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Schuldbücher und Rechnungen der Großschäffer und Lieger des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen, Bd. 4: *Liegebücher der Großschäfferei Königsberg (Ordensfolianten 150–152 und Zusatzmaterial)*, ed. Cordula A. Franzke, Duncker & Humblot, Berlin 2018, 745 pp., ISBN 978-3-428-15251-3.

In this illuminating and meticulously researched volume, Cordula A. Franzke makes accessible a rich and varied corpus of archival material that brings new insights to the political, cultural and economic history of Northern and Central Europe in the later medieval period. Her source edition reproduces three so-called *Liegebücher* of the Teutonic Order from the late 14th and early 15th centuries, which record the financial and trading activities of representatives (known as *Lieger*) appointed and sent to Bruges by the military order's leadership in Prussia. With access to the international markets in Flanders, the *Lieger* traded valuable resources – amber, wax, furs and grain, to name a few – imported from the Order's estates and bases in the Baltic to the profit of the Order, and recorded their activities in accounting books edited and printed in full for the first time by Franzke. In print, the *Liegebücher* run to about 500 pages in all, and come prefaced with a series of descriptive and analytical chapters (comprising roughly 200 pages) that introduce the archival materials and place them in their historical context. With this informative and accessible introductory section, an extensive glossary, a detailed index, and more than a dozen illustrations, tables and images (as well as a separate pull-out chart noting every *Lieger* identifiable in the source materials), the volume is produced to an exceptionally high standard. It will be a vital research tool for those interested in trade, commerce and mercantile activity in the Baltic and North Sea regions in the medieval and early modern periods, and be of interest in general to scholars working on international trade, shipping and transport, credit and debt, taxation and accounting, and military history and resource management.

Franzke's contribution marks the fourth (and final) piece in a series of publications aimed at exploiting the accounting and financial materials generated by the Teutonic Order in order to deepen understanding of the organisation's management of its economic resources and its place in the economic and trading networks of Northern and Central Europe. A certain degree of background knowledge of the Teutonic Order's administration is required both to place the materials edited by Franzke in their context and to appreciate their utility as sources. The main focus of Franzke's volume is a full edition of the so-called *Liegebücher* of the *Großschäffer* of Königsberg. The *Liegebücher* in question were, as mentioned above, compiled by the *Lieger* themselves (a term perhaps best translated as deputy or factor), officers who operated principally in Bruges on behalf of the *Großschäffer*. The *Großschäffer* (perhaps best translated as 'great stewards' or 'great administrators') were the two senior officers of the Teutonic

Order responsible for overseeing the large-scale financial and trading operations of the monastic order, with one each resident in Marienburg and Königsberg. Franzke's volume focuses on the materials produced by the *Lieger* of the *Großschäffer* of Königsberg in Bruges, who dealt in the wax, grain, amber, furs, and precious metals (among many other wares and goods) drawn from the Order's estates or from hinterlands further afield, including the forests of Lithuania and Russia (the source of much of the Order's wax and other forest products such as tar and timber) and the Carpathian mountains (the source of metals such as silver and copper). The scale of the operations overseen by the Teutonic Order and their *Großschäffer* were vast, and Franzke's work imparts new insights into the management of a multi-faceted economic and trading enterprise by a political caste that ruled lands across the Baltic and held estates in the Holy Roman Empire, Iberia, Italy, and Greece.

The *Lieberbücher* themselves cover the years 1391–1399 and 1419–1436 and were largely drawn up by two individual *Lieger*: Johannes Plige and Andreas Koyan, who held the post of *Lieger* in Bruges respectively between 1391–1399 and 1419–1434 (pp. 77–80). These merchants kept records of all their financial transactions undertaken on behalf of the Teutonic Order, and submitted their accounts to the *Großschäffer* of Königsberg for approval on a semi-regular basis. Plige and Koyan were by no means the only *Lieger* active in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, for it is clear that the *Großschäffer* of Marienburg and Königsberg also appointed *Lieger* to manage their affairs in Antwerp, Lübeck, Lemberg, Gdańsk, Elbląg, and Toruń, and sometimes to entire regions, such as England and Scotland (pp. 38–39). The Knights Hospitaller, another contemporary military order, may have also appointed merchants to oversee their financial affairs in a similar fashion to the Teutonic Knights for which concrete evidence has not survived (p. 38). Even though more material produced by *Lieger* working for the Teutonic Knights has been preserved in the Order's archive (now in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv of the Prussian Cultural Foundation, Berlin), the survival of Plige and Koyan's material is still remarkable and makes their accounts particularly valuable. The 'additional materials' (*Zusatzmaterial*) assembled by Franzke and printed in the volume alongside the three *Lieberbücher* run to about ten pages and help deepen our understanding of the activities of the *Großschäffer* and *Lieger* within the administration of the Teutonic Order more generally. Documents published in this section include correspondence detailing the export of cereals from Prussia by the *Großschäffer*, their exchange of different currencies (especially the conversion of the Flemish Pound Groot into the Prussian Mark), issues arising from the trade in amber and its manufacture into rosary beads, and the routing of payments from Prussia via Bruges to the Order's agents in Rome.

Franzke's volume remains clearly structured and accessible throughout. Her approaches to editing both the *Lieberbücher* and the additional documents are spelt out with clarity and her scholarly apparatus remains intelligible right through. When reading through the source edition myself, I found the glossary particularly helpful and easy to navigate, and the detailed index an equally useful aid. Chapter 3 of her introduction (pp. 23–34) makes intelligible the often bewildering array of coin and monies of account used in contemporary financial records, and how rates of exchange and reckoning fluctuated in the period covered by the *Lieberbücher*. The fact that this

chapter also summarises the most important developments in the Flemish currency in the 14th and 15th centuries means that it will be of use to scholars working on trade and commerce in the North Sea in general. As well as secondary literature in English, French, Dutch, German, and Polish, in compiling this volume Franzke has drawn upon unpublished material from archives in London, Bruges, Lübeck, Berlin, Gdańsk, Toruń, and Tallinn. Franzke also visited other archives too, including the National Archives in Scotland and the City Archive (*Stadsarchief*) in Antwerp, and although she was unable to locate relevant material for her volume in these repositories, her evident enthusiasm to explore so many archives merits praise.

Franzke's consummate knowledge of the archival material, her skills in clear and concise description and analysis, and her talent in editing documents has produced a clear and eminently useable source edition that brings nuance to our existing understanding of the trading networks in the Baltic and North Sea and points to avenues for future research. In terms of the general pattern of trade westwards from Prussian and Livonia to the markets in Flanders, the *Liegebücher* sketch out general trends long established in the historiography. Wares such as grain, timber and precious metals (especially lead, copper and silver) were transported from Prussia for sale in Flanders, as well as an array of forest products including wax, timber, tar, furs, skins, and ash. In return, salt (often from the Bay of Biscay), manufactured goods, and fish, among other wares, were transported westwards for consumption in Prussia, as well as a vast array of different types of cloth and woven fabrics (thankfully made understandable by Franzke's comprehensive glossary) which were no doubt needed to fashion into garments to protect against the harsh winters in the region. The *Liegebücher* published by Franzke deepen our knowledge of the trading networks based around the exchange of these important wares, and provide important information about the payment of tolls and other associated costs, the organisation of freight and shipping, and fluctuations in commodity prices. One noteworthy example comes from the materials of Koyan. In 1424, the *Lieger* sourced a couple of hats and a pair of trousers for a certain Henry Young (*Hinrich Jungen*) in Warsaw, also known as 'Black Henry' (*Swartz Heinrich*). Koyan goes on to record that 'Black Henry' had given him money to source these clothes in Flanders when they had met in Gdańsk the previous year. These three items of clothing were wrapped in a paper package marked with blue on one of its edges, and was then entrusted to Nicholas Rosenitz (*Niclos Rosenitz*), an associate of Koyan's and a fellow merchant. Rosenitz was to ensure that this package reached Toruń, at which point a certain Nicholas Weldechen (*Niclos Weldechen*) would then ensure it was sent on to Warsaw in order (one presumes) to take its rightful place in the wardrobe of 'Black Henry' (p. 451). This anecdote not only draws attention to how Koyan undertook his own 'private' business alongside their 'official' business as *Lieger* of the Teutonic Order, but provides precious details regarding the mechanics of long-distance trade that usually do not survive in our source materials.

As well as the staple wares mentioned above, individual readers will – depending on their historical interests – no doubt find much else worthy of remark in the *Liegebücher* presented by Franzke. I myself was intrigued by the range of wares sent westwards to Prussia and the detail with which they were recorded by the *Lieger* in question: bales of fresh ginger and African pepper (p. 406); almonds and rice (p. 262);

candelabras both large and small (p. 545); an astrolabe (p. 400); a diamond (p. 373); mirrors and Venetian glassware (p. 573); various items of clothing, from brand new pairs of black trousers (p. 573) to all sorts of colourful hats; and all manner of arms and armour, including crossbows and helmets (p. 573), swords (p. 408) and shields (p. 240), all appear, among many other items and manufactured goods.

The great diversity in wares traded in the *Liegebücher* is matched by the rich variety of people who appear as named actors in the financial transactions, both trading goods and depositing or transferring money. Johannes Plige and Andreas Koyan, the two *Lieger* in question who compiled the accounts, appear throughout (as one would expect), as do their immediate superiors the *Groschäffer* of Königsberg. Other leading officers of the Order, including the Grand Marshall (i.e. the chief military officer), Treasurer, and Grand Commander (i.e. the second-in-command to the Grandmaster), appear more occasionally, as do several bishops as well as a series of mid-ranking and lower officials in the administrative hierarchy. The more eagle-eyed among readers will no doubt recognise some important careers in the making. The young Konrad, *Vogt* (i.e. advocate or overlord) of Grebin, who paid Andreas Koyan for an altar cloth in 1424, would become Grandmaster in 1441 (p. 428). Figures not immediately connected to the Teutonic Order that appear in the financial accounts range from leading aristocrats of international renown such as the Earl of Derby (and future King Henry IV of England) depositing significant sums of cash with the Order in 1396 (p. 311), to the purchase of ten and three quarter lengths of grey cloth from an un-named 'lady of the corner' (*vrauwen von der eke*), presumably in Bruges, in 1430 (p. 478). The accounts include collectively hundreds of names of traders, craftsmen, merchants and shippers, all indexed meticulously by Franzke. The varied 'cast' of characters that appear in these financial records mean this source volume will be of interest to scholars and prosopographers working across several fields within medieval and early modern studies.

Taken together, however, the account books constitute far more than lists of names, merchandise and prices. A throwaway reference to the dispatch of a tapestry from Bruges some thirty ells wide and high to the Grand Marshall bearing the Order's coat of arms is not only interesting in itself for the light it sheds on the international art trade (pp. 404–405), but illuminates an aspect of the Order's material culture too fragile to have survived for archaeologists and historians to study today. In another case, the *Lieger* in Bruges forwarded onwards to the *Großschäffer* of Königsberg an item of clothing to Prussia (presumably for one of the leading officers, if not the *Großschäffer* himself) on which was depicted "how the Order first [came to be] from a castle built upon an oak [tree]" (*wie der orden erst eyn slus off eyne eyche buwete*). Just how this tale was brought to life through the medium of cloth remains unclear, but it underlines how one of the formative events in the history of the Teutonic Order was held in reverence by their leadership (p. 380) – namely the legend that when they first began their conquest of Prussia, the embattled Teutonic Knights built their first fortified outpost around a large oak tree in the environs of modern-day Toruń (discussed by Franzke on pp. 134–135). This is by no means the only unlikely appearance of this legend in these financial materials, for even the odd scrap of poetry in Middle Low German slips into these accounting books. Prefacing one of the accounting books of Andreas Koyan, *Lieger* of the *Großschäffer* of Königsberg in Bruges between 1419–1434, runs

the following rhyme (p. 369): “In the one thousandth and two hundred and thirty-fourth year, the German Order came to Prussia; the first castle that they seeded was in an Oak tree of Old Toruń” (*Tausund czweyhundert 34 jar, Dutzsch orde qwam czu Preussen czvar. Das erste slos das sie dirkorn, ward offeyn eiche czu Alden Thorn*). These *Liegebücher*, therefore, can be used to address a whole host of research questions well beyond those traditionally posed by economic historians and scholars interested in the Hanseatic realm.

Alongside the other three volumes in the series, Frankze’s volume make available valuable materials that will hopefully encourage further scholarship on the Teutonic Order and on the economic and political history of the Baltic and North Sea regions in general. Forthcoming work by Anna Paulina Orłowska on the merchant Johannes Piß (also known as Johannes Pyre), a merchant of Gdańsk who traded throughout the region in the second quarter of the 15th century, will hopefully enrich our understanding of the trading networks in the Baltic yet further, and also shed more light on the relationships between the political and economic tribulations of Teutonic Order in the 15th century and its impact on commercial trade in the Baltic Sea and beyond. The on-going research project led by Alexandra Sapoznik based at King’s College London entitled “Bees in the Medieval World, c. 1200–1600: Economic, Environmental and Cultural Perspectives”, which employs Lluís Sales Fava and Mark Whelan (the present reviewer) as Research Associates, seeks to gain a better understanding of the wax and honey trade – as well as the use and consumption of wax and honey (and other bee-related products) in their societal and cultural contexts – in medieval and early modern Christendom. For the purposes of the project, the materials presented by Franzke are invaluable, for they provide critical evidence for the trade in bee products linking the wax-producing forests of Central and Eastern Europe with the international markets in Flanders. In particular, the *Liegebücher* highlight the export of significant quantities of wax by the *Großschäffer* through Riga, Gdańsk and Toruń to Flanders, to be sold in Bruges by their *Lieger*, as well as contextual information about the prices the commodity commanded and its packaging and weighing. Franzke has already published some insights on the wax trade in the Baltic (as well as the trade in other wares, such as fish and salt) using her *Liegebücher* as a base¹, and she should be commended for not just bringing important source materials to the attention of a broader audience, but publishing them in a format that make them widely accessible to all scholars with interests in the field.

This volume, in summary, sets a fine example for prospective publications on the Teutonic Order to follow. It can only be hoped that future work in the field combines the same analytical clarity with mastery of archival material demonstrated so evidently by Franzke.

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¹ Cordula A. FRANZKE, *Die persönlichen Handelsrechnungen des preußischen Kaufmanns Johannes Plige (1391–1399)*, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, vol. 130: 2012, pp. 1–57.