

Standards of Living, Order, and Prestige: Public Facilities in Early Fifteenth-Century Lviv (Lemberg)

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I

This contribution is intended as a case study of urban material culture in the late Middle Ages. The particular aspect to be investigated – city-owned public facilities – is worth of attention for several reasons.

Of these, the most important is the fact that public facilities constitute one of the most prominent indicators of the level of development, everyday needs, and living conditions in late medieval urban society:

“Die historische Umwelt, Alltag und Fest des spätmittelalterlichen Stadtbewohners, Gesundheit, Daseinsvorsorge und Bildungsvermittlung wurden in entscheidender Weise vom Volumen und der Intensität öffentlicher Bauanstrengungen bestimmt.”¹

(The historical environment, everyday life and special days of the late medieval city-dwellers, as well as their health, means of existence, and the transfer of knowledge were decisively determined by the intensity and volume of public building activity.)²

Although we completely agree with this remark by Gerhard Fouquet, it is nevertheless necessary to note that in the present essay we shall consider “public facilities” in a somewhat wider sense. Not only relevant building activities (although they will receive most of the attention), but also other factors connected to satisfying various areas of public need, will be taken into account.

Another reason for studying urban public facilities, and especially those controlled by town governments, is the possibility of touching upon the issue of administration of the town’s finances. On the one hand, public facilities could

¹ Gerhard Fouquet, “Ad Structuram civitatis”: Der öffentliche Baubetrieb Hamburgs und die Errichtung von Mühlen- und Schleusenanlagen in Fuhlsbüttel während der Jahre 1465/87,” in *Öffentliches Bauen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit: Abrechnungen als Quellen für die Finanz-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Bauwesens*, edited by Ulf Dirlmeier, Rainer S. Elkar, and Gerhard Fouquet (Siegen: Scripta Mercaturae, 1991), 206.

² Translation mine.

represent a source of income. On the other hand, their construction, maintenance, and functioning always demanded certain expenses. In some cases these costs were extremely high, and provide a good illustration of the methods used by medieval town governments to mobilise substantial funds.

In our study of urban public facilities in Lviv (Lemberg), we intend to proceed as follows. We shall present and interpret the available data on the historical development of different public facilities. We will consider then the measures taken by the town government to provide for their construction, maintenance, and functioning, and finally identify their purposes and the role they played in the life of the town. The discussion of the purposes and the role of different groups of facilities will be continued and further amplified by placing them within the context of their relative importance to the town government. This will be done mostly through a comparison of the expenditures incurred and (where applicable) of the incomes and other benefits derived by the town government in connection with this or that facility. Knowledge of income and costs should help us form conclusions concerning the level of development in administration and financing of the public facilities achieved by Lviv at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The main sources used in the present essay are two account books from the town government of Lviv, covering the years 1404–1426.³ These books predominantly contain records of the incomes and expenses of the town government, although the records of debts (both due to and owed by the government), the results of elections to the town council, lists of new citizens, and schedules of extraordinary taxes (*schoss*, *exaccio*) are also to be found there. For our purposes, most important are the sections on incomes and expenses.

In addition to the account books, a number of auxiliary sources are used in the present study. These are charters, either connected directly to the foundation, ownership, and use of the public facilities or containing at least some information about them.⁴ Another auxiliary source is the book of the town council and scabinal court from the years 1381–1389,⁵ which also provides, in

³ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2 and 3; for the description of the originals see Karol Badecki, *Archiwum Akt Dawnych miasta Lwowa: A. Oddział staropolski*. (Archive of the early acts of Lviv: A. Department of Old Poland), vol. 4, *Księgi rachunkowe (lonherskie): 1404-1788* (Account books: 1404-1788) (Lviv: Nakładem gminy m. stol. miasta Lwowa, 1936), 1-4.

⁴ The charters are published in *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego Bernardyńskiego we Lwowie* (Castrensial and terrestrial acts from the times of Rzeczpospolita Polska from the so-called Bernardine archive in Lviv), 24 vols.; vols. 1-10 (Lviv: Galicyjski wydział krajowy, 1868-1884).

⁵ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 1; for the description of the originals see Badecki, *Archiwum Akt Dawnych*, vol. 3, *Księgi i akta administracyjno-sądowe: 1382-1787* (Books and acts of

addition to the records on property transactions, the decrees of the council for that period. The same kind of information is available from the work of Karol Badecki, in which he collected and commented upon the fragments of the lost fifteenth-century books of the town council.⁶ Of some significance as a primary source is the "chronicle" of the nineteenth-century Lviv historian Dionizy Zubrzycki since it contains data from archival material, which was subsequently lost.⁷ These works, however, by no means compensate the loss of the town council's account book from 1414–1459. During the period 1414–1426 this book was kept as a complement to the extant one, and predominantly contained records of incomes.⁸

II

Lviv was founded by rulers of the Ruthenian Halych-Volhyn principality in the mid-thirteenth century. Originally it served as a stronghold of resistance against the Mongol-Tatar invasion.⁹ By the end of the thirteenth century, however, the settlement had become an important centre of commerce, mainly due to its position at the end of the trade routes leading from the Black Sea Italian colonies to the Baltic coast (through Toruń), and to such major German urban centres as Wrocław and Nuremberg (through Kraków).¹⁰ During the second half of the thirteenth century a heavy influx of Armenians, Jewish, and especially German craftsmen and merchants took place. The predominantly German settlement, situated immediately to the south of the old Ruthenian town, formed the basis for what was later considered as the proper *civitas* of Lviv (see fig. 1)¹¹

In 1349, after several military campaigns by the Polish king Kazimir the Great, Galicia and its major urban centre – Lviv – became dependent from the kingdom of Poland. For a relatively short period from 1370 to 1388 Galicia and Lviv formed a part of the Hungarian kingdom. In 1388, however, they again submitted to Polish rule, this time for good.

the administration and court: 1382–1787) (Lviv: Nakładem gminy król. stoł. miasta Lwowa, 1935), 1–2.

⁶ Karol Badecki, *Zaginione księgi średniowiecznego Lwowa: Studium rekonstrukcyjne* (The lost books of medieval Lviv: A study in their reconstruction) (Lviv: Nakładem gminy miasta Lwowa, 1927).

⁷ Dionizy Zubrzycki, *Kronika miasta Lwowa* (Chronicle of the city of Lviv) (Lviv: Nakładem autora, 1844).

⁸ Badecki, *Archiwum Akt Dawnych*, vol. 4, 4–5; Badecki, *Zaginione księgi*, 34–39.

⁹ Aleksander Czołowski, *Lwów za ruskich czasów* (Lviv in the Ruthenian period) (Lviv: Gubrynowicz i Schmidt, 1891), 8–10.

¹⁰ Łucja Charewiczowa, *Handel średniowiecznego Lwowa* (Commerce in medieval Lviv) (Lviv: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego imienia Ossolińskich, 1925), 31–32.

¹¹ Czołowski, *Lwów za ruskich czasów*, 11–12.

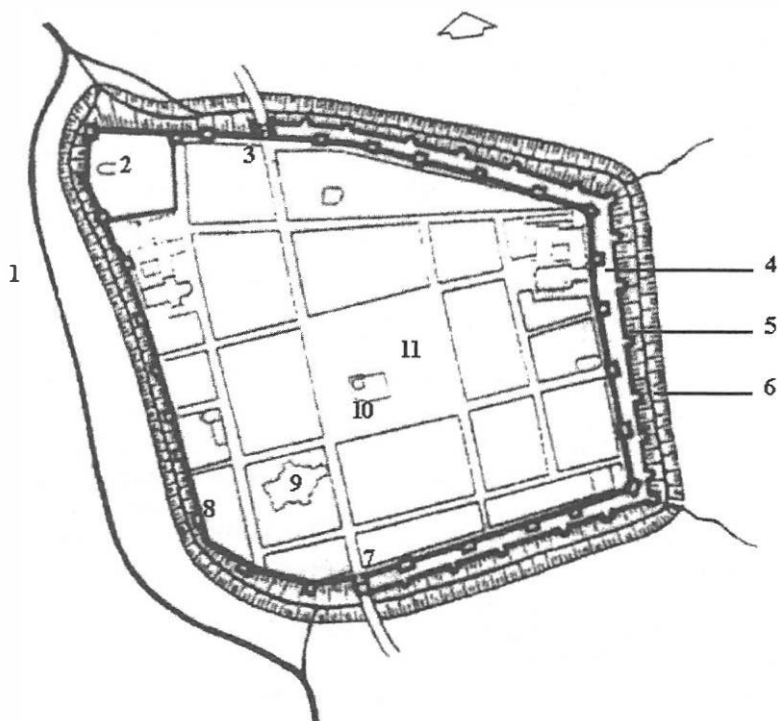


Fig. 1: Lviv at the beginning of the fifteenth century

- 1 Poltva River (Peltew)
- 2 The Lower Castle (residence of the royal administration)
- 3 The Tatar gate (*porta Tatarum*)
- 4 First fortification line (the "higher" wall)
- 5 Second fortification line (the "lower" wall)
- 6 Defensive moats
- 7 The Halych gate (*porta Haliciensis*)
- 8 The Butchers' tower (*turris nova retro macellas, turris Carnificium*)
- 9 Parish Church of Virgin Mary
- 10 Town hall
- 11 The Market square

Throughout the second half of the fourteenth century Lviv received a great deal of attention from its rulers. Recognising Lviv's role both as a centre of

trade and as a border stronghold, they granted several important privileges to the town; the most significant of them were the right of possession and use of 100 *mansi* of land adjoining the town¹² as well as the right to impose a fourteen-day staple duty on the merchants travelling through Lviv.¹³

As for Lviv's legal status as a *civitas*, tradition connects its origins to a charter of *locatio* issued in 1356 by Kazimir the Great in which to Lviv was granted Magdeburg law.¹⁴ However, there is sufficient evidence to show that various institutions, characteristic of urban settlements under German law (*advocatus*, town council, guilds), existed in Lviv long before that date. This suggests that the first *locatio* privilege may already have been granted to Lviv by the Ruthenian rulers.¹⁵ Such a suggestion agrees well with the fact that multiple *locatio* for one settlement was a usual practice in the medieval kingdom of Poland.¹⁶ Thus, by the end of the fourteenth century Lviv had, in addition to a solid economic status, a rather long tradition of administration based on the German model.

The government of Lviv consisted of the town council, presided over by the *proconsul*, and the scabinal court, presided over by the *advocatus*. Each of the two groups – scouncillors (*consules*) and scabinal judges (*scabini*) – was composed of twelve lifetime members. Each year, six of the twelve members were elected to hold office. The councillors and scabinal judges belonged to the upper stratum of Lviv citizens. Usually they were members of the most wealthy merchant and landowner families. It happened quite often that the representatives of these families occupied places in town's government for several generations.¹⁷

While the functions of the scabinal court were limited to exercising the judicial power of the government, the town council had a much wider range of responsibilities. Along with legislative activity and representing the community politically, the councillors were also in charge of the general management of the town's economy.

¹² *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 3, no. 19, 21.

¹³ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 3, no. 32, 42.

¹⁴ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 3, no. 5.

¹⁵ Józef Skoczek, "Ze studjów nad średniowiecznym Lwowem" (From studies of medieval Lviv), *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Prawny* 6.3 (1928): 360-366; Myron Kapral', "Privilej 1365 roku jak powtórne nadання magdeburs'koho prava dla міста L'vova" (The privilege of 1365 as the second granting of Magdeburg Law to Lviv), in *L'viv: Misto, suspil'stvo, kul'tura: Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'* (Lviv: City, society, culture: A collection of scholarly works), edited by Marjan Mudryj (Lviv: LDU im. Ivana Franka, 1999), 11-21.

¹⁶ Paul W. Knoll, "The Urban Development of Medieval Poland: With Particular References to Cracow," in *The Urban Society of Eastern Europe in Premodern Times*, edited by Bariša Krekic (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 87.

¹⁷ Józef Skoczek, "Studja nad patrycjatem lwowskim wieków średnich" (A study on Lviv patriciate in the Middle Ages), *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Prawny* 7.5 (1929): 238-239, 250-251.

For the members in late medieval municipal government, their towns were not unlike profitable enterprises.¹⁸ In order for an enterprise to be successful, several conditions had to be fulfilled. The enterprise required that a certain level of security be maintained. Its employees should have a relatively comfortable and healthy work environment, there should be some means of controlling and of extracting profit. Finally, it was always advantageous when the public thought well of an enterprise. If late medieval towns may be thought of as "enterprise," then it is clear that fulfilment of each of these conditions at least partially depended on availability and functioning of this or that public facility. Let us examine how the town-council of early fifteenth-century Lviv, thus, created a "successful enterprise".

III

III.1 DEFENSE FACILITIES

Fortifications

Various narrative sources display discrepancies in terms of the dating of the oldest Western-style fortifications in Lviv. Some state that the construction of walls and towers was started by Kazimir the Great after he had conquered Lviv and granted the town a *locatio* charter. Other sources mention the fortifications as already existing in 1350, which might be viewed as an argument for dating their origins to the period of the Halych-Volhyn principality.¹⁹

The first record that can be considered completely reliable comes from 1368. It is a royal charter granting to the town the possession and use of one hundred *mansi* of land adjoining the walls: *centum mansos franconicos . . . incipiendo a fronte murorum*.²⁰ In the records from 1382–1389 we have numerous references to the town walls and especially to the two main gates: Halych gate and Tatar gate²¹. A bridge in front of the Halych gate is also mentioned.²² Most of the scholars, therefore, agree that the first fortification line

¹⁸ Maria Bogucka and Henryk Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbirowej* (History of the cities and burghers in Poland before its division) (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1986), 177–178.

¹⁹ Josyp Hrons'kyj, "Oboronni ukriplennia seredn'ovichnoho L'vova" (Defensive fortifications of medieval Lviv), *Zhovten* '6 (1979): 121.

²⁰ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 3, no. 19.

²¹ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 1, no. 12, 25, 135, 160a, 187, 207, 215, 218, 333, 376, 392, 405, 414, 442, 444, 556, 624, 632, 646, 649.

²² *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 1, no. 392.

of medieval Lviv, the "higher" walls, was functional before the beginning of the fifteenth century.²³

The analysis of the town council's account books provide another argument which favours the opinion that the "higher" wall had been completed by the end of the fourteenth century. During the years 1404–1407 we observe only minor expenditures (less than 2 *sexagenae* per annum)²⁴ on repairs to the wooden elements such as the tower and wall roofs (*tectus ad sagittandum*), steps (*gradus*), and gates (as a supplement of the discussion of the fortification expenses, here and henceforth, see figs. 2 and 3).²⁵ The character of such expenditures suggests maintenance of the existing buildings rather than full-fledged construction work.²⁶ The same is true about the two gate bridges: in 1407–1408, less than 9 *sexagenae* are spent for the wooden beams, boards, nails, and labour. In 1405 and 1406 there are no expenditures for the bridges.

The situation changed in 1408 when the construction of a new tower began (*turris nova retro macellas*, later *turris Carnificium*). Along with the usual maintenance work on the wooden parts of the walls and towers, we observe an increase of expenditures for bricks in 1408 and 1409 (20.5 and 16 *sexagenae*, respectively). During these two years, however, only the preparatory work and production of the building material must have taken place. Construction proper began in 1410. It is in this year that the expenses for the production of bricks (20 *sexagenae*) were accompanied by those for mortar (7 *sexagenae*) as well as the salary of two masons (22.5 *sexagenae*). Construction of the *turris*

²³ Franciszek Jaworski, *Lwów za Jagielly: Opowiadania historyczne* (Lviv in Jagellon times: Historical sketches) (Lviv: Towarzystwo Miłośników Przeszłości Lwowa, 1910), 43–44; Hrons'kyj, "Oboronni ukriplennia," 121.

²⁴ Except for figures, where the data is presented in Polish *grossi*, all other references to financial operations are given in *sexagenae*, the currency predominating in our sources. *Sexagenae* were the traditional Galician currency used in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries along with the common currency of the kingdom of Poland, Polish marks. One *sexagena* was equivalent to 60 Polish *grossi*, while one Polish mark equaled 48 *grossi*. The relation of *sexagena* to Polish mark was, therefore 5 : 4. In Lviv in 1404–1426 approximate prices for some goods were as follows: 1 *lapis* (12.06 kg) of bee wax, 1 *sexagena*; 1 *lapis* of pepper, 3.5–4 *sexagenae*; a barrel of beer, 0.5 *sexagena*; one horse, 3–4 *sexagenae*.

²⁵ Figure 2 shows, on the one hand, the amounts indicated in the records that explicitly refer to the basic elements of the fortification system (such records, however, do not represent the whole of fortification expenses). On the other hand, there were those costs connected to the three main kinds of construction work (the purpose of which is not always indicated). Juxtaposition of these data allows a rough estimate of the actual fortification expenses.

²⁶ Taking this into account, the suggestion of Josyp Hrons'kyj (see Hrons'kyj, "Oboronni ukriplennia," 122) concerning the construction of the Tatar gate tower ("*turris porte Tartarorum*") and the Jews' tower ("*turris Iudeorum*") during the years of 1404–1408 does not seem plausible. The available records are related only to the maintenance of these buildings, while their construction clearly dates to an earlier period, not covered by the extant account books.

Carnificium probably ended by 1413 since the volume of masonry work gradually decreased through 1411 and 1412.

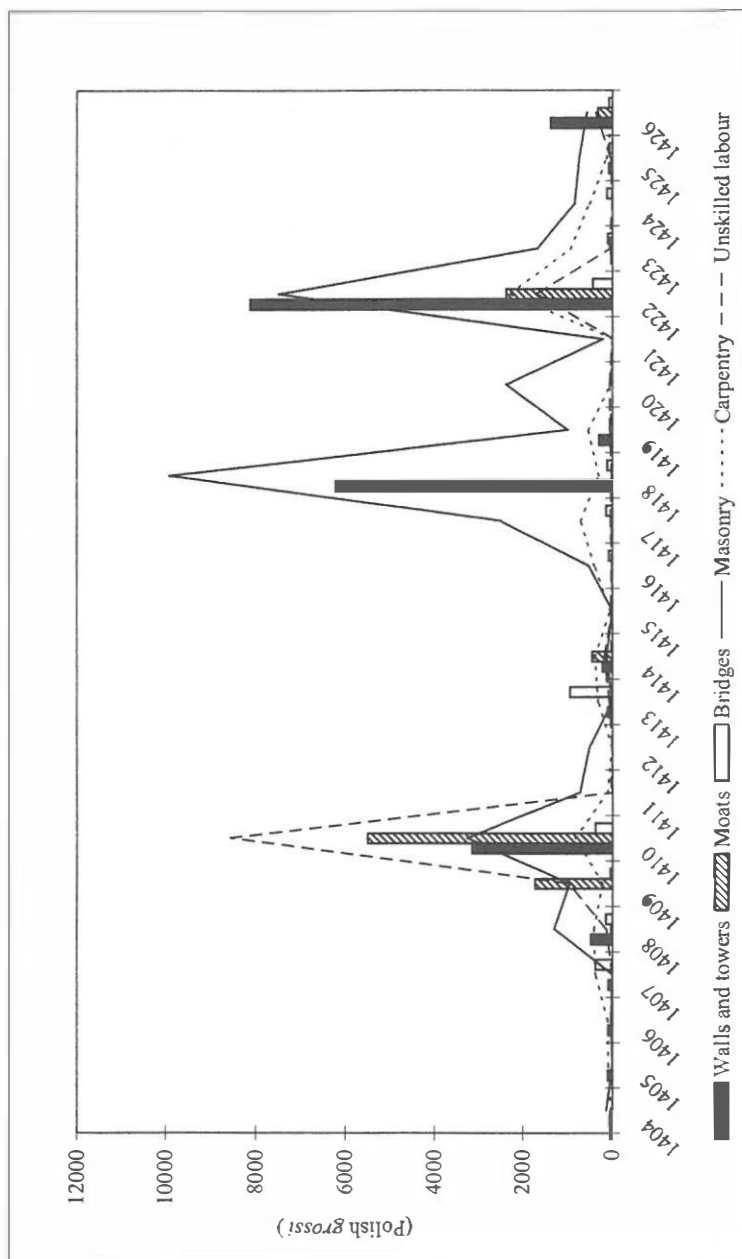


Fig. 2: Structure of the fortification expenses

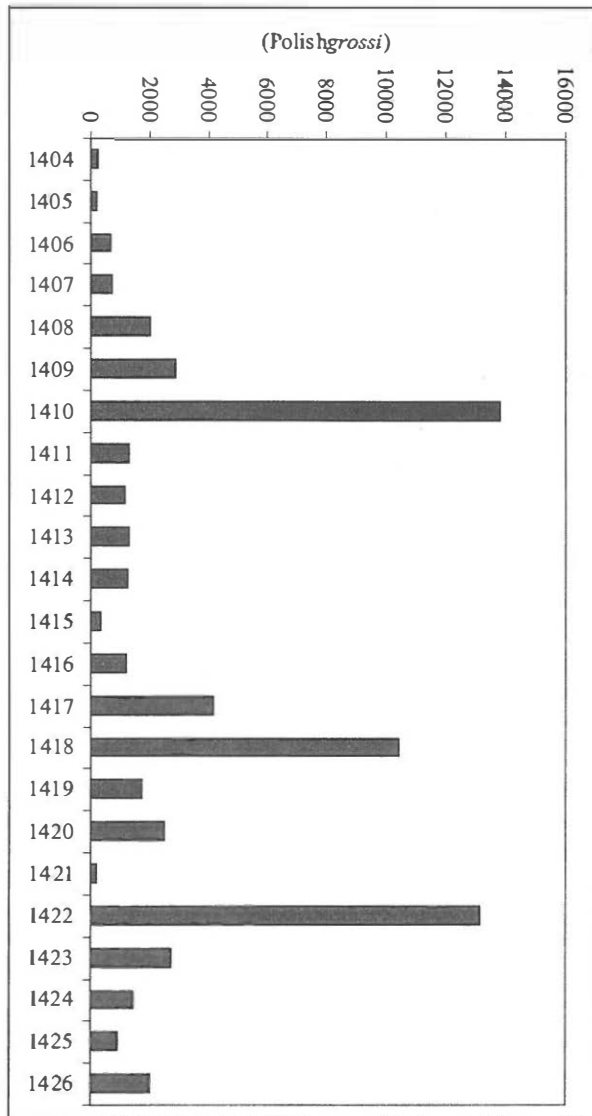


Fig. 3: Total defense expenses

Along with the construction of the new tower, work on the defensive moats started in the spring of 1409.²⁷ The amount of funds and labour dedicated to this purpose as well as the wording of the account book (. . . *inceptum fossatum fodere* . . .) suggest that the records from 1409 and onwards refer to a substantial enlargement of the moats rather than to mere improvement and conservation. Already in that year, expenses *ad fossatum* were quite substantial (29 *sexagenae*) although they reached their highest levels in 1410. The labour of unskilled workers, paid on a week-by-week or daily basis, was predominantly used for improving the moats. The data from the account books make it possible to estimate the average number of the workers employed. The labour of unskilled workers lasted from 6 May until 20 June in 1409 and from 16 June until 2 October in 1410.²⁸ Taking a five-day working week as usual for German-speaking territories in the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries,²⁹ it can be seen that unskilled workers worked 30 days on the improvement of the moats in 1409 and 50 days, in 1410. Having considered the total expenditures for unskilled workers during these two years (990 *grossi* and 6153 *grossi*, respectively) and the usual daily payment of such workers in early fifteenth-century Lviv (1.5 *grossi*),³⁰ we can conclude that in 1409 the number of the workers was 22, rising to 82 in 1410. The increase in the purchases of timber and payments to the carpenters in 1410 can also be explained by the ongoing improvements to the defensive moats. After being dug to the necessary depth, these moats were reinforced with wooden poles.³¹

During the period of 1413–1415, fortification work almost completely ceased. The only exceptions are rather substantial improvements to the bridge in front of the Halych gate (16 *sexagenae* spent). Also in 1415, minor expenses for improvements to the wall and the defensive moats are recorded.

The second significant peak in fortification activity occurred in 1418, when Lviv's government began construction of the second fortification line –

²⁷ "Domini consules inceptum fossatum fodere feria secunda ante festum sti Stanislay post Pascha [6 May] anno Domini MCCCC nono." *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 248.

²⁸ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 243, 246–248; cf. Antje Sander, "Die Lüneburger Bauamtsrechnungen von 1386 bis 1388," in *Öffentliches Bauen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit: Abrechnungen als Quellen für die Finanz-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Bauwesens*, edited by Ulf Dirlmeier, Rainer S. Elkar, and Gerhard Fouquet (Siegen: Scripta Mercaturae, 1991), 102; Fouquet, "Baubetrieb Hamburgs," 229.

²⁹ Ulf Dirlmeier, "Zu Arbeitsbedingungen und Löhnen von Bauhandwerkern im Spätmittelalter," in *Deutsches Handwerk in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit: Sozialgeschichte – Volkskunde – Literaturgeschichte*, edited by Rainer S. Elkar (Göttingen: Otto Schwartz, 1983), 38; cf. Gerhard Fouquet, *Bauen für die Stadt: Finanzen, Organisation und Arbeit in kommunalen Baubetrieben des Spätmittelalters: Eine vergleichende Studie vornehmlich zwischen den Städten Basel und Marburg* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), 54–56; Sander, "Die Lüneburger Bauamtsrechnungen," 103.

³⁰ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2–3, passim.

³¹ Cf. Sander, "Die Lüneburger Bauamtsrechnungen," 102.

the "lower" wall – along the eastern and partly northern and southern borders of the town.³² The decision to build the "lower" wall was connected with the necessity of modernising Lviv's fortification system and help adapt it to the growing role of artillery in the sieges.³³ Again, in the years preceding 1418 one notices an increasing volume of brick production (almost 6 *sexagenae* were spent for this material in 1416 and 42 *sexagenae* in 1417), while in 1418 the costs of production and transportation of bricks, stones, and mortar together with the salary of two masons ran to 166 *sexagenae*. The construction of the wall continued over the following two years as well, although at a much lower intensity (in 1419, 10 *sexagenae* were spent for bricks and less than 5 *sexagenae* for the transportation of materials and masons' salary; in 1420, 36.5 *sexagenae* for bricks and 3 *sexagenae* for stone).

The year 1422 marks the third peak in the volume of fortification activity. Thus, the town both resumed construction of the "lower" wall (125 *sexagenae* spent for stone, mortar, transportation of materials, and masons' salaries) and made more substantial repairs on the wooden roofs above towers and the galleries of the "higher" wall (almost 10 *sexagenae* paid for shingles, nails, and other materials). In comparison with previous years, a fairly high amount of work was carried out both on the Tartar and Halych gates bridges (total expenses more than 7 *sexagenae*). At the same time, defensive moats were further enlarged and improved at a total cost of 40 *sexagenae* (this includes workers' pay, purchase of tools, and production of wooden support elements).

Such a sudden rise in the building activity (and not only in the field of defense) in 1422 was due to the fact that at least a part of the funds, collected from Lviv citizens to support the king in his campaign against the Teutonic order in 1421, had never been used directly for this purpose and remained in the hands of the town council.³⁴ In addition to this, the king issued an order to the nobility possessing the lands in the vicinity of Lviv, according to which the noblemen had to place a certain number of their peasants at the town council's disposal for this fortification work.³⁵

However, the most important factor in determining the outcome of Lviv government's fortification projects was a royal privilege granted to the town the end of 1425. The privilege exempted Lviv merchants from customs duty

³² Jaworski, *Lwów za Jagielly*, 45-47.

³³ Jaworski, *Lwów za Jagielly*, 43, 45; cf. David Eltis, "Towns and Defense in Later Medieval Germany," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 33 (1989): 92-93.

³⁴ Jaworski, *Lwów za Jagielly*, 47-48. Cf. cases of similar "inappropriate" use of collected taxes described in Albert Rigaudière, "Le financement des fortifications urbaines en France du milieu du XIV siècle à la fin du XV siècle," *Revue Historique* 273 (1985): 83-84.

³⁵ Jaworski, *Lwów za Jagielly*, 49; cf. the terminology of the account book "villani", "dorffschaft", "Reusse". The practice of using peasants' labour in fortification of towns was common in late medieval Europe; cf. Rigaudière, "Le financement des fortifications urbaines," 34-37.

throughout the kingdom of Poland under the condition that an equivalent amount of money would be submitted to the town council for financing fortification work.³⁶ Notable fortification expenditures were already made the next year, namely 23 *sexagenae* for construction of the wall and 6 *sexagenae* for work on the moats. Unfortunately, extant records do not allow us to trace the details of development of the second fortification line until 1428, when *Muri Ciuitatis ex libertate Theloneorum et ex collectis Ciuium . . . sunt erecti*.³⁷ Nevertheless, an impressive sum for fortification expenses during the period from 1425 to 1428, 4118 *sexagenae*,³⁸ points to the fact that the main bulk of the work on the second fortification line became feasible only after Lviv had obtained a substantial source of financing *ex libertate Theloneorum*.

Organisation of defense

There is no exact evidence concerning the manning of Lviv's fortifications at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is known, however, that at that time no mercenaries were hired by the town. In times of peace, only night guards (*vigiles*, *vigilatores*, *wechter*) kept watch at the gate towers and at the tower of the town hall, possibly due to reluctance of burghers to render this service.³⁹ The night guards were paid by the town council, although in quite an irregular manner (the sums of payments ranged from more than 7 *sexagenae*, as in 1412, to no payment at all, as in 1407, 1415–1417, 1420, 1421, and 1426.)

In times of war, the fortifications were manned by the citizens. It was, therefore, necessary to ensure that they had some military training. This training was carried out predominantly through target practice at the meetings of the so-called "marksmen's fraternity."⁴⁰ Although Zubrzycki first mentions the existence of such a fraternity in 1446,⁴¹ the extant account books show that an expenditure of 1.5 *sexagenae* was already made for the *czelstat* (target practice

³⁶ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 4, no. 75. Cf. Rigaudière, "Le financement des fortifications urbaines," 40-42.

³⁷ Badecki, *Zaginione księgi*, no. II.14.

³⁸ Zubrzycki, *Kronika miasta Lwowa*, 93.

³⁹ Cf. Eltis, "Towns and Defense," 98.

⁴⁰ Cf. Eltis, "Towns and Defense," 99; Gerhard Fouquet, "Die Finanzierung von Krieg und Verteidigung in oberdeutschen Städten des späten Mittelalters (1400-1500)," in *Stadt und Krieg: 25. Arbeitstagung in Böblingen 1986*, edited by Bernhard Kirchgässner and Günter Scholz (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1989), 65; Walter Hummelberger, "Die Bewaffnung der Bürgerschaft im Spätmittelalter am Beispiel Wiens," in *Das Leben in der Stadt des Spätmittelalters: Internationaler Kongress, Krems and der Donau, 20. bis 23. September 1976*, edited by Heinrich Appelt (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 200-201.

⁴¹ Zubrzycki, *Kronika miasta Lwowa*, 106.

facility) in 1419 (it is not clear, however, whether the purpose of that money was maintenance of the facility or a reward to the best marksman).⁴²

The weapons were most probably individually purchased by citizens.⁴³ This responsibility was, however, also shared by guilds and the town council. Thus, in 1407 Lviv's government passed a decree demanding that within a year every guild should procure one crossbow.⁴⁴ Eight guilds actually followed the town council's order by paying a bow maker 0.5 *sexagena* each,⁴⁵ while the councillors themselves paid 4 *sexagena*.⁴⁶

There was, however, one kind of weapon owned by the entire urban community. That weapon was fire artillery, which in the fifteenth century became crucial for the defense of towns.⁴⁷ The first reference to cannons in Lviv comes from 1394, when the king brought several of them to the town along with six barrels of gunpowder.⁴⁸ It is not clear whether these cannons remained in the town, but in any case Lviv already had artillery by 1404, since in that year we find payments to a cannon maker (*magister pixidum*).

Some historians of Lviv claim that in the first quarter of the fifteenth century the town conducted a full-fledged manufacture of its own cannons, since the *magister pixidum* appears many times in the records of the account books from that period.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the character of the expenses gives rise to doubt such a claim. Indeed, moulding cannons usually involved significant funds.⁵⁰ What we find in the records, however, are predominantly payments for production of wooden cannon stands (1 *sexagena*, 1410; 5.7 *sexagena*, 1414; 2 *sexagena*, 1422), stone missiles (4 *sexagena*, 1410; 0.5 *sexagena*, 1411; 0.5 *sexagena* for transportation of missiles, 1416), and gunpowder (9.5 *sexagena*, 1410; 4.5 *sexagena*, 1417; 22.5 *sexagena*, 1422.) The salary of the cannon makers between 1404 and 1425 (ranging from 3 to 5 *sexagena* per annum,⁵¹ and even that paid very irregularly) is also an argument against the existence of

⁴² *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 235.

⁴³ Cf. Eltis, "Towns and Defense," 91-92; Hummelberger, "Die Bewaffnung der Bürgerschaft," 197.

⁴⁴ "*Domini consules conductauerunt, quod de qualibet arte mechanicorum vnā balistam in vno anno debent ordinare et pro eadem vice quelibet ars mechanica debet dare 1/2 sxg. arcufici.*" *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 146. Crossbow remained the most widely used hand weapon until the end of the fifteenth century. Hummelberger, "Die Bewaffnung der Bürgerschaft," 199-200.

⁴⁵ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 146.

⁴⁶ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 144.

⁴⁷ Eltis, "Towns and Defense," 93-94.

⁴⁸ Jaworski, *Lwów za Jagielly*, 57; Karol Badecki, *Średniowieczne ludwisarstwo lwowskie* (Metal moulding in Lviv in the Middle Ages) (Lviv: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1921), 24.

⁴⁹ Badecki, *Średniowieczne ludwisarstwo lwowskie*, 21-32.

⁵⁰ Eltis, "Towns and Defense," 93.

⁵¹ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 23, 111; vol. 3, 12.

regular cannon production in Lviv in that period. It is possible that one cannon was produced in 1414–1415,⁵² when the town purchased 88.5 *lapides* (circa 1150 kilograms) of iron for 14 *sexagenae*, and paid the cannon maker an unusually high salary of 10 *sexagenae*.⁵³ From 1426 onward, however, the salary of a newly hired cannon maker (18 marks, equivalent of 14.4 *sexagenae*),⁵⁴ were more adequate for the high costs of cannon moulding, and may be taken as an indication of a more regular production of cannons in Lviv.

The development of defense facilities in Lviv is another example of a general tendency observed in late medieval European towns, namely, the highly irregular character of defense- and especially fortification-related expenditures.⁵⁵ To a great extent this can be explained by the unpredictability of military necessities. However, there is another factor of no lesser importance where in the beginning of the fifteenth century Lviv seems to have played a predominant role. This factor is the extremely high cost of substantial improvements to the town's defense system.⁵⁶ The usual incomes of the town were not sufficient to finance larger defense projects. Only the availability of some extraordinary (and therefore, short-term) sources of income provided possibilities for more than just maintenance and conservation of defense facilities.⁵⁷

Similarly, the financial aspect should be taken into account when considering the purposes of Lviv's defense-related projects. Of course, their direct purpose – protection of the town and of the kingdom – played a very important role in determining the decisions of both the town council and of the royal administration. This is especially true for the second half of the twenties and the thirties of the fifteenth century, when the territory of Galicia was threatened by Tatar raids. In fact, Lviv's fortifications acted as a barrier for one such raid in 1438.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, it is also clear that undertaking substantial

⁵² Cf. J. P. Kis', *Promyslovist' L'vova u period feodalizmu (XIII-XIX st.)* (Industry in Lviv in the period of feudalism, thirteenth – nineteenth centuries) (Lviv: Vydavnytstvo L'vivs'koho universytetu, 1968), 116.

⁵³ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 42, 76.

⁵⁴ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 426.

⁵⁵ Cf. Gerhard Fouquet and Ulf Dirlmeier, "Probleme und Methoden der quantitativen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Spätmittelalters: Öffentliche Finanzen und städtische Militärpolitik in Basel und Hamburg während der Jahre 1460 bis 1481," in *Geschichtswissenschaft und elektronische Datenverarbeitung*, edited by Karl Heinrich Kaufhold and Jürgen Schneider (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1988), 206-209; Fouquet, "Die Finanzierung von Krieg und Verteidigung," 60-61; Rigaudière, "Le financement des fortifications urbaines," 88-89.

⁵⁶ Cf. Eltis, "Towns and Defense," 94-95; Rigaudière, "Le financement des fortifications urbaines," 90-94.

⁵⁷ Cf. Fouquet, "Die Finanzierung von Krieg und Verteidigung," 69-74; Rigaudière, "Le financement des fortifications urbaines," 56-60.

⁵⁸ Zubrzycki, *Kronika miasta Lwowa*, 99.

fortification projects provided a possibility to attract additional funds into the town's budget, which then could be used for purposes not necessarily related to defense.⁵⁹

III.2 WATER SUPPLY FACILITIES

One way of solving the problem of water supply in medieval towns was using ground water from within the confines of a settlement via public and private wells. Originally, this path was followed in most of the towns.⁶⁰ Although it had some advantages (for instance, the water could not be cut off during siege), it also had significant drawbacks. The wells could provide only a limited amount of water. Even more important, however, is the fact that the ground waters within the territory of a town were contaminated by seepage from latrines and dumps.⁶¹ Thus, pipeline systems bringing water from outside the towns became more and more widely used. Most of the towns in German-speaking territories acquired pipeline systems during the thirteenth – fifteenth centuries. In fact, in the fifteenth century some had already begun reconstructing and modernising their previously existing water lines.⁶²

The development of water supplies in Lviv seems to basically follow the same pattern. In the account books from 1404–1426, we find occasional expenses for cleaning and repairs of the wells. The rarity of such records can be explained by the fact that in late medieval towns most of the wells belonged to private households.⁶³ Indeed, it seems that the town council of Lviv financed maintenance only of those wells that served the needs of the most prominent representatives of the patriciate.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Expenditure of more than 23 *sexagenae* "de pecunia fossati" for representation and other costs unrelated to defense purposes in 1414–1415 is just one example (*Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 9, 14.). Cf. Rigaudière, "Le financement des fortifications urbaines," 25, 82–83.

⁶⁰ Ulf Dirlmeier, "Die kommunalpolitischen Zuständigkeiten und Leistungen süddeutscher Städte im Spätmittelalter," in *Städtische Versorgung und Entsorgung im Wandel der Geschichte: 18. Arbeitstagung in Villingen 3.–5. November 1979*, edited by Jürgen Sydow (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1981), 131; Fouquet, *Bauen für die Stadt*, 225.

⁶¹ Fouquet, *Bauen für die Stadt*, 226–229; David Nicholas, *History of Urban Society in Europe: The Later Medieval City, 1300–1500* (New York: Longman, 1997), 339.

⁶² Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City*, 339–340; Fouquet, *Bauen für die Stadt*, 229–239.

⁶³ Cf. Dirlmeier, "Kommunalpolitische Zuständigkeiten und Leistungen," 131–133; Ulf Dirlmeier, "Zu den materiellen Lebensbedingungen in deutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters: Äußerer Rahmen, Einkommen, Verbrauch," in *Stadtadel und Bürgertum in den italienischen und deutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters*, edited by Reinhard Elze and Gina Fasoli (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1991), 68.

⁶⁴ "De labore fontis contra Iohannem Sommersteyn"; "pro fontis reformatione contra Georgium Schelar". *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 114, 115; see Józef Skoczek, "Studja nad patrycjatem," 250, 254.

Much greater emphasis was placed on development of a piped water system. It is not clear whether any such system had existed before the beginning of the studied period, or whether it was a complete innovation in early fifteenth-century Lviv. Wording of the record from 1405 (*Exposita pro fonte canali de nouo facto* – “Expenditures for a water duct well, built anew”) might be viewed as an argument in favour of the former option⁶⁵. Unfortunately, there is not enough other evidence either to confirm or to reject such a hypothesis.

In any case, it is clear that in 1404–1405, a large water supply project got underway. For these years the records indicate work on a certain *fons extra ciuitatem* – most probably, a spring or rather a group of springs in the hills to the south-east of the town, which was to become the source of water for the entire pipeline system.⁶⁶ Payments for the transportation of stone and a mason’s salary in 1404 (total of 2 *sexagenae*) suggest that construction of a reservoir, laid out in stone, began near the springs. Besides that, 1 *sexagena* was paid out for cleaning them. The works on the springs and reservoir continued even more intensively (and probably were finished) the next year, when 9 *sexagenae* were paid to the workers for completing the task. Simultaneously, the first series of water lines were constructed, as shown by purchases of the building materials.

The main material used for the water lines were wooden pipes made of hollowed tree trunks. Very rarely do we find copper pipes mentioned.⁶⁷ Larger ceramic pipes (*ollae*), which appear in the account books only before 1422, were used to conduct water from the springs into the confines of Lviv,⁶⁸ while the wooden ones formed the pipeline network within the town. The pipes were connected to each other by iron joints, the places of connection being insulated with cotton (*bombex*, *bawmwolle*) or thick canvas (*tela grossa*) and treated with grease (*aruina*, *smer*) or tar (*pech*).⁶⁹ The water lines terminated in wells made of wood and iron. The scarcity of the records concerning the wells suggests that their construction and maintenance was the responsibility of the individuals using them. The town council financed only a few street wells and those serving the needs of communal facilities, such as the bath or brickyard.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Łucja Charewiczowa, *Wodociągi starego Lwowa, 1404 – 1663* (Water ducts in old Lviv, 1404–1663) (Lviv: Wydawnictwo Zakładów Wodociągowych miasta Lwowa, 1934), 7.

⁶⁶ Charewiczowa, *Wodociągi starego Lwowa*, 8.

⁶⁷ Wood was the most widespread water duct material in late medieval towns. Lead or copper pipes were not so popular, both because of their price and because of health considerations (water from the wooden ducts was considered more “healthy”). They were used predominantly for the terminal parts of the water lines immediately joining the wells. Fouquet, *Bauen für die Stadt*, 230; Dirlmeier, “Kommunalpolitische Zuständigkeiten und Leistungen,” 137–138.

⁶⁸ Cf. Zubrzycki, *Kronika miasta Lwowa*, 73; Charewiczowa, *Wodociągi starego Lwowa*, 7.

⁶⁹ Cf. Fouquet, *Bauen für die Stadt*, 240.

⁷⁰ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 41, 203, 370, 436.

For the period before 1422 we can trace the development of Lviv's water supply system predominantly through observing the salary paid to the *magister canalium* – a craftsman hired by the town council especially for production, installation, and maintenance of pipelines and wells.⁷¹ The records from 1413, 1415, and 1416 state that the salary of the *magister canalium* was 6 *sexagenae* a year, all the materials for his work being provided by the town council.⁷² However, the actual disbursements recorded in the account books were usually higher than this figure and never in the same amount in different years. This suggests that the payments to the *magister canalium* probably included the cost of materials used in a particular year (such an interpretation seems also to be plausible due to the fact that records specifically mentioning expenses for materials, are quite rare before 1422). It is therefore reasonable to assume that the salary of the *magister canalium* is a fairly reliable indicator of the volume of work on the water duct system in these years. However, more specific data are not available.

During the period of 1404–1420 the work on the pipeline system continued at a rather stable pace, yearly expenses being usually more or less close to the average of 11.6 *sexagenae* (see fig. 4). Exceptions are the years 1407, 1410, and 1415, when we observe a sharp decrease in expenditures, and 1408, when, on the contrary, the amount paid to the *magister canalium* increased significantly. The peak of expenses in 1406 was caused by substantial repairs on wells carried out along with the regular work on the pipeline system. As for the increase of the water supply expenses in 1412, it can be explained by the fact that outstanding debts on the salary of the *magister canalium* were cleared that year.⁷³ This stable pace changed after 1421. In 1422 total expenditure for construction of the water ducts ran up to almost 35 *sexagenae* and remained at this level for the next two years. In 1425 and 1426 the expenses decreased, but were still relatively high (19.6 and 24.6 *sexagenae*, respectively).

⁷¹ Hiring a permanent worker for this purpose was a common practice in late medieval towns. Fouquet, *Bauen für die Stadt*, 241–246; Dirlmeier, "Kommunalpolitische Zuständigkeiten und Leistungen," 135–136; Dirlmeier, "Materielle Lebensbedingungen in deutschen Städten," 69.

⁷² "*Domini consulares conuenerunt ductores aquarum annatim pro VI sxx. ita tum, quod ollas omnes et canalia pro eadem ductione aque spectancia, debent persoluere et alia pertinencia ipsis ministrare*"; "*Notandum, quod domini Consulares magistro canalium solent annuatim censuare VI sxx. a festo sti Procopii [4 July] usque ad alium festum sti Procopii, ita tamen, quod domini Consules predicto magistro canalium omnes ollas et canalia pro ductione aque ordinent et ministrent*"; "*Predicti magistri canalium VI sxx. sunt annuus census, et dies annuus suus ubi incipitur et terminatur est dies sti Procopii*." *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 330; vol. 3, 72, 109.

⁷³ "*[Magister canalium] percepit XII 1/2 sxx. et I gr super censum duorum annorum*." *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 306.

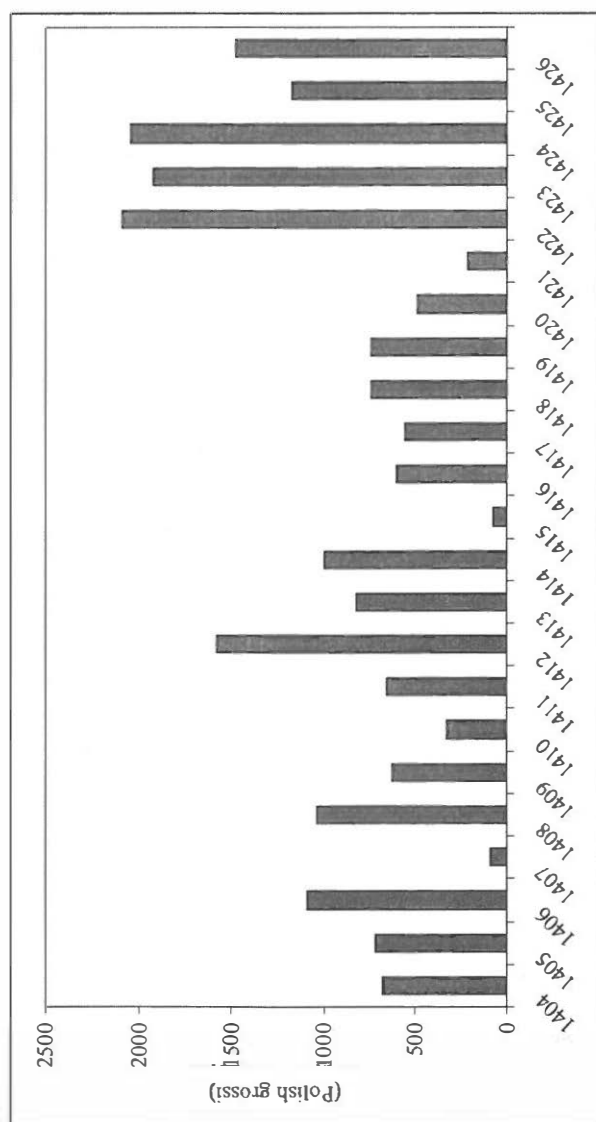


Fig. 4: Water supply expenses

From 1422 on, the records are more differentiated as far as the purpose of payments is concerned. Thus, unlike previous years, it is possible to distinguish clearly between the proper salary of the *magister canalium* and various other expenses. What one notices immediately is that in 1422–1426 the salary rose from 6 *sexagenae*, set by the town council in 1413–1416, to 17–18 *sexagenae*. This was obviously due to great intensification of work on the pipelines. In order to be able to cope with his task, between 1422–1426, the *magister canalium* was occasionally assisted by up to 10 day workers. Calculations show that during those years approximately 500 water pipes were laid.

Through the observation of the development in the amount of expenses and in the character of materials purchased and work performed, it is possible to distinguish the periods between 1404–1421 and 1422–1426 as two major stages in the construction of the pipeline system in Lviv. During the first stage, the pipeline leading from the main reservoir to the town and, probably, the main lines of the urban pipeline network were gradually constructed. Only between 1404–1421 do we find expenses for the larger ceramic pipes (*ollae*) used for this purpose. In 1422, an intense expansion of the water duct network within the town got underway. Since the extant account books provide data only until 1426, it is not clear whether construction of the network continued with the same intensity later on or whether it was already coming close to completion that year.

Another unsolved problem is the water usage fee. The sources from 1404–1426 do not contain any information on payments for using the pipelines. It is unlikely that their use was free of charge, since in the later period (end of the fifteenth – beginning of the sixteenth century) fees were regularly collected by the town council.⁷⁴ Therefore, the absence of the relevant records in the account books suggests that either the water line network was not yet functional in the studied period (which is rather improbable taking into account the intensity of work in 1422–1426), or that the payments for its use were recorded in the lost account book from 1414–1459 and are, thus, not available for the analysis.

III.3 PUBLIC BATH

Two public baths are mentioned in the municipal records of Lviv from 1382–1389. One of them, situated outside of the town walls, was run by representatives of the Armenian community.⁷⁵ From later sources we know that it fell within the jurisdiction of the castle and paid fees directly to the royal administration.⁷⁶ The other bath was situated within the confines of the town.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Charewiczowa, *Wodociągi starego Lwowa*, 17–18.

⁷⁵ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 1, no. 116, 511.

⁷⁶ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 4, no. 65; vol. 10, no. 53.

⁷⁷ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 1, no. 4, 197, 727.

As it was originally also a royal property, we do not find in the account books any related financial records until 1422. In March of 1422, however, the king consented to requests of Lviv's government⁷⁸ and presented that bath to the town on condition that 20 *sexagenae* should be paid to him every year. Despite this rather high fee, the conditions were still favourable, as the privilege contained permission to found any number of new baths free from fees.⁷⁹ As with other town-owned enterprises, the bath was let to an individual (*balneator*), and already in 1422 the account books recorded that 18 *sexagenae* had been received *de balneo*. Some minor expenses for repairs of the bath's well, and, probably, its furnace, are also noted.⁸⁰

The amount of income was not high enough to meet the stipulations of the royal privilege, not even speaking about making profit. It is therefore not surprising that in 1423 the town council decided to make major improvements to the bath, practically to rebuild it (*dy badestobe czu brechen vnd czu bawen*).⁸¹ The bath was still active in the first half of 1423 (14 *sexagenae* of income were received during that period). From 2 August, however, very intense building activity started. That year a total of 97 *sexagenae* was spent for construction of a new building for the bath. The proportion of the expenditures for the main groups of building materials (wood, mortar, and bricks) shows that the bath must have been a half-timber building, typical of German-speaking regions.⁸² Within a rather short period (from the beginning of August until the end of September), most of the construction work was completed through the efforts of a carpenter with his apprentice, 2 masons, and 8 unskilled workers assisting them.

The next year the bath was already actively used, at least in part (8 *sexagenae* of income collected by the town council), although some unspecified wooden elements (most probably, the roof) and the well were still under construction. Payments for the transportation of lime suggest that the exterior plastering of the walls was completed that year as well. The fact that the total expenditure for the construction of the bath was considerably lower than in 1423 – only about 14 *sexagenae* – also shows that the building work was close to completion.

⁷⁸ In 1422, the account books record a purchase of fine cloth ("*atlanticum*") for 12 *sexagenae*. That cloth was to be used as a present to the vice chancellor of the king "*pro eo, quod literas super balneum . . . expediuit*." *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 297.

⁷⁹ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 4, no. 60.

⁸⁰ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 290, 317, 320.

⁸¹ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 357; cf. Jaworski, *Lwów za Jagiełły*, 37.

⁸² The cost of wooden elements constituted 73 per cent, the cost of mortar 17 per cent, and the cost of bricks 10 per cent of the total cost of materials; cf. the data on construction of a half-timber mill in the suburb of Hamburg in 1465 (85 per cent, 11 per cent, and 4 per cent, respectively). Fouquet, "Baubetrieb Hamburgs," 222-227; 251, table 2.

In 1425, after the new facility had become fully functional,⁸³ the result of rebuilding the bath was obvious. The income increased to 32 *sexagenae*, probably remaining close to this mark later on (thus, in 1426 an income of 33 *sexagenae* is recorded). It is therefore possible to conclude that in the process of rebuilding, the bath had been significantly enlarged, so that a larger number of customers could be received simultaneously. This, on the one hand, provided the town budget with another source of income. On the other hand, the possibilities for maintaining personal hygiene became more readily available to the citizens.

III.4 BUILDING-RELATED FACILITIES

The various kinds of materials and labour mentioned in the account books from 1404–1426 point to the fact that at that time the town relied on several facilities for its building projects. Thus, payments for the production of mortar suggest the existence of local lime furnaces. Numerous purchases of stone show that a stone quarry functioned in the vicinity of the town. Carpenters and smiths who provided wooden and metal construction elements and tools must also have had workshops in town. However, none of these facilities received any special support from the town council. It is not even clear whether they were communal property or belonged to individuals hired by the town.

The only exception was a brickyard (*latrificium, czigelschewne*). Apart from payments for its products, the municipal government of Lviv several times invested rather considerable sums into the facility itself. Thus, in 1413 an expenditure of 2.5 *sexagenae* for repairs to the brickyard's building is recorded. Improvements to the brick furnace and to the well in the brickyard were made in the following year (2.4 *sexagenae* spent). In 1418, the work done on the furnace and on the well, which can again be noted, was not very significant (the total cost of this work was less than 1 *sexagena*). On the other hand, the wooden roof of the brickyard underwent rather substantial repairs, if not a complete reconstruction (the expenses for materials and labour come to 4 *sexagenae*). However, the town council's largest investment into brick production took place in 1426. That year, the construction of a new brickyard got underway.⁸⁴ Nine persons were involved in the work on the new brickyard. The records mention two carpenters and a mason, each of them being assisted by two journeymen. The salary of these workers and the cost of materials added up to a significant sum of 46.75 *sexagenae*.

⁸³ Payment of 8 *sexagenae* for bricks "*ad fornacem balnei*" is probably for clearing a debt for the work done in the previous year.

⁸⁴ "*In die sti Sigismundi [2 May] inceptum est latrificium.*" *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 438.

This particular attention of Lviv's town council to brick production fits into a general late medieval pattern. At that time brick gradually superseded stone in many areas of urban building activity, something which can also be observed in Lviv. In 1404–1426 the town council's cumulative expenditure for stone in proportion to that for brick was 1 to 2.7. This ratio can be explained by the fact that the advantages of brick over stone became more and more obvious as the volume of masonry construction grew in late medieval towns. Brick was easier to produce and less dependent on geological conditions in a region.⁸⁵ These qualities of brick were of special importance in the context of the last and the greatest stage of modernising Lviv's fortifications which took place in 1425–1428.

III.5 MILL

The earliest references to a mill in the vicinity of Lviv date back to the Ruthenian period.⁸⁶ Mills within the proper territorial possessions of the town are mentioned, however, only in the second half of the fourteenth century. From the oldest extant municipal records (1382–1389) as well as from other sources, we hear about four water mills in Lviv suburbs. These mills were probably built along the Poltva (Peltew) river. One of them, situated in front of the Halych gate, belonged to the king.⁸⁷ Another mill, situated in front of the Tatar gate, became the property of the guild of leather-workers in 1386, although from 1388 onwards it belonged partially in private hands.⁸⁸ The mill in the Zboiska suburb was donated to Lviv parish church of Virgin Mary in 1353 by a certain *comitissa* Anna. According to the conditions of the donation, the right to manage the mill and one third of the income was granted to the town council. The remaining two thirds of the income was to be used for the construction and maintenance of the parish church.⁸⁹ In the last decade of the 1300s, these rights became the subject of a controversy with the provost of the parish church who claimed complete control over the mill. After a long litigation process involving the archbishop, the papal authorities, and the king, the town council lost the case to the provost in 1400.⁹⁰ Finally, the fourth mill is mentioned in a record

⁸⁵ Fouquet, *Bauen für die Stadt*, 377 ff.

⁸⁶ The charter, issued by king Kazimir the Great in 1352, acknowledges the possession of land property and of a mill which had been granted by the Ruthenian prince Leo, *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 2, no. 1.

⁸⁷ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 1, no. 135. In 1391 the king granted one third of the income from the mill to a certain Adam the Carpenter in recognition of "*studia, que . . . in continuacione laborum et structurarum Nostrarum industrie exhibuit*," *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 2, no. 20.

⁸⁸ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 1, no. 405, 621, 640, 704.

⁸⁹ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 3, no. 7.

⁹⁰ See Skoczek, "Średniowieczny Lwów," 268–279.

from 1387 as a *molendinum ciuitatis*.⁹¹ Taking into account the status of the other three mills at the end of the fourteenth century, it is reasonable to assume that the town council's account records from 1404-1426 concerning *percepta et exposita molendini* refer to this last mill.

Our sources testify to rather regular maintenance work performed on the mill, usually repairs to the wooden structure, the costs of which rarely exceeded 1 *sexagena*. In 1408, 1413, 1416, and 1417, the purchase and transportation of a mill-stone is recorded. More substantial work took place only in 1412 and 1417, when expenses for the mill ran to more than 3.5 *sexagena*e. Maintenance of the mill also included the strengthening and repair of the earth dam for the mill's pond. Although in 1407, 1411, 1412, and 1414 rather substantial conservation work was conducted,⁹² in 1416 the dam was seriously damaged, probably due to a spring flood.⁹³ That year's expenditures show that the dam was practically built anew. For this purpose, throughout the summer working season, an average of 6 workers were daily employed at a total cost of 15.2 *sexagena*e. The workers were predominantly *kept* busy with the earthwork. Some of them also cut and prepared rods (*virgulta*) for strengthening the dam. Apparently the reconstruction of the dam was completed within that working season, since in 1417 the expenses for the dam constituted only 0.8 *sexagena*.

As for the incomes derived from the town council's mill, it is rather difficult to have a clear picture of them from the available sources. On the one hand, it is known that every year the miller reported on the amount of the payments received from the mill's customers and submitted part of this amount to the town council. The submitted sum varied significantly from year to year. Thus, in 1407, it was 10.1 *sexagena*e, while the average figure for the period from 1404-1426 was about 4 *sexagena*e. Occasionally that part of the income was augmented by revenues from the sale of fish from the mill's pond (3.1 *sexagena*e in 1404 and 3 *sexagena*e in 1407). On the other hand, there are records which point to the fact that the miller was also supposed to pay a certain amount in kind. In 1416 he owed the town council 6 *trunci* of grain while, in 1422, 10 *trunci* were submitted.⁹⁴ However, records of such payments appear in the account books only occasionally, so it is difficult to decide whether payment in kind occurred regularly or just in a few sporadic cases.

⁹¹ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 1, no. 475.

⁹² Expenditures suggest that in these years one or two workers were employed on the dam for the whole duration of the regular summer working season (beginning of May – end of September; cf. Sander, "Die Lüneburger Bauamtsrechnungen," 102.)

⁹³ Cf. the wording of the account book record: "*Distributa pro restauratione et reformatione aggeris destructi circa molendinum ciuitatis*". *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 96.

⁹⁴ "*Molendinator ciuitatis tenetur ciuitati uel dominis III 1/2 truncos siliginis et I 1/2 truncum tritici. Item I truncum siliginis*"; "*Percepti sunt VIII trunci siliginis, et II trunci tritici de molendino ciuitatis*". *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 97, 290.

III.6 COMMERCE-RELATED FACILITIES

Shops (*institae*)

In Lviv, as in other towns in the late medieval kingdom of Poland, the shops and, accordingly, the persons using them, were divided into three classes: *institae divites* ("rich shops"), *institae pauperes* ("poor shops"), and *penesticae* ("benches"). The privilege of the *institae divites* was the sale of goods in measured units (*ad pondus et mensuram*). *Institae pauperes* were supposed to sell in unmeasured "piles" and "pieces," and offered only a limited variety of goods (unfortunately, the extant sources do not provide any information on what was included within that variety in the early fifteenth century). *Penesticae* mostly sold food items.⁹⁵ In his *Chronicle*, Dyonizy Zubrzycki suggests that the *institae divites* in Lviv were housed in a single roofed building in the centre of the Market square, similar to the *Sukiennicy* ("Cloth Hall") in Krakow, while *institae pauperes* and *penesticae* were scattered in the square outside.⁹⁶ This seems quite a likely scenario. The earliest extant records of sales from shops (the end of the fourteenth century) use the term *institae exteriores* or *extraneae* ("outside shops") in opposition to the *institae divites*.⁹⁷ In 1421, account books from the town council mention a gate leading to *institae divites*,⁹⁸ which also suggests that these shops were situated in a single building or at least in some separated space.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the shops in Lviv were owned either by individual merchants or by the town. Although some of the town-owned shops had been sold to individuals (for instance, in 1383),⁹⁹ at the beginning of the 1400s the town council still retained ownership of many of them and even exercised a certain degree of control over some of the privately owned ones. Thus, a record from 1409 informs us that a private shop was sold *cum concessu dominorum consulum*.¹⁰⁰

The town council made use of the shops mainly by letting them to merchants and craftsmen for a fixed yearly rent. The number of *penesticae* rented for 0.5 *sexagena* per year was not stable. In general, eight of them were rented, yielding 4 *sexagena*. However, in certain years the income from *penesticae* could be more than 6 *sexagena*. Most of the town-owned *institae pauperes* were let for 0.5 *sexagena* as well. For some of them, however, the rent

⁹⁵ Charewiczowa, *Handel średniowiecznego Lwowa*, 7.

⁹⁶ Zubrzycki, *Kronika miasta Lwowa*, 102; cf. Knoll, "Urban Development of Medieval Poland," 102.

⁹⁷ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 1, no. 270a, 299, 302, 526, 730.

⁹⁸ "Elizabeth Walyenne tenetur de instita lignea apud portam institarum diuitum sita . . ."

Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa, vol. 3, 84.

⁹⁹ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 1, no. 107-109.

¹⁰⁰ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 233.

could be as high as 1 *sexagena*, probably due to their greater size, quality, or better location. According to the town account books, *institae pauperes* used by Armenians brought 10 *sexagenae* of rent annually. From 2.5 to 6 *sexagenae* were added to this amount by the shops rented to Catholics (*institae pauperes Christianorum*). As for the *institae divites*, the town owned very few of them. In fact, only one is mentioned in the account books of 1404–1426. In 1414 it was let to a goldsmith, and from 1417 to a belt maker (in both cases, the rent was 2 *sexagenae* per annum).¹⁰¹

Most of the expenses connected with use and maintenance of the shops were generally the responsibility of the tenants, since we find almost no related records in the town council's account books.¹⁰² One significant exception was the construction in the Market square of a stone-paved pool intended for the joint use of the merchants selling live fish (*scamna piscium*). In addition to 8.25 *sexagenae* paid from the town's budget, fifty carriages of stone, contributed by one of the citizens as a penalty *pro excessu quodam*, were also used for that project.¹⁰³ Taking into account the cost of construction and the fact that no increase in collected fees was observed thereafter, it seems probable that the town council's decision to procure such a facility was probably based not so much on pecuniary interests as on public health considerations.¹⁰⁴

Wine cellar (*cellarium, keler*)

Wine was one of the items in the *commercio Orientalis*, in which Lviv specialised. Already the *locatio* privilege of 1356 forbade selling wine within one mile from the town in order to eliminate competition which might have lowered Lviv's income from the wine trade.¹⁰⁵ The decision of the town council of 1387 was aimed at seizing further control by the municipal government over the wine trade in Lviv through setting a monopoly on the retail sale of wine. Thus, wine could not be sold in retail anywhere in the town except for the town hall's cellar, which was to be let to the wine merchants for this purpose.¹⁰⁶ From

¹⁰¹ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 347; vol. 3, 177.

¹⁰² There is but one instance of *exposita super institas* in 1426, when 1 *sexagena* was spent on wooden boards, probably, for the purpose of repairs. *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 441.

¹⁰³ Badecki, *Zaginione księgi*, no. II.1.

¹⁰⁴ The stone pavement of the pool was supposed to protect the water and the fish from contamination by seepage from numerous latrines and dumps. Cf. Dirlmeier, "Kommunalpolitische Zuständigkeiten und Leistungen," 135.

¹⁰⁵ *Akt a grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 3, no. 5.

¹⁰⁶ "Eodem die prescripto [21 August 1387] domini tunc consules vna cum tota communitate ciuitatis Lemburgensis finxerunt et ordinauerunt, quod nemo vinum propinare debet excepto in cellariis subitus pretorium, ibi ciuitas debet propinare vinum, vel qui prefata cellaria conuenerit, sed nullus in ciuitate debet vinum propinare." *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 1, no. 522.

the town's account books we discover that the individuals using the wine cellar had to pay 3 to 4 *sexagenae* for rent¹⁰⁷. The maintenance expenses, on the other hand, comprised only occasional repairs, the cost of which never exceeded 1 *sexagena*.¹⁰⁸

Cloth shearing workshop (*rasorium panni, pannitonsorium, schergadem*)

Cloth was one of the most popular items of merchandise in medieval Europe, and "in Lviv commerce it was of no less importance than the so-called Oriental goods."¹⁰⁹ The town council derived income from the cloth trade in Lviv through exercising its monopoly of cutting cloth into measured pieces. For this purpose, a special facility, the cloth shearing workshop, existed in the town. The cloth shearing workshop was let to individuals for the annual payment of 6 *sexagenae*. The enterprise of the cloth shearer must have been relatively successful for several years in a row, because in 1421, the town council decided to raise the rent to 12 *sexagenae*. In fact, the payments from the cloth shearing workshop were among the most stable items in the town's income throughout the years 1404–1426. In 1425, the council even considered rewarding the keeper of the cloth shearing workshop by returning 3 *sexagenae* to him out of the correctly paid rent.¹¹⁰ However, that same year, the monopoly on cutting cloth was lost. By the privilege charter of 20 February 1425, the king also granted the right to keep a cloth shearing workshop to a Lviv patrician, Iohannes Tolmacz.¹¹¹ Only later, at the end of the fifteenth – beginning of the sixteenth century, did the town regain the monopoly by appropriating that second shearing workshop.¹¹²

Wax press (*tortorium cerae, cerepressorium*) and wax smelter (*liquefactorium cerae, fritorium cere, smelczgadem, wachsbank*)

Wax, a local product of Lviv, was another important item of commerce besides cloth and "oriental goods." It often served as a means of payment for goods or services.¹¹³ Guild statutes stipulated that fines, imposed on guild members, should also be paid in wax.¹¹⁴ Wax was exported from Lviv to

¹⁰⁷ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 227; vol. 3, 290, 328, 377.

¹⁰⁸ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 76, 115.

¹⁰⁹ Charewiczowa, *Handel średniowiecznego Lwowa*, 6–7.

¹¹⁰ "Hannus panni rasor soluit IX ssg. pro censu suo et in III ssg. domini consules sibi gratum fecerunt, sibi easdem pro utilitate sua remittentes." *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 397.

¹¹¹ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 4, no. 70.

¹¹² Zubrzycki, *Kronika miasta Lwowa*, 88; Kis', *Promyslovist' L'vova*, 168.

¹¹³ See, for example, *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 1, no. 138, 714; vol. 2, 38, 271; vol. 3, 377.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, the statute of the funiers from 1470. *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 6, no.

Germany, Italy, and France as well as to the Black Sea colonies and eastern countries.¹¹⁵

The town council of Lviv monopolised the processing of wax, both to ensure the quality of the product and as a source of income. According to the two main stages of processing wax – pressing and melting – the town owned two facilities where these operations were carried out. All producers of raw wax had to process it at the town-owned wax press and smelter. The melted wax was then poured into standard moulds. The resulting pieces were stamped by a representative of the town council, testifying to their weight and quality, and only after that could the product be sold.¹¹⁶ Both wax processing facilities were let to individuals: the wax press for 7 *sexagenae*¹¹⁷ and the wax smelter for 8 *sexagenae*¹¹⁸ per annum. In addition, according to a decision of the town council in 1413, "one vat in the wax smelter belongs to the parish church of Virgin Mary." This meant that the wax smelter, in addition to the rent, had to pay 1 *sexagena* for the lights on the altar of the church, which was considered a pious donation on the part of the municipal government.¹¹⁹ From the wording of the council's decision we can infer that at that time the town's wax smelter had at least eight or nine vats operating. Tax lists from 1414 inform us that at least one assistant was hired by the wax smelter.¹²⁰ The account books reveal that the expenses of maintaining the wax-processing facilities were the responsibility of the town council. Thus, in 1412 the building of the wax smelter underwent substantial repairs which cost more than 5 *sexagenae* in materials and labour.¹²¹ In most cases, however, maintenance required smaller expenditures, predominantly for mending or replacing the melting vats.¹²²

Silver smelter (*crematorium argenti*)

One of the reasons for the town's monopoly on smelting silver was probably the existence of the royal mint in Lviv.¹²³ It was important to ensure

97; see also Łucja Charewiczowa, *Lwowskie organizacje zawodowe za czasów Polski przedrozbiorowej* (Craft corporations in Lviv before the division of Poland) (Lviv: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego imienia Ossolińskich, 1929), *passim*.

¹¹⁵ Zubrzycki, *Kronika miasta Lwowa*, 86.

¹¹⁶ Zubrzycki, *Kronika miasta Lwowa*, 86.

¹¹⁷ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 96, 301, 326; vol. 3, 4, 286.

¹¹⁸ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 188, 227, 251, 301, 326; vol. 3, 69, 286, 328, 396, 424.

¹¹⁹ "Unum caldare in liquefactorio cere pertinet ad Ecclesiam parochialem Sanctae Mariae, de quo Consules in perpetuum singulis annis unam sexagenam pro lampade, ardente ante Sacramentum Corporis Christi in Ecclesia parochiali, dare et soluere tenebunt." Badecki, *Zaginione księgi*, no. I.17; cf. *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 326; vol. 3, 69, 286.

¹²⁰ "Iokus ch der arbeyt in der wachsbank." *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 17.

¹²¹ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 320.

¹²² *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 331, 352; vol. 3, 294, 305.

¹²³ Jaworski, *Lwów za Jagielly*, 96.

the quality of the material used for monetary production. On the other hand, leasing the facility was a source of income for the town. However, this enterprise was not as successful as other of the town's monopolies. At first, the rent payments (6 *sexagenae* in 1405 and 1406, raised to 10 *sexagenae* in 1407) were paid regularly,¹²⁴ but for the period of 1408–1411, the account books contain only blank spaces under the heading *crematorium argenti*.¹²⁵ In 1412, the silver smelter was leased to another person – this time for only 3 *sexagenae*.¹²⁶

Even this brief characterisation of the commerce-related facilities controlled by Lviv's government points to their one common feature – they were an immediate source of income for the town's coffers. This, of course, sets up the commercial facilities into a kind of opposition to facilities related to defence or the water supply. In the latter, other purposes were more important, and the profit – in a narrow financial sense – was not so obvious. On the other hand, the reason for controlling the commercial facilities was rarely limited simply to collecting rents. The purpose was also to maintain a certain quality standard in the most important goods such as silver, wine, cloth, or wax, to avoid cheating with measurements of the goods, to protect public health and even to provide a means of expressing the pious feelings of the town's government.

III.7 STREETS

The role of streets in late medieval towns went beyond merely providing a means of access. It is in the streets that a great deal of social and economic activity took place: "The street was a market and an entertainment centre."¹²⁷ The condition of the streets, besides being a matter of ease of access and of public health, was also a matter of prestige. It served as a criterion by which towns, their communities, and their governments were evaluated.¹²⁸ In the late Middle Ages, keeping the streets in good condition meant, first, cleaning them, and second, providing them with pavement.

¹²⁴ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 39, 96, 144.

¹²⁵ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 189, 228, 252, 276.

¹²⁶ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 301.

¹²⁷ Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City*, 335.

¹²⁸ Helmut Hundsichler, "Stadtbegriff, Stadtbild und Stadtleben des 15. Jahrhunderts nach ausländischen Berichterstattem über Österreich," in *Das Leben in der Stadt des Spätmittelalters: Internationaler Kongress, Krems and der Donau, 20. bis 23. September 1976*, edited by Heinrich Appelt (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 120, 124, 127.

Cleaning

Although in late medieval towns, street cleaning was predominantly the responsibility of the residents of the houses lining the streets, municipal governments also contributed to this task, mainly through hiring permanent workers for the transport of ordure and garbage out of the town.¹²⁹ In Lviv account books, payments to such workers are recorded throughout the period of 1404–1426.¹³⁰ Unfortunately, for most years, the records contain only net sums obtained after a clearing of mutual debts between the worker and the town (these sums oscillated between zero and 10.25 *sexagenae* with an average of 2 *sexagenae*). However, the data from 1407 and 1412 make it possible to calculate the actual sum spent for street cleaning in these years: 10 and 12.7 *sexagenae*, respectively. In Cracow, where the worker hired by the town was responsible for cleaning only the central square, the average yearly salary of such a worker in 1390–1405 was 23.3 marks (equivalent of 18.6 *sexagenae*).¹³¹ The comparison suggests that a similar practice might have been followed in Lviv.

Pavement

The earliest instances of paving streets with stone are recorded in Western Europe as early as the twelfth century.¹³² In the German-speaking territories, paved streets are first mentioned in the thirteenth century; in the fourteenth century such references occur with increasing frequency, and in the fifteenth century regular maintenance of paved streets becomes common practice in many towns.¹³³

Work on the pavements also took place in early fifteenth-century Lviv although such activities are recorded in the extant account books only in 1404, 1414, and 1418. In 1404, the office of *brukner* (the person responsible for paving the streets) is first mentioned. That year the *brukner* was paid 5.25 *sexagenae* by the town council while another 0.5 *sexagena* was disbursed to a mason for material. It is not clear from the records in which part of the town the pavement work took place. In 1414, a much more substantial project to pave the

¹²⁹ Dirlmeier, "Kommunalpolitische Zuständigkeiten und Leistungen," 144; Dirlmeier, "Materielle Lebensbedingungen in deutschen Städten," 63.

¹³⁰ "De exduccione luti"; "super ductione fimi"; "de vectura fimi"; "myst awsfuren." *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2-3, passim.

¹³¹ Stanisław Kutrzeba, "Finanse Krakowa w wiekach średnich" (Finances of Cracow in the Middle Ages), *Rocznik Krakowski* 3 (1900): 115–116; appendix, table 3.

¹³² Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City*, 334.

¹³³ Dirlmeier, "Kommunalpolitische Zuständigkeiten und Leistungen," 143; Dirlmeier, "Materielle Lebensbedingungen in deutschen Städten," 62.

central square of Lviv (the Market square) was undertaken. The sources inform us that the pavement was laid around the newly constructed fish pool (*scamna piscium*)¹³⁴. A paved strip also appeared along the eastern side of Market square.¹³⁵ The total cost of paving these parts of the square was 39.6 *sexagenae*. In addition to this, a separate record mentions an expenditure of 1.75 *sexagena* for the pavement around a well in front of the house of the patrician Iohannes Zommersteyn (northern side of the square). The paving work around the same well continued in 1418, this time at a cost of 3 *sexagenae*.¹³⁶

Such rare occurrence of records, connected with paving work, may, on the one hand, suggest that in the first quarter of the fifteenth century this work had only started in Lviv. On the other hand, we should take into account that in the late medieval towns, maintenance of the streets was to a great extent the responsibility of the individuals possessing houses on them. The town council discharged their part of the responsibility for expenses by financing pavement of the most "representative" major streets and squares, especially in the vicinity of important public buildings.¹³⁷ This seems to be the case in Lviv. The town council financed paving of the central square, the part of town intended to generate a "cumulative effect... of a municipal center on a grand scale, reflecting the prosperity and importance of the city."¹³⁸ Special attention was also paid to the pavement near the house of one of the most prominent representatives of the Lviv patriciate.¹³⁹ It is therefore possible that at the beginning of the fifteenth century other parts of Lviv were also paved – at the expense of the citizens. The sources do not provide enough information concerning street pavements in the entire town. The available records, however, show very well the town council's preferences in deciding which parts of the town's communal space should receive most attention.

III.8 TOWN HALL

The Lviv municipal records from 1382–1389 suggest that the town hall (*pretorium*) in the central Market square must have been built long before that

¹³⁴ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 42-44.

¹³⁵ "A fonte lapideo ex opposito Iohannis Zommersteyn usque ad alium fontem lapideum ex opposito Langzeydelynne." *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 12. From the topographically organised tax lists contained in the account books, we find out that Zommersteyn lived on the northern side of the square, close to the north-eastern corner, and Langzeydelynne lived on the southern side, close to the south-eastern corner.

¹³⁶ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 210.

¹³⁷ Dirlmeier, "Kommunalpolitische Zuständigkeiten und Leistungen," 143; Dirlmeier, "Materielle Lebensbedingungen in deutschen Städten," 62; cf. Sander, "Lüneburger Bauamtsrechnungen," 104.

¹³⁸ Knoll, "Urban Development of Medieval Poland," 102.

¹³⁹ See Skoczek, "Studja nad patrycjatem lwowskim," 250.

period.¹⁴⁰ Sources from 1404–1426 provide some details regarding the features of the building. We find references to receptions organised for various officials in the *stuba pretorii*. From time to time, minor expenses for renovation of the wooden interior of the *stuba* are mentioned. In 1411 or possibly earlier, the town hall was embellished with glass windows which cost about 6 *sexagenae*.¹⁴¹ During the period studied here, two relatively significant repairs of the town hall's wooden roof took place, in 1414 and in 1419 at the cost of 2 and 3.3 *sexagenae*. The tower of the town hall, which at that time was at least partly wooden,¹⁴² underwent repairs in 1417 (4.9 *sexagenae* spent for wooden beams and boards, nails, and the carpenter's salary).

However, the most expensive alteration was a public clock on top of the tower. The salary of the craftsman in charge of maintaining the clock (*orologista, magister horologii*) was 3 *sexagenae* a year. In 1419, this salary was raised to 4 *sexagenae*¹⁴³ (as compared with an average of 4 marks or 3.2 *sexagenae* per year in the capital town of Cracow in the period from 1390 – 1405).¹⁴⁴ Such attention to the clock can be explained by the fact that in the late Middle Ages this expensive device, seen (and heard) from all parts of the town, was considered a symbol of wealth and civic order. Indeed, it is due to considerations of prestige that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, more and more European towns hired skilled craftsmen to build and maintain public clocks.¹⁴⁵ In this context, it is clear why the government of Lviv regarded the clock as the most important feature of the town hall – a building which served a representative function for the entire urban community.

¹⁴⁰ The town hall served as a point of reference for describing the location of the shops, for example, "*ex appposito pretorii*", "*iuxta pretorio*". In 1387, the town council designated "*cellaria subitus pretorium*" as the only place for the retail sale of wine: *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 1, 28, 36, 236, 522.

¹⁴¹ "*Computate sunt VI srg. et 24 gr., quas domini tenentur pro ferro et divitracionibus fenestrarum pretorii . . .*" *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 242.

¹⁴² Cf. Jaworski, *Lwów za Jagielly*, 35.

¹⁴³ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 251; vol. 3, 73, 238. Depending on the town's budget in a given year, the salary could be paid only in part, debt being cleared in the following years. That is why the actual disbursements were always different. The average figure, however, corresponds to the amount set by the town council.

¹⁴⁴ Kutrzeba, "Finanse Krakowa," appendix, table 3.

¹⁴⁵ Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders*, translated by Thomas Dunlop (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 125–150; Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, "Les 'orologes': Artistes et experts, XVe–XIXe siècles," in *Prosopographie et genèse d'état moderne: Actes de la table ronde organisée par la Centre National de la Recherche scientifique et l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de jeunes filles, Paris, 22–23 octobre 1984*, edited by Françoise Autrand (Paris: École Normale Supérieure de jeunes filles, 1986), 237–238, 241–242.

III.9 RELIGION- AND CHARITY-RELATED FACILITIES

Unfortunately, references to the activities of Lviv's government in connection with religion- and charity-oriented facilities are poor in our main source, the town council's account books. A similar problematic situation can also be found in the sources from the other major towns of the medieval kingdom of Poland.¹⁴⁶ Such poor representation in the sources seems at odd with the important role religion played in medieval society, particularly since buildings such as parish churches also indicated the prestige of a town and its government. Apparently, the problem can only be solved by looking to sources other than the town council's account books.

Parish church

Although the parish church of Virgin Mary in Lviv did not, strictly speaking, come under the jurisdiction of the town council, it is nevertheless worth considering as it received a great deal of attention from the municipal government. The construction of the church started in the second half of the fourteenth century, mostly supported by private donations from the citizens¹⁴⁷ and by two thirds of the income from the mill administered by the town council.¹⁴⁸ In addition to that, in 1399, the councillors founded the altar of Ten Thousand Martyrs and assigned 4 *sexagenae* per annum for its maintenance¹⁴⁹ (in 1421 this sum was raised to 10 marks¹⁵⁰). All donations to the altar were directed to the completion of the parish church. In addition, according to a ruling by the town government in 1413, part of the income from the wax smelter was to be used for maintaining lights in the church.¹⁵¹

This information, originating from sources other than account books, does not allow us to determine the actual amount of funds funnelled by town government on construction and maintenance of the parish church. It is clear that the expenses of this rather significant building project were recorded separately, and these accounts, unfortunately, are not available. Only accidentally did some financial records concerning the parish church find their way into the surviving account books. Thus, after the roof of the choir had been

¹⁴⁶ Cf. the negligibly small amounts (usually not more than 0.2 per cent of the total yearly expenses of the town) spent for the purposes of religion and charity as recorded in the medieval account books of Cracow. Kutrzeba, "Finanse Krakowa," 117-118; appendix, table 3.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 1, no. 199, 211, 365, 383, 436, 465, 571, 612, 688, 701.

¹⁴⁸ For more details on the mill see section III.5 of the present chapter.

¹⁴⁹ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 3, no. 65.

¹⁵⁰ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 4, no. 53.

¹⁵¹ Badecki, *Zaginione księgi*, no. 1.17.

completed in 1404¹⁵² and it became possible to use the church, the town council paid 4 *sexagenae* for the consecration of the choir (1405). 1 *sexagena* was paid *de vectura ymaginis Ihesu in asino* (1405) and later, 20 *grossi* for the renovation of the *ymago* (1408). The repairs of the bell cost 0.5 *sexagenae*, and cloth for the vestments 2 marks. A fairly large sum (18 *sexagenae*) was spent to purchase a missal (1410).¹⁵³ The character of these expenditures indicates that they constitute only occasional "extras" added to the stable but unrecorded income which the parish church received from the town. It is for this reason that data from the account books cannot be used here for making statistically based generalisations.

Hospital

In the medieval period, two hospitals existed in Lviv: the hospital of St. Elizabeth (later known as the hospital of the Holy Spirit), and the hospital of Saint Stanislaw.¹⁵⁴ As the hospital of St. Stanislaw was founded in the late fifteenth century, it does not fall within the time frame of the present study. We will, therefore, consider only the hospital of St. Elizabeth.

The hospital is first mentioned in the sources in 1375.¹⁵⁵ Its origins and status, however, are known only from a document issued in 1418, which constitutes a pontifical corroboration of the foundation charter of the hospital.¹⁵⁶ The document informs us that the hospital of St. Elizabeth was founded by the town council *pro peregrinis, pauperibus infirmis et miserabilibus personis ad id pro tempore confluentibus*. The town council was the donor of the original property of the hospital while the privilege of economic management of the institution belonged to the council's representative.

Unfortunately, we do not have any information concerning the original property of the hospital, but data on some later donations suggest that in the early fifteenth century the possessions were rather significant. In 1399, the Lviv patrician Nicolas Bolcz sold a property to the rector of the hospital, stipulating that the property should pass to the institution after the death of the rector.¹⁵⁷ In 1403, the archbishop corroborated the testament of the patrician Peter Eisenhuttel and his wife, granting the hospital 1.75 *mansi* of land.¹⁵⁸ In 1406, a member of the town council, Leonardus, donated his house and property to the hospital.¹⁵⁹ It is therefore clear that the hospital, having its own sources of

¹⁵² Zubrzycki, *Kronika miasta Lwowa*, 65.

¹⁵³ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 80, 202, 253.

¹⁵⁴ Skoczek, "Średniowieczny Lwów," 347.

¹⁵⁵ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 9, no. 1.

¹⁵⁶ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 4, no. 40.

¹⁵⁷ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 3, no. 68.

¹⁵⁸ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 4, no. 6.

¹⁵⁹ Badecki, *Zaginione księgi*, no. 1.9.

income, remained independent from the town budget, hence the scarcity of the records, related to the maintenance of the hospital, in the town council's account books. It is also worth noting that these records usually mention private donations by the members of the town council.¹⁶⁰ This does not mean that there were no connections whatsoever between the hospital's and the town's finances. Some records in the account books leave no doubt that the significant income of the hospital provided the council with a way to supplement the town budget through occasional loans (sometimes as high as 15 *sexagenae*) from the hospital's funds.¹⁶¹ In this context, it becomes clear why the government of Lviv was greatly concerned about retaining the right to manage the hospital when such a right was challenged by the clergy in 1423.¹⁶²

IV

Looking at the graph representing the total volume of expenditures for public facilities in Lviv throughout the period of 1404–1426 (see fig. 5), one immediately notices their highly irregular character. Such oscillations of urban communal expenditures can be observed in towns throughout late medieval Central Europe. The main goal of municipal governments' financial policy was to swell the budget with as many funds as possible.¹⁶³ Expenditures on communal needs depended mostly on the success or failure of these efforts, rather than on any, more or less, long-term planning. It is reasonable to assume that this general dependency also held true in the case of early fifteenth-century Lviv and may serve as a point of departure in explaining the peculiarities found in the development of expenses related to public facilities.

The period of relatively low expenditures on public facilities in 1404–1407 was caused by a litigation between the town and the provost of the parish church of Virgin Mary concerning the payment of the church tithe by Lviv citizens.¹⁶⁴ During these years, substantial sums were spent on sending delegations to Rome, Cracow, and other cities where the hearings of this legal process took place, as well as for numerous presents to persons who, in one way or another, might influence its outcome. Here, the councillors seem, at least to a certain extent, to have compromised work on public facilities to their own interests. Being among the wealthiest citizens, they were vitally interested in protecting their capital from the tithe demanded by the provost.

¹⁶⁰ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 345, 433.

¹⁶¹ *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 3, 344, 408, 433.

¹⁶² *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 3, no. 96; for a discussion of the legal aspects of the controversy see Skoczek, "Średniowieczny Lwów," 349–350.

¹⁶³ Fouquet and Dirlmeier, "Probleme und Methoden der quantitativen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," 205–206; Bogucka and Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa*, 174.

¹⁶⁴ See Skoczek, "Średniowieczny Lwów," 283–304.

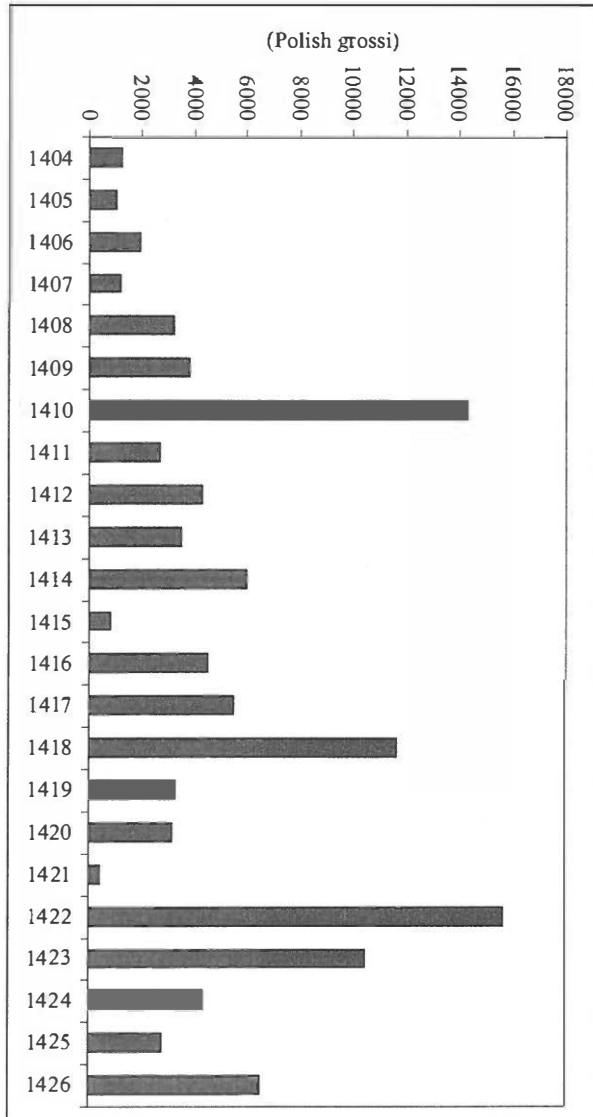


Fig. 5: Total expenses for public facilities in Lwiv

Even more significant and sudden falls in the public facilities-related activities occurred in 1415 and 1421, when expenditures on all groups of facilities decreased significantly. A more or less plausible explanation is available only for 1421. In that year, the king requested an extraordinary tax to be levied on the citizens of several major towns of the kingdom to finance his campaign against the Teutonic Order. It is reasonable to suppose that the town council would not have been able to count on the citizens' contribution to the municipal budget in the same year when that tax was collected. However, a significant part of the collected sum was never used directly for this purpose and remained in the hands of Lviv's government¹⁶⁵. As a result, the highest volume of public facilities expenditures in this period (predominantly for fortifications) can be observed in 1422. In 1423, these expenses still remained very high. The other two expenditures peaks, in 1410 and 1418, were also connected with intense fortification activity.

Actually, the defense facilities, along with those related to the water supply, received most of the Lviv's town council's attention, accounting for 59 and 18 per cent of total public facilities expenses, respectively. In 1404–1426, work on defense facilities proceeded in a rather irregular manner (fig. 6), most of it taking place over three relatively short periods. During these periods, however, defense-related expenditures were extremely high. Unfortunately, the sources do not allow us to explain the peaks of fortification activity in 1410 and 1418. The expenses for the water supply, on the other hand, are relatively constant throughout the period of 1404–1421. This fact also suggests that the municipal government of Lviv considered construction of water pipelines to be an important enterprise. There was only one instance, in 1409–1411, when work on the water supply was obviously compromised in favour of improving fortifications. It should be noted, however, that during these three years relatively high fortification expenses coincided with another contribution Lviv made to financing the war against the Teutonic Order.¹⁶⁶ In 1417–1418, when work on the fortifications again became very intense, there was no decrease in water supply expenditures. In 1422, expenses for the water pipeline system increased in parallel with those for defense facilities and remained at the same high level in the following years.

¹⁶⁵ Jaworski, *Lwów za Jagiełły*, 47–48.

¹⁶⁶ Although most of the sum submitted to the king – 1000 marks – was covered by loans from wealthy citizens, the remaining amount of around 110 marks must have had a substantial immediate impact on the municipal budget, *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa*, vol. 2, 273; cf. Jaworski, *Lwów za Jagiełły*, 24–25.

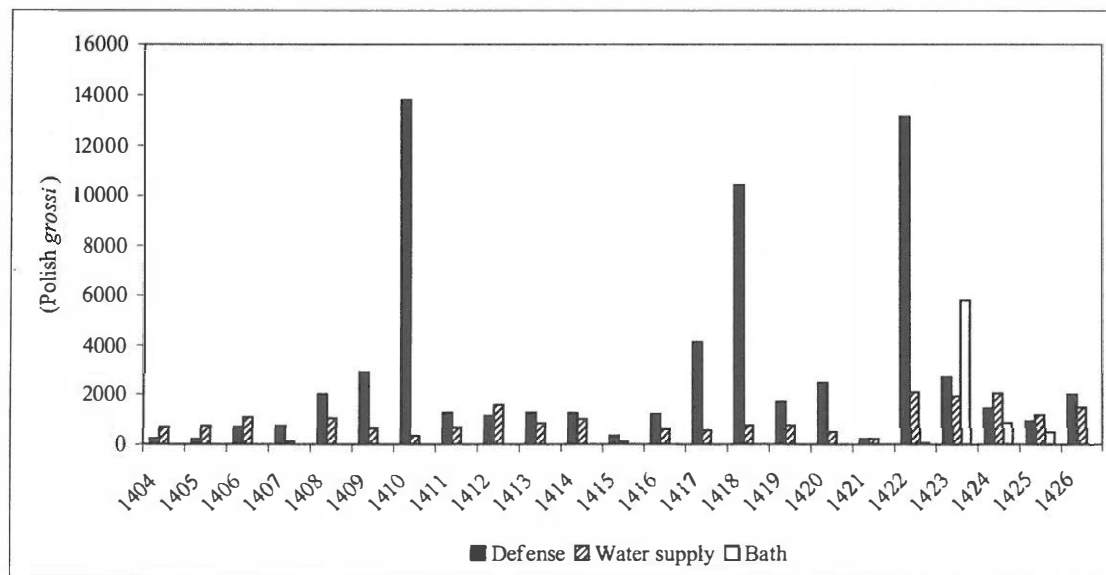


Fig. 6: Comparison of expenses for defense, water supply, and public bath

The fact that expenditures on both the fortifications and water supply increased immediately after additional funds had become available, shows again that Lviv's government considered these facilities to be of great importance. In this connection, the public bath is also worth mentioning, since major reconstructions on it took place in the same period. In fact, it seems probable that the town council temporarily decreased defense expenditures in 1423–1425 in order to be able to enlarge the capacity of the bath as rapidly as possible.

All other groups of public facilities discussed received only 1 to 5 per cent of total expenses during the period from 1404–1426. Nevertheless, it is still possible to notice a certain patterning. Thus, efforts to generally improve the town centre (installation of glass windows in the town hall in 1411; paving the Market square in 1414; repairs to the town hall tower in 1417; more regular payments to the clock maker in the years 1411–1417) were made within the period of 1411–1417, that is, between the two periods of intense work on defense facilities (see fig. 7). This suggests that the town council considered facilities to be related to "prestige" and so less important than the fortifications but still worthy of attention when no other major projects were in progress.

Here, it is also interesting to note the low share of expenditures given to commerce-related facilities. Indeed, the largest expenditure in this group, made for the construction of a stone fish pool in the Market square in 1414, seems more related to a general improvement of the town centre rather than a commercial investment. Although technically a commerce-related facility, the fish pool was more valuable in terms of public health and prestige. Expenses for the facilities connected with the town's monopolies were even lower (the more substantial expenditure on repairs to the wax smelter in 1413 is only an isolated instance). Taking into account Lviv's status as a major commercial centre in the kingdom, such a situation looks quite unusual.

The peculiarities in the financing of public facilities in Lviv become even more obvious in comparison with the data available on Cracow from a somewhat earlier period (1390–1405).¹⁶⁷ For this comparison we have taken three groups of public facilities: those related to defense, water supply, and the town's monopolies. The difference between Cracow and Lviv is striking. In Cracow, monopoly-related expenses (47 per cent of the total of the compared groups) even slightly exceeded those for defense (45 per cent of the total), while the water supply received only 8 per cent. In Lviv, defense expenditures clearly predominated (75 per cent), the share of water supply was also significant (24 per cent) and monopoly-related facilities accounted for less than 1 per cent of the total of compared groups (see fig. 8). At the same time, this comparison to a certain extent clarifies the causes lying behind these differences. Here it is again necessary to keep in mind the main goal of late medieval municipal governments' financial policies. Both in Lviv and in Cracow maximum efforts were

¹⁶⁷ Source of the data: Kutrzeba, "Finanse Krakowa," appendix, tables 2 and 3.

made to gather funds for the town's budgets. However, the methods used to accomplish this were different.

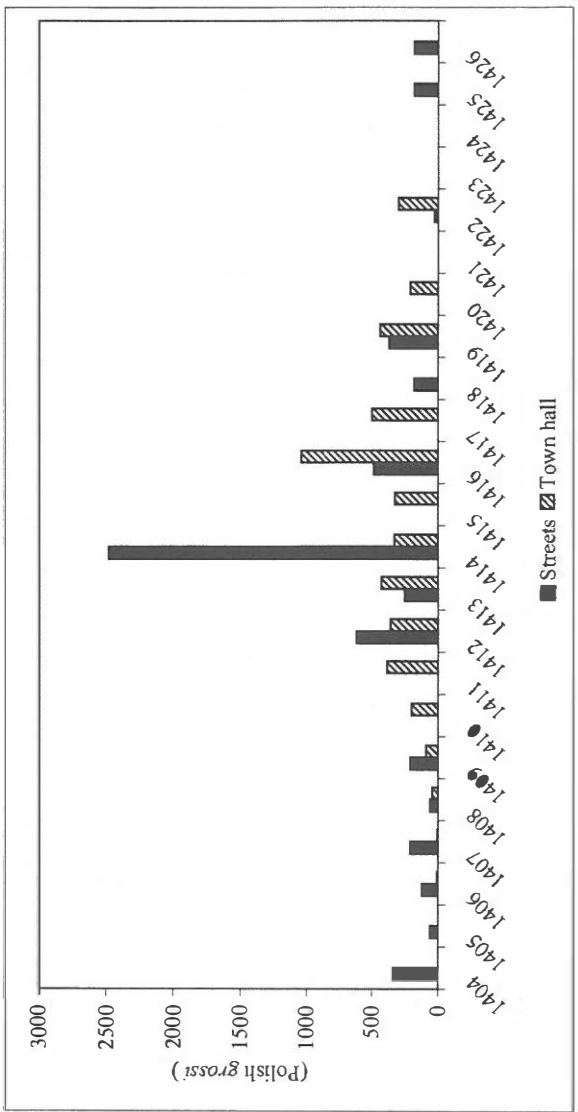
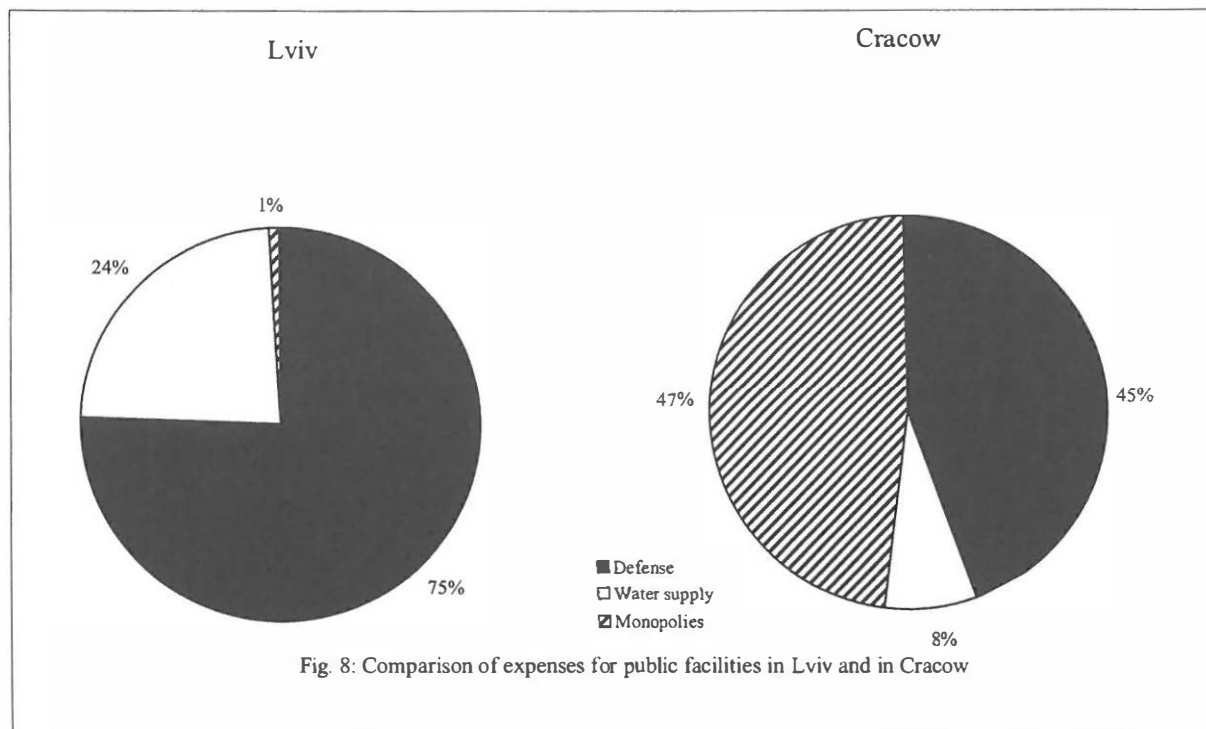


Fig. 7: Expenses for maintenance and improvement of streets and of the town hall



Lviv's budget mostly relied on direct taxation of the citizens via the extraordinary tax (*exaccio*, *schoss*).¹⁶⁸ In fact, this tax might be called "ordinary" rather than "extraordinary" for early fifteenth-century Lviv. During the period of 1404–1426 it was collected at least twelve times. The tax lists contained in the town council's account books do not allow us to calculate the amounts collected.¹⁶⁹ However, from other sources it is known that one such tax collected in 1421 yielded 2000 *sexagenae*. This need not have been the case with every such taxing since the method of calculating the tax was different each time it was collected. Nevertheless, taking into account the method used in 1421 and comparing it with those used in other years, we may conclude that amounts from around 800 to 2000 *sexagenae* are a reasonable estimate.¹⁷⁰

In Cracow the situation was quite the opposite. Although the decree by the municipal government which regulated methods of calculating and collecting the extraordinary tax dates back to 1385, the tax was not collected throughout the period of 1390–1405. In 1414 and in 1431, it yielded 838 and 863 marks respectively (the equivalent amounts in *sexagenae* are 670 and 690). On the other hand, in 1390–1405, the income from monopolies constituted 20 per cent of the total income of Cracow's municipal budget, or on average 489 marks (391 *sexagenae*) a year (compared to at most 40 *sexagenae* gained from monopolies in Lviv). In addition to the monopolies, the town council of Cracow derived substantial income from various other enterprises, such as lime furnaces, stone quarries, or brick yards. In Lviv, the income generated by non-monopoly town-owned enterprises – the public bath and mill – was negligible in comparison to the sums gleaned through collecting extraordinary taxes. In this context, it is clear why the commerce- and especially monopoly-related facilities in Lviv received such a small share of communal expenses. They were not perceived as a substantial source of income. Nevertheless, it was still essential for the town council to control them in order to assure quality and reliable measurement of the most important goods.

V

Our discussion has shown that early fifteenth-century Lviv had all the

¹⁶⁸ Stanisław Kutrzeba, "Szos we Lwowie w początkach XV. wieku" (Extraordinary tax in Lviv at the beginning of the fifteenth century), *Przewodnik naukowy i literacki* 28 (1900): 401.

¹⁶⁹ The sums paid by the citizens differed according to their wealth, but the tax lists recorded only the fact of payment without indicating sums.

¹⁷⁰ In 1421, the tax was calculated as 2 *grossi* from a mark; in the other years the amount to be paid from one mark was either the same, or 2 to 2.5 times lower. Our calculation is very approximate, since the part of the tax levied on the real property and the population changes are not taken into account. For a more detailed discussion of the methods used to calculate the extraordinary tax in Lviv see Kutrzeba, "Szos we Lwowie," 402–408.

basic groups of public facilities needed to provide a certain standard of living for the urban community, to keep order in the town, and to promote its prestige. In this respect Lviv is quite similar both to the towns of the kingdom of Poland and to German ones. However, quantitative analyses have shown significant anomalies in Lviv as compared, for instance, to Cracow.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Lviv's town council paid greatest attention to the fortifications, the water supply system, and the public bath. Traditional "matters of prestige" such as paved streets or the town hall's tower clock were clearly subordinated to those predominant groups. On the other hand, it is reasonable to assume that the fortifications, wells, and the bath, in addition to their obvious functions, had also a significant prestige value. The surprisingly low expenditures for a major commercial centre volume on commerce- and especially monopoly-related facilities is explained by the character of financing of Lviv's municipal budget as observed in the studied period.

Some peculiarities can also be seen in the organisation and financing of construction, maintenance, and running of various public facilities. These peculiarities are twofold in nature. On the one hand, the character of the town council's activity in this field is evidence for the rather low level of development in the relevant institutional structures. Thus, although during the studied period the town undertook a number of rather substantial projects, it rarely happened that more than one such project was conducted at a given time. Lviv did not have anything similar to the *Bauamt* of the late medieval German towns. In most cases, construction and maintenance projects were controlled personally by members of the town council. Taking into account that there were only twelve councillors (six of them being additionally occupied with legislature and political representation of the town), one can easily understand why various projects were worked on interchangeably rather than simultaneously.

On the other hand, funding for facility projects is connected to the system of financing practiced in Lviv at that time. As the analysis of the public facilities' general development has shown, direct taxation was not always a reliable source (consider the sudden decrease in facility-related expenses in 1415 and 1421). Thus, it seems that at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the ability of Lviv's municipal government to support communal needs was much lower than later in that century, when the institutional structure of the government had significantly developed and direct taxation was replaced with more reliable sources of income. In connection to this, it would be interesting to compare the municipal government's support for public facilities at the beginning and at the end of the fifteenth century. There is source material available for both these periods, but none of the two sets of sources has been used for a proper quantitative and qualitative analysis.

Taking into account the results obtained in the present investigation, it is clear that even limited application of quantitative methods to the sources

relevant to this kind of analysis has yielded a range of new possibilities for the study of medieval material culture, especially in an urban context.

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MEDIUM AEVUM
QUOTIDIANUM

42

KREMS 2000

HERAUSGEGEBEN
VON GERHARD JARITZ

GEDRUCKT MIT UNTERSTÜTZUNG DER KULTURABTEILUNG
DES AMTES DER NIEDERÖSTERREICHISCHEN LANDESREGIERUNG

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Vorwort

Das vorliegende Heft von *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* beschäftigt sich vorrangig mit Alltag im städtischen Raum des Spätmittelalters. Die Arbeit von Rostyslav Paranko (Lviv) ist aus einer MA-Thesis hervorgegangen, welche der Autor an Central European University (Budapest) abgeschlossen und verteidigt hat. Er beschäftigt sich darin vor allem mit der Rolle, Finanzierung und Kontrolle öffentlicher Einrichtungen im Lviv (Lemberg) des 15. Jahrhunderts. Christa Petschko (Graz) setzt sich mit dem Phänomen des gewaltsamen Todes und seinen unterschiedlichen Ausformungen auseinander, wie sie in den städtischen Chroniken Augsburgs im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert rezipiert, konstruiert und vermittelt wurden.

Das nächste Heft unserer Reihe wird noch im Jahre 2000 als Sonderband erscheinen und sich – wie bereits angekündigt – alltagsrelevanten Bereichen der „Neithard-Rezeption in Wort und Bild“ (Herausgeberin: Gertrud Blaschitz, Krems) widmen. Die Bildüberlieferung wird mit Hilfe einer dem Band beiliegenden CD-Rom zugänglich gemacht werden. Im Februar/März 2001 wird ein weiterer schon angekündigter Sonderband zur Auslieferung gelangen, und zwar die unter der Herausgeberschaft von Detlev Kraack (Berlin) stehende internationale Bibliographie zu den Graffiti des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit.

Gerhard Jaritz
Herausgeber