

dies venit nunciatus, ferens litteras quod Delphinus congregato exercitu suo venerat ante quoddam castrum comitis Sabaudie, et quod de una balista cum magna sagitta in medio omnium militum suorum fuisset sagittatus, et post aliquot dies confessione habita mortuus esset. Tunc pater noster auditis litteris dixit: Miramur valde super hiis, quia filius noster mortem ipsius nobis ante predixerat. Et multum mirati sunt ipse et Thomas, nullus tamen post hec de ista materia cum ipsis fuit locutus.

CAPITULUM VIII.

Post hec pater noster, videns quod expense sibi deficiebant et guerram ulterius ferre contra predictos dominos Lombardie non posset,¹ cogitavit de recessu suo, et volebat nobis committere easdem civitates et guerram. Nos vero recusavimus, quia cum honore conservare non poteramus. Tunc data nobis licencia recedendi premisit nos versus Boemiam. Et receptis treugis cum inimicis nostris transivimus per territorium Mantuanum in Veronam, abinde in comitatum Tyrolis, ubi invenimus fratrem nostrum, nomine Johannem, quem pater noster copulaverat filie ducis Karinthie comitisque Tyrolis.² Qui dux, socer fratris nostri, habuerat prius sororem matris nostre, nomine Annam, prout superius scriptum est.³ Post obitum vero eius re-

¹ Cf. the last paragraph of ch. 6: *Demum videns pater noster quod expense sibi deficerent et quod guerram ferre non valeret....*

² John Henry of Luxemburg married Margaret Maultasch, daughter of Henry of Carinthia, in 1330.

days later a messenger arrived bearing a letter to the effect that the dauphin had sent his assembled army against a castle of the count of Savoy, that in the middle of all of his troops he had been hit by a large arrow from a crossbow, and that after a few days he had made his confession and died. When our father had heard the letter, he said, "We are greatly amazed at this, for our son had predicted his death." And he and Thomas wondered greatly, but no one after this spoke with them about this matter.

CHAPTER 8

After, our father saw that his financial resources were running out and he could not further pursue the war against the aforementioned lords of Lombardy,¹ he thought about withdrawing, and wanted to give the cities and the war over into our command. We, however, declined, for we were not able to maintain ourselves with honor. He then gave us permission to depart and sent us on to Bohemia. Having received a guarantee of safe passage from our enemies, we crossed through the territory of Mantua to Verona and from there to the county of Tyrol, where we found our brother John, whom our father had married to the daughter of the duke of Carinthia and count of Tyrol.² This duke, the father-in-law of our brother, had earlier been married to our mother's sister, named Anne, as has been mentioned above.³ But after her death he had taken as wife the sister

¹ See ch. 3. Anne Přemysl died in 1313; Henry of Carinthia married Adelaide of Brunswick in 1315.

ceperat uxorem sororem ducis de Brunswich, cum qua predictam filiam habuerat nomine Margaretham.¹ Et cum eadem dederat fratri nostro post obitum suum ducatum Karinthie et comitatum Tyrolis; nam prole masculina carebat. Et sic pax facta erat inter eum et patrem nostrum, quia ante erant inimici propter expulsionem eiusdem ducis, quem pater noster expulerat de Boemia, prout superius scriptum est.²

Deinde transivimus per Bavariam, ubi invenimus sororem nostram seniore, nomine Margaretham,³ que unicum filium habebat cum Heinricho, duce Bavarie, nomine Johannem.⁴

Deinde pervenimus in Boemiam, de qua absens fueramus undecim annis.⁵ Invenimus autem quod aliquot annis ante mater nostra dicta Elyzabeth mortua erat. Ipsa vero vivente soror nostra secundogenita filia sua nomine Guta,⁶ missa erat in Franciam et copulata Johanni, filio primogenito Philippi,⁷ regis Francie, cuius sororem, nomine Blanczam,⁸ habebamus in uxorem. Tercia vero soror nostra et ultima, nomine Anna,⁹ erat apud dictam sororem nostram in Francia temporibus illis. Et sic cum venissemus in Boemiam, non invenimus nec patrem nec matrem nec fratrem nec sorores nec aliquem notum. Idioma quoque Boemicum ex

¹ Margaret Maultasch.

² See ch. 3.

³ Margaret of Luxemburg 1313–41, who had married Henry II Wittelsbach in 1328.

⁴ John Wittelsbach 1329–40. He succeeded his father as duke of Lower Bavaria in 1339, but died on 20 December of the following year.

of the duke of Brunswick, and with her he had had the aforementioned daughter named Margaret.¹ When she married he had promised our brother the duchy of Carinthia and the county of Tyrol after his death, for he was lacking a male heir. And thus peace had been made between him and our father, who previously were enemies because of the expulsion of the duke, whom our father had driven out of Bohemia, as has been written above.²

Then we traveled through Bavaria, where we met our older sister Margaret,³ who had had only one son with Duke Henry of Bavaria (his name was John).⁴

Eventually we arrived in Bohemia, from which we had been absent for eleven years.⁵ There we found that, some years before, our mother Elisabeth had died. While she was alive her second daughter, our sister Guta,⁶ had been sent to France to marry John, the first-born son of King Philip of France,⁷ to whose sister Blanche⁸ we were married. Our third and last sister, Anne,⁹ had been spending this time in France with our aforementioned sister. And thus when we arrived in Bohemia, we found neither father nor mother nor brother nor sisters nor anyone else we knew. In addi-

¹ Charles had left Bohemia in April 1323; he returned to Prague on 30 October 1333, after journeying to Zbraslav to visit the tomb of his mother, Elisabeth Přemysl, who had died in 1330.

² Guta of Luxemburg (she married John II, king of France, in 1332, so in reality Charles's mother was by then no longer alive).

³ Philip VI of Valois.

⁴ Margaret/Blanche of Valois.

⁵ Anne of Luxemburg 1323–38.

toto oblivioni tradideramus; quod post redicimus, ita ut loqueremur et intelligeremus ut alter Boemus. Ex divina autem gracia non solum Boemicum, sed Gallicum, Lombardicum,¹ Teutonicum et Latinum ita loqui, scribere et legere scivimus, ut una lingua istarum sicut altera ad scribendum, legendum, loquendum, et intelligendum nobis erat apta.²

Tunc pater noster, procedens versus comitatum Lucemburgensem propter quandam guerram quam gerebat cum duce Bravancie³ ipse et college sui, videlicet Leodiensis episcopus,⁴ Juliacensis marchio,⁵ Gerlenensis comes,⁶ et quam plures alii, commisit nobis auctoritatem suam temporibus absencie sue in Boemia.

Quod regnum invenimus ita desolatum, quod nec unum castrum invenimus liberum quod non esset obligatum cum omnibus bonis regalibus, ita quod non habebamus ubi manere, nisi in domibus civitatum sicut alter civis. Castrum

¹ Lit. 'Lombardic.'

² Cf. ch. 31 of Charles's Golden Bull, issued in 1356 and requiring that princes between the ages of 7 and 14 receive instruction in the languages most necessary to the Empire, namely Latin, Italian, and Slavic: ...*quod electores principes, ipsius imperii columnae et latera, diversorum ydionatum et linguarum differentiis instruantur, ut plures intelligant et intelligantur a pluribus, qui plurimorum necessitatibus relevandis cesaree sublimitati assistunt in partem sollicitudinis constitui. Quapropter statuimus, ut illustrium principum ... filii vel heredes et successores, cum verisimiliter Theutonicum ydionoma sibi naturaliter inditum scire presumentur et ab infancia didicisse, incipiendo a septimo etatis sue anno in gramatica, Italica ac Slavica linguis instruantur, ita quod infra quartum*

tion we had completely forgotten the Czech language, which we have since relearned so that we speak it and understand it like any other Bohemian. By divine grace therefore we know how to speak, write, and read not only Czech, but French, Italian,¹ German, and Latin so that we are able to write, read, speak, and understand any one of these languages as well as another.²

Our father was going to the county of Luxemburg because of a war against the duke of Brabant³ which he and his comrades were waging together—namely the bishop of Liège,⁴ the margrave of Jülich,⁵ the count of Geldern,⁶ and many, many others—and he transferred authority in Bohemia to us for the duration of his absence.

We found the kingdom so forsaken that there was not one castle which was free and not mortgaged together with all its royal property, so that we did not have anywhere to stay except in houses in the cities just like any other citizen.

decimum etatis annum existant in talibus iuxta datam sibi a deo gratiam eruditi. Cuius illud non solum utile, immo ex causis premissis summe necessarium habeatur, eo quod ille lingue ut plurimum ad usum et necessitatem sacri Romani imperii frequentari sint solite et in hiis plus ardua ipsius imperii negocia ventillentur (Wolfgang D. Fritz, ed., *Die goldene Bulle Kaiser Karls IV. vom Jahre 1356*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum, vol. 11 (Weimar, Böhlau, 1972), 90).

¹ John III, ruled 1312–55.

⁴ Adolph II, bishop of Liège 1313–44.

⁵ William V of Heimbach 1328–61.

⁶ Rainald II, ruled 1326–43.

vero Pragense ita desolatum, destructum, ac comminutum fuit, quod a tempore Ottogari regis¹ totum prostratum fuit usque ad terram. Ubi de novo palacium magnum et pulchrum cum magnis sumptibus edificari procuravimus, prout hodierna die apparet intuentibus.

Tempore illo misimus pro uxore nostra, quia adhuc erat in Luczemburg. Que cum venisset, post unum annum habuit filiam primogenitam, nomine Margaretham.²

Illis autem temporibus dederat nobis pater noster marchionatum Moravie et eodem titulo utebamur. Videns autem communitas de Boemia proborum virorum quod eramus de antiqua stirpe regum Boemorum, diligentes nos dederunt nobis auxilium ad recuperanda castra et bona regalia. Tunc cum magnis sumptibus et laboribus recuperavimus castra Purglinum,³ Týřow,⁴ Liuchtenburg,⁵ Lutycz,⁶ Grecz,⁷ Pyesek,⁸ Necztyni,⁹ Zbyroh,¹⁰ Tachow,¹¹ Trutnow¹² in Boemia; in Moravia vero Luccow,¹³ Telcz,¹⁴ Weverzi,¹⁵ Olomucense, Brunense et Znoymense¹⁶ castra,

¹ Otakar II Přemysl 1233–78, king of Bohemia from 1253.

² Margaret/Blanche of Valois arrived in Prague on 12 June 1334, and her daughter, Margaret of Luxembourg 1335–49 was born on 24 May 1335.

³ Křivoklát Bez. Rakovník in the valley of the river Berounka, W of Prague. See Bahleke, Eberhard and Polívka 502–4.

⁴ In the valley of the river Berounka, W of Prague. Ibid. 634–35.

⁵ Near to Ronov nad Doubravou, about 40 km SW of Hradec Králové. Ibid. 338.

⁶ Litice nad Orlicí, about 40 km SE of Hradec Králové on the river Orlice.

⁷ Approx. 60 km E of Prague. Ibid. 269–74.

Even the castle in Prague was desolate, in ruins, and reduced from the times of King Otakar¹ so that it had crumbled almost to the ground. Here we raised up at great expense the great, new, and beautiful palace the way it appears to those who look on it today.

At that time we sent for our wife, who was still in Luxemburg. One year after she arrived, she bore her first daughter, named Margaret.²

Also at that time our father gave us the margravate of Moravia and we bore that title. When the community of upright men in Bohemia saw that we were of the ancient lineage of the kings of Bohemia, they held us in affection and gave us aid in recovering our castles and the crown rights. Then, by great cost and labor, we recovered the castles of Křivoklát,³ Týřov,⁴ Lichnice,⁵ Litice,⁶ Hradec Králové,⁷ Písek,⁸ Nečtiny,⁹ Zbiroh,¹⁰ Tachov,¹¹ and Trutnov¹² in Bohemia; in Moravia, moreover, Lukov,¹³ Telč,¹⁴ Veveří,¹⁵ the castles of Olomouc, Brno, and Znojmo,¹⁶ and

⁸ Approx. 90 km S of Prague on the river Otava. Ibid. 452–53.

⁹ W of Manětín, approx. 30 km NW of Plzeň. Ibid. 393.

¹⁰ Approx. 30 km NE of Plzeň. Ibid. 679–80.

¹¹ On the river Mže, W of Plzeň. Ibid. 595–97.

¹² Approx. 40 km N of Hradec Králové. Ibid. 618–21.

¹³ NE of Zlín, close to Fryšták.

¹⁴ S of Jihlava. Ibid. 601–3.

¹⁵ NW of Brno on the river Svratka. Ibid. 127–28.

¹⁶ SW of Brno, on the Austrian border.

et quam plura alia bona obligata et alienata a regno.¹ Et habebamus multos paratos militares servientes, et prosperabatur regnum de die in diem, diligebatque nos communitas bonorum, mali vero timentes precavebant a malo, et iusticia sufficienter vigeat in regno, quoniam barones pro maiori parte effecti erant tyranni, nec timebant regem prout decebat, quia regnum inter se dividerant. Et sic tenuimus capitaneatum regni meliorando de die in diem per duos annos.

Tempore illo tradidimus iuniolem sororem nostram, nomine Annam, Ottoni, duci Austrie, in uxorem.²

Et in illis diebus mortuus est dux Karinthie, socer fratris nostri.³ Et cum frater noster debuisset accipere possessionem ducatus Karinthie et comitatus Tyrolis post mortem ipsius, tunc fecerat occulte ligam Ludovicus,⁴ qui se gerebat pro imperatore, cum ducibus Austrie, Alberto⁵ videlicet et Ottone, ad dividendum dominium fratris nostri occulte et false, volens idem Ludovicus habere comitatum Tyrolis, duces vero ducatum Karinthie, in memor Ludovicus et ingratus servitorum patris nostri que sibi exhibuerat in adeptione imperii, prout supra est scriptum.⁶ Dux vero Austrie, licet sororem nostram haberet, statim

¹ For further on these castles see Durdik 69–78, esp. 74–76 and map 2.

² Anne of Luxemburg married Otto Habsburg 1301–39, duke of Austria 1330–39, in February 1335.

³ Henry of Carinthia died on 4 April 1335. John Henry of Luxemburg was his son-in-law.

many other properties which had been mortgaged and alienated from the kingdom.¹ We had many knights ready to serve us, and the kingdom prospered from day to day. Good men of the whole community loved us, the evil were afraid and were on their guard against bad deeds, and justice flourished to a great degree in the kingdom. The majority of barons had ruled tyrannically and did not fear the king as they should, for they had divided up the kingdom among themselves. Thus we held command of the kingdom for two years, improving things from day to day.

At that time we gave our younger sister Anne as wife to Duke Otto of Austria.²

And in these days the duke of Carinthia, the father-in-law of our brother died.³ Our brother was supposed to take possession of the duchy of Carinthia and the county of Tyrol after his death, but Lewis,⁴ who was acting as if he were emperor, made a secret alliance with the dukes of Austria, namely Albert⁵ and Otto, to divide up the domain of our brother in secret and deceitfully. Lewis wanted to have the county of Tyrol; the dukes, the duchy of Carinthia. Lewis ungratefully forgot the services of our father, who had helped him to become emperor, as has been described above.⁶ The duke of Austria, even though he had

⁴ Lewis IV Wittelsbach.

⁵ Albert II Habsburg 1298–1358, duke of Austria between 1330–58. He and his brother Otto ruled Austria together from 1330 until Otto's death in 1339.

⁶ See the beginning of ch. 4.

post obitum ducis Karinthe predicti per conspiracionem habitam secreto cum domino de Aufsteyn,¹ qui erat capitaneus ex parte ducis tocius Karinthe, statim cum fratre suo habuerunt Karinthiam, quam idem de Aufsteyn eis libere tradidit ac possessionem eisdem dedit. Et sic frater noster perdidit ducatum Karinthe. Illi vero de comitatu Tyrolis noluerunt se subdere Ludovico, sed permanserunt in obediencia fratris nostri.

Illis peractis venit pater noster in Boemiam, et adduxit post se uxorem suam quam receperat sibi in reginam, nomine Beatricem,² filiam ducis de Burbon, de genere regum Francie, cum qua postea genuit unicum filium nomine Wenceslaum.³

Tunc mali et falsi consilarii invaluerunt contra nos apud patrem nostrum, lucrum proprium pretendentes, tam Boemi quam de comitatu Luczemburgensi. Accedentes patrem nostrum sibi suggesserunt dicentes: Domine, provideatis vobis, filius vester habet in regno multa castra et magnam sequelam ex parte vestri; unde si diu ita prevalebit, expellet vos quando voluerit; nam et ipse heres regni et de stirpe regum Boemie est, et multum diligitur a Boemis, vos autem estis advena. Hoc autem dicebant querentes lucrum

¹ Conrad of Aufenstein was from 1299 the real ruler of Carinthia rather than Henry, who was often out of his duchy. On 1 May 1335, after Henry of Carinthia's death, Lewis IV Wittelsbach ordered Conrad to obey the dukes of Austria, to whom he intended to give Carinthia. Conrad thereafter accepted Habsburg power in Carinthia.

married our sister, immediately after the death of the aforementioned duke of Carinthia obtained the territory. He made a secret conspiracy with the lord of Aufenstein,¹ who had been the military captain of the whole of Carinthia on behalf of the deceased duke. As a result, the duke of Austria with his brother obtained Carinthia, which Aufenstein freely handed over to them. Thus our brother lost the duchy of Carinthia. The people of the county of Tyrol, on the other hand, did not wish to submit to Lewis, but remained obedient to our brother.

After this had taken place our father came to Bohemia, bringing with him his wife whom he had chosen to be his queen. Her name was Beatrice,² the daughter of the duke of Bourbon, a member of the French royal family. With her he later had a single son, named Wenceslas.³

Then evil and false advisors, seeking their own advantage—both Bohemians and Luxemburgers—prevailed against us with our father. Approaching our father they whispered to him, saying: "Lord, take care. Your son has many castles in the kingdom and great following among your people; if he continues long to have this advantage, he will be able to drive you out whenever he wishes. For he himself is the heir to the kingdom and of the royal house of Bohemia. He is much loved by the Bohemians; you, however, are a foreigner." This they said seeking profit and

² Beatrice Bourbon, the daughter of Louis I Bourbon, married John of Luxemburg in 1334 and arrived in Prague in July 1335. She died in 1383.

³ Wenceslas of Luxemburg 1337–83, duke of Luxemburg from 1354, married Joan of Brabant in 1352.

et locum suum, ut ipsis committeret castra et bona predicta. Ipse autem in tantum assensit consiliis eorum quod de nobis diffidebat, et propter hec abstulit nobis omnia castra et administrationem in Boemia et in marchionatu Moravie. Et sic nobis remansit solus titulus marchio Moravie sine re.

Illo tempore equitabamus una dierum de Purgilino in Pragam, volentes adire patrem nostrum, qui erat in Moravia, et sic tarde venimus in castrum Pragense ad antiquam domum purgraviatus, ubi mansionem per aliquot annos feceramus, antequam palacium magnum fuerat edificatum. Et nocturno tempore deposuimus nos in lecto, et Bussko de Wilharticz senior¹ in altero ante nos. Et erat magnus ignis in camera, quia tempus hiemale erat, multaque candele ardebant in camera, ita quod lumen sufficiens erat, et ianue et fenestre omnes erant clause. Et cum incepissemus dormire, tunc deambulabat nescio quid per cameram, ita quod ambo evigilavimus, et fecimus dictum Busskonem surgere, ut videret quid esset. Ipse autem surgens circumivit per cameram querens, et nichil vidit nec quidquam potuit invenire. Tunc fecit maiorem ignem et plures candelas incendit, et ivit ad ciffos qui stabant pleni vino super bancas, et potavit et reposuit unum ciffum prope unam magnam candelam ardentem. Potacione facta tunc deposuit se iterum ad lectum, et nos induti pallio nostro sedebamus in lecto et audiebamus ambulantem, videre tamen neminem poteramus. Et sic respicientes cum predicto Busskone super ciffos et candelas vidimus ciffum proiec-tum, et idem ciffus proiciebatur, nescimus per quem, ultra lectum Busconis de uno angulo camere usque in alterum in

position for themselves, so that he might transfer to them the aforementioned castles and property. He gave in to their advice and became suspicious of us. Because of this he withdrew from our control of all the castles and administrative responsibilities in Bohemia and the margravate of Moravia. Thus there remained for us only the title of margrave of Moravia without any powers.

In that time we were riding one day from Křivoklát to Prague, wanting to see our father, who was in Moravia. We arrived at a late hour at the castle of Prague at the old house of the burgrave, where we had lived for several years before the great palace had been built. When night came we went to our bed, and Busko of Wilhartitz senior¹ was in another in front of us. There was a great fire in the room because it was winter time, and there were many candles burning, too, so that it was quite light. All doors and windows were closed. When we had just fallen asleep, something moved about in the room and we both awoke. We had Busko get up to see what it was. He got up and went around the room searching, but saw nothing and was able to find nothing. Then he built up the fire, lit more candles, and went to the cups which stood full of wine on the benches, drank from them, and put one cup near one of the great burning candles. Having drunk, he lay down again on his bed. We sat upright in bed covered by our blanket and heard someone walking about but were not able to see anyone. And while we were looking with Busko at the cups and the candles, we saw a cup thrown. It was thrown—we did not know by whom—over Busko's bed from one end of the

¹ For further details on Busko of Wilhartitz see Widder 60, n. 41.

parietem, qui sic reverberatus a pariete cecidit in medium cameræ. Videntes hec territi sumus nimium, et semper ambulantes in camera audivimus, neminem autem vidimus. Post vero signati sancta cruce in Christi nomine usque in mane dormivimus. Et mane surgentes, ciffum, prout proiectus erat, in medio cameræ invenimus. Et ea nostris familiaribus ad nos de mane venientibus ostendimus.

Illo tempore misit nos pater noster cum pulchro exercitu super ducem Slezie nomine Polconem, dominum Munsterberiensem.¹ Nam ille dux non erat princeps neque vasallus patris nostri et regni Boemie. Pater tamen noster adquisierat civitatem Wratislaviensem per dominum Henricum septimum,² ducem Wratislaviensem, qui heredes non habebat. Et idem dux acceperat in donum Glacense territorium temporibus vite sue, voluitque pocius predictam civitatem ac ducatum patri nostro et corone regni Boemie perpetuo applicare quam fratri suo Boleslao³ dimittere, quia ipse et frater suus mutuo sibi inimicabantur. Postquam autem pater noster accepisset possessionem civitatis Wratislaviensis, omnes duces Slezie et Opuliensis⁴ subiecerunt se dicioni sue perpetuo ac corone regni Boemie, ut tueren-

¹ Between 1327 and 1331 most of the Silesian principalities acknowledged the overlordship of King John of Bohemia. Henry VI of Wrocław bequeathed his principality not to his brothers, Bolesław III of Brzeg 1294–1352 and Władislaus of Legnica 1296–1352, but to the Bohemian crown. Only the territories of Bolesław (Bolko) II of Ziębice 1298/1301–41, his elder brother Henry I duke of Jawor 1294–1346 and his nephew Bolesław (Bolko "the Little") II 1312–68 of Świdnica remained independent. At the royal meeting of Trenčín 24 August 1335, John of Bohemia relinquished his claims on Poland and

room to the far wall, then it bounced off and fell in the middle of the room. Seeing this, we were terribly afraid; we could still hear someone continuing to move about, but saw no one. After making the sign of the cross in Christ's name we slept until morning. Getting up in the morning, we found the cup which had been thrown in the middle of the room, and we showed all this to our servants when they came to us in the morning.

At that time our father sent us with a magnificent army against Duke Bolko of Silesia, the lord of Ziębice.¹ That duke was neither a prince nor a vassal of our father or the kingdom of Bohemia. Our father, however, had acquired the city of Wrocław from Duke Henry the Seventh² of Wrocław, who did not have any heir. This duke had received the territory of Kłodzko as a gift for the duration of his life, and wanted to give the aforementioned city and duchy to our father and the crown of the kingdom of Bohemia permanently rather than to his brother Bolesław,³ because he and his brother were mutual enemies. After our father had taken possession of the city of Wrocław, however, all the dukes of Silesia including the duke of Opole⁴ declared their permanent submission to him and the crown

in return Casimir surrendered his claims on the Silesian principalities. Bolko of Ziębice did not accept this pact and it was on these grounds that Charles started his campaign against him in September 1335. In August 1336 Bolko of Ziębice was compelled to accept Bohemian rule.

² A slip for Henry VI 1294–1335, duke of Wrocław from 1311.

³ Bolesław III of Brzeg.

⁴ Bolesław II of Opole (1300–56) accepted Bohemian overlordship on 5 April 1327.