II. of Wesen and did not render any dues from it. The source states the dues rendered in the past at half a *libra*, five chickens, nine cheese and 30 eggs.⁷¹¹

Tenurial rights are evident in the rental from 1324 on Schönbühel regarding a specific area and regarding large agricultural units and could be identified with tenancy-at-will and tenancy for life with heriot. Of the fields in a location called Friedenleiten, today between Berging-Hohenwart and Gerolding, the source specifically states that the bishop had the right to

⁷⁰⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 526.

⁷⁰⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 529.

⁷⁰⁸ See for these three cases: Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 530.

⁷⁰⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 532–533.

⁷¹⁰ “pro omni servicio, olim autem serviebat 40 den., 5 pullos et 9 caseos; hanc aream etiam tenet plebanus una fcum area in gilaeuz et ½ laneum in Gerolting ratione eiusdem testamenti domini,” “Sed nota: idem dominus Hadmarus testamentus fuerat tamen 37 libr. Ad ecclesiam parrochiale; uxor vero sua nolens dare paratos den. Dedit ecclesie parrochiali redditus 9 sol. In areis et ½ laneo predictis, quod tamen facere non potuit de iure.” Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 525.

⁷¹¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 527.

dismiss the *coloni* whenever he liked.⁷¹² Similarly, on a *curia* in Berging, with which a *villicus* called Nycolaus is associated in the source, it is noted that the *rusticus* holding it (*tenet*) had to change (*mutare*) whenever the bishop liked.⁷¹³ In another case, a high money payment was required upon the death of the proprietor of a *curia* in Hohenwart. When Ulricus Huber, who held it (*tenet*) at the time died, his wife had to give ten *libra*.⁷¹⁴ During his lifetime (*at dies suos*) Ulricus retained the tithe from his *curia*.⁷¹⁵

In addition, there is evidence of *ius civile*, both from 1324 and 1367. In the earlier rental, *ius civile* was only imposed on the newly cleared fields in Frauntal.⁷¹⁶ Although this could suggest that this mode of tenancy was an innovation in this location, due to the proximity to other locations where *ius civile* was long established (Krems in particular), this is unlikely. In the rental from the latter half of the fourteenth century, all the evidence regarding tenurial rights concerns *ius civile*. Nevertheless, this mode was practiced for two *lanei* and thus for agricultural holdings.⁷¹⁷

Feudal rent in coin from Schönbühel fell slightly when only considering the regular income. However, when we include revenue from pawn sums, the decrease is more dramatic. A comparison of total grain rents over time, meanwhile, is not possible for Schönbühel, as the source from 1367 does not contain any dues in grain for this location. Total feudal rent in coin recorded from Schönbühel in 1324 amounted to 11644,5 *denarii*. The larger part of the recorded feudal rent was comprised of 9840 *denarii* from pawn sums. Specifically, the rental records a *laneus* and a *decima* pawned to Hainricus Schweinbarther for 1920 *denarii*, another *laneus* held *in obligatione* by the local burgrave and *magister curie*, Ulrich Zaendel, for 1200 *denarii*,⁷¹⁸ a *curia* which a certain Balberiaus had as a pawn (*habet in obligatione*) for 4800 *denarii*⁷¹⁹ and half a tithe again pawned to (*obligata*) Hainricus Schweinbarther, also for 1920

⁷¹² "quandocumque placeuerit domino episcopo, tunc posset super agros in Fridenleyten destituere colonos et tunc illi, qui nunc eos possident, caderent a iure suo et a servicio similiter." Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 526.

⁷¹³ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 527.

⁷¹⁴ "sed quando moreretur Ulricus Huber, qui eandem curiam tenet, tunc uxori sue, quam nunc habet, debent dari 10 libr." Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 527.

⁷¹⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 536–537.

⁷¹⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 532–533.

⁷¹⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 792.

⁷¹⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 522–524.

⁷¹⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 527.

denarii.⁷²⁰ The smaller part of recorded feudal rent was made up of 1804,5 *denarii* from land rent and commutations.

In 1367, the total feudal rent in coin recorded was 1738 *denarii*, all from land rent and commutations. *Figure 12* shows the development of feudal rent in coin from Schönbühel from 1324 to 1367. Without dues from pawned holdings and tithes, the decrease in rent in coin in Schönbühel from 1324 to 1367 amounted to 3,69 per cent. Converted into grams of fine silver, this decrease lies between 13,56 and 27,31 per cent. Including pawn sums, the relative decrease however was 85,07 per cent. Calculated in grams of fine silver, it lies between 86,61 and 88,74 per cent. Regarding the grain rent, *Table 11* only contains the numbers given in 1324. Even then, the grain rent was almost negligible, at just 4,2 *modii* of rye, 1,94 *modii* oats and 0,85 *modii* wheat.

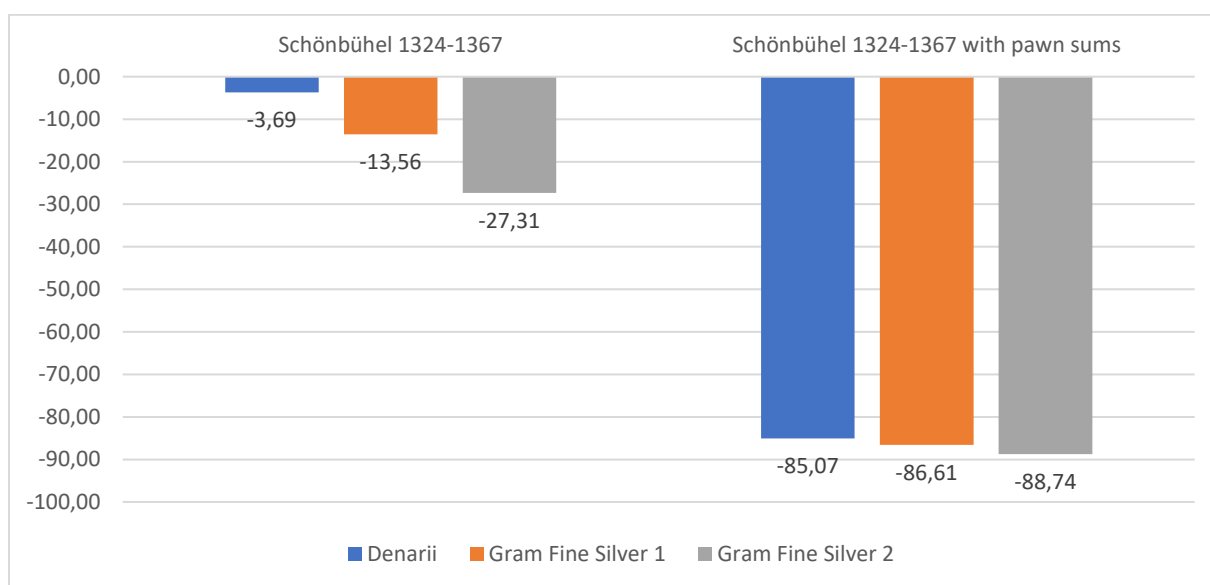


Figure 12 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from Schönbühel by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, 1324-1367

Total Grain Rents Schönbühel	Modii
Rye 1324	4,2
Oats 1324	1,94
Wheat 1324	0,85

Table 10 Grain rent from Schönbühel

⁷²⁰ See Maidhof, Urbare des Hochstifts Passau, vo

Differentiation by profession and position is greater in the earlier rental, since it contains a greater number of persons. Of the 97 persons attested with holdings, 86 per cent were male, ten per cent female and four per cent were made up of unclear names, groups and institutions. At ten different documented professions and positions, the numbers for Schönbühel in 1324 account for 17 per cent of the professions attested across all rentals at this time. There was one manorial official, six *villici*, two *famuli*, as well as a cartwright, a cook, three fishermen, a potter, a smith, a tailor and a teacher.

Regarding status groups of producers, the rental for 1324 uses the terms *coloni* and *rustici*. The later rental does not make any mention of producers' status groups and only exhibits low differentiation of professions and positions. The source for 1324 notes for the *laneus* held in feudal tenure by members of Reichger family had to perform transport services "*cum aliis colonis*".⁷²¹ The tenants on the fields of Friedenleiten under tenancy-at-will are also referred to as *coloni*,⁷²² and so was the new tenant of the *curia* which had been empty for thirty years.⁷²³ The only mention of the term *rusticus* comes when the source describes the tenancy-at-will practised on another *curia*: "*rusticus, qui curiam tenet, habet mutare, quando placet domino*".⁷²⁴ The later rental contains only 24 persons. Among them, 92 per cent were male and eight per cent female. Only ten per cent of all the professions and positions documented across the rentals under consideration here were mentioned in Schönbühel in 1367. There was a butcher, a fisherman, a smith, a tailor, a vintner and a weaver.

5.11. Krems, Stein and Mautern

In Krems, Stein and Mautern there is no definitive evidence of direct manorial administration from the middle of the thirteenth century. By 1324, I found evidence of sharecropping on vineyards, as well as an elaborately described arrangement for labour in the bishop's vineyards. Income, additional to landholding included tithes and judicial rights both in the middle of the thirteenth and in the early fourteenth century. Labour services are attested for Mautern in the later rental. No changes to dues and services could be found, except for a reduction of grain dues on a *curia villicalis* in Mautern in 1324.⁷²⁵ As far as tenurial rights are concerned, only *ius civile* is attested in Krems and Stein both around 1250 and in 1324. Total

⁷²¹ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 524.

⁷²² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 526.

⁷²³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 528.

⁷²⁴ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 527.

⁷²⁵ "*servit 2 mod. Silignis et 2 mod. Avene; prius autem serviebat 3 mod. Silignis et 2 mod. Avene.*" Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 521

recorded feudal rent in coin from Krems, Stein and Mautern increased greatly over time, yet, this is only the case if revenue from leases and pawns is considered. As for the development of total grain dues from both localities, there was a considerable drop in rye and a slight increase in oats. Differentiation of producers by professions and positions decreased over time in both locations. The use of the status label *coloni* is only documented in both localities in the early fourteenth century.

In the earlier rental, the agricultural holdings and plots of land in Krems and Stein mainly consist of fourteen *beneficia*, eight *areae*, at least three *vineae*, some fields, a pasture and one *villa*. Many of these holdings seem to have been enfeoffed,⁷²⁶ for others the revenues went to local officials.⁷²⁷ Evidence of large manorial complexes is highly tenuous. Among the fiefs held by Selker von Gedersdorf were a number of fields and pastures which a certain Swantzo had (*habuit*) "tam in villicatione quam insulis in Danubio sitis".⁷²⁸ Moreover, the source records the following regarding the *villa* Eisenhartsdorf: "cum omnibus sui attinentiis usibus domini episcopi omni iure deberet respondere".⁷²⁹ Both open the possibility of large manorial units or even manorial agricultural complexes with dependent holdings still existing then in Krems and Stein, yet are not conclusive enough to be certain. In any case, they were enfeoffed and thus did not render revenue directly to the bishopric.

In Mautern too, the rental from the middle of the thirteenth century records almost no large agricultural units. In total, the agricultural holdings and plots of land presented here are 72 *vineae*, 33,5 *areae*, thirteen *prediae* and one *curia*. The *prediae* are all among the section of enfeoffed holdings. Therefore, the holdings from which the bishopric drew direct income were *vineae* and smallholdings, *areae*, except for the *curia*. Still, even this *curia* in all likelihood was not very large. At 15 *denarii*,⁷³⁰ its money rent was smaller than quite a few of the *areae*, some

⁷²⁶ Consider the heading "Lehen des Selkers von Gedersdorf ö. U. nö. Krems", under which are included the *beneficia*, an unnamed number of fields and pastures and the *villa*, for the heading Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 184, for the rest Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 184–185. Consider also the holdings under the heading "Lehengüter um Stein a. d. Donau (NÖ). Ista sunt predia trans Danubium collata", among which are the *vineae* and at least six *areae* as far as agricultural holdings and plots of land are concerned, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 388 and 391.

⁷²⁷ This concerns the *areae* and *domus* under the heading "Hofstätten in Stein:" "Aree in Stein pertinentes ad dominum episcopum, quarum ius civile non decimatur, set suos tenetur recipere decimator sive procurator", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 186.

⁷²⁸ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 185.

⁷²⁹ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 185. Following Maidhof, *deberet respondere* here means to belong to the possessions of the bishop, see Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 378.

⁷³⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 188. The *areae* which rendered 18 *denarii* can be found on the same page.

of which rendered 18 *denarii*. Only the dues from an “antiqua cultura vinearum”⁷³¹ could provide evidence of demesne land. This evidence is however highly tenuous, as *cultura* may denote both *cultivation area* and *cultivation*.⁷³² The attribute *antiqua* would slightly favour the former interpretation in my opinion, but it is still questionable whether this truly constituted demesne land. Especially since the dues rendered from this *cultura vinearum* were again lower than those rendered by most other *vineae*, possibly indicating smaller size.⁷³³

By the early fourteenth century, the bishopric’s holdings in Krems and Stein still consisted largely of vineyards, part of which were worked under a typical sharecropping arrangement, others constituted demesne land, worked under a precursor form of sharecropping. The agricultural land in the later rental from Krems and Stein consists of 21 *vineae* and an unnamed number of smaller, uninhabited plots (*uberland*). The bishopric did not draw income from all of these vineyards. The first three entries are under the heading “hee sunt vineae, quas iudex colit de Mawtorn”.⁷³⁴ The remaining vineyards are listed under the heading “[i]tem iste vineae coluntur pro medio vino”, which introduces 17 *vineae* in various locations.⁷³⁵ Moreover, in St. Michael, vineyards were worked by *coloni* “pro medio vino”,⁷³⁶ who had to harvest the grapes themselves and cover all expenses in wine production.⁷³⁷

One of the entries in this section provides more information on how a precursor to the sharecropping arrangement in viticulture worked in practice. A number of vineyards in Rührsdorf is described as follows: “sunt 12 vineae non distincte per iugera, sed sunt maiores et minores et colunt 16 coloni, quos dominus episcopus habet ibidem et est de iure ipsorum easdem colere vineas”.⁷³⁸ I understand this to mean that the *coloni* belonged (*habet*) to the bishop and that they were required to work his vineyards, i.e. demesne land. This demesne land was worked under what seems to have been a precursor form of sharecropping. The passage continues to state that the grape harvest was undertaken by an official of the bishopric and that the bishopric also covered the necessary expenses, except for the payment

⁷³¹ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 189.

⁷³² See Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 189.

⁷³³ At three *modii* rye, as opposed to the most common due from *vineae*, six *modii* rye and one *modium* oats, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 189.

⁷³⁴ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 696.

⁷³⁵ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 696.

⁷³⁶ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 698.

⁷³⁷ “habet episcopus 13 urnas, in quibus certi coloni, quandoque plures quandoque pauciores, habent ius colendi et assignandi ad vasa pro medio vino. Tenentur etiam tempore vindemii colligere et ibidem ministrare expansas”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 698.

⁷³⁸ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 697.

of the wine-pressers, which had to be covered by the *coloni*.⁷³⁹ In return they received a specific part of the harvest.⁷⁴⁰

In the rental on Mautern in 1324 too, there are largely independent holdings. There is evidence of sharecropping, as well as more evidence on the labour arrangement for the bishop's vineyards in Rührsdorf also described in the rental for Krems and Stein at the same time. The agricultural holdings and plots of land consisted of 20 *areae*, 16 *lanei*, 9,75 *vineae*, several fields, pastures, a *curia villicalis*, half a *feudum* and a quarter *curia*. The latter two are both listed in a section on vineyards and render dues in grain.⁷⁴¹ In Rührsdorf, the rental records that a certain Holtzarius worked a vineyard "pro medio vino", besides those vineyards "quas colunt coloni in Ruesdorf et de Pergarn Superiori et Inferiori, prout scriptum est".⁷⁴² In the case of Holtzarius, this would constitute a case of sharecropping.

The *coloni* just mentioned, moreover, could be connected with the *curia villicalis* and the *lanei* recorded here and were identical with those described in the contemporary rental for Krems and Stein. Regarding the *curia villicalis*, which rendered dues in grain and is recorded as having been bought by bishop Bernhard (1285-1313), the source relates that its *villicus* "colit 1,5 vineam de vineis domini episcopi in Ruesdorf".⁷⁴³ This *villicus* could be identified with the *preco* overseeing the grape harvest on the bishop's vineyards in Rührsdorf. Moreover, there were exactly 16 *lanei*, of which it is stated that "quilibet de habentibus predictis laneos colit 1 vineam domini episcopi in Ruesdorf".⁷⁴⁴ Here, the source also lists the expenses covered by the bishopric. First, those going to the *coloni*: "singulis annis dantur predictis habentibus laneos et colentibus vineas in universo 18 sol. den., qui dicuntur pfruentspfenning, et tempore fossure vinearum dantur eis pro qualibet dieta 2 den."⁷⁴⁵ Then, those going to the *villicus*: "datur ½ libr.den. et pro qualibet dieta fissure 2 den."⁷⁴⁶ Moreover, the part they received of

⁷³⁹ "sed dominus episcopus vindemiat suo precio et expensas et omnia alia, sed ipsi appreciant torculatores", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 697.

⁷⁴⁰ "et habent recipere uvas a duobus lateribus vinearum in exteriori vite et 1 urnam cum uvis recipere et humiditas feces recipiunt et undecimam urnam vini", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 697.

⁷⁴¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 521.

⁷⁴² Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 520.

⁷⁴³ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 521.

⁷⁴⁴ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 521.

⁷⁴⁵ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 521–522.

⁷⁴⁶ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 522.

the harvest was the same both for the *coloni* and the *villicus*, as it was described in the rental for Krems and Stein.⁷⁴⁷

Besides income from landholding, the bishopric recorded additional income in the middle of the thirteenth century from tithes in Krems and Stein and judicial rights in Mautern. For some of the tithes, the source specifies that they were from grain (*annona*), small tithes⁷⁴⁸ or from wine.⁷⁴⁹ Here the source explicitly states that this income was meant for the bishop's consumption.⁷⁵⁰ Moreover, there seem to have been outstanding dues in wine from four years due to war.⁷⁵¹ The judicial dues from Mautern are not contained in the rental on Mautern itself, but instead in the one on St. Pölten from around 1250.⁷⁵²

For the first half of the fourteenth century, the rentals for Krems and Stein as well as for Mautern also record income from tithes and judicial rights. In addition, there is evidence of labour services. Cases of partitioned holdings are only present in the rentals from Mautern of the thirteenth and in the early fourteenth century, but even there they are negligible. In Krems and Stein, the rental records eleven entries regarding tithes. Two of them were specified as being from grain,⁷⁵³ the others were most likely in wine, since many of them were leased out for fixed amounts in wine.⁷⁵⁴ Of the 18 tithes recorded for Mautern, almost all were leased for fixed amounts of grain.⁷⁵⁵ Regarding income from judicial rights in the rental from Krems and Stein, thirteen of the 16 *coloni* working the vineyards in Rührsdorf rendered eight *denarii* each at every one of the three court days.⁷⁵⁶ In addition, the source states that a certain *censum* was paid from the uberland plots to the *iudicium*, the amount of this *censum*, however, is not stated.⁷⁵⁷ For Mautern, the rental records total dues in oats, money, wine and tallow to the *iudicium*.⁷⁵⁸ In addition, the producers on the *lanei* in Oberbergern had to transport a

⁷⁴⁷ "Item datur eis undecima urna vini de vino, quod crescit in vineis eisdem, et reliquie uvarum madide, quod vulgariter dicitur nazzeu trester, et vites extreme, que dicuntur vulgariter auzzerstokch. Residuum autem vinum cedit domino episcopo", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 522

⁷⁴⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 181.

⁷⁴⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 182.

⁷⁵⁰ "Illa omnia memorata spectant ad mensam episcopalem", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 183.

⁷⁵¹ "Preterea recipit 4 annis in gwerra vinum de vineis episcopi et vinum decimale, quo nec Meinhardus [judge in Krems in 1247] nec Sifridus [judge in Krems 1239] receperunt", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 183

⁷⁵² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 169.

⁷⁵³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 698.

⁷⁵⁴ For instance the tithe in Stratzing: "que conswevit locari communibus annis pro 18 ternariis vini", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 698.

⁷⁵⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 519–520.

⁷⁵⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 697.

⁷⁵⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 697.

⁷⁵⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 520.

wagonload of wood whenever the bishop was residing in Mautern.⁷⁵⁹ Finally coming to partitions, there is one half-*area* in the earlier rental for Mautern.⁷⁶⁰ In the later one, there is the half-*feudum* and quarter-*curia* already mentioned above.⁷⁶¹ Also in Mautern, there is one piece of evidence for the clearing of land, in a tithe taken from a *novalium*.⁷⁶²

Evidence regarding the property rights of producers in the rentals on Krems and Stein and Mautern is only present in Krems and Stein and is restricted to *ius civile*. In addition, the rental on St. Pölten from around 1250 records income under *ius civile* in both locations. In Stein itself, the source from around 1250 records eight *areae*, one house and one area and a vineyard rendering money under *ius civile*.⁷⁶³ There is no evidence on producers' property rights from the rental on Mautern in around 1250. Nevertheless, holdings were given out under *ius civile* there too, as income from *ius civile* in Mautern and Stein recorded in the rental on St. Pölten from around 1250 shows.⁷⁶⁴ In the source for Krems and Stein from 1324, an unnamed number of individual pieces not part of any holding (*uberlend*) is mentioned and described as paying rent (*serviunt censum*) under *ius civile*, though not how much.⁷⁶⁵ Moreover, it tells of the *coloni* in St. Michael, who worked vineyards under a sharecropping arrangement that they also rendered wine, coin and chickens under *ius civile*.⁷⁶⁶ There is no evidence from Mautern in 1324 on producers' property rights.

Recorded feudal rent in coin from regular income in Krems, Stein and Mautern remained almost the same from around 1250 to 1324. Including revenue from leases, however, the total feudal rent recorded in coin increased strongly. From the middle of the thirteenth century, the rentals on Krems, Stein and Mautern recorded a total of 3112 *denarii*, made up of 1624 *denarii* rendered under *ius civile*, 1068 *denarii* from general land rent and commutations and 420 *denarii* from tithes. This does not include the income from judicial rights and *ius civile* recorded in the rental on St. Pölten.

For 1324, the total was either 12795 or 15195 *denarii*, with the largest proportion, 9600 or 12000 *denarii*, being comprised of estimated lease revenue. Specifically, this estimated lease

⁷⁵⁹ "quocienscumque dominus venerit in Mautarn, tunc iterum quilibet eorum ducit 1 plaustrum", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 522.

⁷⁶⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 187.

⁷⁶¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 521.

⁷⁶² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 519.

⁷⁶³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 186.

⁷⁶⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 168–169.

⁷⁶⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 697.

⁷⁶⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 698.

revenue is from the rental on Mautern, which records pastures on an island in the Danube, the yield of which was leased to an estimated revenue of “quoandoque pro 40, quandoque pro 50 libr. vel amplius”.⁷⁶⁷ For my calculation, I have taken both of these estimates, 9600 and 12000 *denarii* and thus provided two versions of the development of recorded feudal rent from Krems, Stein and Mautern. The remainder of the recorded feudal consists of 1932 *denarii* from jurisdiction, 1143 *denarii* from unspecified dues and commutations and 120 *denarii* rendered to officials. *Figure 13* shows the percentual change in total feudal rent in coin recorded in the rentals on Krems, Stein and Mautern from around 1250 and 1324.

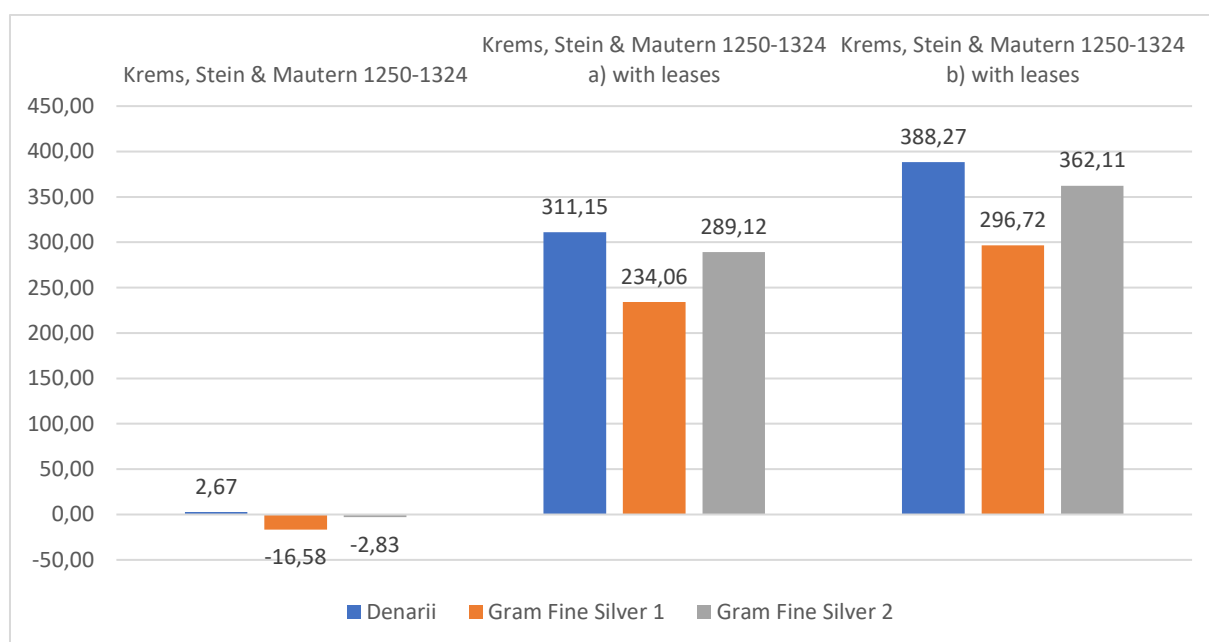


Figure 13 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from Krems, Stein and Mautern by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1324

Recorded nominal income in coin in Krems, Stein and Mautern without revenue from leases saw a slight increase from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324 by 2,67 per cent. Factoring in the sinking value of coin by adjusting to grams of fine silver, however, the value of recorded feudal rent decreased between 2,83 and 16,58 per cent. Including rent from leases, recorded income in coin from Krems, Stein and Mautern saw an increase of 311,15 or 388,27 per cent. Calculated in grams of fine silver, this constitutes an increase between 234,06 and 289,12 per cent or between 296,72 and 362,11 per cent, respectively.

Feudal rent recorded in rye from Krems, Stein and Mautern fell considerably from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324, while dues in oats rose slightly, as is discernible from *Table 12*. In 1324, part of the dues both in rye and oats came in by way of the lease of tithes. While

⁷⁶⁷ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 519.

the rentals from around 1250 on Krems, Stein and Mautern still recorded 171 *modii* rye, the latter ones only documented an income of 28,8 *modii* or 32 *modii*, if income from the lease of tithes is included. In the case of oats, the outcome of the development depends on whether one includes income from the lease of tithes or not. The recorded rent in oats around 1250 was 28 *modii*. In 1324, the fixed income was slightly lower, at 27,35 *modii* oats. With the small additional income from tithes, however, the total in 1324 is 31,35 *modii* oats.

Total Grain Rents Krems, Stein & Mautern	Modii
Rye 1250	171
Rye 1324	28,8
Rye 1324 with lease	32
Oats 1250	28
Oats 1324	27,35
Oats 1324 with lease	31,35

Table 11 Grain rent from Krems, Stein and Mautern

Differentiation of producers by professions and positions fell in both localities from the middle of the thirteenth to the early fourteenth century. Of the 32 persons attested with holdings in Krems and Stein around 1250, 84 per cent were male, nine per cent female and six per cent were made up of unclear names, groups and institutions. The only position named is that of a chamberlain, which was documented twice. Thus, just two per cent of the professions and positions attested across all rentals are included here. In the later rental on Krems and Stein, only eleven persons are attested with holdings. Of these persons, 73 per cent were male and 27 per cent belonged to unclear names, groups or institutions. No professions or positions are mentioned. In the earlier rental for Mautern, 76 persons are attested with holdings, 93 per cent were males, three per cent females and four per cent belonged to unclear names, groups or institutions. Six different professions and positions are mentioned, including two cellarers, a tithe collector, a *servus*, a bowyer, a miller and a weaver. This equals ten per cent of all professions and positions included in all the rentals. By 1324, the number of persons attested with holdings was only 28, of which all were male. Only the positions of manorial official and *villicus* were included, which account for just three per cent of all professions and positions. Status group labels are only present in the later rentals and were restricted to the term *coloni*. In Krems and Stein, the source mentions “*coloni, quos dominus episcopus habet*”⁷⁶⁸ in Rührsdorf. Whether this implies that they were in some way personally dependent to the bishop beyond just holding land, probably the above-discussed *lanei* in the rental for Mautern,

⁷⁶⁸ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 697.

is not clear. Moreover, the source also mentions *coloni* in St. Michael, as mentioned above. In the source for Mautern, the same *coloni* in Rührsdorf, Ober- and Unterbergern were referenced as in that for Krems and Stein.

5.12. St. Pölten

In St. Pölten, the organization of surplus appropriation moved over time from including direct manorial agriculture and sharecropping to feature ever more large agricultural units given to tenants while maintaining tight control over individual ones. Moreover, the process of the dissolution of large agricultural units over time is observable here. Besides landholding, the bishopric also drew income from market activity and judicial rights in St. Pölten throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Tithes, meanwhile, were only mentioned in 1367. Labour services were present at all times, varied slightly in detail and included the supply of wood, grinding services placed on a mill and transport services. The partitioning of holdings was increasingly present over time, as is evidence of multiple ownership. Commutation of dues and services was already documented around 1250. By the early fourteenth century, there was also reduction and commutation of dues and ultimately in 1367 conflict, nonpayment, and cancellation as well as imposition. Tenure under *ius civile* was documented from the thirteenth century through to 1324 and must have been practised in 1367, too, even if it was not directly referred to as such. Moreover, hereditary tenure and entry fines were described in 1324, as well as the sale of holdings in 1367. Regarding feudal rent, the revenue in coin sank from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324, only to rise and surpass thirteenth-century numbers by 1367. Similarly, rent in grain went down from the middle of the thirteenth to the early fourteenth century and surpassed thirteenth-century numbers regarding almost all kinds of grain by 1367. Differentiation of producers by profession and position was high in St. Pölten throughout and increased over time across the three rentals under consideration here. Status labels for agricultural producers were documented in the rental from around 1250 and in the one from the early fourteenth century. They include *homines* in the former and *homines* and *rustici* in the latter.

In the earliest rental from St. Pölten, there is clear evidence of direct manorial agriculture as well as sharecropping in viticulture. As far as agricultural holdings and plots of land are concerned, the source records 65,5 or 67 *predia*, 29 *areae*, 23 *beneficia*, ten *curiae*, five *hubae*, four *villicationes*, two *feuda* and one *curia decimalis*. Moreover, there were some newly cleared fields (*novalia*) and two *feuda vinitorum*. All of the *curiae* but two are listed in the

section on *Inwärtseigen*⁷⁶⁹ and were held by nobles or religious institutions.⁷⁷⁰ The remaining two seem to have been under direct administration of the bishopric, lacked a recorded tenant and rendered their entire yield in grain, besides dues in kind.⁷⁷¹ The *curia* of the tithe collector (*curia decimatoris*), conversely, was given out to him for a fixed money payment.⁷⁷² Of the four *villicationes*, two were recorded without a tenant and rendered fixed dues in grain.⁷⁷³ Another one seems to have been enfeoffed earlier and had only recently fallen back to the bishopric, which would explain why no income was recorded from it yet.⁷⁷⁴ The fourth and last *villicatio* was labelled a “villicatio casealis”, supplying the bishopric with 600 cheeses.⁷⁷⁵ No person was associated with this large agricultural holding, suggesting that it was directly administered. Finally, the two *feuda vinitorum* seem to have been the base of a sharecropping arrangement. While the source does not tell us much about them, it does note that they worked two adjacent vineyards belonging to the bishop.⁷⁷⁶

By the early fourteenth century, large agricultural units in St. Pölten were all given to tenants, partly under terms still reminiscent of direct manorial agriculture. The rental contains among the agricultural holdings and plots of land 267,25 *agri*, at least 70 *lanei*, 29 gardens, 19 *areae*, 10,5 *hubae*, at least five *curiae*, some pastures, three vineyards and a *feudum*. Three of the five *curiae* were given to tenants and rendered fixed dues in grain⁷⁷⁷ or fixed dues in grain and kind.⁷⁷⁸ A fourth rendered the small sum of just twelve *denarii* under hereditary tenure.⁷⁷⁹

The last *curia* presents an example of the intermediary steps typically taken in the process of the dissolution of large manorial complexes. In other cases, the dissolution seems to have progressed further already. This *curia* is presented in a section titled “servicium in Aeving”,⁷⁸⁰ where the listed holdings may constitute parts of a former *curia villicalis*. First among them,

⁷⁶⁹ “iste sunt proprietates ecclesie Pataviensis, que dicuntur vulgariter inwertaigen circa hofmarchiam Sancta Ypoliti”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 171.

⁷⁷⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 171–179.

⁷⁷¹ “solvitur tantum, quantum demonstraverit annus”, P2 and P11, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 163; “sicut demonstraverit annus”, P2, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 163.

⁷⁷² P2, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 168.

⁷⁷³ P2 and P11, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 161; P11, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 166.

⁷⁷⁴ “villicacio Alberonis ibidem nobis vacat”, P11, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 164.

⁷⁷⁵ P2, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 167.

⁷⁷⁶ “que excolunt 2 vineas domini episcopi adiacentes”, P11, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 164.

⁷⁷⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 513.

⁷⁷⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 509 and 515.

⁷⁷⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 510.

⁷⁸⁰ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 514.

the *curia* itself was described as being a “*curia villicalis divisa in 4 partes*”,⁷⁸¹ each given to a different tenant.⁷⁸² The *curia* as a whole rendered dues in grain either at an amount fixed at harvest time or at whatever amount the harvest may have been leased for, as well as dues in kind.⁷⁸³ The remaining holdings in this section are a small mill and three *areae*, all rendering their unspecified dues at the divided *curia villicalis*.⁷⁸⁴ Finally, there were two pastures, one big and one small. The former was retained by the bishop and the revenue from the latter went to the local judge.⁷⁸⁵ Moreover, there were several *lanei* referred to as *Mayerhoflehen*, possibly partitioned parts of a former large agricultural unit (*Meierhof*). Nevertheless, they still retained functions in the direct supply of the bishopric, as they were still tasked with the direct provisioning of wood.⁷⁸⁶ Another very explicit piece of evidence is presented by two *lanei* in Grub, where the source records that they came about by dividing a *curia* in two.⁷⁸⁷

In the second half of the fourteenth century, the latest rental shows that many large agricultural units were given out for money rent. Individual units still tied more closely to manorial administration continued to exist, but overall a process of dissolution is evident. The source records among the agricultural holdings and plots of land 154,75 fields, 125,5 *lanei*, 64 *areae*, as well as gardens, pastures, a *feudum* and a vineyard. As far as large agricultural units are concerned, there were twenty *curiae*, a *curia decimalis* and a *curia villicalis*.

Of the *curiae*, nine rendered fixed dues in grain, some of them in combination with coin and kind. They were all given with a named tenant or tenants.⁷⁸⁸ One of them in Stattersdorf was referred to as a *Saighof*, indicating that rent was determined at harvest time by an official,⁷⁸⁹ but the source also states that its tenant, Leupoldus auf dem Puchel, rendered fixed dues in grain.⁷⁹⁰ Moreover in Stattersdorf, there was another *curia* held (*habet*) by a Stephanus, which

⁷⁸¹ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 514.

⁷⁸² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 514.

⁷⁸³ “Predicta curia tota servit bladium ad examen, quod vulgariter dicitur mit der saig, vel si placet cellerario, convenitur cum eis de certa summa bladii singulis annis”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 514.

⁷⁸⁴ “que serviunt habentibus curiam supradictam”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 514.

⁷⁸⁵ “sunt 2 prata, quorum unum, videlicet magnum, habet dominus episcopus, aliud vero, scilicet parvum, quod dicitur Amtwis, singulis annis tonditur, iudex civitatis qui pro tempore servitur”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 514.

⁷⁸⁶ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 472–474.

⁷⁸⁷ “1 curia divisa in 2 laneos”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 511–512.

⁷⁸⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 772 and 775.

⁷⁸⁹ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CX.

⁷⁹⁰ “Est eciam ibidem curia, quam habet Leupoldus auf dem Puchel; que servit Egidii 1 mod. Silignis et 1 mod. Avene, weisat Michaelis 2 aucas, 4 pullos et 1 pullum carnisbrivalem; hec curia dicitur ain saighof”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 775.

was referred to as a *Schweighof*,⁷⁹¹ i.e. agriculture geared towards dairy production. Another one of the *curiae* rendering grain was held by Dietricus Grawlsperger. It is listed in a section which otherwise contains individual fields and rendered a smaller grain service than many of the fields around it. It is therefore questionable whether this was a larger agricultural unit or rather just a conventional placename.⁷⁹² One possible origin for the dissolution of *curiae*, evidence for which will be discussed further below, is multiple ownership. Hainricus Curnperger and Hainricus Schoter had each had one half of a *curia* in Weidern for which they each contributed half of the stipulated grain rent, while the dues in kind were placed upon the whole *curia*.⁷⁹³ Another case where it is even more clear that dues began to be rendered from separate parts in case of multiple ownership is the *curia* called *Jagerhof*, pertaining to a Georius and Stephanus, his brother in law. Here, grain dues were given separately too with the added information: “de sua parte”.⁷⁹⁴

Of the remaining *curiae*, ten rendered rent in coin, while one did not render any rent at all. Money rent varied widely and evidence of further partition is present. On the lower end, four *curiae* rendered nothing at all,⁷⁹⁵ seven *denarii* under *ius civile*⁷⁹⁶ or just 24 *denarii*.⁷⁹⁷ The remaining seven *curiae* rendered between 115 and 960 *denarii*.⁷⁹⁸ On both ends are two *curiae*, the *curia Haghof* and the *curia in Monte*, where the source records for the latter one that it used to render its comparatively low service to the former.⁷⁹⁹ In fact, it seems that both *curiae* were part of a larger complex which was split into several parts since there was also a mill for which the source records that it previously rendered its dues to the *curia Haghof*.⁸⁰⁰ Many other such cases are contained in this 1367-rental on St. Pölten. In Rusthof, the source relates that there used to be a *curia* with a mill, but since the latter had become deserted,

⁷⁹¹ "hec dicitur esse ain swaighof", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 775

⁷⁹² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 828.

⁷⁹³ "1 curia, quam habet mediam Hainr(icus) Curnperger, aliam partem (habet) Hainricus Schoter. Servitium eiusdem curie serit ½ mod. Tritici, 1 mod. Silignis, ½ mod. Ordei, ½ mod. Avene. Ibidem in festo Pasce 4 caseos valentes 6 den., 60 ova, in festo Pentecostem 4 caseos vel 6 den., in Nativitate domini 4 caseos vel 6 den. Hainr(icus) Churnperger: ½ mod. Silignis, 7 ½ metr. tritici, 7 ½ metr. orde, 7 ½ metr. avene. Hainricus Schoder: ½ mod. Silignis, 7 ½ metr. tritici, 7 ½ metr. orde, 7 ½ metr. Avene. Idem pro communi stewra 60 den. In Epiphania domini. Ibidem Michahelis tota curia 2 aucas, 4 pullos", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 766.

⁷⁹⁴ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 766.

⁷⁹⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 742.

⁷⁹⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 790.

⁷⁹⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 770–771.

⁷⁹⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 777, 780 and 791.

⁷⁹⁹ "curia auf dem Perig servit aliquando ad curiam Haghof, modo serit ad granarium", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 788. For the entire entry for both *curiae*, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 788–789.

⁸⁰⁰ "Molendinum Eckensteg servit prius ad curiam Haghof", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 789.

only the fields of the *curia* still brought in dues.⁸⁰¹ There are two other, even clearer cases of the land of former *curiae* being given out as individual fields. First, in Stattersdorf, where 21 fields, gardens and *areae* with different tenants are listed under the heading “Curia Johannis de Meichsen. Possessores sunt hii”.⁸⁰² Second, for Mechters, where 17 holdings associated with different persons are introduced by the heading: “Meters: fuit quondam ibidem 1 curia, quam habet Symon Meterser, et habuit . . . Jewch in agris, pratis, silvis et vineis et semper de 1 jewch servivit 4 den.”⁸⁰³ Finally, it can also be observed that the boundaries between the labels *curia* and *laneus* were slipping, possibly as a result of partitions. In Eggsdorf, there were two *lanei* which follow under the heading “Curia Oxstorf. Oxdorf sunt 2 lan.”⁸⁰⁴ Another tenant rendered money from a holding referred to as a “curia sue seu lan.”⁸⁰⁵

Finally, it is possible to observe some of the same extant and partitioned large agricultural units also discussed in the earlier rental from 1324. Under the heading “servicium de curia, que dicitur Aeving”, the source lists a “curia villicalis divisa in 4 laneos seu partes”,⁸⁰⁶ each with its own tenant.⁸⁰⁷ As in 1324, the *curia* as a whole rendered its dues in grain either at an amount fixed at harvest time or had its grain harvest leased to somebody a fixed amount.⁸⁰⁸ Moreover, the rental from 1367 records a mill and three *areae* without tenants as well as unspecified holdings in Tiefenbach formerly part of the whole complex, which rendered their dues to the *curia*.⁸⁰⁹ These unspecified holdings in Tiefenbach may be identified with one of the two pastures recorded with this *curia* in 1324, since they are followed by another entry on a pasture, which belongs to the *officium*.⁸¹⁰ Moreover, the rental from 1367 contains a

⁸⁰¹ Under the heading “Curia Rusthof et molendinum”: “Fuit quondam curia et molendinum quod rusthof dicebatur servicium extendebat se ad 3 libr. Den. Et habuit 5 jewch agrorum; que modo una cum molendino est desolata, sed de agris serviunt”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 780.

⁸⁰² Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 777. For the individual holdings see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 777–778.

⁸⁰³ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 790.

⁸⁰⁴ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 764.

⁸⁰⁵ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 769.

⁸⁰⁶ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 763.

⁸⁰⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 763–764.

⁸⁰⁸ “curia tota servit bladum ad examen, vulgariter [quod] dicitur mit der sayg, vel si placet officiali, convenit cum eis de certa summa singulis annis, que hoc anno locata est pro 7 mod. Silignis et 8 mod. Avene”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 764. Dopsch actually uses this *curia* as evidence *against* the process of ongoing partition. See Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 138. For one, he bases his argument on the fact that it rendered dues as a whole. In another argument, he connects it with a later entry of a *curia* partitioned in four parts and the use of the word *redacta* there. See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 841. The location given however shows clearly to me that this is in fact another *curia* and not identical with that in Hafing.

⁸⁰⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 764.

⁸¹⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 764.

curia decimalis, for which the dues and tithes are also leased yearly,⁸¹¹ as well as the *Maierhoflehen* already described for 1324, which were then in 1367 distinguished as *minora* and *maiora* and still served functions in supplying the bishopric, as will be discussed below.⁸¹² Other than from landholding, the rental from around 1250 contains revenue from market activity and judicial rights. Of the former, income in coin is given in full from fees for the use of measurements (*ius metreta*), as well as from the cloth market and the horse market.⁸¹³ Regarding the latter, one of the sections in the rental is headed “[i]sti sunt redditus in Sancto Ypolito ad iudicium pertinentes”.⁸¹⁴ Among the entries under this subheading are not only holdings since the source also gives the total income from judicial rights in the closeby Mautern.⁸¹⁵ By 1324, the rental became more detailed when it came to income from the city of St. Pölten in trade and from houses. It records four butchers’ stalls,⁸¹⁶ as well as 92 houses.⁸¹⁷ Regarding judicial rights, many holdings under the subheading *Hofmark*,⁸¹⁸ in Hafing,⁸¹⁹ Wernersdorf⁸²⁰ and Wagram⁸²¹ rendered coin to the *iudicium*. Part of the revenue from dues under *ius civile* also went to the *iudicium*.⁸²² In the latest rental from 1367, income other than rent from agricultural holdings encompasses again market activity and judicial rights, as well as tithes. The source contains 117 market stalls, 315 houses, income from a toll on salt⁸²³ and a cattle market.⁸²⁴ Evidence of income from judicial rights consists of holdings rendering an amount of coin called *Vogttaidingpfennig*,⁸²⁵ labelled *ad iudicium*⁸²⁶ or three

⁸¹¹ "Hanc curiam cum decimis suis dominus singulis annis debet pro certa summa annone locare, secundum quod vertilitas anni requirit", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 776

⁸¹² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 719–720 and 720–721, respectively.

⁸¹³ P2, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 168.

⁸¹⁴ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 167. This section continues until Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 169.

⁸¹⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 169.

⁸¹⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 481 and 489.

⁸¹⁷ In and around the city, see Maidhof *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 479–481; in the leatherworkers’ quarter, “in quarterio cerdonum”, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 484; for the whole section, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 484–487; in the upper quarter or woodquarter, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 487–489; in the monastery quarter, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 489; and in the market quarter, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 489–490.

⁸¹⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 472–478.

⁸¹⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 512.

⁸²⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 514.

⁸²¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 516–517.

⁸²² "Hic annotatur ius civile de civitate predicta pertinens ad iudicium in quarterio cerdonum", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 484; "[h]ic annotatur ius civile de ortis et agris pertinens ad iudicium", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 490

⁸²³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 724.

⁸²⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 743.

⁸²⁵ See for instance Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 719–721.

⁸²⁶ See for instance Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 723.

times a year, i.e. at the three yearly court dates.⁸²⁷ Finally, there was a total of 107 tithes, most of which are listed under a heading indicating that they were all leased the previous year,⁸²⁸ some with a lease sum given.⁸²⁹

Labour services in the rental from around 1250 concern transport services, the supply of wood and grinding services on a mill. The first two were levied on the villages of Tiefenbach and Brunn. Both were required to drive four carts to Amstetten or Zeiselmauer whenever necessary. Additionally, both had to give 45 wagonloads of wood to the living quarters (*stupa*) of the bishop in the city.⁸³⁰ Grinding services were placed on the so-called tanner's mill, which was then leased out and had to grind grain for the bishop on top of the lease sum paid in rye.⁸³¹

In the rental from the first half of the fourteenth century, there are no more transport services, but the organization of the supply of wood is described in greater detail. The grinding service remained. There was a number of holdings required to supply firewood to the bishop's kitchens in St. Pölten, referred to as belonging to the kitchen (*Chuchenlehen*). Among them were seven *lanei*, which each had to fulfil the task for one day of the week.⁸³² Moreover, the source lists nine *lanei* which administered firewood to the bishop's bakery, referred to as *Witlehen*.⁸³³ Holdings belonging to the bakery were also included in the earlier rental from around 1250 since they paid a sum in coin instead of supplying wood their case will be discussed below among the changes in dues and services. The same mill was still tasked with milling for the bishop, though in 1324 it was explicitly only required to do so when the bishop was present. However, the requirement was extended to the bishop and his *familia*.⁸³⁴

⁸²⁷ See for instance Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 764–765.

⁸²⁸ "hic annotantur locaciones decimarum domini Pataviensis ad granarium in Sancto Ypolito pertinencium (sub anno domini 1366 comscripte simul et locate)", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 837.

⁸²⁹ See for instance Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 839: "Has decimas suprascriptas [1261–1288] locavi Johanni decimatori in Stederstorf pro 1 mod. Tritici et 3 mod. Silignis et 6 mod. Avene mesure antique Ypolitensis; hec decima non dat den. Licopiales."

⁸³⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 166.

⁸³¹ "debet molere domino episcopo", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 166.

⁸³² "in civitate sunt 8 lanei, qui dicuntur chuchenlehen, quorum quilibet una die in septimana ministrat ligna sufficienter ad coquinam domini episcopi", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 474. Listed below are then names of tenants tasked with the supply of wood for each day of the week, one for each day, except for Friday, for which two persons are given. Below these *lanei* are then described as being seven in number. Possibly the tenants responsible for Friday's supply each held half of one *laneus*, which would explain this difference to the heading.

⁸³³ "ministrant ligna sifficienta ad pistrinam domini episcopi", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 474–475.

⁸³⁴ "Item molendinum in civitate, quod dicitur Gerwermul, tenetur molere et pistare domino episcopo et familie sue, quando est in civitate; quando autem per integrum annum non esset in civitate, (tunc) tenetur servire 1 mo. Silignis", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 478.

In the last rental from 1367, the arrangement for the supply of wood is still present, and so are the grinding services placed on the tanner's mill. In addition, transport services were again claimed. The rental includes seven whole *lanei* near St. Pölten which had to provide the bishop with enough wood for the kitchen when he was present.⁸³⁵ For the supply of the bakery too, the arrangement from 1324 was maintained. Five whole *lanei*, one one-and-a-half-*laneus* and four half-*lanei* referred to as *Pergerlehen* were to provide enough wood to the bishop's bakery when he resided in St. Pölten.⁸³⁶ Additionally, they had to transport wine between St. Pölten and Königstetten, Mautern or Schönbühel once a year.⁸³⁷ Regarding the tanner's mill, the same arrangement as in 1324 still stood.⁸³⁸ Finally, the transport services levied on the villages of Tiefenbach and Brunn around 1250 were now placed upon nineteen whole and half-*lanei* in Brunn, which had to do transport runs with their cart for the bishop to Amstetten and Zeiselmauer from St. Pölten.⁸³⁹

There is some limited evidence of partitioned holdings and multiple ownership in the earliest rental on St. Pölten under consideration here. Agricultural expansion seems to have been still ongoing. Partitions are mainly evident with regard to *predia*. First, there were eight or 8,5 *predia* in Pergarn belonging to the bishop's bakery.⁸⁴⁰ Second, there is also another entry concerning 4,5 *predia*.⁸⁴¹ Additionally, the rental also records a mill, from which a *beneficium* had been detached.⁸⁴² Entries which associate multiple persons with a holding are all from the *Inwärtseigen* section of the records for St. Pölten in the middle of the thirteenth century. It therefore does not come as a surprise that in all but three cases, the named can be identified as being members of the nobility and thus not the direct cultivators of the land. In the remaining three cases of multiple persons being named together, the holdings themselves are

⁸³⁵ "sunt 7 lan., qui chuchenlehen dicuntur; qui tenentur domino episcopo in Sancto Ypolito existente ligna sufficientia ad coquinam ministrare", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 721.

⁸³⁶ "sunt 8 ½ (lan.), qui dicuntur pergerlehen; qui ministrant ligna sufficientia ad pistrinam domini episcopi, cum est in Sancto Ypolito", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 721.

⁸³⁷ "Hii omnes quilibet illorum tenetur domino meo vel officiali suo de integro lan. Singulis annis semel in anno ire in Chunigsteten vel in Mautttorn aut in Schoenpuehel pro 1 vase vini 1 vecturam; quodsi dominus episcopus vel officialis suus non esset indigens de vecturis, tenetur dare den. Pro vecturis", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 722.

⁸³⁸ "Molendinum in civitate, quod Garbmuel vocatur, tenetur molere et pistare domino episcopo et familie sue, quando est in civitate; cum autem per integrum annum non esset in civitate, tunc tentur servire 1 mod. Silignis", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 728.

⁸³⁹ "debent domino episcopo ducere currus in Amsteten et in Zaizzenmawr (de Sancto Ypolio)", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 781; for the respective holding, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 781–783.

⁸⁴⁰ P2 and P11, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 164.

⁸⁴¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 167.

⁸⁴² "a qua ablatum est 1 beneficium", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 165–166.

not specified, so it is not clear whether they worked a holding together. Furthermore, the rental contains four entries on newly cleared fields (*novalia*),⁸⁴³ indicating that the land under cultivation was still being expanded.

In the rental from the early fourteenth century on St. Pölten, partitions are evident regarding full agricultural holdings like *hubae* or *lanei*, but also for individual fields. In the cases regarding full agricultural holdings, it is even apparent which partitioned holdings used to belong to one whole. The half-*huba* of Sidlinus, a furrier, came from the same whole as the quarter-*hubae* of Gerunch bei dem Tor and Heinrich der Chaeser.⁸⁴⁴ Leupoldus Grünsbach and Sidlo, son of the Hauser held one half-*laneus* that used to be from a whole with the half-*laneus* held by Ulricus Zeraer.⁸⁴⁵ Furthermore, there are also partitioned holdings where their partition is just evident in the number given for them. Such is the case first for five half-*lanei* in Völtendorf,⁸⁴⁶ as well as a one-and-a-half-*laneus* in Grub near Rennersdorf.⁸⁴⁷ Second, there were four half *areae* in Oberwagram⁸⁴⁸ and one half-*huba* near St. Pölten.⁸⁴⁹ For fields being partitioned, there is only one example. Petrus, a baker and Reinboto de Wagrain rendered dues from one half-*ager* that belonged to another half, from which Conradus Nunolf rendered his.⁸⁵⁰

Multiple persons being associated with one holding was very common in St. Pölten in 1324, especially for *lanei*, but also for fields under *ius civile* and *ius emphyteoticis*. The *witlehen* responsible for administering firewood to the bishop's bakery often had two persons associated with them. The source also specifies how large the part each one had of the whole was.⁸⁵¹ Furthermore, from the same first section of the rental, in relation to the *Hofmark* of St. Pölten, there are three more cases of possible multiple ownership.⁸⁵² More cases of

⁸⁴³ P11, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 161; P2 and P11, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 162–164.

⁸⁴⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 473.

⁸⁴⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 476.

⁸⁴⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 510.

⁸⁴⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 511.

⁸⁴⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 516.

⁸⁴⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 475.

⁸⁵⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 482.

⁸⁵¹ The descendants (relictas) of Eberhard Faber held half of a *witlehen*, Nycolaus Haelfuez the other. The same is the case for the Pabulator sub Lubiis and the Halbmairin, the descendants of Conrad, a solemaker and a certain *Rusticus* de Waetendorf, the Ratpaurin and somebody called Haker, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 474–475.

⁸⁵² First, a *raiflehen*, meant to render barrel rings, of which Johannes, a maker of shoe soles (*soleator*) and the Ratpaurin each held half. Second, Petrus, a baker and Reinboto de Wagrain, who rendered money together from one *laneus*. Third, Leupoldus Grünsbach and Sidlo, son of the Hausers rendered dues together from a half-*laneus* which belonged together with another half-*laneus* given immediately afterwards in the source. See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 475–476.

multiple ownership can be found in the sections of the rental on Spratzern,⁸⁵³ Völtendorf,⁸⁵⁴ Hafing⁸⁵⁵ and Wagram.⁸⁵⁶ Regarding fields under *ius civile*, there is one case where Petrus, a baker, and Reinboto de Wagrain rendered money under *ius civile* from half an *ager* close to the city. The other half is given right after.⁸⁵⁷ For those fields under hereditary tenure, it is most often relatives who were named together for the same field, which is the case for four of five cases documented in the rental.⁸⁵⁸

There are several other holdings in the rental on St. Pölten from 1324, from which multiple persons rendered dues. There were two *curiae*, one in Schwaichoven and the other in Weidern, from which two persons each rendered dues: Gebhardus and Conradus,⁸⁵⁹ Cunradus Nagel and Eberhardus, respectively.⁸⁶⁰ In Hafing, there was the *curia* already discussed above at length, for which four persons each had (*habet*) one quarter: Heinricus Colonus, Fridricus, Stephanus and Leupoldus.⁸⁶¹ Also among the fields under *ius emphiteoticis* was a *huba*, from which Leutoldus de Egelsee and his son rendered separate dues.⁸⁶² Furthermore, there was one *feudum* in Spratzarn, for which Dietricus and Conradus are given as holding (tenant) it,⁸⁶³ and a vineyard in Steinfeld from which three persons rendered *ius civile*, Heinricus, relative of somebody called Liephard, Ulricus Prentel, his cousin or nephew, and a Conradus “Pater dicti Ulrici”.⁸⁶⁴

⁸⁵³ Alberio in Angulo and Ulricus in Angulo both are given as holding (*tenet*) one half of one *laneus*; Alhardus and Duringus, Heinricus Hageno and Ulricus, son of Richer, are each named as possessores of one half of their *laneus*; Heinricus, son of Richer, finally, is also named as a possessor of half a *laneus*, though the other person owning the remainder is not given. See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 509.

⁸⁵⁴ Chuntzlo, stepson of Heinricus Walher and Ditricus, brother of Conradus Nepos, are each named as possessors of one half of a *laneus*, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 510.

⁸⁵⁵ There are four *lanei*, for which two people each are named as possessors of one half each: Heinricus Raegenvester with Leupoldus, Gisla with Erbo, Alheidis with Pilgrimus, her son, and Thomas with Erbo again, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 512.

⁸⁵⁶ Reinpoto and Petrus Phister of St. Pölten both together had (*habet*) one *laneus*, from which they rendered dues together, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 516–517.

⁸⁵⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 482.

⁸⁵⁸ Leutoldus Lechner de Egelsee and his son rendered separate dues from a field under hereditary tenure, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 495. The same Leutoldus, also named Leopoldus de Egelsee, rendered dues from another field under *ius emphiteoticis* with his brother Albertus, a carter, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 507. Other relatives who are attested with the same field are Ulricus and his sister, Dimudis de Pirchaech, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 496; Heinricus Prukner de Wernhersdorf and his son, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 505. The only such case where the attested persons are not apparently relatives is that of Heinricus Hauser and Sifridus, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 505.

⁸⁵⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 509.

⁸⁶⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 515.

⁸⁶¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 514.

⁸⁶² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 495.

⁸⁶³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 509.

⁸⁶⁴ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 492.

In the last rental for St. Pölten under consideration here, evidence of partitioned agricultural holdings is present with regards to *lanei*, *areae* and *curiae*. There were four half-*lanei* near St. Pölten among the *minora Maierhoflehen*.⁸⁶⁵ Among the *maiora Maierhoflehen*, there was one one-and-a-half-*laneus* and three half-*lanei*.⁸⁶⁶ Among the *Pergerlehen*, too, there was one one-and-a-half-*laneus* and four half-*lanei*.⁸⁶⁷ Furthermore near St. Pölten, there were four half-*lanei* among the *Raiflehen*.⁸⁶⁸ Finally, there were two more half-*lanei* close to St. Pölten.⁸⁶⁹ Among the servitium in Wernersdorf, there were eight half-*lanei* and one one-and-a-half *laneus*.⁸⁷⁰ Among the servitium in Hafing, there were four half-*lanei*.⁸⁷¹ There were nine half-*lanei* from which the bishopric drew money rent in Völtendorf.⁸⁷² Among the servitium in Spratzern, there were six half-*lanei*.⁸⁷³ In Stattersdorf, there was one *laneus* partitioned in two parts of one third and two parts of one sixth as well as two half-*lanei*.⁸⁷⁴ In Brunn, there were four half-*lanei*, one one-and-a-half *laneus* and one two-and-a-half *laneus*.⁸⁷⁵ In Oberwagram, there were six half-*areae*.⁸⁷⁶ In Stattersdorf, there was a group of holdings also referred to as half a *curia*.⁸⁷⁷

There is also much evidence for multiple persons being on the same holdings in St. Pölten in 1367. Georius am Graben and Stephanus Chorntewer together rendered money to the *iudicium* from a half-*laneus* close to St. Pölten.⁸⁷⁸ In Sassenbach, Perchta de Hafnerpach and Hainricus Schratenprukker rendered money from a field the size of two *Joch* together.⁸⁷⁹ Hainricus Curnperger and Hainricus Schoter each had one half of a *curia* in Weidern. They both rendered the identical amount of dues separately.⁸⁸⁰ In Grub near Rennersdorf, Hainricus, male relative of somebody named Helfuez and Fridricus Horder rendered money from a *curia*

⁸⁶⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 719–720.

⁸⁶⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 720–720.

⁸⁶⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 721–722.

⁸⁶⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 723.

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 764–765.

⁸⁷¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 766–767.

⁸⁷² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 767–768.

⁸⁷³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 770–771.

⁸⁷⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 774.

⁸⁷⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 782 and 784.

⁸⁷⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 772–773.

⁸⁷⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 774.

⁸⁷⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 723.

⁸⁷⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 763.

⁸⁸⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 766.

called *Hof in der Grub*.⁸⁸¹ Petrus and Symon had a *curia* called *Swaykhof*.⁸⁸² In Stattersdorf, Michael Wurmaister and Seydlinus, brother of Chunrad each had one half of a *curia* called *Rietenslag*, comprising specifically one mill, two pastures and one island.⁸⁸³ Also in Stattersdorf, Petrus de Swaykhof and Hainricus Weinperger rendered money from a *curia* together.⁸⁸⁴ In Egelsee, Nicolaus im Prunnlehen de Egelsee and Martinus List de Dorfarn rendered money together from *überländ* fields and pastures.⁸⁸⁵ In Stattersdorf, Michel Odmann de Gotzeinstorf and Michael bey der Aschen de Tewffenbach rendered money together from one *Joch* of an *überländ* field.⁸⁸⁶ Vlchlinus Muestinger de Stedersdorf and Hainricus, Vilicus of Adelndorf rendered dues together from a field the size of one *Joch* in the area northwest of Pyhra up until Egelsee.⁸⁸⁷ In the same area, a Lindekker de Persnich and somebody named Porczner also rendered dues together from a holding the same size.⁸⁸⁸ In Brunn, Fridricus de Distelburch and Dietlinus Wulfingus rendered dues from their half in a two-and-a-half *laneus*.⁸⁸⁹ In Böheimkirchen, Ulricus, a tithe collector and a Michael had the *curia Stokhof*, from which they rendered money together.⁸⁹⁰ Dietricus Zukchswert and Lewpoldus Sylber had a field the size of two and a half *Joch* near St. Pölten.⁸⁹¹ In Waitzendorf, Chunradus Rat and Fridricus Angerler possessed one field the size of one and a half *Joch* and another the size of a half *Joch*.⁸⁹²

In some cases, the source details the actual arrangement behind the association of multiple persons with one holding. In Brunn, a *laneus* was divided in one part the size of three quarters and one part the size of one quarter, associated respectively with Haymo and Perchtoldus, who was referred to as the former's *communis*,⁸⁹³ his co-owner.⁸⁹⁴ In Wald, Philippus and his unnamed *communis* had a field the size of one *Joch*.⁸⁹⁵ Philipp Spendlinkch and Chunrad Leydenschus rendered six *denarii* from an *area desolata* in the leatherworkers' quarter to a

⁸⁸¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 770.

⁸⁸² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 772.

⁸⁸³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 773–774.

⁸⁸⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 777.

⁸⁸⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 778.

⁸⁸⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 778.

⁸⁸⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 780.

⁸⁸⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 780.

⁸⁸⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 782.

⁸⁹⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 791.

⁸⁹¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 824.

⁸⁹² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 836–837.

⁸⁹³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 781.

⁸⁹⁴ See Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 337.

⁸⁹⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 827.

laneus of Ulricus Habersakch,⁸⁹⁶ possibly indicating that the area might have been part of that *laneus* once. Another *laneus* close to St. Pölten, called *Amtlehen*, was in the possession (*habet*) of the late Heinricus Pratenchnecht. The land however was worked and the dues were rendered by Fridricus de Talhaim (“*colit iam et servit*”).⁸⁹⁷

Often, relatives can be found being associated with the same holding. Stephanus and Andreas, his son, had the mill *Wishof*, as well as an orchard and a garden in front of one of the city gates.⁸⁹⁸ Sidlinus, a linen weaver or merchant and his wife Anna rendered money from a field of one Joch on the Reschenberg, west of St. Pölten.⁸⁹⁹ In Hafing, four persons rendered dues together from the *curia villicalis* divided in four parts, which I have already discussed at length: Sifridus, a *villicus*, Otto, a *villicus*, as well as the brothers Georius and Ulricus, Wernherus and Hainricus.⁹⁰⁰ Georius and Stephanus, brothers in law, had the *curia Jägerhof* and rendered dues from their own parts of it.⁹⁰¹ In Völtendorf, Dietricus am Ort and Lewpoldus, his brother, rendered money from a field together.⁹⁰² In Grub near Rennersdorf, Seydlinus and his unnamed brother, sons of Orel of Rayczendorf, rendered money together from some woods.⁹⁰³ In Tiefenbach, Michael Pawr and Margaret, his wife, rendered dues from a *laneus*.⁹⁰⁴ Chunradus auf dem Perig and his sons, finally, had the *curia Haghof* in Zuleiten, from which they rendered money.⁹⁰⁵

Coming to changes to dues and services, there is already evidence of dues in kind and labour services being commuted to money payments in the rental on St. Pölten from around 1250. By 1324, there is evidence of reduced dues, nonpayment and commutation. Around 1250, eight or 8,5 *predia* in Pergarn belonging to the bishop’s bakery rendered an amount of coin “ad solucionem lignorum”.⁹⁰⁶ One *beneficium* close to the city among other things rendered half a *talentum* of *denarii* instead of a pig.⁹⁰⁷ From the village of Brunn, the bishopric drew an income of half a *talentum* instead of ploughing services (“*pro aratris*”).⁹⁰⁸ In the rental from

⁸⁹⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 763.

⁸⁹⁷ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 723.

⁸⁹⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 724–725.

⁸⁹⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 730.

⁹⁰⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 763–764.

⁹⁰¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 766.

⁹⁰² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 769.

⁹⁰³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 770.

⁹⁰⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 786.

⁹⁰⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 788.

⁹⁰⁶ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 164.

⁹⁰⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 165–166.

⁹⁰⁸ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 167.

the early fourteenth century, an Altmannus had a *curia*, one of the *Jägerhöfe* near Gerersdorf. This *curia* once rendered (*serviebat*) four *modi* of rye and oats each, but now that Altmannus had it this had gone down to three *modii* each.⁹⁰⁹ From a pasture in Wernersdorf, an Ulricus Grilnperg was supposed to render twelve *denarii* to one of the *lanei* in the same place. However, since he had not paid this sum for eight years, he had lost his right to the pasture, which reverted to the bishop and may have been used by the *rusitici*.⁹¹⁰ A number of *areae*, finally, rendered a money due labelled *Brotpfennig*, indicating that a due in kind, namely in bread, had been commuted to a money payment.⁹¹¹

In the rental from St. Pölten in the second half of the fourteenth century, there is substantial evidence of changes in dues and services. This includes conflict over the payment of taxes, as well as the commutation of dues in kind and labour services into money payments, reduction and non-payment of dues and the imposition and cancellation of dues. Beginning with the piece of evidence for conflict over taxes, a certain Perchtoldus had a mill in Stattersdorf, for which the source records half a *librum* of taxes (*communi stewra*). It then relates the same Perchtoldus asserting to never having paid said tax.⁹¹²

Commutation of dues in kind appertained to pigs, donations and bread. Most instances relate to the first. Dietricus Zukchswert rendered two *libra* instead of a pig from a *huba* within the *civitate* of St. Pölten.⁹¹³ The mill called *nova curia* in St. Pölten was expected to render one *librum* instead of four pigs.⁹¹⁴ Michael Wurmaister and Seydlinus, son of Chunrad had a mill called *Rietenslag* in Stattersdorf, from which they had to pay half a *librum pro porcis*.⁹¹⁵ From the mill *an der Pruck* in the same locality, Wolfhardus, son of Weygand, also paid half a *librum pro porcis*.⁹¹⁶ The second, commutation of customary donations (*weisat*) into money services, was present in a Weyglinus and a Chunradus, in law (*gener*) of a smith each rendering 25 *denarii* from their half-*lanei* in Spratzern “pro omni weysat”.⁹¹⁷ As for the third, the owners

⁹⁰⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 513.

⁹¹⁰ “non servivit 8 annis et dudum cecidit a iure suo et est de voluntate rusticorum, ut dominus intromittat se de prato eodem”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 515.

⁹¹¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 515–516.

⁹¹² “dicit, quod numquam dedit”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 780–781.

⁹¹³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 721.

⁹¹⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 725.

⁹¹⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 773–774.

⁹¹⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 774.

⁹¹⁷ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 770–771.

(*possessores*) of four whole- and six half-*areae* in Oberwagram rendered between 0,5 and two *denarii* instead of dues in bread.⁹¹⁸

From *lanei* in the localities of Brunn, Getzersdorf and Tiefenbach, the source records a payment instead of labour services at harvest (*snitpfennig*) in addition to the substitution of coin for pigs. In Brunn, nineteen *lanei* of different sizes rendered between 30 *denarii* and five *solidi* instead of pigs and between two and ten *denarii* for *snitpfennig*.⁹¹⁹ In Getzersdorf, four whole- and two half-*lanei* rendered between 30 and 60 *denarii* instead of pigs and between two and four *denarii* for *snitpfennig*.⁹²⁰ In Tiefenbach, finally, there were 18 *lanei* which paid 60 *denarii* each instead of pigs and four *denarii* each for *snitpfennig*.⁹²¹ Moreover, Otto Zelpekch and Thomas, grandfather of Herword also possessed *lanei* in Tiefenbach which were listed among the others rendering dues both instead of pigs and harvest services, they were, however, exempt from the latter.⁹²² The income via *snitpfennig* used to go to the *curia* called *Haghof* in Zuleiten, but at the time the source was compiled it was directed towards the *granarium*.⁹²³

Reduced dues can be found on mills, houses and market stalls, *areae* and fields. A Woelflinus rendered half a *modium* of wheat from a mill in St. Pölten, which once rendered twice as much.⁹²⁴ From two houses in the leatherworkers' quarter of St. Pölten, Nicolaus Walhauser rendered 50 *denarii* under *ius fundi*. The author of the source passage however, noted that according to an old register the service was once 55 *denarii*.⁹²⁵ Stephanus, a huckster, is related to have stated that the *prepositus* had waived nine *solidi* of the nine *solidi* and 30 *denarii* he rendered as *ueberzins* on top of the regular dues he paid under *ius fundi* from a house in the cloister quarter with his wife Alhaidis. The reduction was initially meant to last for six years, a term which at the time of the creation of the source was nearing its end, and Stephanus is related saying that the *prepositus* had permanently reduced the *ueberzins* to 30 *denarii*.⁹²⁶ For four butchers' stalls, Nicolaus Waeler was recorded rendering 20 *denarii*, ten

⁹¹⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 772.

⁹¹⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 781–783.

⁹²⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 783–784.

⁹²¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 785–786.

⁹²² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 785 and 786, respectively.

⁹²³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 789.

⁹²⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 725.

⁹²⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 733.

⁹²⁶ "et dicit, quod dominus prepositus dimiserit ei 9 sol den. 6 annis; terminus hoc anno expiravit in festo (sancti) Martini et in Nativitate domini solvet; eciam dicit, quod dominus prepositus relaxaverit ei perpetue servitium 30 den.", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 752.

denarii less than what it had been according to the register of the *prepositus*.⁹²⁷ An interesting case is presented by an *area* in Völtendorf. Andreas Zechmeister rendered thirteen *denarii* from it. The total money dues however used to be 20 *denarii*, when Nicolas, a weaver, had part of the *area*, for which he gave Andreas seven *denarii*. This Nicolas is stated to have died in a plague, causing that part of the *area* to be deserted and the dues to be reduced.⁹²⁸ Hainricus, a cooper, rendered 20 *denarii* from a field the size of one *Joch* in Grub near Rennersdorf which used to bring in ten *denarii* more.⁹²⁹ For 1,5 *Joch* of fields in Obertiefenbach, the source records a service of six *metretae* wheat in common measure (*communis mensure*), but a Chunrad Redler only rendered 5,25 *metretae*.⁹³⁰

The final examples are of non-payment, imposition and cancellation of dues. From a *curia* called *Swaykhof* for which Maidhof does not give a location, a Petrus and a Symon would have had to render dues (*tenetur servire*), indicating that they were currently not doing so.⁹³¹ Hainricus, a baker, paid an additional 120 *denarii* on top of the regular *ius fundi* and an *ueberzins* on his house in the leather workers' quarter. So did Dietmarus, a wagon maker, from his house in the wood quarter to the extent of half a *librum* and 62 *denarii*. In both cases, the source comments on the extra dues as being imposed (*impositum*) but does not explain why.⁹³² On the other hand, Nicolaus Antiquus Prunner had the place of a butchers' stall that had once owed dues to St. Pölten's hospital, yet he no longer rendered any dues from it.⁹³³ From Tiefenbach, the bishopric recorded a money rent of half a *librum* and 24 *denarii* rendered (*servit*) to the *curia villicalis* in Afing. The author of the passage added that if this was not paid ("si non solverent") then it was just to be dismissed ("tunc possunt ignorari").⁹³⁴

Evidence on producers' property rights is still limited to *ius civile* in the thirteenth-century rental on St. Pölten. By 1324, *ius civile* was also documented, but it was not the only tenurial mode in evidence, as will be discussed below. In the earlier rental, there are 16 *predia* in Rührsdorf which rendered coin under *ius civile* among other dues.⁹³⁵ Additionally, the source

⁹²⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 758.

⁹²⁸ "a pestilencia fuit et est adhuc desolata", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 768.

⁹²⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 770.

⁹³⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 821.

⁹³¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 772.

⁹³² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 732 and 740–741, respectively.

⁹³³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 757.

⁹³⁴ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 764.

⁹³⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 169.

records an amount of wine rendered under *ius civile* in St. Pölten.⁹³⁶ In the rental from the early fourteenth century, there are also many holdings within and in the surrounding area of St. Pölten which rendered their dues under *ius civile*. Among them were houses, market stalls and *area* inside and outside the *civitas*, giving their dues which belonged to the *granarium* to the *cellerarius*.⁹³⁷ Furthermore, there were fields, gardens, pastures and a house near the city, also belonging to the *granarium*.⁹³⁸ In the different quarters of the city, houses, gardens, market stalls and a bathhouse also rendered their dues under *ius civile* to the *iudicium*.⁹³⁹ So did gardens, fields, hillsides and vineyards around St. Pölten.⁹⁴⁰

Further evidence from St. Pölten in 1324 on tenurial rights concerns hereditary tenure, as well as a passage on entry fines. The source contains a large number of fields under heritable tenure around St. Pölten, rendering their dues to the *granarium*.⁹⁴¹ Two interesting cases, finally, are presented first by Leutoldus, an innkeep, having sold a field from his *laneus*, itself originating from the bipartition of a *curia*, to Ulricus, a cooper.⁹⁴² In Wagram, secondly, one Reinlinus asserted to not having to render any dues from his *area*, which he professed to hold under feudal tenure.⁹⁴³ For Ober- and Unterwagram, there is also one sole mention of an entry fine, with the source stating that one half of it had to be covered by the person entering into the holding, the other half by the person leaving the holding.⁹⁴⁴

The source for St. Pölten from 1367 does not describe any of the dues coming in as being rendered under *ius civile*, even though the term in both Latin and German was evidently used in other regards. These instances come exclusively from a section on tithes. The bishop had one-quarter of a tithe on a large set of vineyards (24 *Joch*!) of which the source notes that a Hainricus Newndorfer received dues under *ius civile*.⁹⁴⁵ Moreover, a full tithe was leased to Johann, the official responsible for collecting the tithe (*decimator*) in Stattersdorf from a

⁹³⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 168 2

⁹³⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 479–481.

⁹³⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 481–484.

⁹³⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 484–490.

⁹⁴⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 490–493.

⁹⁴¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 493–509.

⁹⁴² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 512.

⁹⁴³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 516.

⁹⁴⁴ "Et nota: institutio ibidem spectat ad cellerarium, accedens dat medietatem servitii denariorum et recedens medietatem", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 516–517; for the concerning holdings, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 515–516.

⁹⁴⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 844.

holding called a *Burgrechtacker* as well as another full tithe from the fields of a *laneus* under *Burgrecht* in Ratzersdorf.⁹⁴⁶

Nevertheless, these terms were not used in the source for direct income, even for many holdings likely identical with those rendering under *ius civile* in 1324. In the original, these dues were simply called a *servicium*. Maidhof titled the respective sections as *Pfennigdienste*, a translation of another, not unproblematic term used in other passages of the source on St. Pölten 1367. The sections likely identical with those rendering under *ius civile* in 1324 include fields and gardens in St. Pölten, whose dues belonged to the *officium* as well as the *iudicium*,⁹⁴⁷ citizens' (*civilibus*) fields, gardens and pastures in the city,⁹⁴⁸ houses, fireplaces or burn sites (*prantstat*), *areae*, stables, a *curia*, an animal market and a tower (*turris*) in the four quarters of the city and a suburb,⁹⁴⁹ market stalls from butchers, bakers, cobblers, hucksters and fabric traders.⁹⁵⁰ In addition, the source records dues from burghers' fields (*agris civilibus*) in Hafing and Völtendorf.⁹⁵¹

Can the term *Pfennigdienste* and its Latin equivalent *servicium denariorum* be taken as being equivalent to dues in coin under *ius civile*? Maidhof's use of the term for a great number of holdings likely actually being under *ius civile* would point towards this conclusion. So would a passage regarding some holdings in Grub, near Rennersdorf. Here, the source lists *servicium denariorum* from *lanei*, an *area* and a *curia*, as well as dues from burghers' or citizens' fields.⁹⁵² Another passage for Oberwagram, however, complicates this picture. Here, *servicium denarorium* is just one part of a more varied portfolio of dues including coin, chicken ("servicium denariorum et pullorum") and cheese.⁹⁵³ Under this headline again, however, the source also presents "agri civiles".⁹⁵⁴ Unlike *agri civilibus*, these were not the fields of citizens, but rather *civil fields*, pointing again more towards them being let under *ius civile*. Another interesting passage is contained in the source regarding several fields and a pasture in and around Tiefenbach and Egelsee⁹⁵⁵ with the headline "Perchrecht servicium den. In

⁹⁴⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 838.

⁹⁴⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 728–729.

⁹⁴⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 731.

⁹⁴⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 732–755.

⁹⁵⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 758–762.

⁹⁵¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 767 and 769, respectively.

⁹⁵² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 769–770.

⁹⁵³ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 772.

⁹⁵⁴ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 773.

⁹⁵⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 787–788.

Tewffepach agri civiles".⁹⁵⁶ This way of putting it makes use not only of the *civil fields*, but also of *servicium denariorum*, in this case meaning exclusively dues in coin. The initial part of the headline, *Perchrecht*, finally, reads like *Bergrecht*, i.e. *ius montane*, usually reserved for vineyards, not fields and pastures. Could this be just another spelling of *Burgrecht*, i.e. *ius civile*? The interpretive problem posed by *servicium denariorum* is also illustrated quite well by two examples. The first, from Blindendorf, is a *feudum* whose dues are introduced as *servicium denariorum*, but also contain other forms of dues. The second, a *curia* in Zuleiten, also sits under the headline *servicium denariorum*, but only rendered coin.⁹⁵⁷

Finally, there is also evidence of the right of sale regarding both agricultural land and market stalls, as well as of heritability. Of a field near St. Pölten, then associated with a Staindlinus, the source notes that it had been sold to him by a Hainricus Hofschuester.⁹⁵⁸ Wolfhardus, son of Weygand, had one *laneus* in Völtendorf, which had only recently been bought.⁹⁵⁹ For market stalls, there was a stipulation that some of them could only be sold together. This was the case for two market stalls associated with Ruedlinus, a butcher, two more associated with Hainricus Chappel and some others associated with Andreas and other children of Otto Schiver.⁹⁶⁰ Heritability, finally, is evident in the rental on St. Pölten from 1367 in multiple cases of holdings being associated with a group of descendants. One of the *Maierhoflehen* was held by the *relicta* of a Nicolai sub Lubio,⁹⁶¹ another *laneus* near St. Pölten was described as belonging to the descendants of Heinricus Pratenchnecht, while it was worked and its dues were rendered by Fridricus de Talhaim.⁹⁶² Other cases where descendants were named with holdings concern fields in five cases⁹⁶³ and an *area* in one case.⁹⁶⁴

Total feudal rent in coin recorded from St. Pölten in the middle of the thirteenth century amounted to 30290 *denarii*. The majority of which, 15348 *denarii*, originated from land rent and commutations. 4242 *denarii* were income from jurisdiction, 3840 from a certain Tanprucker who had four *feuda* and a mill as a pawn (*habet in pignore*),⁹⁶⁵ 2820 from dues

⁹⁵⁶ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 787.

⁹⁵⁷ See for the first and the second: Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 788.

⁹⁵⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 725.

⁹⁵⁹ "quod nuper est emptum." Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 768.

⁹⁶⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 755.

⁹⁶¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 719–720.

⁹⁶² "habet relicta Heinrici pratenchnecht et Fridricus de Talhaim colit iam et servit", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 723.

⁹⁶³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 730, 763, 818–819, 822 and 834.

⁹⁶⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 772.

⁹⁶⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 175.

rendered specifically under *ius civile*, 1920 by way of the *ius metrata*, 1400 from markets, and 720 from *Vogtrecht*. For 1324, the source records a total income in coin of 10882,25 *denarii*. This was made up of 4133 *denarii* from jurisdiction, 3267,25 from dues under *ius civile*, 3170 from land rent and commutations, 300 from taxes and 12 from land held under hereditary tenure.

In 1367, finally, the total feudal rent in coin recorded was 52587 *denarii*. This sum was comprised of 18040,5 *denarii* rendered under *ius civile*, 12425,5 from land rent and commutations, 7475 from jurisdiction, 7110 from taxes, 6134 rendered under *ius fundi*, 120 from tithes and 1282 from leases and pawns. Of these 1282 *denarii*, 16 came from the lease of two market stalls,⁹⁶⁶ the remainder was from sums of *arra* paid as part of the lease of a number of tithes for the previous year of 1366.⁹⁶⁷ Figure 14 shows the relative development of feudal rent in coin in St. Pölten from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324. Figure 15 then depicts the same for the period between 1324 and 1367 and Figure 16 across the entire period from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1367.

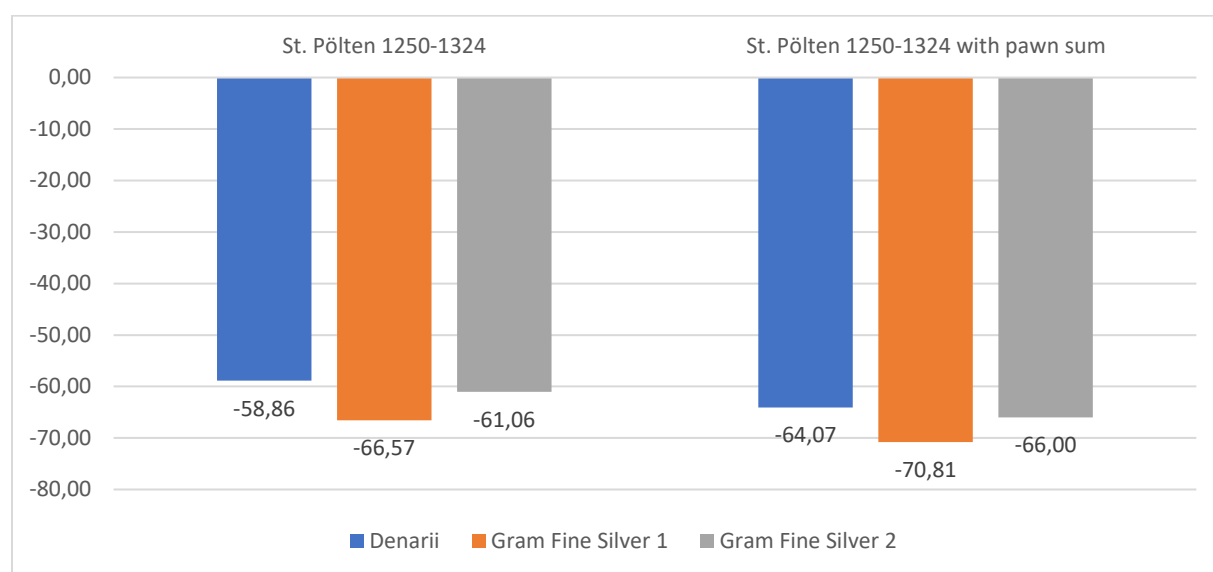


Figure 14 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from St. Pölten by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1324

⁹⁶⁶ The exact nature of this lease is not entirely clear to me. The source reads as follows: “Andreas et ceteri pueri de Ottonis Schiver de maccello serviunt in Nativitate domini 22 den., in festo Pasce 22 den., Ypoliti 23 den. Ad hoc macellum pertinent 3 mense, una non potest vendi de macello et serwit de eadem mensa in Nativitate domini 10 den., Ypoliti 10 den.; alias 2 mensas locavit pro censu, videlicet pro 16 den.”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 755.

⁹⁶⁷ See for instance Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 840–841.

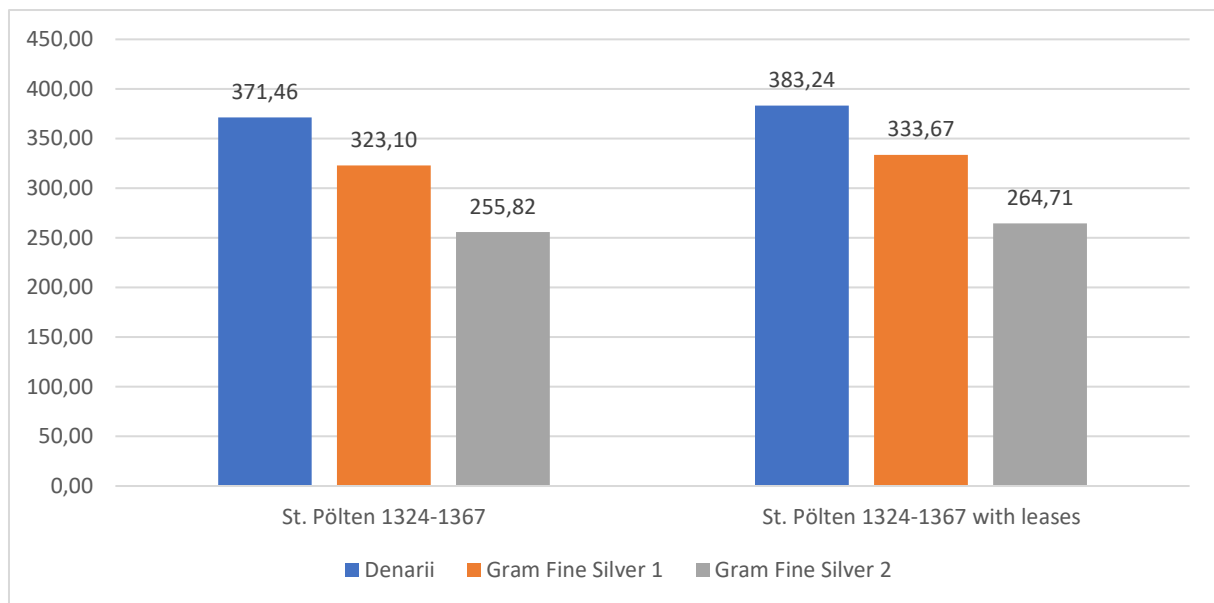


Figure 15 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from St. Pölten by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, 1324-1367

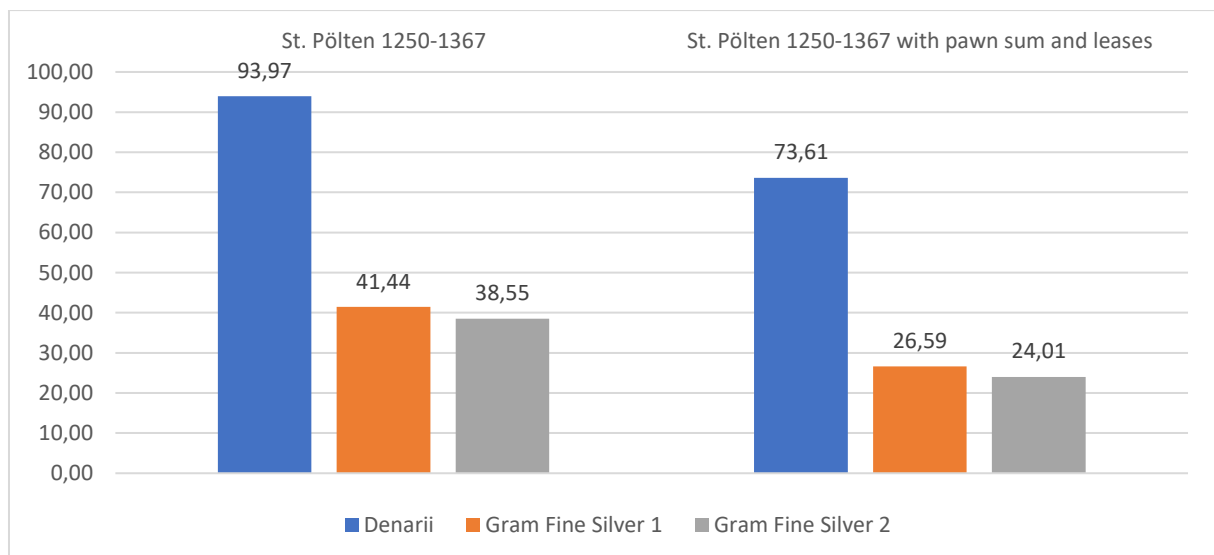


Figure 16 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from St. Pölten by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1367

Considering first *Figure 14*, it is discernible that without the pawn sum, there was a relative decrease in nominal recorded feudal rent in coin from St. Pölten from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324 of 58,86 per cent. Calculated in grams of fine silver, this decrease was between 61,06 and 66,57 per cent. Including the pawn sum, the relative decrease in nominal value was slightly larger at 64,07 per cent. Calculated in grams of fine silver, this decrease lay between 66 and 70,71 per cent. Between 1324 and 1367, there was a large increase in feudal rent in coin from St. Pölten, as *Figure 15* shows. Without rent from leases, the relative increase in nominal value was 371,46 per cent, that is between 255,82 and 323,1 per cent, calculated in grams of fine silver. Again, including rent from leases, the increase from

1324 to 1367 lay at a slightly higher 383,24 per cent. Calculated in grams of fine silver, the relative increase of the value of feudal rent in coin from 1324 to 1367 was between 264,71 and 333,67 per cent. Over the entire period from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1367 depicted in *Figure 16*, finally, the nominal recorded feudal rent in coin from St. Pölten relatively increased by 93,97 per cent, not including rent from leases and pawns. Calculated in grams of fine silver, this increase lay between 38,55 and 41,44 per cent. When including rent from leases and pawns, the increase was smaller at 73,61 per cent nominally and between 24,01 and 26,59 per cent when calculated in grams of fine silver.

In St. Pölten, there seems to have been a decrease in dues in rye, oats and wheat from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324. By 1367, rents in rye and oats reached or surpassed thirteenth-century numbers again. Rents in wheat, though rising slightly in the fourteenth century, remained lower. Differences in measurements again make comparisons difficult. The total results of my calculation of the grain rent from the rentals of St. Pölten can be seen in *Table 13*. The rye rent in the thirteenth century was recorded at 75,38 large *modii*, whereas the total income in rye by 1324 was only 36,83 regular *modii*. Since I was not able to find an exchange ratio between these regular *modii* and the *modii maioris mensure*, a clear comparison is not possible. However, the strong difference in the numbers may suggest a decrease. By 1367, dues in rye may have climbed to thirteenth-century numbers again with 75,93 *modii*. If I include income in rye from leases of tithes, the income in rye of the later fourteenth century likely exceeded that of the thirteenth, as the total for 1367 was then 93,9 *modii*, 2,7 *modii maioris mensure* and seven *modii mensure decimalis*.

For oats, the situation was similar, while dues in wheat did not recover again after the decrease in the early fourteenth century. As for barley, differences in measurements also make the case difficult. Nevertheless, there does not seem to have been much of a change. The rental for St. Pölten from around 1250 contains a total of 161,33 *modii maioris mensure* in oats. Thus, the mere 30,48 *modii* recorded in 1324 most likely constituted a dramatic decrease. By 1367, total dues in oats again rose to 241,08 *modii* without leases and 261,03 *modii* with lease of tithes. Despite the difference in measurement units, this may be well above the sum for the thirteenth century. Regarding wheat, however, the sum of rent from the middle of the thirteenth century, 21 *modii* and 63,42 *modii maioris mensure*, was never reached again. In 1324, the total wheat rent was 8,58 *modii* and 6,36 *modii maioris mensure*. By 1367, there was only a slight recovery, to nine *modii* and 6,36 *modii maioris mensure*.

without leases and 10,5 *modii*, as well as 7,82 *modii maioris mensure* and one *modius mesure decimalis* with leases. Finally coming to rent in barley, the total sum around 1250 was one *modius maioris mensure*, in 1324 it was 1,77 *modii* and 0,06 *modii maioris mensure*. Lastly, in 1367, the recorded rent in barley was 2,5 *modii*. At this very low level, it could be possible to speak of a continuous increase over time. However, the numbers remained comparably small.

Total Grain Rents St. Pölten	Modii	Modii (Maioris Mensure)	Modii Mensure Decimalis
Rye 1250		75,38	
Rye 1324	36,83		
Rye 1367	75,93	0,45	
Rye 1367 with lease	93,9	2,7	7
Oats 1250		161,33	
Oats 1324	30,48		
Oats 1367	241,08		
Oats 1367 with lease	261,03	4,5	7
Wheat 1250	21	63,42	
Wheat 1324	8,58	6,36	
Wheat 1367	9	7,32	
Wheat 1367 with lease	10,5	7,82	1
Barley 1250		1	
Barley 1324	1,77	0,06	
Barley 1367	2,5		

Table 12 Grain rent from St. Pölten

Differentiation of producers by profession and position was high in St. Pölten throughout and increased over time across the three rentals under consideration here. Status labels for agricultural producers were documented in the rental from around 1250 and in the one from the early fourteenth century. They include *homines* in the former and *homines* and *rustici*, in the latter. In the rental on St. Pölten from around 1250, differentiation of producers by profession and position is the third highest for this time, after Obernberg and Ebelsberg. No status labels for agricultural producers were used. Of the 58 persons documented with holdings, 67 per cent were male, five per cent female and 28 per cent were made up by unclear names, groups and institutions. Eight different professions and positions are named, fourteen per cent of all the professions and positions documented across the rentals considered here.

Among them are two judges, a chamberlain, a magister coquina, a baker, a carpenter, an innkeeper, a miller and a tailor. The single use of status labels referring to agricultural producers⁹⁶⁸ concerned *homines* of the bishopric, which had been alienated from it by a noble.⁹⁶⁹

Already in the rental from the early fourteenth century, the differentiation of producers by professions and positions in St. Pölten is the highest among all the rentals from 1324. There are 488 persons attested with holdings, of which 88 per cent were male, seven per cent female and five per cent were made up of unclear names, groups and institutions. The number of different professions and positions documented is 35, which equals a share of sixty per cent of all professions and positions contained in the rentals under consideration here. Specifically, the source names five officials, three cellarers, a *magister hospitalis*, a *magister infarmie*, a *villicus*, four tithe collectors, three bakers, a bathhouse proprietor, a bowyer, two butchers, two bricklayers, a carpenter, three carters, two cartwrights, four cheesemakers, a cloth shearer, three cobblers, three coopers, two fishermen, five furriers, one glovemaking, four millers, a guard, a hatmaker, three hucksters, two innkeepers, a mead maker, four millers, a notary, a feed trader, two potters, seven shoe sole cutters, three smiths, a swordsmith, three tanners, a tailor and four weavers.

The status labels used for agricultural producers in the rental on St. Pölten in 1324 include *homines*, *coloni* and *rustici*. In the opening statement for the section on St. Pölten in the entire rental, the source relates that information was also gathered from the *coloni* and *homines* belonging to the *Hofmark*.⁹⁷⁰ Moreover, one of the tenants of the much-discussed *curia* in Hafing is referred to as "Heinricus Colonus",⁹⁷¹ and all of the respective tenants together as *rustici*.⁹⁷² Another instance of the term *rustici* in the source is in reference to the non-payment

⁹⁶⁸ In another instance where the term *homines* is used, it refers to nobles as "homines ducis," and therefore not to agricultural producers but rather to nobles in a feudal relation with the territorial prince, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 174.

⁹⁶⁹ "Ulricus de Tobel pro sepultura patris sui pro dampno, quod intulerat hominibus ecclesie, promisit satisfacere in 30 tal.; quas si non solveret, feode, que ab ecclesia possideret, vacare deberent", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 177–178.

⁹⁷⁰ "Horfmarkia in Sancto Ypolito Anno domini 1324 sabbato [proximo] ante festum sancti Ypoliti [tempore reverendi patris domini Alb(erti) Pataviensis episcopi] facta est hec notula [ad Sanctum Ypolitum] iuxta informationem domini Wernhardi, Altmanni, Dietlini, Chrotendorferii, [Heinrici, qui omnes fuerunt cellarii ibidem necnon colonum (!) et hominum spectantium ad hofmarchiam predictam]", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 472.

⁹⁷¹ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 514.

⁹⁷² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 514.

of dues from a pasture, already discussed above, where the original tenant had lost his rights to the land and the land may have then be used by other *rustici*.⁹⁷³

In the rental on St. Pölten from 1367, finally, differentiation by profession and position reached the highest level among all rentals considered here. Status labels for producers, conversely, were not used. Of the 1017 persons attested with holdings in the rental, 88 per cent were male, nine per cent female and three per cent were made up of unclear names, groups and institutions. Forty different professions and positions are mentioned, which is 69 per cent of all professions and positions across the rentals. Among them are three judges, seven officials, a cellarer, three chamberlains, ten *villici*, six tithe collectors, a *Bereiter*, two *famuli*, a bag maker, eight bakers, two bathhouse proprietors, 15 butchers, seven bricklayers, five carpenters, five cartwrights, four cloth shearers, a coat maker, 26 cobblers, nine coopers, seven cutlers, three fishermen, two foresters, two furriers, a glovemaker, two guards, a horse trader, nine hucksters, three innkeepers, two millers, a feed trader, two pewterers, two potters, a ropemaker, a saddler, three shoe sole makers, eight smiths, two spurriers, seven tanners, nine tailors and nine weavers.

5.13. Zeiselmauer and Unterolberndorf

In Zeiselmauer, the bishopric remained strongly involved in direct manorial agriculture. The evidence from the later rental is particularly strong, including many large agricultural units which were still closely associated with lordly production, sharecropping in viticulture, and labour services on demesne land and large agricultural units. Income other than from landholding grew from just tithes around 1250 to include both tithes and especially well-documented judicial rights. Partitioned holdings are already attested in the earlier rental and substantially so in the later one, where multiple ownership is also well documented. Changes to dues and services again began to show by the early fourteenth century, with dues and kind and labour services being commuted. Property rights of producers are also well documented, including in the later rental exit fees, *ius civile* and heritable tenure. Recorded feudal rent in coin rose dramatically, while a strong decrease can be observed for dues in grain, where it is possible to observe their development. Differentiation by professions and positions grew to be the second highest among all rentals from 1324. The status labels used include just *coloni* around 1250 and also *homines* and *rustici* in 1324.

⁹⁷³ "non servivit 8 annis et dudum cecidit a iure suo et est de voluntate rusticorum, ut dominus intromittat se de prato eodem", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 515

In Zeiselmayer, there were large agricultural units under direct manorial administration in the middle of the thirteenth century, besides independent agricultural holdings. Meanwhile, in Unterolberndorf, no large agricultural units under manorial administration existed anymore. In fact, there is evidence of their dissolution. The agricultural holdings and plots of land in the rental on Zeiselmayer include 48 or 60,5 *beneficia*, 9,5 *areae*, nine *curtilia*, three *casealia*, five vineyards and four *villicationes*. Three of the *villicationes*, two of them in Zeiselmayer, the other one in Königstetten, rendered a fixed amount of pigs and whatever else the harvest brought in.⁹⁷⁴ For the fourth, neither a tenant nor dues were recorded.⁹⁷⁵ Some of the *beneficia* may have been part of larger agricultural units before, since one of them still rendered dues to one of the *villicationes*.⁹⁷⁶ Labour services required on the bishop's vineyards, which will be discussed in detail below, imply that the bishopric retained vineyards under demesne production which the rental does not describe. The agricultural holdings and plots of land recorded in the rental on Unterolberndorf include 79,5 *beneficia*, 33 *predia*, four *areae*, as well as some pastures and vineyards. Three of the *beneficia* were the product of the dissolution of a *curia villicalis*.⁹⁷⁷

In the early fourteenth century, the bishopric recorded a large number of agricultural holdings in Zeiselmayer, among them many large agricultural units under manorial administration, as well as demesne land. The agricultural holdings and plots of land in Zeiselmayer were comprised of 165,5 *areae*, 110 *lanei*, 60 fields, 42 gardens, at least 42 vineyards, 30 pastures and 3,75 *feuda*. In addition, there were seven *curiae villicalis*, at least six *curiae decimalis* and 17 *curiae*. Of the *curiae villicalis*, one was held by a noble, even though it was supposed to have fallen back to the bishopric.⁹⁷⁸ Three more *curiae villicalis*, two in Wolfpassing⁹⁷⁹ and one in Zeiselmayer,⁹⁸⁰ were given out to tenants who rendered fixed dues in grain and kind. One local tenant, Sydlinus Gmaechleich seems to have been rendering dues to one of these *curiae*

⁹⁷⁴ "Redditus harum curiarum non sunt, nisi sicut demonstraverit annus", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 195.

⁹⁷⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 197.

⁹⁷⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 193.

⁹⁷⁷ "curia villicalis, que divisa est in 3 beneficia", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 247–248.

⁹⁷⁸ "est 1 curia villicalis, quam habet Johannes de Mulinge una cum decima ibidem; que tamen curia et decima de iure respicit ecclesiam Pataviensem, quia vacaverat ecclesie per mortem Philippi de Atzelsdorf, per uis mortem vacavit etiam decima in Umsee et 1 feudum in Plekching, quod habet Piper, et servitia pratorum in Insula in Zeiselmayer ad 60 den. et 1 decima prope Lengbach, quam recipit quidam cliens in feudum a Mulingerio, et 1 area in Weinzierl in Haekental [abgek.]. Hec omnia et (plura) alia vacaverunt ecclesie Pataviensi per mortem Philippi de Aetzlinstorf", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 417

⁹⁷⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 429–430.

⁹⁸⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 439.

villicalis.⁹⁸¹ At the end of the entries for Wolfpassing, there are also five more *areae* apart from the ones included which rendered dues to the *curia villicalis* of the *villicus* Ulricus. The way this is phrased in the source seems to imply that all other *areae* in Wolfpassing did so, too.⁹⁸² The *curia villicalis* given out for fixed dues in grain and kind in Zeiselmayer rendered a reduced service for the first two years after it had been given to a new tenant.⁹⁸³

The remaining three *curiae villicalis* rendered grain at an amount fixed at harvest time. The first, located in Lobersdorf, was given without a tenant. Besides rendering a variable amount of grain, it also functioned as a collection point for the dues from the *coloni* of the village, which also factored into the revenue from it.⁹⁸⁴ The second, in Zeiselmayer, had been given out to a tenant for fixed grain dues in the past, but then also had its dues assessed at harvest time. In addition, the tenant had to supply half of everything the bishop's kitchen required.⁹⁸⁵ The third, in Königstetten, had to supply the other half in addition to rendering dues in kind as well as grain at an amount fixed yearly.⁹⁸⁶ Additionally, the rental records a *laneus* which rendered its dues to this *curia villicalis*. It is referred to as a *Vorlehen*.⁹⁸⁷

The *curiae decimalis*, as well as the other *curiae*, were given out for money rent unless they were earmarked for dairy production, which bound them closer to manorial administration. Three of the *curiae decimalis* were recorded without tenants given,⁹⁸⁸ the other two were given to two tenants each.⁹⁸⁹ Regarding the *curiae*, two were held by nobles. One of them was

⁹⁸¹ "preter id, quod servit ad curiam villicalem in Wolfpassing", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 432.

⁹⁸² "item nota: 5 aree preter suprascriptas serviant ad curiam villicalem Ulrici villici, que hic non sunt registrata", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 435.

⁹⁸³ "servit secundum quod nunc lota est, hiis 3 preimis annis singulis 2 mod. Silignis et 2 mod. Avene. Quinto vero anno et deinceps singulis annis 2 mod silignis et 3 mod. Avene (in festo) Egidii, item 6 porcos, 12 pullos, 6 aucas Martini", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 439.

⁹⁸⁴ "servit bladum ad examen, quod vulgariter dicitur nach der saig", "ad eandem curiam villicalem servint alii coloni eiusdem ville, de quibus servitiis servit villicus omnia supradicta", "Et predictus colonus tenetur servire ad mensam domini episcopi 200 scutelas singulis anni", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 416

⁹⁸⁵ "tunc consuetum eius servitium est bladum ad examen, quod dicitur mit der saig; olim tamen usque ad tempora Rudlini Pincerne Rudlinus [Burgher in Tulln, official of the bishop of Passau, died ca. 1283], qui fuit officialis ibidem, serviebat colonus singulis annis 10 mod. silignis et 8 mod. avene. Item sive serviat bladum ad examen sive in summa predicta, nichilominus servit", "item idem colonus expedire debet medietatem utensilium sive suppellectilium coquine domini episcopi et residuam medietatem expedit colonus curie in Königstetten", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 438–439.

⁹⁸⁶ "servit bladum per examen, quod vulgariter dicitur mit der saig", "Item ad coquinam domini episcopi tenetur expedire medietatem omnium suppellectilium coquine", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 449

⁹⁸⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 452. Maidhof defines a *Vorlehen* as a holding belonging to a large agricultural unit (*Meierhof*), see Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 354.

⁹⁸⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 418 for the first two, 459–460 for the third.

⁹⁸⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 468–470.

nevertheless recorded as rendering money.⁹⁹⁰ The other was described as having fallen back to the bishopric, but no dues were given.⁹⁹¹ Another *curia* in Zeiselmayer was also given to tenants for a money rent.⁹⁹² The remaining ten *curiae* were all described as *Schweighöfe*, i.e., agricultural units focused on dairy production.⁹⁹³ They rendered varying amounts of cheese and in some cases are listed with special stipulations regarding their equipment with livestock. Regarding one of them in Engelrains, the source records that it was equipped with six cows, presumably by the manorial administration.⁹⁹⁴ Seven others in Raffoldswerd were listed with possessors who had either a whole or half of one of the *curiae*. They too were equipped with cows.⁹⁹⁵ In addition, the rental notes that if they lost their livestock through no fault of their own, they had to be given 22 cows, until then they rendered half the stipulated amount of cheese.⁹⁹⁶ Of the last one, in Nieder-Hagenau, the rental states that it was endowed with eleven cows, but would be endowed with the full twelve cows the following year and thus liable to render the full stipulated amount of cheese.⁹⁹⁷

Furthermore, there is evidence of sharecropping and demesne land in the rental for Zeiselmayer from the early fourteenth century. Sharecropping was practised on three vineyards extending to a size of two Joch in Freindorf, which were worked by the local wine growers (*vinitores*) at their own expense to the extent of 10 *solidi*, for which they were reimbursed and also received every sixth *urna* of wine. Moreover, they also served the bishop's *procurator* in digging (*fossura*) and rendering him sticks (*stipites*).⁹⁹⁸ Regarding demesne land, the castle in Wildenhag was recorded having fields and pastures pertaining to

⁹⁹⁰ Held by Hadmarus Mattseer for a money rent, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 440–441.

⁹⁹¹ "curia, quam habet Otacherus in feodum ab ecclesia, vacabit per mortem relicte sue." Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 442. Maidhof identifies this Otacherus as Otakar Eggenberger, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 427.

⁹⁹² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 441.

⁹⁹³ For the first seven see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 419–421; for the other three, see 437, 454 and 455, respectively.

⁹⁹⁴ "servit 200 caseos swaigales, sed tempore foundationes eiusdem curie dantur sibi 6 vacce", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 454

⁹⁹⁵ "quando sunt expediti cum vaccis, sicut nunc sunt", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 419.

⁹⁹⁶ "Et notandum circa hoc, quod quando tenentes illas curias swaigales perdunt vaccas suas vel per spoliolum sine culpa sua et sine negligentia vel per pestilentiam generalem pecorum, tunc debent eis omnibus dari 22 vacce eodem; quamdiu non dantur, tam diu serviunt tantum dimidium servitium, videlicet 350 caseos", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 419.

⁹⁹⁷ "que cum est expedita 12 pecoribus (servit) 350 caseos swaigales ter in anno [...] Iam est eadem curia expedita cum 11 pecoribus, in futuro anno dabitur sibi duodecima et tunc serviet plenum servitium", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 455

⁹⁹⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 462.

it.⁹⁹⁹ These lands may have been identical to a *curia* recorded in Wildenhag, encompassing 15 *iuger* fields and eleven *dietas* of pasture.¹⁰⁰⁰ Moreover, the source records a total of at least 174 *dietas* of fields in Königstetten, the Czegeinswinchel north of Wördern an der Donau and six other places not located by Maidhof.¹⁰⁰¹ In addition, there were eight *Joch* and seven *quartalia* of vine mainly in and around Wolfpassing, Eberhardsbach, Anger between Wolfpassing and Königstetten, north-east of Tülbing, Freindorf and the later deserted Wildenhag under ownership and use of the bishop.¹⁰⁰²

The bishopric recorded no additional income to landholding in Zeiselmauer in the middle of the thirteenth century. In Unterolberndorf meanwhile, it recorded tithes. The rental from the early fourteenth century contains tithes and judicial rights. For Unterolberndorf, the source records two tithes, one of them from wine.¹⁰⁰³ By 1324, the source recorded 25 tithes of various proportions. Some of them were leased for a fixed amount of grain and coin.¹⁰⁰⁴ The judicial rights described in the rental were quite extensive. It has the whole *iudicium provinciale* in Loibersdorf,¹⁰⁰⁵ Hertweiginnewerd,¹⁰⁰⁶ Rossau,¹⁰⁰⁷ Wolfpassing,¹⁰⁰⁸ Gaisruck,¹⁰⁰⁹

⁹⁹⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 471.

¹⁰⁰⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 448.

¹⁰⁰¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 441–442.

¹⁰⁰² "vineae, in quibus tam directum quam utile (dominium) habet dominus episcopus", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 461–463.

¹⁰⁰³ For both, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 251.

¹⁰⁰⁴ See for instance Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 418.

¹⁰⁰⁵ "videlicet sanguinis et civile, et nullus alius ibidem potest iudicare, et quando iudex ecclesie Pataviensis presidet ibi iudicio generali, quod dorftaidinch dicitur, quod ter potest facere singulis annis, scilicet Egidii, in Purificatione et Georii, tunc quilibet iudex mettercius debet procurari in expensis. Si autem plures habet personas, tunc tenentur sibi solvere rustici 40 den. pro expensis", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 417.

¹⁰⁰⁶ "scilicet sanguinis et omnium culparum", "et iudex ter in anno presidet iudicio generali ibidem, quod dorftayding dicitur, et tunc qualibet vice ipse metquintus vel quartus procuratur in una prelibatione; pro prandio autem solvuntur sibi [pro] qualibet vice 50 den.", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 420.

¹⁰⁰⁷ "scilicet sanguinis tantum, in suis autem colonis et hominibus habet omne iudicium", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 422

¹⁰⁰⁸ "iudicium plenum provinciale et omnium culparum est ecclesie Pataviensis et presidet iudicio generali ter in anno, scilicet Georii, Egidii et in Purificatione et tun iudex non procuratur, nisi velint homines", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 435

¹⁰⁰⁹ "Item nota: iudicium ville, puta de causis civilibus, procedit ripa, que dicitur Mulpach, usque ad ripam, que dicitur Putz, et est domini episcopi. Iudicium vero sanguinis procedit longe ante Eggendorf et versus Trübensee et est domini episcopi", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 464–465

and Zeiselmauer¹⁰¹⁰ and only shared the judiciary in Olberndorf.¹⁰¹¹ Dues from judicial rights were described for instance in Wipfing.¹⁰¹²

Labour services are attested for the middle of the thirteenth century only for Zeiselmauer, not for Unterolberndorf. Sometimes they could be either performed or compensated for with a payment in coin. The *coloni* of five *areae* on the island of Raffoltswerd had to work in the bishop's vineyard as long as they were needed.¹⁰¹³ In Königstetten, there were five or two and a half *beneficia*, which had to render 18 *denarii* each *pro fossationibus* or work six days in the vineyards if the bishop's official (*preco*) required it. Additionally, they also had to render three *denarii* each instead of guard duty (*pro vigilibus*).¹⁰¹⁴

From the rental on Zeiselmauer in 1324, there is ample evidence on labour services placed on mills, but also on the tenants of *lanei* and *areae*. Beginning with the mills, there were two situated in Unteraigen and one in Muckendorf, which had to grind two *modium* of grain each for the *Hofmark*.¹⁰¹⁵ Furthermore, labour services were demanded from a large number of *lanei* referred to as *Kastenlehen*. In Wipfing, four whole, two half- and one quarter-*laneus* each had to send twelve reapers (*messores*), six for rye and six for oats. Two *lanei* together also had to supply a plough for half a day for the bishop's fields (*cultura*).¹⁰¹⁶ In the same place, there were one three-quarters-*laneus*, seven half-*lanei* and three quarter-*lanei*, which were referred to as *Weinzierllehen*. They had to send twelve reapers (*messores*) for the grain harvest. Again, two *lanei* together had to supply a plough for the fields (*cultura*) of the *curia villicalis* in Zeiselmauer.¹⁰¹⁷

In Muckendorf, there were two whole *lanei* and 16 half-*lanei* in the rental, also referred to as *Kastenlehen*. They were required to bring the hay of the entire *Hofmark* to a barn and all wood

¹⁰¹⁰ "Item iudex provincialis domini episcopi ter in anno presidet (ibidem) iudicio generali, quod torftaidinch dicitur, scilicet Egidii, Georii et in Purificatione. Primis duobus tenentur omnes rustici venire ad iudicium et tunc etiam iudex debet procurari ad unum prandium. Tercia vice veniunt (tantum) homines, qui serviunt ad mensam domini, et tunc non procuratur iudex", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 442.

¹⁰¹¹ "Item iudicium ville super omnes homines est ecclesie Pataviensis ibidem et Schönberg, cuiuslibet eorum per dimidia. Et generale iudicium, quod dicitur dorftaidinch, fit ibi semel in anno, scilicet proxima die post Philippi et jacobi, et tunc iudex domini episcopi de Greifenstein presidet iudicio una cum iudice Schönbergarii, sed iudex domini episcopi interrogat de iure, et omnes emende ab hominibus ecclesie sunt iudicis domini episcopi. Emende vero ab hominibus Schoenbergarii sunt iudicis sui; emende autem aliorum hominum, cuiuscumque coloni sunt, dividuntur inter ambos iudices supradictos", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 458–459.

¹⁰¹² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 425.

¹⁰¹³ "debent adesse vino domini episcopi opera sua, donec in debito loco fuerit collatum", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 195.

¹⁰¹⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 194–195.

¹⁰¹⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 424 and 428.

¹⁰¹⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 425.

¹⁰¹⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 425–426.

to the bishop's kitchen. Moreover, they each had to bring two loads of wine or grapes to a press and two *Dreiling* of wine from the press either to Zeiselmauer or to the Danube at Tulln or Greifenstein. Whenever the bishop set out to return to Passau from Zeiselmauer, they had to haul his belongings in a cart. For two of the *lanei* among them, there were special stipulations. Otto, son of Walchun held a *laneus* from which four labourers (*laboratores*) had to be supplied to weed among the oats, as well as twelve reapers (*messores*) and twelve threshers (*tritiuratores*). Three times a year he had to work one *iuger* of the fields (*cultura*) of the *curia villicalis* in Zeiselmauer with his own plough. Ottokar Eggenberg, the burgrave of Mattsee, had another of the *lanei*, from which the same labour services had to be rendered as the one held by Otto, son of Walchun.¹⁰¹⁸

Moreover, in Zeiselmauer, two *lanei* had to plough with the other *Kastenlehen*. In addition, they had to haul grain for the bishop to the mill and bring food from Tulln to the bishop's kitchen in Zeiselmauer on every sixth day if he was present.¹⁰¹⁹ In another note, the source records the obligation of *all lanei* in Muckendorf, along the *lanei* in Wipfing pertaining to the *granarium* and the two *lanei* in Zeiselmauer to transport cut grain to the bishop's barn in Zeiselmauer, transport the hay from the *Hofmark* there and all wood to the bishop's kitchen. Furthermore, it also includes the stipulations regarding the transport of grapes and wine and the bishop's belongings.¹⁰²⁰ Also in Königstetten, there were eleven whole *lanei* and one half-*laneus* referred to as *Kastenlehen*. They each had to allocate twelve reapers (*messores*) and twelve threshers (*triturores*) to the local *curia villicalis*. Moreover, they had to work (*tenentur colere*) its fields, bring the cut grain to the barn, and do the weeding.¹⁰²¹ In the same location, there were three *lanei* which had to bring wagonloads of wood to the lord bishop's kitchen.¹⁰²²

Apart from this complex of labour services placed upon the tenants of *lanei* in the *area*, there were several other holdings required to perform labour duties included in the source for Zeiselmauer in 1324. In Wolfpassing, there was half a *laneus*, referred to as a *Weinzierllehen* and associated with a Marquardus, who had to work the bishop's vineyard.¹⁰²³ Four *areae* in the later deserted village of Wildenhag had to allocate one person per day for the collection

¹⁰¹⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 427–429 for this paragraph.

¹⁰¹⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 439–440.

¹⁰²⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 425.

¹⁰²¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 449–551.

¹⁰²² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 451.

¹⁰²³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 433–434.

of hay at harvest time. In the same locality, there were two half-*feuda*, the tenants of which had to harvest two *dietas* or serve with a cart for a day.¹⁰²⁴ Moreover, there were five *areae*, some of which were required to harvest one, others two *dietas*.¹⁰²⁵ The inhabitants of another later deserted settlement, Czegeinswinchel north of Wördern an der Donau, had to bring in hay from 26 *dietas* of the lord's land.¹⁰²⁶

Regarding the partitioning of holdings, both the rental for Zeiselmauer and the one Unterolberndorf around 1250 contain partitioned *beneficia*, *areae* and *predia*. In Zeiselmauer, there were 11,5 or 12,5 *beneficia* in Unteraigen,¹⁰²⁷ 5,5 in Wipfing,¹⁰²⁸ 3,5 in the later deserted hamlet of Isseinsdorf¹⁰²⁹ and 12,5 or 15,5 and 5 or 2,5 in Königstetten.¹⁰³⁰ Moreover, there were three or 3,5 and a half *area* on the island Raffoltswerd.¹⁰³¹ For Unterolberndorf the only evidence of partitioned holdings is a half-*predium*.¹⁰³²

In the later rental, partitions are evident mostly regarding *lanei*. In the village of Oberaigen, today in the municipality of Langenlebar, there were 7,5 *lanei*, divided in two three-quarters-*lanei*, ten half-*lanei* and four quarter-*lanei*.¹⁰³³ In Unteraigen, there were four whole and one half-*laneus*.¹⁰³⁴ Of the 10,75 *lanei* in Wipfing, only four were whole. The remainder consisted of one three-quarter-*laneus*, ten half-*lanei* and four quarter-*lanei*.¹⁰³⁵ In Muckendorf, there were ten *lanei*, only two of which were whole, the remainder consisted of half-*lanei*.¹⁰³⁶ In Wolfpassing, the source also records two half-*lanei*.¹⁰³⁷ Of the 19,5 total *lanei* recorded in Königstetten, three were half-*lanei*.¹⁰³⁸ In Wördern, there was one whole *laneus* and three half-*lanei*.¹⁰³⁹ In Loch, a later deserted locality near Zeiselmauer, the source records a one-and-a-half-*laneus*.¹⁰⁴⁰ Of the 6,5 *lanei* in the also later deserted village of Eystorf, probably

¹⁰²⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 444.

¹⁰²⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 445.

¹⁰²⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 455.

¹⁰²⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 192.

¹⁰²⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 193.

¹⁰²⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 194.

¹⁰³⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 194–195.

¹⁰³¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 195.

¹⁰³² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 250–251.

¹⁰³³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 421.

¹⁰³⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 423.

¹⁰³⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 425–426.

¹⁰³⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 427–429.

¹⁰³⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 430–431 and 433–434, respectively.

¹⁰³⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 450–451.

¹⁰³⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 453.

¹⁰⁴⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 454.

located around Altenberg, three were whole, the rest were half-*lanei*.¹⁰⁴¹ Of the two entries recording *lanei* in Gaisruck, one describes the dues of 14,5 *lanei* there. A detailed description of their degree of partition is not given.¹⁰⁴² For Hausleiten, the source records 9,75 *lanei* total, which were made up of mostly half-*lanei* and three quarter-*lanei*.¹⁰⁴³

The remaining partitioned holdings were made up of *areae*, *vineae* and *feuda*. In Raffoldswerd, the 5,5 *areae* total were also made up of three half-*areae*.¹⁰⁴⁴ Of the fourteen *areae* total in Hausleiten, four were half-*areae*.¹⁰⁴⁵ In Neugraben, either west of Wolfpassing or in today's Entleinsgraben, the source records half a *vinea*.¹⁰⁴⁶ In Wolfpassing, there were 8,5 *vineae* total, made up of one half-*vinea* and otherwise of whole ones.¹⁰⁴⁷ In Gaisruck, there were at least 7,5 *vineae* total, one of which was a half-*vinea*.¹⁰⁴⁸ In Hausleiten, seven *vineae* total were made up of five whole-*vineae*, three half-*vineae* and two quarter-*vineae*.¹⁰⁴⁹ In the later deserted Wildenhag, 3,75 *feuda* were made up of six half-*feuda* and three quarter-*feuda*.¹⁰⁵⁰

Moreover, there is substantial evidence of multiple persons being associated with the same holding from Zeiselmauer in 1324. Among the list of *possessores* for the seven *curiae swaigales* in Raffoldswerd, nine were recorded as holding half a *curia swaigalis* and one as holding two halves.¹⁰⁵¹ In Wipfing, there were two half-*lanei* with which two persons each were associated.¹⁰⁵² Cases of *lanei* for which one person was given for each half were present in Muckendorf (two)¹⁰⁵³ and Zeiselmauer (one).¹⁰⁵⁴ Both in Greifenstein and Neustift there

¹⁰⁴¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 455–456.

¹⁰⁴² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 463.

¹⁰⁴³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 466 and 469.

¹⁰⁴⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 419 and 421.

¹⁰⁴⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 466–469.

¹⁰⁴⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 431–432.

¹⁰⁴⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 429–435.

¹⁰⁴⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 466.

¹⁰⁴⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 467–468.

¹⁰⁵⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 443–444.

¹⁰⁵¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 419–421.

¹⁰⁵² Reinpertus and Chunzlinus; Ulricus, gener Pulchri and Chraestinna, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 426.

¹⁰⁵³ Fridricus Rescho with a Parsenbrunner, Hermannus Trutel with Ulricus Saetuocho, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 427–429.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Leupoldus Zechmeister and Emmerich, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 439–440.

were two people listed for one *area*¹⁰⁵⁵ and in Gaisruck for a pasture.¹⁰⁵⁶ Moreover, the source lists a hillside and a clearing in Wolfpassing with which multiple persons were associated.¹⁰⁵⁷ Partitions in Zeiselmauer also reached more complicated combinations in 1324. Another *laneus* in Zeiselmauer was divided among Perchtoldus Haimperiger on one half and Heinricus prope viduam and the Marstallarii on the other.¹⁰⁵⁸ In Königstetten, Roraerinna and Engelprecht rendered dues from one *laneus* of which they each are recorded to have had the second part, as did Haintzlo Chrast with Albertus Hofmaister,¹⁰⁵⁹ Fridricus, a mason, with Jakobus Vikel, Godfridus Raeutter with Heinricus Chlaidienst, and Fridricus, a priest, with Lozpergarius.¹⁰⁶⁰ On another *laneus*, Leupoldus is recorded to have had one half, Gerungus and Schachner the other. Meinhart held three parts of another *laneus*, with Jans, a minter, holding the fourth.¹⁰⁶¹ Of two *vineae* in Hausleiten, Matza Porlerinna, Aechkerlinna, Gerungus and Symon possessed (*possident*) one quarter each, Chunradus, a weaver, and Jacobus Reysner one half each.¹⁰⁶² In the same locality, Otto Schober and Wolflinus had one part, Chuonrad Sacci the second part of a *curia decimalis*.¹⁰⁶³

In some cases, the persons associated together with one holding were relatives. Perchta Reschinna held (*tenet*) half a *laneus* with her stepson in Muckendorf.¹⁰⁶⁴ Syghardus, a tailor, rendered dues from an *area* in Zeiselmauer together with two girls (*puelle*), possibly his daughters.¹⁰⁶⁵ The children of a Godfridinne held another *laneus* in Königstetten.¹⁰⁶⁶ The *relicta* of an official rendered dues together from a pasture in Hagenthal near St. Andrä.¹⁰⁶⁷ Rudolfus rendered dues together with his children from a field in Greifenstein.¹⁰⁶⁸

Coming to changes to dues and services, there is evidence of either the reduction or the cancellation of dues from Unterolberndorf but none from Zeiselmauer around 1250. In the

¹⁰⁵⁵ Smidlo and a *rusticus* in Greifenstein, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 436–437. Wernherinna and Otto Herter in Neustift near Königstetten, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 453.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Chunradus Wurger together with Hainricus Syghart, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 466.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Rudliebus, in-law (*gener*) of a Potschaft, with certain others (“*et quidam alii*”), Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 435.

¹⁰⁵⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 440.

¹⁰⁵⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 450.

¹⁰⁶⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 451.

¹⁰⁶¹ For the holdings of Leupoldus, Gerungus, Schachner, Meinhart and Jans, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 450.

¹⁰⁶² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 468.

¹⁰⁶³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 468–470.

¹⁰⁶⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 427–429.

¹⁰⁶⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 440.

¹⁰⁶⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 450.

¹⁰⁶⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 457.

¹⁰⁶⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 436–437.

source from Zeiselmayer in 1324, I found evidence of dues in kind and labour services being commuted to payments in coin. Of three *beneficia* in Unterolberndorf itself, stemming from a *curia villicalis* which had been divided into three parts, the source states that they used to render (*solvebant*) ten *talenta*.¹⁰⁶⁹ Moving to Zeiselmayer in 1324, the bishopric received nine *solidi* instead of fattened pigs from one *laneus*.¹⁰⁷⁰ In the later deserted Wildenhag, six *areae* rendered between 40 and 70 *denarii* as a donation (*in enseniis*).¹⁰⁷¹ A much lower donative was given from half a *laneus* in Wördern, to the extent of six *denarii*.¹⁰⁷² Regarding the commutation of labour services to money payments, some in the rental are for the cutting of hay¹⁰⁷³ or for reaping at harvest time.¹⁰⁷⁴ Many are connected to viticulture, specifically digging on vineyards or for the vine harvest.¹⁰⁷⁵

Regarding agricultural producers' property rights, the source for Unterolberndorf from the middle of the thirteenth century shows holdings being given as collateral for debt, as well as being bought and sold. The actors in these cases were however not peasants, but rather local priests. Of one *beneficium* in the later deserted Poreinstorf near Schleinbach, the source states that the priest of Ulrichskirchen possessed it exclusively out of debt (*possidet indebite*), as had his predecessor. Furthermore, it describes the land as not being cultivated, but adds that it was being prepared for cultivation with the permission of the bishop. Another priest was involved in the purchase of one *beneficium* from the noble family of the Spritzensteiner, which he then gave his brother-in-law (*cognatus*).¹⁰⁷⁶ The Sprintzensteiner also sold one *area* in Hautzendorf to a certain Richer.¹⁰⁷⁷

In the source for Zeiselmayer from 1324, I found evidence of exit fees, of land being held in return for service in the administration, and of land being held under *ius civile* and *ius montane*, as well as under heritable and feudal tenure. Regarding the *curia villicalis* in

¹⁰⁶⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 247–248.

¹⁰⁷⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 440.

¹⁰⁷¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 445.

¹⁰⁷² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 453.

¹⁰⁷³ Several *lanei* in Wipfing rendered 18 *denarii* each “pro tonsura feni”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 425.

¹⁰⁷⁴ See for *areae* Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 430–431 and 433. For *lanei*, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 439–440 and 449–450.

¹⁰⁷⁵ See the same *lanei* in Wipfing, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 425; two *lanei* in Muckendorf, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 427–429; half a *laneus* in Wolfpassing, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 433–434; two *lanei* in Zeiselmayer, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 439–440; a number of *lanei* in Königstetten, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 449–450; and three *areae* in Freundorf, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 461.

¹⁰⁷⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 248.

¹⁰⁷⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 249.

Zeiselmauer given to Hermannus Pollo, the source states that when the local official wanted to change the *colonus* working the *curia* or if a *colonus* himself wanted to withdraw from it, then the *colonus* had to render (*reddere*) four libra, the plough with all its iron ploughshares and either sown fields or two *modii* of rye and oats each for sowing.¹⁰⁷⁸ Likely for his services within the administration, an official held 0,5 *Joch* of fields in Gaisruck without having to render any dues.¹⁰⁷⁹

As for land being held under *ius civile*, there was a field referred to as a “purchrechtacher” in Olberndorf.¹⁰⁸⁰ Interestingly, two *curia decimalis* on the Pfarrfeld in Hausleiten also seem to be given out under *ius civile*.¹⁰⁸¹ Concerning, *ius montane*, there is evidence from Freundorf, where the bishop drew part of the income under that right,¹⁰⁸² and from Hausleiten, where several subjects rendered wine under *ius montane* from two *vineae*.¹⁰⁸³ Of the little village of Sturmau, the source reports that the bishopric owned almost the whole village, continuing to relate the following: “Nota, quod predicta bona in Loch et in Sturmawe sunt proprie propria ecclesia ita, quod coloni possunt mutari; audio tamen, quod dominus admiserit, quod teneantur iure emphiteotico sub censo predicto”.¹⁰⁸⁴ Thus, the bishop allowed for the holdings to be held under heritable tenure. The same was said of a one-and-a-half-*laneus* in the later deserted location of Loch, near Zeiselmauer.¹⁰⁸⁵ More evidence of heritability is provided by groups of descendants being associated with agricultural holdings. This is the case for 1,5 *lanei*,¹⁰⁸⁶ a *vinea*,¹⁰⁸⁷ an *area*,¹⁰⁸⁸ two fields,¹⁰⁸⁹ two pastures¹⁰⁹⁰ and a cabbage

¹⁰⁷⁸ “Et nota, quod quando officialis curie vult illum colonum mutare vel ipsemet vult recedere, tunc debet reddere 4 libr. den. et aratrum adaptum cum omnibus ferramentis et agros seminatos vel pro veminibu 2 mod. silignis et 2 mod. avene”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 439.

¹⁰⁷⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 466.

¹⁰⁸⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 458.

¹⁰⁸¹ “homines tenentes has curias decimales stant iuri sive etiam iudicio civile coram iudice in Trebensee, alia vero omnia subeunt cum aliis hominibus dotalibus et illa exiguntur ab eis per officialem dotis”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 468.

¹⁰⁸² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 461.

¹⁰⁸³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 468.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 454.

¹⁰⁸⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 454.

¹⁰⁸⁶ “relicta Ortolfi”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 451; “relicta Stromanni”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 453

¹⁰⁸⁷ “relicta Richterinne”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 447

¹⁰⁸⁸ “relicta Leonis”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 432.

¹⁰⁸⁹ “relicta Wolfhardi”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 441; “Relicta Muratoris”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 446;

¹⁰⁹⁰ “relicta Meinhardi”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 448; “relicta officialis”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 457

patch.¹⁰⁹¹ Finally, a person named Gloserin had three vineyards under feudal tenure (*in feodum*) from the Bishopric, which is interesting since her name does not necessarily imply nobility.¹⁰⁹²

Total recorded feudal rent in coin from Zeiselmauer and Unterolberndorf in the middle of the thirteenth century amounted to either 2929 *denarii* or 2977 *denarii*, depending on the manuscript. In the former case, the sum was made up of 2843,5 *denarii* from land rent and commutations and 85,5 *denarii* belonging to officials. In the latter case, revenue from land rent and commutations was 2881 *denarii* and the sum belonging to officials was 96 *denarii*. In 1324, the total feudal rent in coin recorded from Zeiselmauer was 41675,5 *denarii*. This sum consists of 34678,5 *denarii* from unspecified dues and commutations, 1854 from Vogtrecht, 360 rendered under *ius civile*, 231 from jurisdiction, 47 belonging to officials and five rendered under inheritable tenure.

The largest part of the recorded money rent from Zeiselmauer in 1324, however, consisted of rent from leases, at a total of 4500 *denarii*. To be precise, the leased objects included two tithes, one from Abstetten and three quarters of the tithe on Tulln and its surroundings. The former was leased every year for grain and 240 *denarii arra*, the latter also brought in 240 *denarii arra* as well as an additional 60 *denarii*, though no grain dues were recorded in this case.¹⁰⁹³ Moreover, the rental records that the island identified by Maidhof as Hertweiginnewerd had been pawned for 1920 Viennese *denarii* the previous year, 1323.¹⁰⁹⁴ The last two objects finally, were two mills, leased for three years at a yearly rate of 2040 *denarii* and a fishery (*piscita*) for which the source gives an estimated lease sum of 2160 or 2400 *denarii*.¹⁰⁹⁵ Figure 17 and Figure 18 show the relative developments in recorded feudal rent in coin from Zeiselmauer in the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324 based on either sum from the middle of the thirteenth century.

¹⁰⁹¹ "relicta Leonis", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 432.

¹⁰⁹² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 464.

¹⁰⁹³ See Maidhof, *Urbare des Hochstifts Passau*, vol. 1, 418.

¹⁰⁹⁴ The specific word used is *exponere*, which Maidhof translates as German *verpfänden*, i.e. English *to pawn*, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 420.

¹⁰⁹⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 448–449.

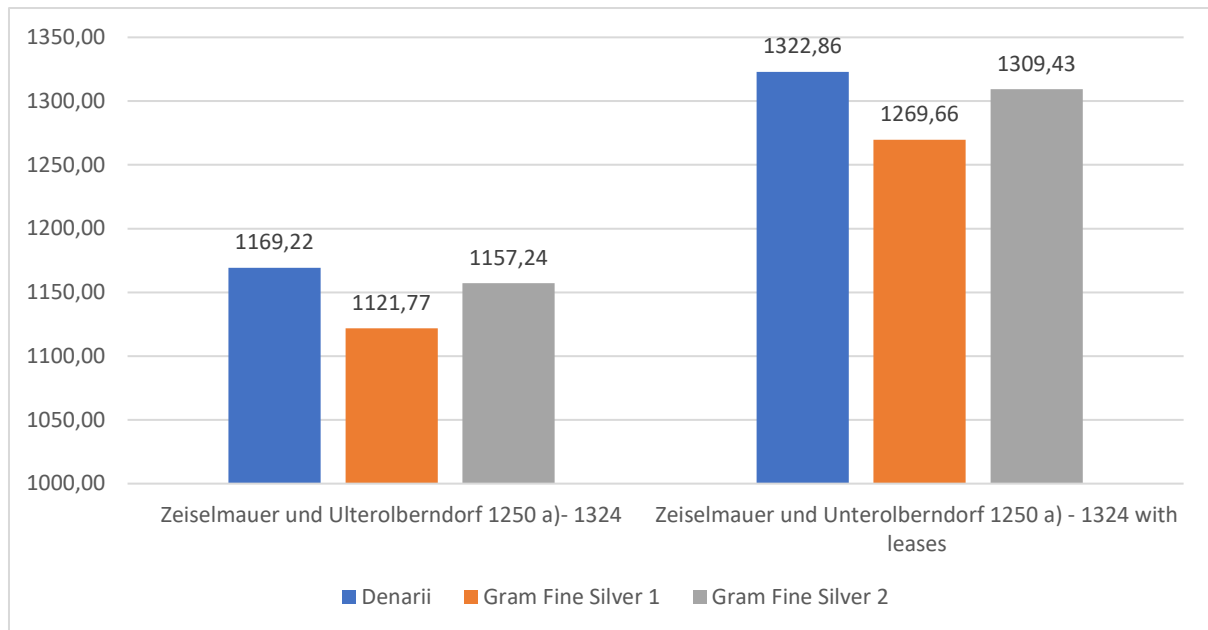


Figure 17 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from Zeiselmayer and Unterolberndorf by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1324 a)

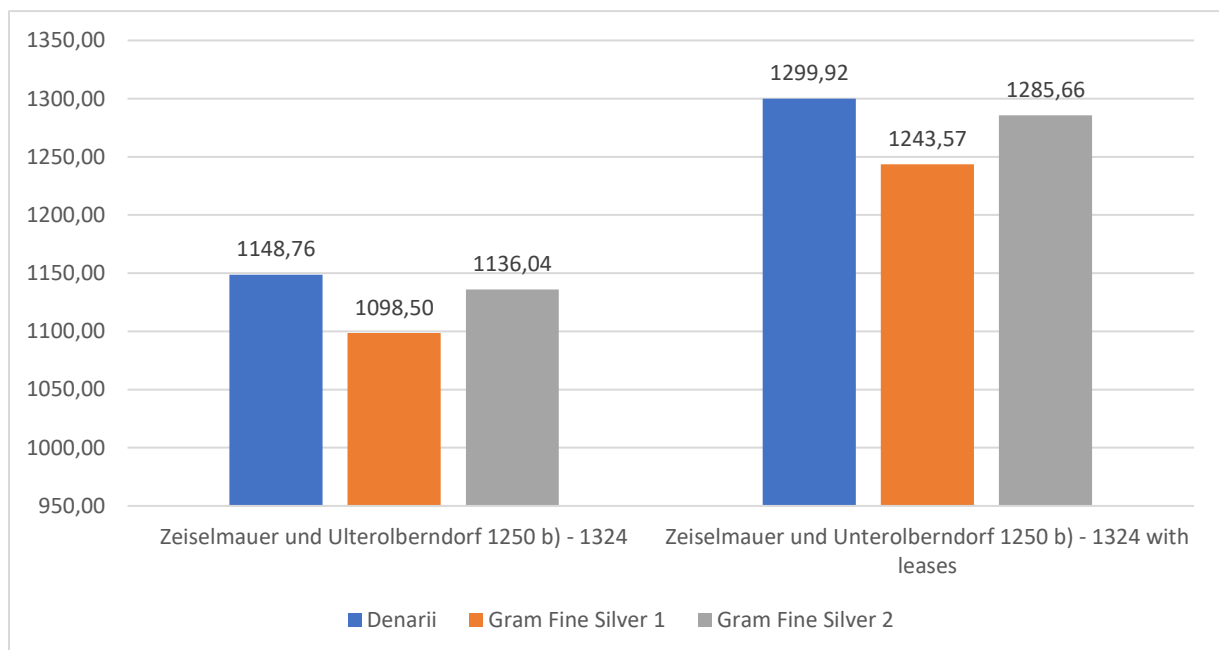


Figure 18 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from Zeiselmayer and Unterolberndorf by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1324 b)

With the slightly lower sum from the middle of the thirteenth century, recorded feudal rent in coin in Zeiselmayer and Unterolberndorf without rent from leases saw an increase of 1169,22 per cent from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324, as shown by Figure 17. Calculated in grams of fine silver, this increase lies between 1121,77 and 1157,24 per cent. When including the income from leases in 1324, the relative increase in nominal value is higher at 1322,86 per cent. Calculated in grams of fine silver, this higher increase lies between 1269,66 and 1309,43 per cent. As depicted in Figure 18, the increase is slightly less large when

considering the larger sum in recorded feudal rent in coin from Zeiselmauer and Unterolberndorf in the middle of the thirteenth century. In this case, the relative increase in recorded rent in coin without rent from leases was 1148,76 per cent, that is between 1098,5 and 1136,04 per cent calculated in grams of fine silver. Including rent in coin from leases, the increase was 1299,92 per cent. Calculated in grams of fine silver, it lay between 1243,57 and 1285,66 per cent.

A comparison over time for total grain dues from Zeiselmauer, based on the results presented in *Table 14*, is only possible for dues in oats and wheat. Dues in rye and barley only appear in the rental from 1324. Dues in oats were given in different measurements in the thirteenth century and in 1324, again in large *modii* and regular, unspecified *modii*. Nevertheless, the difference between 160,5 large *modii* in the thirteenth century and 53,5 *modii* and two *modii* of the Klosterneuburg variant can be interpreted as a strong decrease. Including income in oats from the lease of tithes does not change this picture, as the total rent in oats thus remained at a comparatively low 66,16 *modii* and 2 *modii* of the Klosterneuburg variant. Total rent in wheat also can be determined to have fallen considerably, despite the difference in measurements. The 15 or 16 large *modii* from the thirteenth century will certainly have contained more wheat than the 0,83 *modii* recorded for wheat in 1324. Rye is only contained in the rental from 1324, at 0,8 *modii* *Neunburger* and either 6,33 or 19 *modii*, depending on whether income from leases is included or not. Rent in barley also only appeared in the early fourteenth century, at 3,13 *modii*.

Total Grain Rents Zeiselmauer	Modii	Modii (maioris mensure)	Modii Neunburger
Rye 1324	6,33		0,8
Rye 1324 with lease	19		0,8
Oats 1250		160,5	
Oats 1324	53,5		2
Oats 1324 with lease	66,16		2
Wheat 1250		15 or 16	

Wheat 1324	0,83		0,8
Barley 1324	3,13		

Table 13 Grain rent from Zeiselmayer and Unterolberndorf

In the rentals for Zeiselmayer and Unterolberndorf from around 1250 together, differentiation by profession and position is still rather low. The only status label used for agricultural producers is *coloni*. Of the 25 persons attested with holdings there, 92 per cent were male, four per cent female and four per cent made up of unclear names, groups and institutions. The only positions mentioned were those of an official and a chamberlain, at just three per cent of the total professions and positions attested across all rentals. The tenants of *areae* on Rafoldeswerde, an island near Langenlebar, were referred to as *coloni* when the source described their obligation to work in the bishop's vineyards.¹⁰⁹⁶

By 1324, differentiation by professions and positions was the second highest among all the rentals around that time. The source names 439 persons with holdings, of which 87 per cent were male, seven per cent female and four per cent belong to unclear names, groups and institutions. The number of professions and positions named was 21, which equals 36 per cent of all professions and positions attested across all rentals. Among them were three guild masters, eleven officials, a cellarer, a chamberlain, three *villici*, a *Bereiter*, two bakers, a barber, four butchers, three bricklayers, three carpenters, a cartwright, a cobbler, a cooper, a furrier, four hucksters, a *medicus*, three millers, four smiths, five tailors and three weavers.

The status labels for agricultural producers used in the rental on Zeiselmayer in 1324 are *homines*, *coloni* and *rustici*. *Homines* was mostly used when describing judicial rights. The label was used firstly to refer to subjects in the context of judicial authority over them. The subjects of the *iudicium provinciale* in Wolfpassing were thus referred to as *homines*,¹⁰⁹⁷ so are the subjects serving their dues "ad mensam domini",¹⁰⁹⁸ which have to attend the third court date in Zeiselmayer.¹⁰⁹⁹ Furthermore, the tenants of two *curiae decimalis* in Hausleiten were called *homines* in describing that, depending on the cause, they had to attend a specific *iudicium* with other *homines*.¹¹⁰⁰ A second usage of *homines* was in the naming of informants. In the

¹⁰⁹⁶ "Item coloni earundem arearum debent adesse vino domini episcopi adhibendo opera sua, donec in debito loco fuerit collatum", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 195.

¹⁰⁹⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 435.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 442.

¹⁰⁹⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 442.

¹¹⁰⁰ "Et nota, quod homines tenentes has curias decimales stant iuri sive etiam iudicio civili coram iudice in Trebense, alia vero omnia subeunt cum aliis hominibus dotalibus et illa exiguntur ab eis per officialem dotis", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 468–470.

case of contested rights to an island near Greifenstein, the source quotes the “homines ecclesie”¹¹⁰¹ A third way of using *homines* was in the distinction between them and the *coloni*. For Rossau, for instance, the source distinguishes between *coloni* and *homines*.¹¹⁰² Similarly so for the *iudicium* in Olberndorf: at the *iudicium generale*, happening two times a year, all penalty payments from the *homines* of the bishopric went to the bishop, while all those payments from the *homines* of the Schönberger went to their judge and the payments from all the other *homines* who were *coloni* there were divided between the judges of both.¹¹⁰³ Regarding the provisioning of a meal for the bishop’s judge at the *iudicium generale* or *Banntaiding* at Hausleiten and the cases to be decided either there or at Trübensee, the source again distinguishes between *coloni* and *homines*.¹¹⁰⁴

The labels *coloni* and *rustici* were used firstly also in naming the provisors of information.¹¹⁰⁵ Second, *coloni* were tenants both of large holdings, such as *curiae villicalis*, medium, including *lanei*, and small holdings, like *areae*.¹¹⁰⁶ Moreover, *coloni* were the subjects of the authority of the bishop as their *advocatus* or *Vogt*.¹¹⁰⁷ In a judicial context, *rustici* appeared for instance

¹¹⁰¹ "pro qua litigat dominus Johannes de Sierndorf et male, ut dicunt omnes homines ecclesie", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 457.

¹¹⁰² "habet ibidem in tota villa ecclesia Patav(iensis) iudicium provinciale, scilicet sanguinis tantum, in suis autem colonis et hominibus habet omne iudicium", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 422.

¹¹⁰³ "Item iudicium ville super omnes homines est ecclesie Pataviensis ibidem et Schönberg, cuiuslibet eorum per dimidia. Et generale iudicium, quod dicitur dorftaidinch, fit ibi semel in anno, scilicet proxima die post Philippi et iacobi, et tunc iudex domini episcopi de Greifenstein presidet iudicio una cum iudice Schönbergarii, sed iudex domini episcopi interrogat de iure, et omnes emende ab hominibus ecclesie sunt iudicis domini episcopi. Emende vero ab hominibus Schoenbergarii sunt iudicis sui; emende autem aliorum hominum, cuiuscumque coloni sunt, dividuntur inter ambos iudices supradictos", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 458–459.

¹¹⁰⁴ "Item nota, quod iudex domini episcopi in Trübensee vel alius, quem mittit ad hoc bis in anno, scilicet Georii vel Miachahelis, presidet iudicio generali, quod pantayding dicitur, in Hausleiten et tunc quolibet tempore habet unum prandium metsexter et alius prandium contribuunt omnes homines, quorumcumque sunt coloni, exceptis dotalibus, quia omnes predicti preter illi dotales visitare tenentur iudicium, quia bona aliquorum nobilium tenentur in feudum ab ecclesia Pataviensi."; "Item nota, quod officialis episcopi in Hausleiten de colonis et hominibus domini episcopi iudicat omnes causas civiles, criminales vero iudicat iudex in Trübensee de omnibus hominibus, quorumcumque sint coloni", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 470.

¹¹⁰⁵ "Hic annotantur redditus hofmarchie in Zeiselmayer, quantum pro hac vice investigari poterat a domino Heinricho decano Tullnensi, qui tunc fuit magister curie ibidem, et fratre suo Tylmanno et a Leutoldo, notario ibidem, et a colonis et rusticis ibidem." Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 415–416. "Hic annotantur redditus spectantes in Wildenhag, scripsi ad assertionem rusticorum", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 443.

¹¹⁰⁶ See the entry on a *curia villicalis* in Loibersdorf, the duty of its tenant to render a certain amount of bowls and the arrangement for the tenants of the village, where *areae* are otherwise recorded, to render their dues to said *curia villicalis*: "Et predictus colonus tenetur servire ad mensam domini episcopi 200 scutelas singulis anni" and "Et notandum, quod ad eandem curiam villicalem servint alii coloni eiusdem ville, de quibus servitiis servit villicus omnia supradicta", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 416. See also the entries for two *curiae villicalis* in Zeiselmayer, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 438–439. For *lanei*, see the reference to labour services as they are done by the tenants of *lanei* in Muckendorf, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 449–450.

¹¹⁰⁷ "Nota, quod dominus episcopus est principalis advocatus colonorum Sancte Agathe [=Hausleiten] et iure advocacie habet ab eis", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 469–470.

in the stipulations for the provisioning of the judge at the *iudicium generale* or *Dorftaiding* in Loibersdorf. If the judge appeared with more than three other persons, then these persons each had to give the *rustici* 40 *denarii*.¹¹⁰⁸

5.14. Schwadorf

Manorial organization in Schwadorf around 1250 featured large agricultural units possibly operated under manorial administration, as well as large pastureland occupied by local nobles, both of which could no longer be found in 1324. Income from judicial rights, some partitioning of holdings and very limited hints towards multiple ownership are also contained exclusively in the earlier rental. Changes to dues are evident in both rentals, but neither contains any information on producers' property rights. The recorded feudal rent either sank slightly or fell over the period, depending on whether revenue from leases and pawns was included or not. Grain dues meanwhile, sank substantially from around 1250 to 1324. A comparison of the level of differentiation among producers is not possible, as the later rental on Schwadorf does not contain any names, professions or positions.

Though the information is not particularly substantial, large agricultural holdings may be found in Schwadorf, yet only around 1250. The bishopric recorded among its agricultural holdings and plots of land in Schwadorf 66,75 *beneficia*, 49 *areae*, some gardens, pastures and vineyards, as well as two *curiae villicalis* and one large piece of pastureland. Both *curiae villicalis* rendered a fixed amount of money and kind. No tenant was given for either of them,¹¹⁰⁹ the possibility of them being under direct manorial administration may thus not be excluded. As for the pastureland, it was described as encompassing 180 *Tagwerk* (the German equivalent of *dietas*) in Moosbrunn, being occupied (*occupant*) by members of the local noble family von Schweinbarth.¹¹¹⁰ The later rental records 21 *feuda*, at least four *areae* and dues from pasture (*gramen*) and therefore no more large agricultural holdings. This pattern of evidence being more forthcoming in the earlier rental on Schwadorf is also present when we considered other sources of revenue such as partitioned holdings.

Only regarding changes in dues is there also evidence from 1324. Neither source records any tithes, but there is one passage that undergirds the assumption of income from judicial rights in Schwadorf around 1250. Mainly *beneficia* but also *areae* rendered dues in coin either

¹¹⁰⁸ "tunc quilibet iudex mettercius debet procurari in expensis. Si autem plures habet personas, tunc tenentur sibi solvere rustici 40 den. pro expensis", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 417.

¹¹⁰⁹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 200.

¹¹¹⁰ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 201.

“ratione placiti”¹¹¹¹ or “in tria placita”,¹¹¹² referencing the regular court or *Taiding*.¹¹¹³ At the same time, partitioned holdings were present to a small extent in the case of three half-*beneficia* and one quarter-*beneficium*.¹¹¹⁴ Moreover, the earlier rental contains one case of apparent multiple ownership, when it records a *beneficium* in Moosbrunn with which Ernestus and his *fratules* were associated.¹¹¹⁵ Interestingly, change in dues were already present around 1250 in Schwadorf and continue to be evident in the rental of the early fourteenth century. Both of the *curiae villicalis* from the earlier rental discussed above rendered a *talentum denarii* instead of poppyseed (*pro papavere*).¹¹¹⁶ In the later rental, I found the same process, with an undefined holding paying 88 *denarii* for *weisat*.¹¹¹⁷

Total recorded feudal rent in coin from Schwadorf either rose slightly or fell, depending on whether revenue from leases and pawns is included. In the middle of the thirteenth century, the recorded rent amounted to 30313,5 *denarii* and 30 marks silver. This sum was comprised of 21218,25 *denarii* of land rent and commutations, 1894,8 *denarii* from jurisdiction and 30 marks silver as well as 7200 *denarii* from pawning three, respectively two *beneficia*.¹¹¹⁸ In 1324, the sum of feudal rent recorded in coin from Schwadorf was 24299 *denarii*, exclusively from land rent and commutations. *Figure 19* shows the relative development of feudal rent from Schwadorf from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324. Without the pawn sum of 7200 *denarii*, there was a slight increase in the nominal value of rent in coin by 5,13 per cent from Schwadorf in the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324. Calculated in grams of fine silver, however, this constitutes a decrease between 0,5 and 14,58 per cent. Including this pawn sum, which still does not include the 30 marks silver, the relative decrease of the nominal value is 19,84 per cent. Calculated in grams of fine silver, this decrease lies between 57,52 and 68,74 per cent.

¹¹¹¹ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 197–199, for instance.

¹¹¹² Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 200–201, for instance.

¹¹¹³ See Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 328.

¹¹¹⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 197.

¹¹¹⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 200–201.

¹¹¹⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 200.

¹¹¹⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 407.

¹¹¹⁸ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 199.

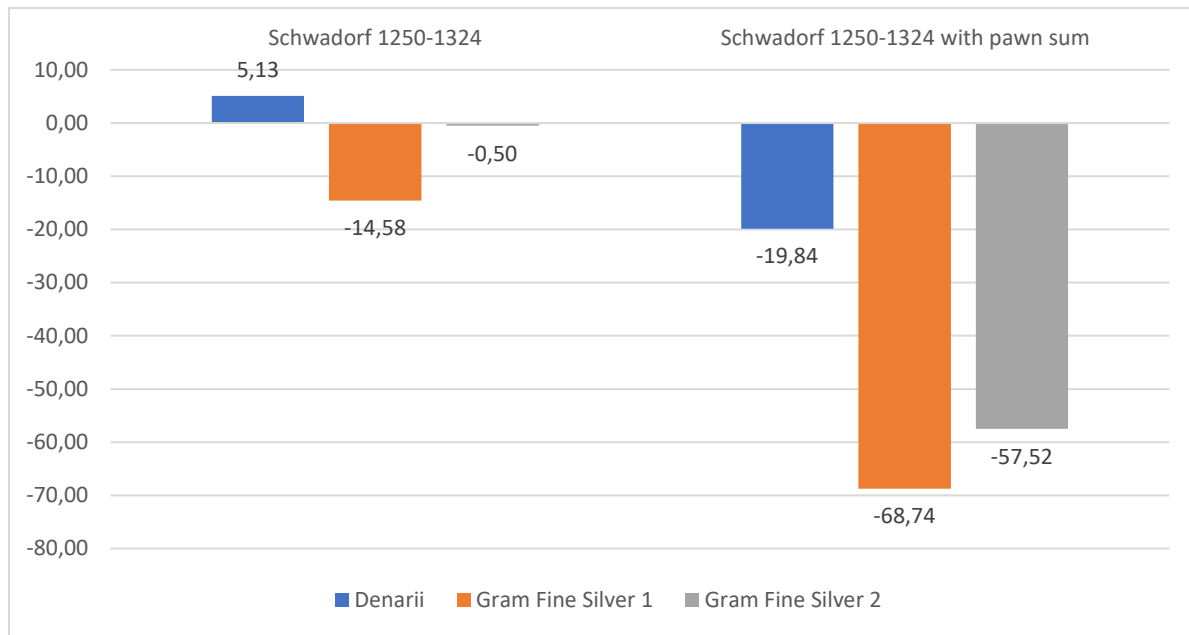


Figure 19 Relative change in recorded feudal rent in coin from Schwadorf by nominal value and grams of fine silver in per cent, ca. 1250-1324

In Schwadorf, dues in rye, oats and wheat sank dramatically from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1324, as shown in *Table 15*. The strongest decline is visible for rent in rye, which fell from 42,77 *modii* around 1250 to a mere 2,67 *modii* in 1324. The amount of rent in oats and wheat reduced by more than half. Rent in oats sank from 68,32 *modii* in the thirteenth century to 29,23 *modii* in the early fourteenth century. Rent in wheat also fell from 38,27 *modii* to just 18,2 *modii*.

Total Grain Rents Schwadorf	Modii
Rye 1250	42,77
Rye 1324	2,67
Oats 1250	68,32
Oats 1324	29,23
Wheat 1250	38,27
Wheat 1324	18,2

Table 14 Grain rent from Schwadorf

The later rental on Schwadorf does not mention any persons with the agricultural holdings it describes. Therefore, a comparison is not possible. In the earlier rental, 11 persons are named with holdings, all of them male. Moreover, two positions were noted, one of a tithe collector, and the other of a *villicus*, equalling three per cent of the total number of professions and positions in all rentals. No mention was made of any status group labels for producers.

6. Conclusion

I set out to investigate the form and mode of surplus appropriation and the changes to dues and services, property rights, feudal rent and the internal differentiation of producers to fit the region of Austria into the emerging picture of regionally diverging late medieval economic development. Beginning with the development of the form and mode of surplus appropriation, I first found that the degree of lordly involvement in agriculture generally sunk over time. More crucially, the degree of lordly involvement depended on geographic and spatial factors, i.e., the proximity to urban centres, transport routes on rivers and the practice of viticulture. All of these factors were connected to market opportunities and the provisioning requirements of the Bishopric itself. In this sense, my findings are similar to those of Rösener for south-western Germany. Additionally, as far as the modes of manorial involvement in agriculture are concerned, my findings match those of Rösener, as well as Dollinger and Dopsch.

Across the region under investigation, manorial agriculture seems to have been present less in the estates in Salzburg and Upper Austria north of the Danube and along the border to Bavaria. Conversely, it was more developed along the Danube in estates close to cities, with episcopal residencies and in wine-growing areas. Examples of this are Ebelsberg with its proximity to Linz, Zeiselmauer, close to Vienna, and St. Pölten as an urban centre in itself as well as a place of episcopal residence. In particular, the results Zeiselmauer, as well as for fit well with Dopsch's observations of the structure of manorial agriculture in the Lower Austrian winegrowing area along the Danube and in the Tulln Basin.

Regarding the composition of feudal rent, the rentals increasingly document revenue from tithes and judicial rights. Meanwhile, labour services were rare. If they existed at all, they mostly concerned transport services. An important exception, however, were those areas with stronger lordly involvement in agriculture. Both of these findings are in line with the existing literature and therefore not surprising. In my opinion, the role played by the increasing quality of the rentals should not be underestimated in this matter. An additional comparison of the relative value of dues rendered in kind vis-à-vis those rendered in coin, as well as from the different revenue sources would have been worthwhile.

Concerning holding sizes and ownership structure, partitioned holdings and multiple ownership were particularly common both in estates in Upper Austria on today's border to

Bavaria and in Lower Austria in the proximity of urban centres and viticulture. Partitions and multiple ownership increased over time, particularly in the latter area, as was to be expected based on the literature. The degree of partitions and multiple ownership there may point to dynamic land use on the part of the producers. Further work needs to be done investigating in how far land markets existed and operated in the area in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

For the system of dues and services, the early fourteenth century brought definitive movement across most estates under consideration, which however remained rather superficial. Mostly, the observed changes consisted of commutations to payments in coin. This does not mean that dues in kind lost their importance since these commutations tended to concern smaller, possibly more symbolic dues, rather than grain rents, for instance. Nevertheless, non-payment and cancellation of dues are also evident for the early fourteenth century. The strongest concentration of evidence in this matter is from the only detailed rental from the second half of the fourteenth century considered here, from St. Pölten in 1367.

Regarding property rights, I cannot provide any far-reaching results. Where they may be observed at all, *ius civile* predominates, increasingly so over time and spreading also to agricultural holdings. Sporadic spotlights on entry fines, heriot and rights to dismiss tenants indicate that this may not have been the reality for agricultural producers in general. Yet the rentals are not forthcoming with information on the modes of tenancy of the majority of agricultural producers. Only for large agricultural holdings do they occasionally provide a bit more information, which points to sometimes poor property rights ensuring close lordly control.

Observing the development of feudal rent in coin and grain using rentals as a basis has proven difficult. For the most part, the observed differences of recorded feudal rent in coin are unrealistic, so much so that they cast the aptitude of the rentals for a quantitative analysis like the one undertaken here into serious doubt. Perhaps the best example of this is the revenue in coin recorded in Ebelsberg from the middle of the thirteenth century compared to the account from Ebelsberg in 1351. Here, I observed a four-digit percentual *increase* in nominal recorded rent in coin *excluding* and an almost 100 per cent *decrease including* pawn sums from the earlier rental.

At first glance, the decrease could be explained by a momentary rise in revenue in the thirteenth century from the one-time pawn sums incurred at the time, while the increase in

revenue without pawn sums could point towards formerly pawned holdings falling back to the bishopric and rendering regular dues again. Looking at the comparison of agricultural holdings recorded in the rentals from the middle of the thirteenth century and 1324, however, I must rule out this explanation. In fact, there was a strong decrease in the number of agricultural holdings, especially of large agricultural units. Many of the formerly pawned large agricultural holdings may never have made their way back into the control of the Bishopric. The large role played by pawn sums in many of the comparisons of recorded feudal rent in coin, much larger than that of leases, points towards similar problems across the quantitative investigation I have undertaken. Perhaps it would be better in the future to calculate average dues from holdings under the same label, though this comes with problems of its own, as the labels are in no way consistent enough with actual holdings sizes.

For grain rents, firm conclusions have often been precluded by differences in revenue sources and measurement units. Going just by the recorded amount of grain, a slight majority of estates exhibit losses from the thirteenth to the early fourteenth century. In St. Pölten, where the longer view into the second half of the fourteenth century is possible, grain dues seem to have recovered again by 1367. Nevertheless, it is hard to trust these figures, considering an estate like Zeiselmauer, where the bishopric operated a substantial amount of manorial agricultural units in the early fourteenth century, recorded a supposed decrease in grain rents by then. In this case, I have to assume that much of the incurred revenue simply was not recorded in the rental.

The development of the differentiation of producers, finally, as it is described here, is consistent with the existing literature on the topic for Austria but must remain rather inconsequential. Personal differentiation by professions and positions unsurprisingly increased where the quality of the information provided by the rentals also increased and vice-versa. Considering differentiation by labels denoting status groups, the rentals mostly use *homines*, *coloni* and *rustici*. There is only one single, possible use of the term *proprii* from Obernberg around 1250. Possibly again in tandem with the increased density of information provided by the rentals in the early fourteenth century, the use of status labels also became more common overall. The path which would have to be pursued, but had to be eschewed here due to time constraints, is a thorough investigation observing the dispersion of landholding among the subjects, including familial connections, over time.

7. Appendix A: Creating Excel Tables and the Personal Databases from Rentals

The tables I have created based on the rentals consist of three groups of categories. The first contains the headlines under which an entry was made in the source, a serial number identifying an entry within the table, the label used for the subject of the entry (a holding, a right) as well as the quantity in which it was given, the terms used to express possession (*tenet*, *habet*, *possessor*, etc.), the location and the associated person(s).¹¹¹⁹

The second group contains the dues recorded for each entry. For each due, there are four columns. The first column records the quantity. The second column contains the measurement unit used. The third is for additional information. This mostly included the days on which the due was to be given but could also contain an additional term the source gives for a due or an equivalent in coin for a due in kind. The fourth column records the verb used for the process of rendering (*solvit*, *servit*, *ministrabit*, etc.). In the case of some goods, specifically rye, oats and money, dues were sometimes recorded in two or more groups of four columns. The purpose of this was to be able to better represent different rights out of which dues of the same kind emanate as well as dues shared by or differentiating a group of entries.

Attempting to achieve my goal of conveying all information about an individual holding confronted me with several problems. If the source lists first the number and kind of holdings, followed by the dues rendered for each or in total and by the person(s) associated with each holding, I attempted to record every individual holding, the dues to be rendered by it and the person(s) associated with it. While this is somewhat in contrast with my other aim of retaining the internal logic of the source, I deemed it necessary to establish computability down to the individual holding and person(s). However, this level of computability was not always possible. On the one hand, dues were sometimes given in full for a group of holdings under different labels, making it impossible to discern how much was rendered from which kind of holding. On the other hand, as dues were sometimes given in full for a group of holdings without a plausible distribution of the dues among them being apparent. Thus, where possible, I divided

¹¹¹⁹ In part, I have also included a serial number, identifying individual persons and potentially linking the table for the individual rental with the person database for the same location. Due to time constraints, I did not do this consistently, however.

the dues in a way to be able to present individual holdings. Where this was not possible, I presented the group of holdings as given in the source.

The third group, finally, contains three types of information. First, a column for rare dues in kind and labour services. Second, a column for the location of the entry in the source edition, to be able to find and cite each piece of information. Third, a column for notes and additional relevant passages from the source text. Relevant passages could include descriptions of the bishopric's rights to a holding, local judicial rights, the exact stipulations of a lease, alternate German terms given for Latin words in the source text, previous tenants, changes to dues and services, additional evidence of partition, etc.

Based on the tables I created from the rentals, I have built a person database with one table for each of the tables for the rentals. Each table consists of nine columns. These columns include: 1) the name of a person, group or institution associated with a holding in the rental, 2) a unique serial number 3) the location, 4) their gender, 5) secondary characteristics (professions, positions, status labels), 6) serial numbers of relatives, 7) notes, 8) the serial number of each holding the person/group/institution is associated with in the table for the rental, and finally 9) the serial number of any other holding from said table that the person/group/institution is otherwise named in connection with.

8. Appendix B: Currency and Measurements

The quantitative approaches described in section 4.2. confronted me with particular problems regarding the question of the currency used and its value, as well as the measurements used and their convertibility. Beginning with rent in coin, the source gives amounts in *denarii* and its multiples *solidi* (30 *denarii*), *librae*, and *talenta* (240 *denarii* each). In addition, it also contains amounts of silver given in *mark*. However, it does not make any blanket statements on whether the rent was paid in currency minted in Vienna, Salzburg, Passau, or elsewhere. Unfortunately, this would be important information, as it would be required to be able to calculate changes in the value of the rent in coin according to the amount of precious metals contained in the respective currency. Hofbauer holds that the standard was currency minted in Passau, pointing to the many mentions of it in the rentals.¹¹²⁰ How he arrived at this conclusion from the reference he makes is not obvious to me. Across the 15 estates under

¹¹²⁰ See Hofbauer, *Ausbildung und Struktur der Herrschafts- und Besitzverhältnisse des Hochstifts Passau*, 1, 395; referencing Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 342.

consideration here, the currency used was only mentioned in seven cases, all pertaining to large sums. Coin from Salzburg was mentioned only once, unsurprisingly in Mattsee.¹¹²¹ Coin from Passau meanwhile appeared once in the rental on Marsbach from around 1250¹¹²² and once in the rental on Neufelden from the same time.¹¹²³ The most common kind of currency, however, was Viennese coin. It was specified in the same passage as the Passau coin in Marsbach around 1250,¹¹²⁴ as well as once in Eferding¹¹²⁵ and twice in Ebelsberg at the same time.¹¹²⁶ Lastly, it was also used in the rental on Zeiselmauer in 1324, where the source speaks of *new* Viennese coin (*Novorum Wiennensum*).¹¹²⁷

I could not find a single case across the rentals for the 15 locations where the currency was specified for a regular due payment from landholding. However, since the silver content of Viennese coin is readily available and this currency was the one most frequently mentioned, I have chosen to use it generally in my calculations of the changing value of rent in coin over time. To this purpose, I have selected data on the monetary standard, i.e., the silver content of Viennese coin from Pribram's *Materialien zur Geschichte der Preise und Löhne in Österreich*.¹¹²⁸ The mints of Viennese coin I have chosen are those under emperor Frederick II. (1235 – 1239 and 1246 – 1250) for rent from around 1250, under Frederick the Fair (1308 – 1330) for 1324 and Albert III. (1365 – 1395) for 1367. In each case I took both the high and low measure for grams of fine silver, i.e. 0,51 grams and 0,48 grams for around 1250, 0,53 and 0,39 grams for 1324 and 0,4 and 0,35 grams for 1367.¹¹²⁹ I then multiplied the total sum of rent in coin from each rental from each location, once with and once without income from leases and pawns, with both the high and low amount of fine silver content. Subsequently, I calculated the respective relative change in per cent for the absolute value and both versions of the value in grams of fine silver.

Lastly, the sixth and probably most complicated issue I was confronted with were the measurement units used in the rentals. Local medieval measurements were used for all dues

¹¹²¹ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 280.

¹¹²² See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 92.

¹¹²³ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 396.

¹¹²⁴ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 92.

¹¹²⁵ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 396.

¹¹²⁶ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 376 and 395.

¹¹²⁷ See Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 420.

¹¹²⁸ Alfred Francis Pribram, *Materialien zur Geschichte der Preise und Löhne in Österreich* (Wien: Ueberreuter, 1938).

¹¹²⁹ See Pribram, *Materialien zur Geschichte der Preise und Löhne in Österreich*, 10.

that were measured by capacity. Since I only attempted an overall comparison among the dues in grain, it was the specific units used for it which concerned me here. Ideally, I would have been able to convert them to metric measurements, to facilitate comparisons, which are both readily comprehensible and feasible internationally. Regrettably, I was not able to find metric equivalents for the measurement units used in the rentals. The other precondition for comparison is mutual convertibility among the large variety of units used across the locations selected here. To this end, I attempted to compile a conversion table for the relevant units based on the existing research literature and on conversions contained in the edition by Maidhof. *Table 1* shows the result of this effort, with conversion ratios given in the source marked green and those calculated by myself marked grey.

Modius or Bushel:	Mod.	Maior	Ypolitensis	Communis	Minor	Modiolus	Regensburg	Landau	Passau
Modius	1						0,33		
Maioris Mensura/Landmut		1	1,32	2,668	4				
Ypolitensis mensura		0,75	1	2,001	3				
Communis Mensura		0,375	0,495	1	1,5				
Minoris Mensura/Räutmaß/Pibringer/Kastmut		0,25	0,33	0,667	1				
Modiolus						1		0,33	0,66
Regensburg	3						1		
Landau						3		1	0,5
Passau						6		2	1

Table 15 Conversion ratios of measurement units for grain

The basic arithmetic units were the *modius* (*Mut*) and the *metreta* (*Metzen*), with the latter being a sub-unit of the former. How many *metratae* made a *modius* may differ regionally and by the type of grain.¹¹³⁰ The source contains one explicit conversion from *metratae* to *modius* for oats from the rental on Zeiselmauer in 1324: one *modius* contains 31 *metratae*.¹¹³¹ In the rental on St. Pölten from 1367, however, both *modii* for rye and oats are assumed to have 30 *metratae*.¹¹³² Since the case for 31 *metratae* of oats per *modius* was stated in such an explicit manner and the use of the same conversion rate *metratae-modius* in the above related example may have been to ease calculation, I have decided to use a 31:1 conversion rate for oats and 30:1 for rye. For wheat and barley, no conversion *metratae-modius*, neither explicit nor implicit, could be found in the rentals of the bishopric consulted here. For wheat and for barley, I have arbitrarily determined the conversion rate *modius:metratae* at 1:30, since it thus yields conversion rates that facilitate easier computation.

Conversion ratios between different measurements in the sources are always given for specific kinds of grain. Consequentially, calculating a generally applicable conversion factor is not entirely methodologically sound. For the mere purpose of arriving at establishing comparability, however, I have decided not to distinguish the conversion ratios from one grain to another. Therefore, the sums I arrive at should be taken as approximations serving as orders of magnitude.

The *modius* is the most common unit across the rentals considered here. Around 1250, it was used for rye in eight of the locations,¹¹³³ for oats also in eight¹¹³⁴ and for wheat in six.¹¹³⁵ Only barley was not measured in the regular *modius* around 1250. In 1324, it was used for rye in six locations,¹¹³⁶ for oats in nine,¹¹³⁷ for wheat in four¹¹³⁸ and for barley in two.¹¹³⁹ Unfortunately, the source contains barely any conversions for this most common measurement unit. The only one I was able to find in the rentals of the Bishopric of Passau is

¹¹³⁰ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXCVII.

¹¹³¹ "computando 31 metr. Pro mod.", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 424.

¹¹³² "Curiam in Jegerhof habent Georius et Stephanus, maritus sororis sue; serviunt singulis annis 6 mod. utriusque: Georius de sua parte 45 metr. silignis, 45 metr. avene; Stephanus de sua parte 45 metr. silignis, 45 metr. avene", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 766.

¹¹³³ Mattsee, Obernberg, Vichtenstein, Neufelden, Eferding, Ebelsberg, Mautern, Schwadorf.

¹¹³⁴ Mattsee, Obernberg, Vichtenstein, Neufelden, Eferding, Ebelsberg, Mautern, Schwadorf.

¹¹³⁵ Mattsee, Obernberg, Neufelden, Ebelsberg, St. Pölten, Schwadorf.

¹¹³⁶ Mattsee, Obernberg, Ebelsberg, Mautern, St. Pölten, Zeiselmauer.

¹¹³⁷ Mattsee, Obernberg, Vichtenstein, Ebelsberg, Amstetten, Mautern, St. Pölten, Zeiselmauer, Schwadorf.

¹¹³⁸ Obernberg, Ebelsberg, St. Pölten, Schwadorf.

¹¹³⁹ St. Pölten, Zeiselmauer.

a conversion into Regensburg bushels (*Scheffel, scaffia*), at three *modii* of wheat per Regensburg bushel.¹¹⁴⁰

Matters are complicated by the fact that grain is measured in a total of thirteen different versions of the *modius* across the 15 locations: the *modius maioris mesure, minoris mesure, communis mesure*, the *modiolus* (*Muttel*), the *Pibringer*, the *Kastmut*, the *measure decimalis*, the *Vogtmetzen*, the *Ypolitensis* (i.e. the *modius* from St. Pölten), the *Amstettner* (i.e. the *modius* from Amstetten), the *Neunburger* (i.e. the *modius* from Klosterneuburg), the *Landmut* and the *modius* for *Reutweizen*. In addition, there were bushels, some of them associated with different locations. Besides the general unit of the bushel (*scaffium*), there is the abovementioned Regensburg bushel, the Landau bushel and the Passau bushel. Finally, grain was also measured in buckets (*Kübel*) and in *sextale*. Convertibility or identity could be established between eight of the thirteen different *modii*. The *modii* for which I was not able to arrive at an exchange ratio to the others, neither from the literature nor from the source text are the *measure decimalis*, the *Vogtmetzen*, the *Amstettner* and the *Neunburger*. In the special case of the *modiolus*, I could only establish convertibility to the bushels from Passau and Landau and vice-versa. For the Regensburg bushel, its convertibility to the regular *modius* has already been pointed out above.

The *modius maioris mesure*, was identical to the *Landmut*.¹¹⁴¹ The differentiation between a large and a small *modius* was common in both Upper and Lower Austria.¹¹⁴² The term *Landmut* designated it as the common measurement in Lower Austria.¹¹⁴³ Its use across the 15 locations under consideration was limited in 1250 for rye to St. Pölten, for oats to Obernberg, St. Pölten and Zeiselmauer, for wheat to St. Pölten and Zeiselmauer and for barley just to St. Pölten. In 1324, it was only used for wheat and exclusively in St. Pölten. The conversion rate from the *modius maioris mesure* to the *modius minoris mesure* is given for wheat in the rental for St. Pölten from around 1250 at one to four.¹¹⁴⁴

¹¹⁴⁰ "9 mod. [tritici] faciunt 3 scaphia Ratisponensis mesure", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 70.

¹¹⁴¹ This is established by the two different manuscripts on St. Pölten in 1250 using either the *modius maioris mesure* or the *Landmut/Landmetzen*. For the source passage, see Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 169. For Maidhof making this point, see Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 371.

¹¹⁴² See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXCVI.

¹¹⁴³ See Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 366.

¹¹⁴⁴ "molendinum dominorum 4 mod. minoris mesure vel lantmut tritici", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 165; see also for Maidhof making this point, Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 371.

Moving on to the *modius minoris mensure*. This unit only appeared in use in 1250 for oats in Petzenkirchen and for both oats and wheat in St. Pölten. This unit is reported in the source to be equal to the *Reutmaß*.¹¹⁴⁵ Since the *measure Pibringer* is also associated with this term,¹¹⁴⁶ it has also been identified to be equal to the *minoris mensura*. This conclusion is supported by the fact that both have the same conversion rate to the *communis mensura*. Additionally, it was also identical to the *Kastmut*, both will be shown below. Its convertibility to the *modius maioris mensura* has already been described. On the assumption that the *modius parva mensura*, which only appears once across the rentals of the Bishopric of Passau¹¹⁴⁷ was also identical to the *minoris mensura*, a conversion rate to the *modius communis mensura* can be calculated. In the rental on St. Pölten from 1367, 22 *modii* and 23,5 *metretae* of wheat in the *parva mensura* are given as 15 *modii* and five *metretae* in the *communis mensura*.¹¹⁴⁸ Using a conversion rate *modius:metretae* for wheat at 1:31, it would follow that one *modius* of the *parva* or *minoris mensura* is 1,5 *modii communis mensura*.

This *communis mensura* only appeared in St. Pölten, for wheat and barley in 1324 and just for wheat in 1367. Another unit for which I could arrive at an exchange ratio, the *Pibringer* is exclusive to the rental on St. Pölten from 1367, where it was used to measure rye and wheat. The convertibility of the *modius communis mensura* to the *modius Pibringer* was shown quite well in the source. In the rental on St. Pölten from 1367, *metretae Pibringer* are twice expressed in *metretae communis mensura*, once for rye¹¹⁴⁹ and once for wheat.¹¹⁵⁰ Based on these conversions, the conversion rate from *modius communis mensura* to *modius Pibringer* can be set at 1:1,5 both for wheat and for rye. Consequentially, the rate of conversion is to *communis mensura* is the same, both for *minoris mensura* and *Pibringer*.

The last two variants of the *modius* I have been able to establish convertibility for are the *Kastmut* and the *modius Ypolitensis*. The former was used around 1250 for oats in Obernberg and Petzenkirchen, as well as for wheat in St. Pölten. The latter was used exclusively around

¹¹⁴⁵ "Ulr(icus) Snaeplinger de 3 iugeribus in Vorhaech 10 metr. tritici minoris mensura (raeutmaz)", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 493.

¹¹⁴⁶ "Summa raewtwaicz mesure Pibringar: 30 metr., qui faciunt tantum communis mesure 20 metr.", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 833.

¹¹⁴⁷ See Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 371.

¹¹⁴⁸ Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 833.

¹¹⁴⁹ "Summa silignis de bonis Pybringarii: 54 metr. qui faciunt 36 metr. silignis communis mesure", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 836.

¹¹⁵⁰ "Summa raewtwaicz mesure Pibringar: 30 metr., qui faciunt tantum communis mesure 20 metr.", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 833.

1250 in St. Pölten. Dollinger reports the Kastmutter as being two to two-and-a-half the size of the small measurement.¹¹⁵¹ However, as stated above, I have found it to be identical to the *minoris mensura* here. This is evident in the fact that the rental on St. Pölten from around 1250 gives the same conversion rate for both to the *maioris mensura*, at 4:1.¹¹⁵² Regarding the *modius Ypolitensis*, Dopsch gives a conversion rate to Kastmutter of 1:3.¹¹⁵³

For the remaining variants of the *modius*, I have not been able to arrive at exchange ratios, leaving them inconvertible. Therefore, they are listed separately in the tables for comparing total grain dues for each location over time. This is the case for the *mensura decimalis* for rye, oats and wheat in St. Pölten in 1367, for the *Voitzmetzen* for oats around 1250 in Neufelden, for the *Amstettner* for rye and oats in Petzenkirchen around 1250 and for the *Neunburger* for rye, oats and wheat in Zeiselmauer in 1324.

This leaves the *modiolus* (*Muttel*), the bushel and its local variants, the Landau bushel and the Passau bushel, buckets and *sextale*. The *modiolus* appeared exclusively for oats in Vichtenstein in 1324. Dopsch found the *modiolus* to be equivalent to five *metretae* of the *maioris mensura* in the *Hofmark Steyr*.¹¹⁵⁴ Since this varied even across administrative units among the rentals of the territorial prince under his consideration, I have not adopted this exchange ratio here. The bushel was described by Dollinger, on the one hand, as being either equivalent to or bigger than a *modius*.¹¹⁵⁵ Dopsch, on the other hand, finds evidence for an exchange rate of one bushel to six *metretae*.¹¹⁵⁶ It is generally used more widely but limited to Upper Austria and can be found in 1324 for rye and oats in Obernberg, Marsbach and Ebelsberg and for wheat in Obernberg. The Passau bushel was used in Neufelden around 1250 for rye. No uses for the Landau bushel were documented across the rentals for the 15 locations selected here. It merely served its purpose for me by facilitating the exchange ratio between the *modiolus* and the Passau bushel. The source contains one instance with conversion rates for the *modiolus*, the Landau bushel and the Passau bushel. The conversion rate from the Landau bushel to the

¹¹⁵¹ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 162–163.

¹¹⁵² “de molendino episcopi apud Vichofen dantur 4 mod. chastmutter vel 1 lantmutter”, Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 163.

¹¹⁵³ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXCI.

¹¹⁵⁴ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXCVII.

¹¹⁵⁵ See Dollinger, *Der Bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, 163.

¹¹⁵⁶ See Dopsch, *Die landesfürstlichen Urbare Nieder- und Oberösterreichs aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, CXCVII.

modiolus was presented as 1:3, while the rate from the Passau bushel to the Landau bushel is 1:2.¹¹⁵⁷ This allows for the calculation of exchange ratios between the *modiolus* and both bushels. The remaining two units, buckets and sextale (*Sechter*)¹¹⁵⁸ were both used for oats in 1324, in the rentals for Mattsee and Vichtenstein, respectively. Maidhof described the bucket as a part of the bushel,¹¹⁵⁹ but I have not been able to find any exchange ratios neither for the bucket nor for the *sextale*.

Finally, the last part of my quantitative investigation was a second approach to the differentiation among producers. Here I tempted the common position in the literature, according to which differentiation of personal status was superseded in importance by differentiation by profession. To accomplish this, I tallied the mentions of professions and positions in the personal databases I created using the rentals. Moreover, to create comparability, I then also calculated the relative proportion of the number of professions and positions attested in any one place at any time to the total number of professions and positions contained in all rentals for all 15 locations, once for those from around 1250 and once for those from 1324.

9. Appendix C: Abstract in German

In dieser Masterarbeit erforsche ich die Produktionsverhältnisse auf 15 Grundherrschaften des dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts, hauptsächlich entlang der Donau im heutigen Österreich. Ich möchte herausfinden, wie sich die Verhältnisse zwischen den am Produktionsprozess Beteiligten in dieser Zeit tiefgehender wirtschaftlicher, klimatischer und demographischer Krisen verändert haben. Bisherige Forschungen zu diesem Thema, für diese Zeit und Region sind rar und tendieren dazu, deskriptiv zu operieren, anstatt Anschluss an heutige Forschungsdebatten in der Wirtschaftsgeschichte des europäischen Spätmittelalters zu finden. Ich will deshalb die empirische Vorarbeit dafür leisten, die Region in die Diskussion über die regional differenzierende sozioökonomische Entwicklung Europas in dieser Zeit einzubetten. Ich untersuche dafür fünf Fragestellungen in Bezug auf die spätmittelalterliche Wirtschaft. Wie war die Aneignung des Mehrprodukts organisiert? Waren Dienste und Abgaben fixiert, konnten sie steigen oder fallen? Welche Rechte hatten die Produzierenden

¹¹⁵⁷ "3 modioli faciunt 1 scaffium de mensura in Landaw [Landau a. d. Isar] et 2 scaffia de Landau 1 de Pat(avia)", Maidhof, *Die Urbare des Hochstifts*, 1, 651.

¹¹⁵⁸ See Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 384.

¹¹⁵⁹ See Maidhof, *Registerband zu den Urbaren des Hochstifts und des Domkapitels*, 3, 339.

an ihrem Land? Wie entwickelte sich die Feudalrente in Geld und Getreide? Wie sehr waren die Produzierenden in sich differenziert? Das Quellenmaterial anhand dem ich diese Fragestellungen untersuche entnehme ich den Urbaren des Bistums Passau aus dem dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhundert. Daraus habe ich 15 österreichische Grundherrschaften ausgewählt, die zumindest zwei Mal in den Urbaren abgebildet sind. Die darin enthaltenen Daten habe ich für bessere Operabilität in Microsoft Excel übertragen und zusätzlich jeweils eine Tabelle aller erwähnten Personen und Institutionen erstellt. Auf diesem Weg stelle ich fest, dass der Grad grundherrlicher Eigenwirtschaft innerhalb der Region räumlich differenziert und abhängig von der Nähe zu städtischen Zentren, schiffbaren Flüssen und dem Weinbau war. Darüber hinaus scheinen sich die Quellen der Feudalrente ausdifferenziert und die Landnutzung teilweise intensiviert zu haben. Bei den Abgaben gab es eine zumindest oberflächliche Tendenz zur Umwandlung in Geld, während die Besitzrechte der Produzierenden zur Erbllichkeit neigten. Die erreichten Ergebnisse zur Entwicklung der Feudalrente in Geld und Getreide sind oft zweifelhaft, was auf die nur bedingte Eignung des Quellentyps für quantitative Untersuchungen zurückzuführen ist. Die Differenzierung innerhalb der Produzierenden nach Berufen und sozialen Statusgruppen stieg, was aber teilweise an der ebenfalls zunehmenden Qualität der Quellen liegt.

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