

The History of the von Kleist Family

Second part

General history

Machine translation with ChatGPT

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Preface to the 1st edition
to Part 1 of the family history (Book of Documents)
(by Gustav Adolf Kratz, 1862)

The public prize announcement of the von Kleist family of 16 June 1857 offered me the nearest occasion to undertake the history of this famous old Pomeranian noble house. After I, hindered until then by various circumstances, had begun the preparatory work only in the summer of 1858, I soon took such an interest in the matter that I resolved, in many respects, to go beyond the concise plan drawn up by the family, and in particular to add to the history a substantial book of documents, which I regard as the actual foundation of the history, to which one will always have to return again. This book of documents came into being alongside the collection of the material for the actual historical-biographical part, and could already in the summer of 1861 be presented finished to the historical commission of the family, which granted it approval. It had indeed at first been my intention to postpone its printing until the completion of the historical-biographical part, and to attach it to this as a second part; alone already upon consideration that, in the historical part, there must frequently be occasion to refer to page numbers and numbers of the book of documents, a preceding printing of it appeared necessary, and moreover it corresponded to the unanimously expressed wishes of the members of the house that the completed sections should be printed as soon as possible. For these reasons I already now hand over the book of documents, as the first part of the History of the House of von Kleist, to the public.^{1 2}

Preface to the 1st edition of the general history (by W. Stettin, 1873)³

After the continuation of the family history had suffered an interruption of several years through the death of the archivist Kratz, in the person of Superintendent L. Quandt, the researcher so highly deserving of Pomeranian history and the most thorough connoisseur of the Pomeranian noble houses, the most suitable author was at last found in order to complete the work. Quandt undertook, besides his own works, among which also belonged the preparation of the family tree up to 1477, a partial revision of the Kratz manuscript. Then, in the midst of the work, death overtook him,⁴ and the family was once again struck by an irreplaceable loss. To me there now fell the honorable commission to compile the 2nd part of the family history from the existing Kratz, Quandt and von Mülverstedt manuscripts, to the latter of which the editing of the chapter on the coat of arms and of the Kleist heraldic kinship group had been entrusted. In order to avoid repetitions and disturbing contradictions of the individual authors, some chapters had to be struck out entirely, others in part, in which it was not to be avoided that individual errors have occurred, in that in some instances reference is made to chapters which now do not occur in the work at all. The corrections in this respect must be reserved for the list of printing errors at the end of the whole work.

Preface to the 2nd edition

The present text is part of the task of making the content of the old family history, which exists only in a few copies, generally available to the family again in a 2nd edition, but also of making it readable for

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² The book of documents, Part 1 of the family history, is available with its supplements in the original version of the 1st edition on the internet under [www.v-kleist.com](<http://www.v-kleist.com>). (2007)

³ The text is taken from the supplement of the 1st edition (2007)

⁴ He died in Persanzig on 5 July 1871.

the rising generations who have difficulties with the Fraktur type used, further of creating the possibility of translating the texts into English with programs, as well as of supplementing the texts with new findings, archival materials and pictures.

The scanned texts have been processed with the Abbyy text-recognition program for Fraktur type. In the post-processing, recognition errors may have been overlooked. Because of the particular difficulties in the text recognition of the present volume, the frequent change of typefaces, the risk of errors is particularly high here. The original texts have been preserved as far as possible. The spelling of the old family history has been cautiously adapted. Substantive additions of the revision are made recognizable in the text by italic type, in the remarks by the year of the insertion.

Additions, which in the following volumes with the biographies concern above all references to documents in the Landesarchiv Greifswald, in the Staatsarchiv Stettin (Archiwum Panstwowe) as well as in the family archive in Hamm, further quotations from books of the 18th and 19th centuries opened up via Google-Books, exist for this volume so far only to a small extent.

Nevertheless I have also prepared a second edition for this volume, in order on the one hand to make the oldest part of the family history likewise well legible and available, on the other hand to lay the foundation for a future updating which includes the findings of historical research since 1873. Individual later works on the family history, in particular the work of von Sauer from 1939, have been taken into account in notes. The pages with the coats of arms and seals have been taken from the book of documents in this book, in order to facilitate the reading of the discussions about the coats of arms. The volume has been supplemented by a complete table of contents, information about the authors of the 1st edition, and a bibliography.

That Kratz, in the formulation of his preface, had an idea of the total extent which the biographical part of the family history later assumed with around 1000 pages, is doubtful.

What significance was ascribed to the family history is expressed in the discussions in a speech from the year 1908, which Georg von Kleist, the then chairman, delivered:

“To that belonged ... the edition of a family history decided upon at that time, without which an inner cohesion in a family cannot form. The principal promoter of this meritorious work was the indefatigable chairman. But the other members of the historical commission appointed for this purpose too must have spent much effort on the preparation of the work, for twice the editors changed. Begun by Archivist Kratz,⁵ continued by Superintendent Quandt, only Pastor Kypke was able to bring it to an end and by far performed the greatest part of the work, especially in the biographical parts. A greater number of biographies have been edited by sons and nephews, the portrait of Field Marshal Count Kleist v. Nollendorf by the then riding master and today's chairman Georg. Thus the work has not received a quite uniform character and is altogether more a work of sources than a work of history and yet not only of greatest value for the family. Apart from all ideal purposes which it promotes, it is an inexhaustible and until now also not completely exhausted source for further research in the individual fields of our family history. We want only as an example to mention that here all material is brought together in order to be able to take from it a history of the movement of landed property in the Kleist family in Hinterpommern at all ...”

The family history was completed in the year 1887, thus required almost 20 years for its preparation. The costs amounted to 5326 Mark incl. honoraria. Its continuation in a worthy manner will only be possible if the individual branches collect biographical material about their departed, to which they are warmly requested. ”

⁵ Error of Georg about the sequence of the editors corrected (2007)

This continuation then only took place in 1980.

With the digitization of the entire family history of the von Kleist family completed in 2007 (the book of documents without text recognition, only with pictures of the pages) a prerequisite has been created in order to be able to carry out future continuations in a more timely and less expensive way.

Another note for family members whom the scope and the scientific thoroughness of this volume frightens. The sections which are especially worth reading for them are printed in bold type in the table of contents.

On the authors of this volume

Kratz, Gustav Adolf,⁶

Pomeranian historian, born on 19 November 1829 at Wintershagen, district Stolp, † on 7 November 1864 at Stettin, was the son of the manor owner Gustav Heinrich K. At first taught by a private tutor and neighboring clergymen, he attended from 1841–44 the higher secondary school at Stolp and 1844–47 the Joachimsthal Gymnasium at Berlin. During his Berlin period he was often fetched with other school comrades to Babelsberg as play companion of the young Prince Friedrich Wilhelm (later Emperor Friedrich), who therefore later once called him a “companion of youth.” In January 1848 he entered the newly founded Gymnasium at Anklam, which he left at Easter 1850 with the certificate of maturity, in order first to devote himself at Greifswald to the study of law and camera alia, where at the same time he satisfied his military obligation with the local Jäger battalion. Easter 1851–53 he studied in Berlin and on 24 June 1853 passed at the royal appellate court at Köslin the examination as Auscultator. As such and from 25 December 1855 as Referendar he was employed at the royal district court at Stolp. An early awakened, earnest study and collecting nourished and confirmed his love for archival-historical work in the field especially of local history; but after he had pursued the practical legal career up to the threshold of the third examination, he was moved to offer his services to the royal herald’s office at Berlin, and when he here endeavored in vain for an appointment, to offer them to the royal archive administration. In March 1858 he entered, on leave from the judicial service, the royal provincial, later state archive at Stettin as an auxiliary worker, at first without any salary and without any prospect of appointment. On 1 January 1861 he was then employed there on a provisional basis and on 27 June finally as second archivist alongside the provincial archivist Dr. Robert Klempin. In his new position K. could live wholly to his inclinations. Soon after his entry into the archive service he undertook, prompted by the public prize announcement of the v. Kleist family of 16 June 1857, the editing of the history of this old Pomeranian house, whose first, for the history of the country most important part, the book of documents, was handed over to the public in 1862 at Kratz’ expense. In the following, especially for the family more important historical-biographical parts, which were published only 1873–87, Kratz’ pen wrote only Part II, section 1: “General historical introduction” and 3: “Origin and coat of arms of the house of von Kleist.”⁷

In the year 1863 followed the still indispensable “Registers and lists of the Pomeranian knighthood from the 14th to into the 19th century”, in association with R. Klempin.⁸ The completion of his still today

⁶ Taken from *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 51, pp. 360–362, author Otto Heinemann. (2007)

⁷ Sauer, *The nobility during the settlement of Eastern Pomerania*, p. 59, “This distinguishes the two archivists (Klempin and Kratz) advantageously from the researchers in whom the family has played a role, while they must always be counted only as part of the whole. Thereby the history of an individual family is only an example for general processes, perhaps even as a means, such events to understand.” (2007)

⁸ Sauer, *The nobility during the settlement of Eastern Pomerania*, p. 58, “Here there shows itself after the model of the 18th century the clear will, independent of tradition and regard, to research the origin of the houses of
(Fortsetzung...)”

much used principal work "The cities of the province of Pomerania. Outline of their history, mostly based on documents" he no longer experienced. It appeared, with a longer introduction by Klempin's, only in 1865. Unfortunately in K. there had already shown itself in 1863 a predisposition to a severe chest disease, which compelled him to a leave of several months and finally developed into galloping consumption, to which he succumbed in the following year, after he still on 23 May 1864 at the University of Leipzig had been awarded the doctorate as Dr. phil.

After his death there appeared in 1865 from Kratz' pen an essay "The Pomeranian colors" (Balt. Studies XX, 2) and the fundamental treatise used as dissertation "The Pomeranian castle-sitters", which, by the author in his fatal illness already given into print, according to the wish of the son, "to let the little work as the last of his scholarly activity on the field of Pomeranian antiquity, genealogy and heraldry come before the public," was published by the father of the deceased. Kratz' early death meant a great loss for the research of German history, especially of the Pomeranian nobility, and for genealogy, heraldry and sphragistics. His rich collections of material on the history of the Pomeranian noble houses which came to the royal state archive at Stettin are still today an essential aid for research on Pomeranian noble history. A planned work by him about the Pomeranian seals did not get beyond the preparatory work, a rich collection of seal drawings and impressions made by himself, by one gifted with outstanding talent for drawing. Had he not been torn away by death in the full vigor of his creative power, then we would in any case possess such a work which still today belongs among the pious wishes of Pomeranian historians.

Obituary by L. Frhr. v. Ledebur in dessen Archiv für Deutsche Adels-Geschichte 11 (1865). — Family papers in the possession of Kratz' sister Mrs. v. Uckermann at Groß-Machmin, district Stolp. — Files of the directorate of the royal state archives at Berlin and of the University of Leipzig.

Quandt, Johann Ludwig,⁹

Protestant clergyman and historical researcher, born on 22 September 1801 at Stettin, † 7. (5.?) July 1871 in Persanitz. His father was Prussian non-commissioned officer, the mother during the campaigns of 1806 and 1807 took her residence at Greifenhagen a. O., where the boy until his 14th year attended the city school. Then he entered the Gymnasium at Stettin; Ludwig Giesebrecht was there his teacher, took him in 1818 also into his house and exercised the greatest influence on the youth's direction of mind and character, so that he became and remained his friend. 1820 Q. entered the University of Berlin in order to study theology; in December 1823 he passed the first, in April 1824 the second examination. On 5 May 1824 he was ordained and called to the parish at Hasenfier, synod Ratzebuhr in Hinterpommern. 1836 he came out of this rural seclusion as superintendent to Rügenwalde and 1849 to the same office to Persanitz, where he had to serve 4 churches and to supervise 10 schools. Highly honored though ecclesiastical and politically differently minded he died there on 7. (5.?) July 1871 of a heart disease... His sense was directed only toward scholarship; the formalities connected with the administration of the superintendency were little sympathetic to him; altogether in outer life unpractical, on the other hand thoroughly practical in the preaching office and in the care of souls, although he preferably lived in the study. His scholarly researches extend over various fields: willingly and much occupied he was with the older history of Pomerania; his therefore going works are contained in the "Baltic Studies" and in numerous notes to the Codex dipl. Pom. by Hasselbach-Kosegarten. After his death there appeared "Chronological-geographical contributions" (ed. by Dieckmann. Gütersloh 1872—73), containing treatises on the time determinations in the gospels, on Israelite chronology and

⁸(...Fortsetzung)

a landscape on the basis of documents on the particular wishes of a family." (2007)

⁹ Taken from Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, vol. 27, p. 13, author v. Bülow.

on Judea in the year before and after Christ's birth. Quandt's hymnological knowledge was not insignificant. His genial spirit of recreation in these studies, and it is to be acknowledged that in the portrayal of complicated conditions he often, struck, on the other hand however suffered under the multiplicity the depth and thoroughness...

Baltic Studies XXIV; obituary from the family.

von Mülverstedt, George Adalbert,¹⁰

born on 4 July 1825 in Neufahrwasser, was the son of the Prussian lieutenant and later salt-magazine inspector Hans George von Mülverstedt. He attended the Gymnasium in Tilsit until 1844 and then began a study of philology at the University of Königsberg. For reasons of health he had to break this off and began in 1847 a study of jurisprudence, which he completed in 1849.

In June 1850 he took up, as appellate-court Auscultator, the activity at the district court Königsberg and two years later passed the Referendar examination. In his leisure he occupied himself with noble history and used for that archive materials of the provincial and later state archive Königsberg. He soon participated in the order of this archive and deposited there a collection of genealogical data about noble families, the so-called noble archive. From 1855 to 1857 he reorganized the archive of the estates of the Mark Brandenburg in Berlin (archive of the Brandenburg provincial estates) and in the following year presented a first publication. His work with the title "The older constitution of the estates of the Mark Brandenburg, chiefly in the 16th and 17th century" found general recognition.

On 1 April 1857 he officially entered the state archive service and already in the following year he was entrusted with the leadership of the provincial archive (later state archive) Magdeburg. This activity he exercised until entry into retirement in June 1898. For his merits he received several orders and decorations; in 1865 he was appointed archivist, and in 1877 Privy Archivist.

His extensive research activity, which extended chiefly to family history—especially of the noble houses—, also collected in part. Great interest he also devoted to heraldry and numismatics. Lasting merits he acquired with the collection, compilation and publication of the "Regesta Archiepiscopatus Magdeburgensis", which appeared in 1876, 1881 and 1886.¹¹

He died on 29 September 1914 in Magdeburg.

Stettin, Wilhelm,

who in the 1st edition compiled the contributions of this part, see above Preface to the 1st edition, and wrote the supplement, had also, a year before the publication of the 1st edition in the year 1872, published the family tables of the individual branches. There it is additionally stated that he was lawyer and notary in Belgard.

The daughter Elise Wilhelmine Alwine of Leopold Felix Gustav Albert v. Kleist, III.889, was married to the Prussian judicial councillor and lawyer Johann Ernst Wilhelm Stettin in Köslin (died 27 October 1884 in Köslin). The father-in-law of Wilhelm Stettin, who died after him, was from the beginning a member of the historical commission of the family. It was therefore probable that the father-in-law collaborated in the family history. The family history, however, contained in the notice about him no indication of it. In the meantime a review of the family history from 1887 has been found, which beyond

¹⁰ From Wikipedia, status February 2007

¹¹ Paragraph from the internet biography of the University of Magdeburg (author Antje Herfurth) status February 2007

the indication of his date of death the identity.¹²

¹² Paragraph from the internet biography of the University of Magdeburg (author Antje Herfurth) status February 2007

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- Geschichte des Geschlechts von Krassow*

Greifenberger Stadtbuch

Matrikel des Stettiner Nonnenklosters

Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgisches Urkundenbuch

Versuch eines bremisch-niedersächsischen Wörterbuchs

List of abbreviations

<60>	Page number of the 1st German edition at the beginning of the page's text, given in each case at intervals of 5 pages; comparison of the pages see p. 265
(2007)	Marking of notes inserted in the 2nd edition
2. Nachtrag	Second supplement to the Book of Documents, printed in the German first edition of Part 2 of the family history before the General History
I. (+ number)	Reference to Table I "up to the year 1500" of 1871
II. (+ number)	Reference to Table II "from 1500 to 1650" of 1871
III. (+ number)	Reference to Table III "from 1650 to 1871" of 1871
ADB	Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie
A.	Anmerkung (note)
a. a. O.	am angeführten Orte (at the place cited)
Bd.	Band (volume)
Cod.	Codex diplomaticus Pomeraniae
C. d. Br.	Codex diplomaticus Brandenburgensis
etc.	et cetera
Frhr.	Freiherr (baron)
G. K.	Geschlechts-Kalender (family calendar)
K.	Königlich (royal)
l. c.	loco citato (in the place cited)
Nr.	Nummer (number)
P. P. A.	Pommersches Provinzial-Archiv
S.	Seite (page)
s.	siehe (see)
u.	und (and)
Urk.	Urkunde (document/charter)
v.	von
z. B.	zum Beispiel (for example)

Section I:

General historical introduction.

By G. Kratz.

Chapter 1

General overview

<59> The plains between the Baltic Sea, the Elbe and the Vistula, mostly inhabited by Germanic peoples, but then abandoned, were occupied in the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries by Slavs, who, without political cohesion, lived side by side in many small tribes. First, out of several such smaller components, in the beginning and especially since the middle of the 10th century, a Duchy of Poland was formed, and thereby separated itself from the broad coastal strip which, encompassing present-day Mecklenburg and Pomerania with boundaries extending far to the south, was designated by the resident peoples of Germanic stock quite generally by the name *Slavia* or *Wendland*. This *Wendland* soon became the target of unceasing attacks directed against it from three sides. From the west the Germans pressed forward, in particular the Saxons; from the north the Danes; and from the south the Poles. The struggle of the Germans, which Charlemagne had begun, was the most enduring and most successful; it ended, to be sure only after centuries, with a complete victory of German character over Slavic nationality in the whole so-called *Wendland*.

The Germans' peculiar mobility in seeking new places of residence, which attached itself especially also to the Saxon tribal stock, like the offshoots of the latter which struck strong roots on the British islands, in Transylvania, in Livland, Estland and Kurland, certainly did not leave settlements in *Wendland* unattempted already early on. As early as the year 958 there are mentions of the like, which attached themselves to the marches now erected against the Wends.¹³ The cathedral canon Adam of Bremen, who wrote around 1070, reports that in his time the Saxons were permitted to reside in the ducal *Wendish* town of *Julin*, provided they did not make themselves known as Christians.¹⁴ When finally in 1124 from Poland and in Polish interest, but through a German, Bishop Otto of Bamberg, Christianity was brought to the Pomeranians and the Luticians, and the German companions of the bishop at home described the wonderful fertility of Pomerania like a new land of promise in glowing colors, the clergy will soon have been followed by individual German settlers, all the more since Duke Wartislaw the confessor, who had spent his youth in Saxon captivity, whose consort was already secretly a Christian, may not have been wholly averse to German culture and custom. But of a formal German colonization of Pomerania there can in this early time still not be any talk. Only when Margrave Albrecht the Bear (1134–1170) and Duke Heinrich the Lion of Saxony (1142–1181) in alliance with the Danish king Waldemar I. (1157–1182) had begun their fruitful wars of extermination against the Slavs, namely after the bloody battle in the year 1164 and the destruction of the *Abodrites*, was Slavdom so broken that now crowds of Germans moved over the Elbe into the devastated lands and founded a new home for themselves here. The Pomeranian dukes saw in the general collapse of the Slavic peoples their sole salvation in the recognition of Saxon and later Brandenburg feudal overlordship; they preferred, voluntarily, to open the gates to the German colonists for peaceful entry into their lands, thereby to create a tolerable situation for their people and for themselves to preserve princely dignity, as in the struggle for extermination against fate, and as, with the power and the successes of the Saxon duke and the Brandenburg margraves, could hardly any longer appear doubtful. to open the gates into their lands, thereby to create a tolerable situation for their people and for themselves to preserve princely dignity, as in the struggle

¹³ For example the town of the *Cocaresmim*. *Witechindi Corbejiens*. *Annal* I. III. chap. Meibom p. 657v. [of the *Cocarescemii*, it lay in the ducal march. Q.].

¹⁴ Adam of Bremen II. c. 66.

for extermination against fate, and as, with the power and the successes of the Saxon duke and the Brandenburg margraves, could hardly any longer appear doubtful.¹⁵

How quickly the colonization of Saxon feudal overlordship followed on the heels in the Slavic Baltic lands is shown by the mention of German colonies between the Warnow and the Rekenitz already in the year 1166.¹⁶ The Holstein parish priest Helmold, who wrote around 1170, gives the following portrayal: "The whole land of the Slavs (*omnis Slavorum regio*), which, beginning at the Eider, extends between the Baltic Sea and the Elbe as far as Schwerin, once unsafe and almost desert (*insidiis horrida et pene deserta*), is now with God's help transformed as it were into a Saxon colony (*redacta est velut in unam Saxonum coloniam*), cities and market-towns are built in it, the number of churches and the servants of Christ increases."¹⁷ Further east, however, the land was still in part sparsely inhabited by Slavs, in part entirely desert, so that also Bishop Brunward of Schwerin in the year 1219 could call his diocese a land of terror and further desolation (*terra horroris et vastae solitudinis propter barbariem Slavorum inculta*).¹⁸ Preferably Saxons, especially Westphalians, but also Thuringians, Rhinelanders and even Hollanders and Flemings,¹⁹ in general inhabitants of the wide plains of northern Germany between the Elbe, Rhine and the German low mountain range, who however had already absorbed Dutch, Flemish, Frisian, also Swabian and Franconian elements into themselves, pressed toward the newly opened gates in the east, in part voluntarily, adventurously, in part forced by hard fate, to seek a better lot in foreign lands. No corner in the land between the Elbe and the Oder, even on Rügen and in the land beyond the Oder, remained unnoticed by them, and almost step by step one can follow the advance of German names from west to east toward the Vistula up to the final complete victory of Germanism over Slavdom in those lands. In doing so it is indeed to be noted that the German sword, although it had given the occasion for this remarkable phenomenon, in Mecklenburg's and Pomerania's colonization and Germanization itself no longer at all cooperated. The metamorphosis was accomplished in an entirely peaceful way solely through the superiority of German culture, of a culture whose irresistible power penetrated even into Poland, the refuge of Slavic nationality, and here led to reshaping of public and family life which the most jealous Polish writers count among the most salutary that intercourse with the Germans has brought. Not only the Wendish princes had their joy in the apparent acceptance and rising population of their desolate and laid-waste lands, but the Wendish nobility too soon found its advantage in the favoring of the foreigners, and the final consequence was that the native princes and their people in custom and language completely assimilated themselves to the immigrants, so that of the old Wendland only the name remained. With astonishing rapidity this reversal of things proceeded. In the old West Pomeranian duchy the Germanization of the main matter was already completed with the end of the 13th century. Eastern Pomerania resisted more stubbornly, but it too succumbed, and when now from that side of the Vistula the Teutonic Order also won successes, it was entirely over with Slavdom on the Baltic Sea. Nevertheless centuries passed over the complete transformation of the Wendish-Slavic Pomerania into a Saxon-German one; and while the last Wendish-speaking woman

¹⁵ Here it is to be remembered: 1. The Abodrites are only for the most part destroyed, retained their princely house, which later became ducal Mecklenburg.

¹⁶ The Pomeranian dukes entered voluntarily under Heinrich the Lion, yet only for the westernmost part of their land, which then was reckoned to the old ducal Wendland, became for the whole 1181 gladly vassals of the emperor, from 1185 of the Danish king, 1236 and 1250 of the margraves, compelled by great distress of war. Q.

¹⁷ Helmold c. XIV. §. 4 [the land designated belonged to the counts of Holstein, Ratzeburg, Schwerin and Dannenberg. Q.].

¹⁸ Lisch, Mecklenburg charters II. n. 2. III. n. 15.

¹⁹ Riedel, Codex diplom. Brandenburg. I 2. p. 441. I. 1. p. 20.—Riedel, The Mark Brandenburg in the year 1250. II. p. 48—56.

from Rügen already died in the year 1404,²⁰ there still today reminds a remnant of the old Wendish people, pressed together on the sea coast in the northeasternmost corner of Germany between the Stolpe and Leba, which, under the name Cassubians, scantily preserves the old language and custom, of the past of a once great and mighty tribal people.²¹

But just as the victory of Germandom did not assert itself at the same time over all strata of the Wendish population of Pomerania, so among the immigrants too a certain sequence of estates can be perceived. First appeared the German clergy, especially the monks; bishoprics and monasteries formed, as it were, the advanced castles of colonization. The peasants followed the monks, and at the same time artisans and merchants, the former on the possessions of the monks, the latter settling at first under the protective ramparts of the territorial castles; last, in the first half of the 13th century, the warrior estate appeared, the German knights and those of knightly birth, and at the same time with their appearance, in part also with their help, begin the institutions of German towns, which soon formed the most solid core for the spread of German character.

Given the difference of the influence with which the different estates of both peoples, both in active and passive relation, acted in a modifying way upon Germanization, it will be expedient to consider somewhat more closely the estate-conditions of the immigrating Saxons as well as of the native Wends, and thereafter to turn to those phenomena which characterize the newly arisen mixed people.

Chapter 2

Status conditions among the immigrating Saxons.

For a portrayal of the estate-structure of the Saxon people at the time of the Pomeranian colonization, alongside the contemporary charters the most excellent source is the *Sachsenspiegel*, the well-known law-book composed between 1231 and 1235 by the lay judge of the territorial court Eicke von Repgow.

Out of the original sole distinction between free people (but already with a prominent noble class) and unfree people, the following estates had now been formed:

1. The free lords (dynasts), with the highest birth-estate.

These were in part the immediates of the Empire who had preserved themselves from the old primeval nobility, in part the houses in which high imperial offices, duchies, margraviates and counties had become hereditary. They are also called: *liberi*, *liberales*, *nobiles*, *nobiles viri*, *edele lude*, at times also *barones*. In rank there was among them a twofold gradation: princes (*principes*) and free lords, so that the counts who were not raised to princely rank belonged to the second rank-grade; both were also distinguished by the expressions *illustres* (illustrious) and *nobiles*. Most counts and lords were, in relation to imperial service, subordinate to the princes, who possessed the duchy-right (*jus ducale*) within their territory with or without this name, held fiefs from them, and were thus, alongside their

²⁰ Kantzow, ed. *Kosegarten*, line 436.

²¹ The possibility of so rapid a transformation becomes intelligible if one considers a similar spectacle that is taking place before our eyes in the Province of Posen. Here too the German language, custom, and culture are overcoming a foreign cultural condition, under by far more difficult circumstances; for here it takes place amid the violent resistance of the nobility and the clergy, whereas in Slavonic Pomerania in its time precisely the opposite occurred.

immediacy of the Empire, nevertheless also regarded as belonging under the principality.²² In birth-estate, however, princes, counts, and free lords were equal. Their estate privilege was the forum of jurisdiction immediately before the Emperor and the Imperial court. The estate was acquired through descent from noble parents and through enfeoffment with a banner-fief or an immediate lordship of the Empire by the Emperor. Since the 15th century this class bears the designation: high imperial nobility, and the free lords now in general assumed the comital title, in order to distinguish themselves more definitely from the lower nobility (see Chapter 5 to 2).²³

2. The “schöffbar” free and the knightly-born.

The *Sachsenspiegel* names the “schöffbar” free as the second class. They were those “who have their own freedom in their property and in their person.”²⁴ They are also called *homines synodales*, *sentbare man*, *Semperfreie*, and in them the genuine free people from the Carolingian period continued to live on, so far as such had maintained themselves, which was possible only with sufficient landed property. From the free lords (see above) they differed through the latter’s nobler lineage, greater landed property and the immunity-rights and regalia connected with it. In relation to freedom, however, they at first stood equal to them, until they gradually diverged, and the free lords were ascribed a higher degree of freedom. Among their privileges belonged the forum of jurisdiction before the territorial courts where judgment was given under the king’s ban. This estate was acquired and proved through descent from parents and grandparents of free birth, and the demonstration of the territorial court where they had had their lay-judge’s seat. Such “schöffbar” free lineages also existed in the towns. By contrast, in most Germanized lands east of the Elbe, namely in the margraviates, as in the Lausitz, in Meißen, and in the Mark Brandenburg, which lay outside the king’s ban, one also knew nothing of “schöffbar” free. Here the real (property-based) freedom of possession receded behind personal freedom, and already the non-existence of personal unfreedom and subjection placed all free people on the same level.²⁵

Alongside the “schöffbar” free the *Sachsenspiegel* names, as a distinguished estate, those who are of knightly kind. These were the knightly-born (born to shield and helmet, born to the shield, born to the weapons, those entitled to the shield, comrades in arms), i.e. those who could demonstrate their knightly descent up to father and grandfather. The distinctive feature here was that with them the point of view of freedom receded, and the factual element of occupation came to the foreground. It was the sum of those who not only themselves devoted themselves to the warrior way of life, but who could also demonstrate the same in their father and grandfather; thus an estate which, by the deed itself, testified that in it the old delight in war and knightly disposition lived on. They maintained themselves in the use of knightly weapons, in the right of judicial duel and feud; they alone were regularly capable of attaining knighthood and of feudal law, since this comprised within itself the circle of persons bound together by higher disposition, honor and fidelity; they had admission to the knightly orders, the highest court offices, the tournaments, and certain collegiate chapters. This estate was acquired as a rule only through descent from knightly men up to grandfather; exceptionally the Emperor dispensed, for the attainment of knighthood, from the requirement of non-knightly descent. It was lost through the choice of an unknightly way of life. Thus the estate of the knightly-born was originally distinguished from the

²² On the vice-counts compare Riedel, *Die Mark Brandenburg im J. 1250*, II, pp. 134–142. — Riedel, *Geschichte des preußischen Königshauses*, I, pp. 59, 60.

²³ F. Walter, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, Bonn 1853, pp. 263, 283, 284, 476. — The same author, *System des deutschen Privatrechts*, p. 507.

²⁴ Gloss to the Saxon Land Law, Book I, Art. 2.

²⁵ Riedel, *Beiträge zur Kunde des deutschen Rechts*, I. Beitrag, p. 44 ff. — Riedel, *Die Mark Brandenburg im J. 1250*, II, p. 416.

lower estates not merely by descent, but also outwardly by the way of life.

Soon, however, the notion arose that the quality imparted by knightly birth should not be wholly lost through the choice of an unknightly way of life. Through the advantages that fell to the knightly-born, the estate of the “schöffenbar” free split into two classes: such as, by maintaining the warrior way of life, were at the same time of knightly kind, and such as were not so, but rather, after the cessation of the host-ban (Heerbann), withdrew from military service and lived solely by agriculture. The latter entered into the category of free peasants.²⁶

3. The remaining rural inhabitants.

Here there were various gradations. In part they were remnants of old free people who, because of their small landed property, had not maintained themselves in “schöffenbarkeit.” To them also belonged the free people who held an estate not as property but as a rent-estate, either on notice, or hereditarily under themselves. Further the so-called Biergeldern, the Pleghaften (advocaticii), Mundlinge, Kurmödige, Kurechte, liberi censuales, rent-people, wax-rent payers (cerocensuales), the great number of free people who, with their person and their property, stood under an ecclesiastical or secular advocacy (Vogtei). Finally the free landmen: free people who had no property of their own and no fixed settlement in the land, and were placed under the jurisdiction of the Gograf.²⁷

4. The half-free (Laten, people attached to an estate, fiscalini, litones, mansionarii, lati, censuales, Erflaten, Lassen, Hofesleute, Hausgenossen, Hobs- and Klobsleute, Hüber, Gotteshausleute).

They did not stand in ownership, but only in an encompassing protective power of their lords according to manorial law (Hofrecht), and had the enjoyment of the people’s law as well as hereditary right in their farms.²⁸

5. The unfree or serfs (mancipia, homines de corpore, homines proprii, Sonderleute, “own” people, later: poor people, own dependents of the body, Eigenbehörige, lordly subjects).

They were in part settled, in part they served as day laborers and servants; others carried on rural trades and small commerce. The lord could sell, exchange, give away, present them, with or without farm. Before court the lord had to represent them.²⁹

Alongside this gradation of estates formed according to the point of view of freedom, there was a respected class of persons of quite its own kind, namely:

6. The ministeriales or service-people. — Their distinctive feature as an estate consisted in the mixing, occurring with them, of two points of view. By birth and on the field of territorial law they were unfree; but by the power of facts they had, through the permanent holding of the higher court offices as marshals, chamberlains, seneschals, cup-bearers, and through military services, raised themselves from their low position to an estate of honor, to which the advantages that adhered to the knightly way of life likewise passed over. They were therefore separated from the other unfree people; they stood equal to, or even higher than, the free people who were not knights; knightly lineages formed from them; and on

²⁶ Walter, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, pp. 477–481. — The same, *System des deutschen Privatrechts*, pp. 507–509. — *Märkische Forschungen*, III, p. 79 ff.

²⁷ Walter, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, pp. 482–487.

²⁸ Walter, *loc. cit.*, p. 446 ff.

²⁹ Walter, *loc. cit.*, p. 419.

the field of knighthood they were held in equal esteem with the free knightly men.³⁰ Influential ministeriales even received the byname *nobiles*, and if they had been set free they could receive duchies and margraviates. Originally the ministeriales received, for their offices, benefices according to manorial law after the manner of the vassals' benefices, so-called court fiefs; but these became hereditary like the male fiefs of the vassals. Gradually the service-duty of the ministeriales dissolved into feudal duty; since the beginning of the 13th century they stepped entirely alongside the free knightly-born families, and at last merged with them into the same estate, so that by the end of the 14th century the estate of the ministeriales had completely disappeared into the vassals and the knighthood, the imperial ministeriales into the free imperial knighthood.³¹

Out of the estate-classes listed under 2–6, in time three new estates arose: the lower nobility, the citizen estate, and the peasant estate (see Chapter 5).

Chapter 3.

Status conditions among the Pomeranian Wends before the German immigration.

As continual pressure by Germans, Danes and Poles had gradually led, in the Slavic land between Elbe and Vistula, to a closer union of individual smaller tribes, and as, in these tribal unions, the necessity of uniting warlike commanding power in one person had brought the leadership to prominent families, which maintained themselves in the hereditary possession of princely power:

1. As such Slavic princely families, three first stand out: the princes of the Abodrites (beginning with Niclot,³² 1130–1161, the ancestor of today's Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg) on their castles at Mecklenburg, Rostock and Werle; then the princes of the Rugians (*principes Rujanorum*, beginning with Tezlaf, 1162–1170, and Jaromar, extinct in 1325); finally the dukes of the Slavs and Pomeranians at Demmin and Stettin (*duces, principes, Slavorum, Pomeranorum, Leuticiorum*, beginning with Wartislaw I.,³³ 1124–1128, extinct in 1637). The latter were lords over a territory which extended along the Baltic Sea between the Riekgraben and the Leba, but in the south as far as the Warta and Noteć and over the Uckermark. The land between Leba and Vistula as far as the Noteć stood directly under Polish lordship and was administered by governors (*capitanei*), until one of these, Swantopolk, about 1237 was able to seize princely power here too with the title of a *dux Pomeranorum* <65>, and founded a fourth Slavic dynastic family,³⁴ which however already died out in 1295.

³⁰ "Service-men and Schoeppenbar-free men are accounted equal within the knighthood, or knightly dignity, or military shield." Gloss to Art. 12, § 2, vol. of the *Sachsenspiegel*.

³¹ Walter, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 488. — The same, *System des deutschen Privatrechts*, p. 509 ff. — v. Ledebur, On the ministeriales, in *Märkische Forschungen*, III, pp. 1–95. — v. Aufseß in *Archiv für Geschichte von Oberfranken*, Book I, Part 1, p. 121. — Schaumann, *Geschichte des niedersächsischen Volks*, p. 308 ff. — Riedel, *Die Mark Brandenburg im Jahre 1250*, II, p. 142 ff. — Wohlbrück and Baron v. Ledebur, *Geschichte der Altmark*, pp. 91–127.

³² For his descent from the Obodrite princes in the time of Charlemagne I have given the reasons in *Balt. Stud.* 22, 301 ff., 311 f., 317 ff., 322, 324, 339 f. Q.

³³ I have demonstrated, loc. cit. 152, 162, 164 ff., 179 ff., that he was a descendant of Smysl, who in 1046 was Duke of Pomerania; and that this man was originally a Polish wojewode of the land which Boleslaw I conquered in 993. Q. 65

³⁴ That Swantopolk was a descendant of Swatobor, who ruled Danzig from about 1070 until 1108; that he and his son were independent of Poland until about 1115; I have demonstrated with, in my opinion, irrefutable (Fortsetzung...)

The prerogatives of the Slavic prince (kneze, kneze, dominus, dominus terrae, princeps, princeps terrae, dux, dux et princeps, princeps et dominus) are comprised in the *jus ducale*.

To the *jus ducale* belonged above all precisely the war-lordship, to which the dignity owed its origin, a real territorial lordship (*dominium terrae*), not merely territorial sovereignty, a real *proprietas fundi*³⁵ vis-à-vis the hereditary possessory right of the Wendish free (*jus hereditarium possessoris*), which, alongside various restrictions, excluded in particular a free disposition of the possessor over the substance.

To an even higher degree than in the already existing villages and cultivated field-marks (*hereditates, villae seu hereditates, hereditates in villis, hereditates seu possessiones, villae seu possessiones*), the *jus ducale* and the princely proprietary right in land and soil expressed itself in the prince's disposition over waters, forest and waste (*solitudo, desertum*). Every use here traced back to princely grant or permission; where nothing had been granted, full ownership remained with the prince. The prince's proprietary right in forest and waste was of the greatest importance for German colonization. Without coming too near to the state of possession of the individual Slavs, the prince could sell and give away considerable stretches of forest and waste to the German immigrants; moreover it offered him the welcome opportunity, by exchange of a smaller already cultivated area for larger stretches still uncultivated, to round off his patrimony.³⁶

2. The Slavic nobility. — The actual stock of the Slavic nobility, after the formation of princely power, was constituted by the dynasts (*principes viri, principes terrae ducis*)³⁷ who, in the previously loose relations of individual districts to the whole, had attained greater independence, thus for example that Grimislaw, *unus de principibus Pomeraniae*,³⁸ at Stargard an der Ihna (1198), perhaps also the sons of Ranni, the illustrious Lutician prince, mentioned among others (c. 1202—1217);³⁹ further the appanaged agnates of the princely house, e.g. in Pomerania the Ratiborids at Schlawe, Gützkow and near Colbatz,⁴⁰ in Rügen the lords of Putbus and of Gristow.

To these two main components of an old Slavic nobility there attached itself a newer estate, preferred vis-à-vis the lower free, whose position is to be understood in connection with the Slavic military constitution. The country was divided into individual castellanies (*castellaniae, castellatura, terrae, provinciae*, according to German conception *burgwardia*) with a territorial lordly castle (*castrum, urbs*) as the center, in which a princely castellan (*castellanus, prefectus, prefectus urbis*, according to German conception *burchgravius*) commanded, to whom, besides the military supreme command, at the same time the administration of justice and the administration, in particular the collection⁴¹ of the territorial lordly revenues in his castellany, was incumbent. These castellans, with their subordinate and

³⁴(...Fortsetzung)
reasons in Balt. St. 16, 1, 98 ff.; 16, 2, 47 ff., 68 ff.; that he was Smysl's grandson is argued in B. St. 22, 181. Q.

³⁵ Only in a part of their territory: Barnim, for example, had the *proprietas* in the land of Colberg, not in the land of Stargard. Over the remainder the duke had only the *jus ducale*; before the Christian period also the high-priesthood; knez also means priest. Q.

³⁶ Fabricius, *Studien zur Geschichte der wendischen Ostseeländer*, 2nd fascicle, 1st section, p. 55 ff., 58 ff.

³⁷ Fabricius, loc. cit., p. 88.

³⁸ Hasselbach and Kosegarten, *Cod. Pomeran. dipl.*, Nos. 75, 76, 267. (In the seal he calls himself dux; he was a descendant of Swatobor; see above, note Q.)

³⁹ Hasselbach and Kosegarten, loc. cit., No. 92.

⁴⁰ In these sat those who in the documents are called the Swantiborites; see B. St. 22, 158 ff. Q.

⁴¹ These, rather, belonged to the *camerarius*. Q.

under-officials (*officiales castri*), among them the *camerarius*, *subcamerarius* (*potkymor*), *dapifer*, *subdapifer* (*podstole*), *pincerna*, *subpincerna* (*podschesele*), *tribunus*, *vexillifer*, *venator*),⁴² who had their permanent residence in the castle with the castellan, in Eastern Pomerania also received together with him the personal byname *comes*, and the landholders settled in the castellany district, who were so well-to-do that they could render war-service on horseback (*nobiles viri castri N.*, *nobiles de castro N.*, *Nobiles terrae N.* *Nobiles Caminenses*, *Diminenses* etc., *nobiliores terrae*, *provinciae*, *territorii*), together formed this newer Slavic nobility (*nobiles laici*, *barones nostri*, *optimates nostri*, *seniores terrae*, *maiores terrae*, *viri nobiles terrae nostrae*, *nobiles Slaviae*, *nobiles et baroni*, *nobiliores nostri*, *nobiles ducis*, *nobiles dicioni ducis subjecti*, in Eastern Pomerania also *baroni et suppani*),⁴³ in which in time the old estate of lords was absorbed, because for it, according to this military constitution and the princely power thereby raised, no other place remained for a significant influence.⁴⁴

3. The remaining inhabitants of the land. — Free people who were not in a position to render mounted service, and unfree people (*kmetones*, *homines*, *coloni et servientes pertinentes sive servientes*, *familia*). Out of the original condition of common freedom there had already early formed, for the smaller free landowners and peasants, a relation of serfdom.⁴⁵

Cities in the German sense were unknown to the Slavs. Larger town-like settlements beside the castles, like Wollin, Stettin, Colberg, differed from the flat land merely through the larger gathering of the greater populace, brought about by the protection of the nearby castle, still more however through the market (*forum*) connected with the latter and the princely tavern-rent (*taberna*, *moneta*). In legal and administrative relation, between the inhabitants of these settlements and those of the rest of the land, there existed no difference.⁴⁶

Chapter 4.

Fusion of the Germans and Slavs.

Already at the conclusion of the 1st chapter it has been pointed out that among the German immigrants the clergy were the first, then the peasants, tradesmen and merchants, and finally the knights and those of knightly birth followed. With passing over of the partly fabricated, partly out of thin air seized reports of older chroniclers since Buggenhagen, we content ourselves to gain, from the existing charters, some secure points of support for the progress of the German colonization in Pomerania.

⁴² They occur only in Eastern Pomerania; in Western Pomerania only *castellanus*, *camerarius*, *tribunus* = heregrave; see my discussion in B. St. 16, 2, 41 ff., from which what is given in the text has been taken. Q.

⁴³ This is an error; the *barones et suppani* never occur in Eastern Pomerania, but once in Western Pomerania (Kosegarten, C. P. S. 156), and indeed at the same negotiation where at ib. S. 145 *optimates terre*, S. 146 *omnes principes terre nostre*, *principes nostri* are to be divided. To panen there were also in Croatia; the title is from *zupa* = strip of land, district, thus designates the estate of lords. To it belong also the *nobiles Slaviae*, who are so designated in Putbus. Of the *zupan* families only a few reached later times, to be sure absorbed into other nobility, yet only upon the introduction of German administration. Q.

⁴⁴ Cf. Fabricius, a. a. O. S. 89 ff. — Barthold, History of Pomerania T. I. Book 2. Chapter 8, and T. III. Book 5. Chapter 8. — Lisch, History and charters of the Hahn family, I. S. 10. 95. 96.

⁴⁵ Fabricius a. a. O. S. 64.

⁴⁶ Cf. Riedel, Cod. dipl. Brandenburg. I. 1. p. 14. — Fabricius a. a. O. p. 84.

Among the clergy we find, apart from the biblical and the Greek and Roman saints' names,⁴⁷ almost exclusively German baptismal names, thus: Theodoricus (1153), Albertus (1153), Hermannus (1153), Helmwigus (1153), Conradus (1168), Everhardus (1173), Walterus (1173), Sifridus (c. 1175), Engelbertus (1176), Gerhardus (1176), Reinerus (1176), Godefridus (1177), Ernifridus (1181), Elverus (1182), Bruningus (1182), Herbertus (1183), Widichindus (1183), Heinricus (1184), Hartungus (c. 1186), Sigwinus (1188), Rudolfus (1189), Rodegerus (1193), Thitmarus (1199), Markwardus (c. 1208), Arnoldus (1215), Goswinus (1215), Robertus (1215), Vastradus (1215), Dodo (1216), Anno (1219), Richardus (1219), Bertoldus (c. 1220), Pallo (c. 1220), Meinardus (1222), Gottscalculus (1225), Otto (1225), Ricoldus (c. 1226), Ditbodus (1229) etc.⁴⁸ The first eight Pomeranian and Cammin bishops even bore entirely German baptismal names: Adelbert I (1140—1159)⁴⁹, Conrad I (1164—1184), Sigfried (1186—1194), Sigwin (1202—1217), Conrad II (1219—1233), Conrad III (1233—1241) an Edler von Salzwedel out of the Altmark, Wilhelm (1246 to 1251), Hermann (1251—1288) a count von Gleichen out of Thuringia.

The Pomeranian monasteries have never been the seat of great scholarship, but all the greater are the incalculable merits which they have acquired for themselves in the clearing and cultivation of our fatherland. The Cistercian monasteries surpassed all others in industriousness.⁵⁰ To transform the forest districts and wastes which they had bought, or with which prince and nobility had endowed them in pious sense, into arable land, they used, with prudence and as far as their forces allowed, the permission granted them by the dukes to bring in colonists. They called the diligent peasants of their homeland, and with their help created works which the Slav was not able to perform to this extent, partly because he did not understand, partly because he was too sluggish. While the Wend with his hoe conveniently furrowed the loose sandy soil, the axe and the plough of the German peasant did not shrink back from the densely stocked oak and beech forests which until then covered the most fertile soil of the Pomeranian land. That part of Pomerania which even today is known as the most productive, the "Pyritzer Weitzacker", is also the first where German peasants, and indeed already in the year 1173, are found; at the Cistercian monastery Colbatz there is a villa Teutonicorum,⁵¹ later called Krog,⁵² 1183 [1178], likewise the village Schonevelt.⁵³ The namelessness of the former, German village, which is enumerated beside a series of named Wendish villages, attests how rare an appearance such a colony still was then. But it did not last long; thus, beside the monasteries, as a rule on less fertile soil, there arose a stately row of German Hagendörfer, by which the speculative monks cast off rich revenues to the diligent peasants. The first immigrants were followed by their relatives, friends, countrymen, as is

⁴⁷ e.g. Simon, Andreas, Bartholomaeus, Nicolaus, Petrus, Paulus, Eustachius, Stephanus, Adam, Johannes, Thomas, Florentius, Michael, Helias, Martinus, Philippus, Daniel, Matthaeus, Matthias, Servatius, Christianus, Artusius etc.

⁴⁸ Of Slavic baptismal names, among clergy in this time only the following occur: Bucwalus (1182), Boguslaus (c. 1186), Discizlavus (1188), Pribzlaus (1224), Gutzimarus (1229).

⁴⁹ Adelbert was indeed, notwithstanding the German baptismal name, by birth a Pole (Barthold, History of Pomerania II. 120). One may not be surprised by this, since through the holy Adelbert, who because of his martyrdom in Prussia († 997) and his burial in the Polish capital Gnesen was regarded by the Poles as a national saint, this name had long been naturalized there.

⁵⁰ 50 Cf. v. Ledebur, General archive for historical study of the Prussian state, VIII. p. 309 ff.

⁵¹ Cod. (Hasselbach and Kosegarten, Cod. Pomer. dipl.) no. 33. We see here, however, past the parts of Pomerania now belonging to Mecklenburg, in which German peasants appear already just as early. Thus 1170 are called homines of the monastery Brode at Neu-Brandenburg Teutonicis (Cod. n. 30), and 1174 Casimir I granted the monastery Dargun permission to settle Teutonicos, Danos und Slavos on its possessions (Cod. 36).

⁵² Cod. S. 520. 665. 988.

⁵³ Cod. n. 55.

usually the course of things. That the conditions under which the German colonists undertook the clearing of waste stretches of land must have been very favorable lay in the matter itself; for surely the German peasant would not have exchanged his homeland for a land where only misery would have awaited him, if he, beside the same, had also had to face a more oppressed lot or a lesser degree of freedom. Opposite the favored position of the German peasant, the gloomy relation of the poor Wend, richly burdened with impositions (in charters very tellingly called *angariae* and *perangariae*), came out all the more sharply, and was well suited, precisely among the lower classes, to nourish antipathy, envy and animosity against the immigrants. Yet this was not throughout and not in the long run the case. The Wend learned from the German and conformed himself to his customs; if he showed diligence and good will, one was gladly ready also to accord to him the advantages which were granted the German colonists, and Wends too were settled under German law.

After thus, through the first German clergy and peasants, the ground had been prepared for following generations, and the Wend had accustomed himself to see the Germans, previously known only as enemies, working peacefully beside him, there appeared in Pomerania also German warriors and those of knightly birth. They came, however, in a peaceful spirit, not as conquerors, as once in the Marks, in Mecklenburg, and later in Prussia. Mostly young, eager-to-acquire people came, partly in order to buy waste stretches and hand them over to their Hagen-masters for clearing and settlement by peasants, for the most part, however, in order to devote their sword, in a home-like manner, to the service of the prince and to enter into castle-service, without any other bond to the prince than the loyalty vowed for benefices. The tactic observed with success by the Germans against the Wends, of placing into the frontier castles a constantly war-ready castle-garrison, found entrance with the Wends themselves, and the recognized advantages of the German military constitution were able no longer to resist the cumbersomeness of the castellany institution. In place of the Wendish castellans there stepped almost throughout German men of knightly birth as castle-men, who, in contrast to the Slavic castellany-relatives dwelling on their possessions, now formed a permanent occupation of the castles, and for the most part drew their maintenance from nearby castle-fiefs (*curiae*, *borchlen*) or benefices.⁵⁴ The earliest example of such a German castle-man in Pomerania is that Beringer from Bamberg in the castle Stettin. Duke Bogislaw I calls him in a charter of 1187: *quidam Beringerus laicus in civitate Bambergensi bene natus, sed multo tempore in nostro castro Stetin honeste conversatus*, and beside him numerous Germans (*multus populus Theutonicorum*), probably merchants and tradesmen, are named.⁵⁵ In a somewhat later charter it says of him: *quidam fidelis Teutonicus Beringerus appellatus cum beneficio a duce Boguzlao bene ditatus*.⁵⁶ He still belongs to the Bamberg-Franconian influences tracing back to Bishop Otto of Bamberg; while in a charter issued for the monastery Dargun, Duke Casimir I from the year 1173, beside a number of Wends, names a *Hermannus Teutonicus*⁵⁷ who is probably already to be counted to the Saxon immigration.

The German baptismal names and the predicates: *fideles*, *feudales*, *vasalli*, among the castle-men:

⁵⁴ An instructive example from later time is the following: In the year 1303 Duke Otto I transferred *militi Hinricus vos castrensi nostro castrii Dymin in redditus castrenses veri pheodi omnem precariam ex villa Swichtenberg, pro quorum reddituum perceptione idem Hinricus — perpetua inhabitatione eiusdem nostri castri Dymin nomen adpheadati nostri castrensis sorcietur* (Original in P. P. A. Duca, n. 11). Cf. also: Riedel, *The Mark Brandenburg in the year 1250*, II. p. 163 ff. — Lisch, *Yearbooks of the association for Mecklenburg history and antiquities*, III. p. 40. 41, Cod. 490.

⁵⁵ Cod. 61.

⁵⁶ Cod. 82.

⁵⁷ Cod. 36. 128.

milites in N. or de N. (there follows the name of the castle) castrenses, at times also castellani⁵⁸, make the German men of knightly birth vassals, in the older charters, in contrast to the Slavs, fairly recognizable. Through their constant residence in the castles, kept in closer connection with the person of the prince, and besides that more closely bound to him by the personal relation of feudal fidelity, they now at first came almost exclusively into possession of the court offices. They became marshals, chamberlains, stewards, kitchen-masters and cup-bearers, and as such received the enjoyment of a benefice or a fief, which did not always consist in land and soil, but frequently only in revenues, e.g. from the princely tolls. After the manner of the Old-Saxon benefices or court fiefs⁵⁹ these grants were at first only personal ones, at most extended to the lifetime of the vassal, by no means already hereditary, just as the monasteries too usually issued fief-pieces only for lifetime [33. 48].⁶⁰ The administration of justice and administration in the dissolved and now in many ways fragmented castellany districts likewise passed for the most part to knightly Germans. As salary there was usually granted to the vogts (advocati, advocati majores), who had their seat in the castles, and to the under-judges (advocati, advocati minores, sculteti, praefecti) in the newly established German towns and villages, a quota of the judicial receipts. Of quite special importance, as we shall see below, the German men of knightly birth also became for the founding of the towns.

To resist that mighty and yet peaceful in-streaming of German knightly families, the Slavic nobility found no weapon. Driven out of the castles of the land and out of the court offices, it saw the German plough and German money, mostly already won in the land, grasping restlessly around it, while the ancestral possessions shrank more and more. The conviction had to force itself upon it that the adoption of German ways and customs had become for it a question of life. Those Slavic noble families that recognized this in time, in particular accommodated themselves to the German knightly and feudal system, themselves became knights, castle-men and vassals, and became related by marriage with the German immigrants, maintained themselves above the flood and on the same level with the Germans. A part of the Wendish nobility, which could not so quickly find itself into the German nature, or was averse to intercourse with the strangers, sold its landed property in order to practice native custom with the kindred families in the eastern parts of Pomerania.⁶¹ Yet with time it was overtaken here too. Individual unruly ones became peasants in the full sense of the word.⁶²

⁵⁸ Jordanus, Hinricus Grubo, Bertholdus, Conradus, castellani de Guzstrowe 1228 (Mecklenburg book of charters, I. p. 345); Waltherus und Hermannus milites in Oderberch 1233 (Cod. 207); Wernerus et Ricolvus et Theodericus Longus castellani de Tribesees milites 1248 (Cod. 380), milites seu vasalli nostri in castro Pyritz residentes, videlicet Anselmus de Blankenborch, Gherardus et Hinricus de Granzoge, Theodericus et fratres sui dicti de Kotten, nec non illi de Riden, 1253 (Cod. 490). Milites de Robele [19] und castellani de Robele [20] are expressions that coincide. These German castellani are to be distinguished from the Wendish castellans, from whom they already differ through their appearance in the majority at one place, though perhaps not always. The expression castellanus for castle-man is still customary in Latin charters of the 14th century; thus 1304: Hinricus Vulpis castellanus in Stouenhagen, Conradus Vulpis castellanus in Stouenhagen, Johannes Vulpis castellanus in Dymin (Lisch, charter collection for the history of the Maltzan family, II. p. 285). 1330: Reynfridus de Peinz, miles, castellanus in Lozitz (Lisch, I. c. I. p. 463); 1353: castellani in Gutzkow (v. Schwarz, Diplomatic history of the Pomeranian-Rügen towns, p. 804 and the note 4). By contrast, the expression Burgman in German Pomeranian charters is not customary; rather, in its place in the 14th and 15th centuries the designation "Borchzeten" occurs.

⁵⁹ Cf. Schaumann, History of the Lower Saxon people, p. 516. 518. — Walter, German legal history, p. 219. 223.

⁶⁰ Even Duke Barnim in 1249 received the possessio Dambe, the later town Damm, only for lifetime as a fief (Cod. 415) [which however was only a masking of the cession, which was not permitted to the monastery. Q.].

⁶¹ That stands so in the chronicles, but the proof is lacking. Some west-Oder families do indeed show themselves later east of the Oder, but the stated reason is nowhere, mostly another, apparent. Q.

⁶² Cf. ch. 5 under 4, further: Padberg, The rural constitution in the Province of Pomerania, p. 215 ff.

One of the nearest and most important consequences of the mixing of the Wendish nobility with the German knightly families was the general introduction of the German feudal system, but under peculiar modifications. The *proprietas fundi* of the prince in the hereditary estates of the Wendish nobility (see ch. 3 under 1) offered here a very favorable point of transition. That the Slavic nobility should give up hereditary ownership of its goods could fairly not be demanded of it, but through the transformation of the *proprietas fundi* of the Wendish territorial lord into the *dominium directum* of a German overlord, <70> and of the *jus hereditarium* of the Wendish possessor into the *dominium utile* of a German vassal with the concession of hereditability, the long-established rights of both were in the main only little modified.⁶³ Only the reversionary right of the prince to the fiefs vacated by extinction of the male line was for him an essential acquisition. The hereditary estates of the Wendish nobility now counted as offered-up fiefs (*feuda oblata*), and there arose in Pomerania that peculiar form of “inheritance and fief”, whose principal advantages for the vassal, besides inheritability in the male line, consist in the alienability and mortgageability of the substance. To the German vassals who had bought Slavic hereditary estates as such, or otherwise had come into possession of hereditates, the concession of “inheritance and fief” granted to the Wends could fairly not be withdrawn, and finally this way of viewing things also found application to the fiefs actually granted by the prince (*feuda data*), so that Pomeranian fiefs now generally count as *feuda oblata* with fairly extensive power of disposition of the vassal.

Chapter 5.

Transformations of the estates, especially in Pomerania. The Pomeranian nobility.

With the predominance of the German element, the development of the new estates of the Saxon-Wendish mixed people in Pomerania in general took the same course as in the rest of Germany, where beside the classification of persons, maintained into the 15th century, according to the points of view of freedom and military service, there imperceptibly arose a new distinction according to the actual circumstances and occupations, which took the former into itself and displaced it. From this proceeded the division into the high nobility, the lower nobility, the burgher- and the peasant-estate.⁶⁴

The high nobility consisted of princes, counts and free lords. The historical foundations of this high nobility, the possession from of old of an immediate imperial lordship and of imperial estate-status, underwent an important change in that the emperors, especially since Charles V, began to make a large number of knightly families, even without immediate imperial lordship, into free lords and into counts, and thereby to assign to them seat and vote in the Imperial Diet. When the other imperial estates raised objection to this, the newly created princes, counts and lords were admitted to seat and vote in the Imperial Diet only if they had previously sufficiently qualified themselves by an immediate imperial lordship, and besides the electors, also the particular college, or the bench, into which they were to be received, had been heard. To the high imperial nobility there thus now belonged three things: immediacy to the Empire, territorial sovereignty, and imperial estate-status. The mere titles of the high nobility (prince, count, baron) did not make the land-resident immediate to the Empire, nor the immediate one an imperial estate.⁶⁵

In the Germanized Wendish lands there was no actual nobility according to originally German

⁶³ Fabricius, a. a. O., p. 56.

⁶⁴ Walter, German legal history, p. 498.

⁶⁵ Walter, German legal history, p. 500. Same, System of German private law, p. 512 ff.

concepts.⁶⁶ Therefore this class interests Pomerania only in a modified form.

To be sure the dukes of Western Pomerania or Slavia, the dukes of Eastern Pomerania and the princes of Rügen counted as princes, but their relation to the German Empire, namely their immediacy to the Empire and imperial estate-status, was subject to manifold fluctuations and challenges. As to the princes of Rügen until their extinction the kings of Denmark asserted feudal overlordship; the dukes of Eastern Pomerania never stood in direct relations to the German Empire; the dukes of Western Pomerania were indeed as early as 1181 enfeoffed by the emperor with their lands as imperial princes, but the margraves of Brandenburg disputed their immediacy to the Empire and imperial estate-status with the sword for centuries, and only in 1338 was this dispute decided in favor of the duchy of Stettin, while it still continued as to the rest of Pomerania, until Brandenburg in 1529 wholly renounced its claimed feudal overlordship and contented itself with a hereditary treaty.

Of originally German countly and lordly families it was only two that made themselves permanently resident in Pomerania, namely the counts of Eberstein out of the Brunswick region, who in 1274 acquired the land of Naugard as a Cammin bishop's fief, in 1524 the land of Massow as a ducal Pomeranian fief, and then became extinct in 1663; and the noble vogts of Salzwedel out of the Altmark, who about 1233 came into possession of the land of Gützkow and called themselves counts of Gützkow, until they too became extinct in 1359, whereupon the dukes united name and arms with their own. Transitorily and without deeper influence on the development of Pomeranian relations there appeared in Pomerania also counts of Goia (1232), lords of Arnstein (1254), counts of Kirchberg (1255, 1270), counts of Schwerin (1257, 1276), counts of Kefernberg (1259, 1272), counts of Spiegelberg (1280, 1284) and counts of Fürstenberg (1354 etc.).⁶⁷

In substance, however, the more distinguished Slavic nobility stood, as to the immigrated German noble lords, who all entered into a vassal relation to the dukes or to the bishops of Cammin, not only in respect of personal freedom, reputation and noble birth, but also as to landed property, entirely equal, and in the latter respect was even frequently superior.⁶⁸

Therefore the richer and more powerful Slavic noble families too, which possessed their fiefs by the right of the noble lords and barons (*ad justum jus nobilium et baronum*)⁶⁹, made use of the same titles and enjoyed the same prerogatives as the German counts and lords; they counted as Slavic, just as those as German dynasts. Above all there are to be named here the collateral lines of the princely houses (see ch. 3 under 2): the Ratiborites at Schlawe and [the Swantiborites] at Gützkow etc. (extinct 1277), the lords of Putbus and of Gristow, that Pribislaus lord of Wollin (1270) out of a princely Mecklenburg house, further his sons Pribislaus (Pribico) lord of Wollin (1273, 1276) and Pribislaus (Pribico) lord of the lands Belgard and Daber (1280, 1292).⁷⁰ But other noble Slavic families too belong here, thus the family of the Swenzites, counts of Neuenburg and lords of the lands Rügenwalde, Schlawe, Polnow and

⁶⁶ v. Raumer, *On the oldest history and constitution of the Electorate of Brandenburg*, p. 32: "An original high nobility cannot exist in the Mark Brandenburg. The rights of the high nobility rest here not on an originally protective lordship, but solely on a military office-power transferred by the German king, and precisely for that reason these rights have from of old been far greater in the Mark than in the rest of Germany."

⁶⁷ The latter, made counts by the emperor in 1349 out of the Mecklenburg knightly family of the Dewitz, relinquished the comital title in Pomerania about 1372 and again took the old family name.

⁶⁸ Cf. Lisch, *History and charters of the Hahn family*, I, p. 12.

⁶⁹ Cf. the charter in Lisch, *Mecklenburg yearbooks*, I, p. 264, no. XXV.

⁷⁰ Cf. Lisch, *Mecklenburg yearbooks*, XI, 74, 79, 81 ff.

Tuchel (1305, 1363)⁷¹, Cotzemir, lord of the land Tuchen (1315, 1345), that Dubislaus de Wotich, lord of the land Plate (1277), and the family of the Borken, lords of the land Labes (1271 etc.).

To these Slavic families, which as lords of one or more castles and of a land district or lordship belonging thereto stand out above the rest of the nobility, there is granted, in the same way as to the German counts and lords, the title *dominus*, and to the younger lords *domicellus de N.* or *in N.* (there follows the name of the castle or lordship), also the predicate *nobilis vir* and *comes*;⁷² like those, they exercised a kind of territorial sovereignty, founded towns, and had vassals.

The nearest consequence of this equalization was a reaction upon the German knightly families that came into possession of a territorial castle and the land belonging thereto, i.e. a lordship (*dominium*). Since these, after the falling away of ministeriality, were regarded as fully equal to the Slavic nobility (see under 2), they, like those, exercised the sovereign rights connected with their lordship, counted among the lords, and at times received the predicate *nobiles viri*. To these lords in the broader sense belonged, e.g., the von Godebuz, lords of the land Loitz (1242—1275); the Behr, lords of the lands Bernstein (c. 1250—c. 1270), Daber (1277, 1284), Bütow (1321—1329) and Belgard (1325, 1329); [Burchard von Vehlefan, possessor of the land Fiddichow (1252)]; the Heydebreck, lords of the lands Plate (1303, 1325) and Daber (1307).⁷³ This kind of lord-quality, however, was in substance only a real right, tied to possession of the lordship; with possession it was won and with it it was lost, without leaving to the possessor's family a lasting and hereditary estate-advantage. Therefore the German and Wendish lords and possessors of lordships did not raise themselves above the estate of the rest of the knighthood (see under 2), but were held equal to it.

Only the memory of truly dynastic origin maintained itself with difficulty in the later organization of the territorial estates by the continued existence of a lord-estate, which ranked before the estate of the knighthood, at times even before the estate of the prelates. In the 15th and 16th century only the counts of Eberstein, lords of the land Naugard, and the lords of Putbus were still counted to this territorial-estate lord-estate [266, 337]. On the other hand, however, the prerogatives of the older German and Slavic lord-estate in Pomerania formed the transition to a favored class of the knighthood that formed only later, namely in the 15th and 16th century, the so-called castle-seated ones.⁷⁴

⁷¹ The arms of these lords, after their extinction, were taken up in the ducal Pomeranian arms-shield similarly as those of the counts of Gützkow. It counts as the arms (the griffin with the fish-tail, and indeed white in red, as the town Rügenwalde founded by the Swenzites still bears it) in the later descriptions of the Pomeranian arms and also in the present royal Prussian one as that of the land of Usedom, but wrongly. Similar changes in meaning have also taken place with other shields of the Pomeranian arms. I reserve the closer discussion for a special treatise. [The Swenzites of Rügenwalde and Schlawe are not extinct, continue as lines of the Putkamer, who all bear the arms. Q.]

⁷² *Petrus dei gracia comes de Nuwenburg 1307—1325* (Cramer, *History of the lands Lauenburg and Bütow*, II, p. 1—6. Dreger's copy of the small hand-fiefs books of the Teutonic Order no. 9, p. 977, 973. Riccius, *Treatise on town rights*, p. 118. Ludwig, *Reliquiae manuscriptorum IX*, p. 582). *Johannes de Slawna and Laurencius de Rugenwald comites 1312* (Dreger's copy of the small hand-fiefs books of the Teutonic Order no. 9, p. 973). *Petrus, Yesko, Laurencius comites de Newenburch 1313* (Voigt, *Cod. dipl. Pruss.* II, p. 86). *Jeschko comes de Slawa 1329* (Cramer, l. c., II, 17). *dominus Borko nobilis de Lobese miles 1280* (Wollin original); *nobilis et strenuus miles Borko 1286* (Schöttgen and Kreysig, *Diplomataria et scriptores III*, no. 16); *nobiles viri milites — Petrus de Nuwinburch ac frater suus Jesco 1325* (Cramer, l. c., II, 11, 12).

⁷³ *Nobiles viri: Conradus comes de Guschow, Wernerus de Lozis, 1271* (Lisch, *Charters for the history of the Behr family*, I, p. 109, no. 73); *nobiles viri milites videlicet Hennyngus (Heydebrecke) de Plote, Hennyngus Bere cum Bellegatensi teritorio etc. 1325* (Cramer, a. a. O., II, p. 11). On similar relations in the Mark Brandenburg see Riedel, *Cod. dipl. Brand.* I, 1, p. 268, and v. Ledebur, *Dynastic researches*, booklet 2, p. 51 ff.

⁷⁴ Here there is indeed more to be distinguished. The Mecklenburg princes received Wollin and Belgard temporarily as a consequence of political relations. Swenzo's sons received the lands Rügenwalde, Schlawe and
(Fortsetzung...)

2. The knighthood or the lower nobility. — This estate formed out of the immigrated German vassals who were born to knightly mode of life and were also truly devoted to it, and out of the Wendish nobility that accommodated itself to the German forms of life, in particular to the knightly and feudal system. It thus grew together out of a mixing of German follower-, feudal- and service-nobility and old-Slavic landed nobility. It must, however, be emphasized that the ministerial system, which in the Saxon land was still in vogue until about the middle of the 14th century and here, as in the rest of Germany, formed one of the principal foundations for the development of the lower nobility, in the Germanized lands east of the Elbe in general found no entrance. Just as little as there was here an original high nobility in the German sense, just so little was there here a ministeriality. Immigrated German ministerials entered here, like the free men of knightly birth, into the relation of free vassals; the assumption of court offices and benefices did not diminish the degree of freedom and did not establish any relation of serfdom like that of ministeriality⁷⁵. Therefore the expressions: “court law”, “court fief”, “service-man”, “ministerialis”, are wholly foreign to the Pomeranian charters.⁷⁶

It is a known fact that in Germany a considerable number of families of the high nobility joined the new feudal nobility that arose through bearing of arms and were absorbed into it. Over the honor and splendor of the knightly estate and the court offices many nobles gradually forgot their higher estate of birth, so that more than one family that later counted itself to the knighthood and today belongs to the lower nobility is able to prove that its forefathers were called *nobiles viri* and belonged to the high nobility.⁷⁷ It was especially nothing rare that lines of younger sons from lordly families voluntarily, for

⁷⁴(...Fortsetzung)

Polnow under count-rights as reward for his efforts to bring Eastern Pomerania to the king of Bohemia, later to the margrave; they lost the privileged position in the first two when the land between Grabow and Leba came back from the pledge of the Teutonic Order to the dukes, in 1341 by their treaty with the estates of the same, which excluded such privilege for ever; in Polnow, however, when the margrave in 1309 ceded the feudal overlordship over it to the bishop. — To the lord-estate there belonged after the Reformation also the master of the host at Sonnenburg and the commander of the land Plate (lastly the v. d. Osten), of the land Daber, the Wedel at Freyenwalde, Mellen and Uchtenhagen; a) the possessors of castles that had villages and levies bound to such service, were exempt, but had no vogt-jurisdiction (castle-seated in the narrower sense), to these belonged the v. Walsleben at Conerow, v. Ramin and others at Stolzenburg, Manteufel at Arnhausen and Polzin, Glasenapp at Polnow (so that the goods of the line there in the Neustettin district likewise were exempted); c) those who besides still had hereditary offices (v. Bugenhagen at Nehringen and Brook, v. Molzahn at Cummerow, Osten and Wolde, v. Eickstedt at Rotzen Clempenow, v. Schwerin at Spantekow, Fleming at Böck); d) those who were merely exempted from the princely vogt-courts, whom in Saxony one called *Schrift-sassen*; in Western Pomerania in the 17th century many belonged to this. Under b) belonged those Kleist who, and so long as they possessed Bublitz and Zanow, were descendants of the former, under d) by special privilege. With abolition of the princely vogt- and castle-courts the prerogatives fell away, remained in restricted measure only for the Putbus, Fleming, Osten, Borken, Dewitz and Wedel into the beginning of our century. Q.

⁷⁵ Riedel, *Die Mark Brandenburg im Jahre 1250*, II, pp. 157–158. — Wohlbrück, *Geschichtliche Nachrichten von dem Geschl. von Alvensleben*, I, p. 90.

⁷⁶ The only example of “ministeriales” in Pomerania is furnished by charter no. 75 from the year 1289, thus from a period in which the ministerial system in the rest of Germany was already approaching its end. The meaning of the ministeriales in the said charter appears to be quite different, and probably only vassals, court officials, or councillors are meant in a very general sense. (Cf. Riedel, *Die Mark Brandenburg im J. 1250*, II, p. 162; v. Ledebur, *Allgemeines Archiv für die Geschichtskunde des preußischen Staats*, IX, p. 294;) Baron v. Ledebur, *Dynastische Forschungen*, fasc. II, p. 51. — *Correspondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine*, 7th year (1859), p. 40. [Cf., however, on the charter of 1289, Part IV, § 11, Q.]

⁷⁷ Cf. *Märkische Forschungen*, III, pp. 27 ff., 38. — Baron v. Ledebur, *Dynastische Forschungen*, fasc. II, p. 50. — v. Aufseß in: *Archiv für Geschichte von Oberfranken*, vol. I, fasc. 1, pp. 116–117, 127 ff. — Riedel, *Die Mark Brandenburg im Jahr 1250*, II, pp. 158–159. — Schmidt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Adels*, I, pp. 122, 201. — Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, p. 260, no. 9. — Hüllmann, *Geschichte des Ursprungs der Stände*, p. (Fortsetzung...)

the sake of particular advantages, entered into ministeriality.⁷⁸ How much more must not, for the adventurous and eager-to-acquire temper of such as had little or nothing to lose at home, the trans-Elbe territories have had an attraction, since here, beside rich work for the sword, there was prospect of gain, of acquisition of fief-estates, and the opportunity offered to maintain the knightly dignity in a state of personal freedom and without the bond of ministeriality. This applies in equal measure to those who already were in ministeriality or had been raised from the estate of unfreedom to knightly standing, where however it is to be held fast that the ministerial, as a serf, was not permitted to remove without the consent of his lord of service respectively release, and that such a removal had at least the loss of all rights connected with ministeriality in the homeland as its consequence.⁷⁹

Accordingly the German knightly nobility in Pomerania, already at its immigration, consisted throughout of free people, and certainly this relation contributed not a little to move the Slavic nobility, which would scarcely have voluntarily accommodated itself to a ministeriality, so soon to equal respect for the German men of knightly birth, and to imitation and acceptance of German knightly custom and German vassalage.

The predicates of a lower kind of “nobility” for German and Wendish knightly vassals date in Pomerania, however, only from the 16th century.⁸⁰ The usual designation of this estate until then was: “men, good men, dear faithful ones, man-company, knighthood”, and individuals used, to characterize their estate, to append to their name an “erfseten to N.”, to which stood opposite the “husseten” of the burghers.

Since the beginning of the 13th century one distinguishes two rank-grades: the knights (*milites*, *ridder*) with the honor-titles: *dominus*, *Her*, *Here*, *Er*, *Ere*, *strenuus*, *streng*, *veste*, and the squires or servants (*armigeri*, *famuli*, *servi*, *Knapen*, *Knapen vom Wapen*) with the titles: *validus*, *duchtig*, *wolduchtig*, *erbar*.⁸¹ In Pomerania squires as such are mentioned for the first time in charters of 1248 and 1255.⁸² With their appearance there first emerges also a definite contrast between squires and knights, while previously the expression *milites* often quite generally denoted the knightly estate.⁸³ The far greater part of the squires never attained knightly dignity, for not only in respect of warlike qualities were higher

⁷⁷(...Fortsetzung)

355.—Archiv des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen, year 1843, pp. 278–280.

⁷⁸ Cf. Archiv für Hessische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, VII, p. 359

⁷⁹ Cf. v. Schlieffen, Nachrichten von einigen Häusern des Geschlechts von Schlieffen, p. 180.—Riedel, Beiträge zur Kunde des deutschen Rechts, I, contributions, p. 45, note 6.—Wohlbrück and Baron v. Ledebur, Geschichte der Altmark, p. 95.

⁸⁰ Early examples from the year 1490 (*eddel lude*) and from the year 1511 (*adel*), see Klempin, Diplomatiche Beiträge, pp. 508, 555. In the rest of Germany as well, those of knightly birth did not acquire the predicate of a lower nobility before the 15th century. Cf. Walter, Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte, p. 501.—Hillebrand, Lehrbuch des heutigen gemeinen deutschen Privatrechts, p. 67.

⁸¹ The word “erbar” was also a general predicate of the knightly estate; “erbare lüde,” whom, for example, the convent of Bergen for noble maidens did not tolerate on its estates, are people of knightly rank. Opposed to the “erbaren” stood the burghers as “ersame” (cf. Schwarz, Pommersche Lehnshistorie, pp. 628–629). Later “erbar” became the predicate of the burgher estate. Thus already in 1533 one of the general questions put to witnesses before the court runs: “yfft he adel, erbar, edder gerneyne volkes sy,” i.e. whether he is a nobleman, a burgher, or a peasant.—In a book of inheritances of the town of Anklam beginning with the year 1536 (original in the P. P. A.), the burghers, even those who held the higher municipal offices, consistently bear the predicate “ersam”; the council as such is called now “erbar,” now “ersam.”

⁸² Codex 398. Dreger 266–267.

⁸³ Cf. v. Aufseß in: Archiv für Geschichte von Oberfranken, vol. I, fasc. 1, p. 102.—Wohlbrück, Gesch. Nachrichten von dem Geschlecht v. Alvensleben, I, pp. 45–48.

demands made on the knight than on the squire, but he also had to represent his estate worthily by more splendid outward appearance, and that was possible only to the well-to-do. The prestige of knighthood was so predominant that knights, when they appear as charter-witnesses, were set not only before the squires from the estate of knighthood, but even before persons of the lord-estate if these had not yet attained knighthood [cf. charter 60]. The last knights in Pomerania are the Ewald von der Osten, Curt Krakevitz and Otto von Wedel still named in 1529. Later knights were no longer distinguished from squires. The honor-title *dominus*, Herr, Her, Er, Ern, Ehrn, which until then had been applied jointly to knights and clergy, now remained only to the latter. Through the change of warfare and the ceasing of personal feudal service, finally the connection of this nobility with the knightly way of life also fell away, and it now remained merely as a distinguished estate of birth.⁸⁴ — The lower nobility was acquired already through descent from a noble father; the mother's burgher estate no longer harmed; further through grant by the emperor; finally through acquisition of a man-fief⁸⁵ with the prince's consent, enfeoffment with it, and performance of the feudal duty resting on it. Burghers who had acquired wealth in the towns, also free peasants who had become rich, bought fief-estates, and the princely consent together with the enfeoffment then formed, without participation of the emperor, the mediation for entry into the estate of knighthood, so that with assumption of the duties of knighthood (horse-services and council-services) its rights were also acquired.⁸⁶

It was this mode of acquiring nobility that in Pomerania was by far more frequent than that through imperial grant, and of the latter in ducal times in Pomerania there are scarcely a few examples, although in the rest of Germany since Emperor Charles IV it was extraordinarily frequent. The nobility acquired by diploma was designated, as against old or ancient nobility, as letter- or bull-nobility. Since the nobility acquired without diploma, by acquisition of fief-estates and enfeoffment with them, counts as belonging to the old or ancient nobility, it is not rare in Pomerania, where that mode of acquisition maintained itself still into the 17th century, that ancient nobility is by far younger than letter-nobility from other, especially more southern, regions of Germany.⁸⁷

The towns had arisen almost exclusively out of German elements. The first establishment of them was usually entrusted, with the hereditary judgeship (*Schulzen* office, *praefectura*, *advocatia minor*), to one or more German knightly families, which, called possessors, better called settlers, saw to drawing in burghers. Out of those families and their relatives then arose the council-capable families, which by continuation of knightly way of life, by possession of fief-estates, by closing themselves off against the lower tradesman classes of the burgher estate, and by intermarriage with the land-resident knighthood kept themselves on the same level with it and counted as wholly equal in birth. Even knighthood was maintained in the towns.⁸⁸ In the 14th, 15th and 16th century the council-families were almost

⁸⁴ Walter, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 501.—Praun, *Adelich Europa*, § 98.

⁸⁵ "Mannenlehn" is not to be taken as the opposite of "Weiberlehn," which was not known in Pomerania, but as the fief of a man, i.e. of a vassal, as opposed to other fiefs, e.g. *Schulze* fiefs, ecclesiastical fiefs (*vicarages*), church fiefs (*patronage*), etc.

⁸⁶ Documentary example: "1441. Barnim the Younger gives Cort Horste, otherwise called Schomaker, five Vierdelland of the ducal Hofschlag in the village of Martenshagen, and he shall therefrom be, as is said, a liege-man, and may also bear shield and helmet like other ducal freeborn men." (Regest in an old inventory of charters by Chancellor Erasmus Husen in the library of the Society for Pomeranian History and Antiquities, Msc. Ia. fol. 53, fol. 338v.)

⁸⁷ Cf. Hillebrand, *Lehrbuch des deutschen Privatrechts*, p. 72, note 9.

⁸⁸ At the founding of the town of Greiffenberg, ten knights and squires were settled in the town, and thirty town Hufen were assigned to them on the condition that they should be subject to town law (*pareant juri civili*) so long as they resided there (Dreger, p. 457).—Johann von Kulpen was burgomaster at Stralsund and a knight (Fortsetzung...)

throughout such as at the same time belonged to the knighthood, and even among the heads of the guilds there are found knightly families.⁸⁹ In the rest of Germany these knightly town-families were already in the 14th century called “patricians”; in Pomerania, however, this designation did not become usual, though the special expression “families” (*de Slechten, de Junckhers*) occurs.⁹⁰ The knightly estate was lost by members of such families only when, by continued pursuit of a burgher trade and by contracting unequal marriages, they obscured their family.⁹¹ In this way the descendants of old knightly families too, who after alienating their fief-estates moved into the towns, could with time forfeit their knightly or noble estate of birth.

Since the 16th and 17th century, when the knighthood began to claim its estate as a noble estate of birth (lower nobility), there gradually, though only little by little, made itself felt the view that persons of the burgher estate were not qualified for hereditary acquisition of fief- or knightly estates.

While the difference between the estates in the earlier Middle Ages had not been especially great,⁹² the lower nobility now sought determinedly to close itself off against the burgher and peasant estates and recognized only the families that had up to that time come into possession of fief-estates, at most—although already with reluctance—those ennobled by the emperor, as belonging to its estate. Accordingly the Pomeranian knighthood, on the occasion of the so-called “*Conclusa Sedinensia* concerning fief and dowry matters of 1619”, gave, to the posed question: “Whether the Pomeranian fiefs are in such manner noble, and have in themselves the quality that they, their possessor, although he is not of noble descent, ennoble and nobilitate?” the answer: “that the Pomeranian fiefs, by their quality, may not nobilitate nor ennoble their possessor,” further, to the question: “Whether plebeians and persons of low estate are capable of the Pomeranian fiefs, and thus consequently are to enjoy the constitution and order in dowry-matters, and their wives and daughters?” the answer: “that they are by no means capable of the same”.⁹³ Although objections were raised against this, e.g. “But what if a prince were to grant a plebeian a fief with noble privileges in specie, especially since he served high offices and was *bene meritus*? (*Hartmannus tit. 54 de feud. obj. 2 ubi quod etiam rustici et plebeji de feudis investiti nobilitentur. Merius ad jus lubec. par. 2. tit. 3. art. 2. n. 70. Faber in C. cf. Lib. 9. 9. t. 29*)”,⁹⁴ yet as against earlier practice the view of the knighthood expressed in the *Conclusa* gained the upper hand, and the principle held: “*feudum non nobilitat*”. With special emphasis, after the handover of *Hinterpommern* to Brandenburg, the *Hinterpomeranian* nobility demanded at the *Stargard* diet in the year 1654: “Since many persons of burgher estate undertake, through all manner of devices and shifts, to bring great and considerable noble goods and fiefs quite recklessly to themselves and to displace the old nobility, and with time would perhaps even be held for noblemen, that such, in musters and campaigns *qua tales*, as also in *Curia Domini*, are not to be tolerated, and when the true feudal successors, and, in lack of these, others of the knighthood, pay down again the value, according to estimation after deduction of the horse-services, they may be held to cede the same, and that it be held

⁸⁸(...Fortsetzung)

1407–1415; Nicolaus Lekow burgomaster at Treptow on the Rega and a knight 1494–1516.

⁸⁹ Cf. the estates’ reversals of 1493 [266], 1500 [337], and 1529 (Dähnert, *Sammlung Pommerscher und Rüg. Landesurkunden*, I, p. 60). Klempin, *Diplomatische Beiträge zur Geschichte Bogislav's X.*, pp. 144, 301.

⁹⁰ Thus in Colberg, Schöttgen and Kreysig, *Diplomataria*, III, p. 255.

⁹¹ Walter, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 503.

⁹² Cf. v. Raumer, *Die Neumark Brandenburg im J. 1337*, p. 56.—Lisch, *Berichtigung einer vom Staatsminister v. Kamptz gemachten Äußerung*, p. 18.—Fock, *Rügen-Pommersche Geschichten*, H., p. 134.

⁹³ (v. Gerdes), *Auserlesene Sammlung verschiedener Urkunden und Nachrichten*, 2nd issue, p. 346.—Dähnert, *Sammlung pommerscher Landesurkunden*, I, p. 1049

⁹⁴ *Conclusia Pomeranica*. Manuscript in the P. P. A.

likewise with those who have ex practiced letters of nobility per sub- et obreptionem, but are notoriously unfit for nobility,” whereupon the decision followed: “That burgher-estate persons too may bring noble goods to themselves and possess them, and therefore it is requested that they, after paid value and deducted horse-services, may be held to cede them again, in that we cannot take from the knighthood the *jus relutionis* (especially since we too have our notable interest therein), so far as the fief and the right, custom and observance of this land allows them; but as to distinguished war-officers who are not of noble origin and already have *jus quaesitum*, because in this case nothing can be ordained *absque causae cognitione*, we will, after received information, declare ourselves further thereon; as to the ex practiced new letters of nobility, we indeed have no goal and measure to set to the Roman imperial majesty, yet we reserve to ourselves thereby, whether and how far we will let such persons, who do not merit nobility and have only bought or obtained it with money, enjoy the noble privileges in our land, as then also none shall use any such noble privileges and title in our lands unless he has reported himself to us, exposed the cause why he has had himself nobilitated, and thus has duly legitimated his person with us”.⁹⁵ Similar ordinances were issued also in Swedish Pomerania in the “Instruction concerning fief matters of 25 August 1696”.⁹⁶ The separation of the lower nobility as a hereditary estate of birth from the burgher and peasant estates succeeded fully, but not the keeping away of newly ennobled families.

The number of families belonging to the ancient nobility now came to a close, and new noble families could henceforth arise only by way of diploma-nobility, in which landed property and knightly way of life, not seldom even personal merits, assumed a quite secondary position.

There now indeed followed a multitude of so-called recognitions of nobility, renewals of nobility and elevations into the estate of nobility by the emperors, the imperial vicars, the electors of Brandenburg (who already in 1675 ennobled “out of electoral and territorial-princely highest power and dignity”)⁹⁷ and the kings of Prussia and Sweden for persons of the burgher estate, namely officials and officers, in part with the expressly stated purpose in order to qualify for acquisition and possession of a fief- or knightly estate.

Burghers were no longer permitted in themselves to acquire fief- and knightly estates hereditarily, and even on a revocable title only with special sovereign concession; a gradual transition of burgher families into the estate of knighthood and out of this into the birth-estate of the lower nobility was no longer possible. Even if exceptionally a burgher was enfeoffed with a noble fief, the acquisition of noble status was still not connected with it.⁹⁸

After the edict of 9 October 1807 again admitted the estate of burghers to hereditary acquisition and possession of knightly estates, and especially after the law of 5 June 1823 concerning arrangement of the provincial estates, “nobility” and “knighthood” became two wholly different concepts. Under “nobility” one understands with us at present a hereditary estate of birth privileged above the estate of burghers, which outwardly distinguishes itself from the burghers by the predicate “von” before the family name exclusively belonging to it, but otherwise is no longer altered by descent from an unequal marriage and by pursuit of a burgher trade or of low wage-services. — The “knighthood”, on the other hand, is the territorial-estate complex of the noble and burgher possessors of knightly estates.

The word “von” is by no means an originally integrating predicate of nobility. Everyone who assumed

⁹⁵ (v. Gerdes), *Auserlesene Sammlung*, 1st issue, pp. 96, 99.

⁹⁶ Dähnert, *Sammlung*, I, supplement, p. 986.

⁹⁷ Cf. v. Ledebur, *Allgemeines Archiv*, V, p. 266.

⁹⁸ Thus, for example, on 7 May 1802 the burgher family Niemann was enfeoffed with the noble fief-estate Curow (Randow district). But to this day it still does not possess nobility, although it is still in feudal possession of the estate. (Cf. Zettwach, *Pommersches Lehnrecht*, p. 45.)

a family name added to it, without regard to his estate, the word “von” if he named himself after a place, which was also quite proper in specialist and linguistic sense. Therefore one finds the “von” with knightly families, with burghers and with peasants. A family name taken from a quality did not need the word “von”. With names like Fuhrmann (Vormann), Uckermann, Schulte, Witte, Flemming, Puttkamer (i.e. Unker-chamberlain) etc. the word “von” must even have appeared nonsensical to the forefathers, and it did not occur to the noble families of this name to insert a “von” between the baptismal names and the family name in order thereby to denote their noble estate. One recognized the estate by outward bearing, way of life, connection with families of equal estate, and especially by knightly landed property. But since the “von” often was to indicate such a possession, and especially since in the imperial diplomas of nobility it was stated that the raised person might use the predicate “von”, or rather might name himself “von” a particular, often only fictitious, estate, there formed about the 16th and 17th century, especially in southern Germany, where diploma-nobility was more frequent, the notion that the word “von” is a distinguishing predicate of noble estate. The younger and more doubtful the nobility was, the more hastily it naturally seized the outward distinguishing sign. In southern Germany this custom was already in the 17th century so general that it, e.g., caused remark when the old-noble family of Rapp, which immigrated from Thuringia into Lower Franconia, did not use the predicate “von” according to old usage preserved especially still in northern Germany, and people fabled they did this out of “noble pride”, since in personal bearing and their merits they sought to perpetuate nobility.⁹⁹ — About the middle of the previous century the “von” also found almost general entrance among the Pomeranian nobility, and even those families which, supported by age, reputation and wealth, had defended themselves longest against the foreign influence, thus the Borcke, Flemming, Puttkamer, Kleist etc., now swam with the stream. As first examples of the use of “von” in the family Kleist I find 1654: Tessen von Kleist (301), 1655: Ewald von Kleist (charter 632), 1677: Heinrich von Kleist (459), yet still at the beginning of the previous century the “von” was not generally received, as indeed still 1714: Andreas Joachim (486), Joachim Ewald (399), Franz Jürgen (326), Berndt Christian (306), 1720: Caspar Henning (325), and others wrote their names without the “von”. [1655 the family of the von Kleisten, charter 631.]

Since later the general state law raised to law for Prussia the principle that the word “von” is a predicate of nobility and belongs exclusively to it, there was thereby created indeed no measure obligatory for the nobility, but only a prohibitory one as against the other estates; nevertheless it counts today, after the lower nobility has lost its most notable privileges and has saved almost as its only positive privilege only the word “von”, in social life hardly as possible to bring the noble estate to effect without preservation of the predicate “von”. In Pomerania, next to the Borcken, who still about 1784 despised the “von”¹⁰⁰ but have now also adopted it throughout, at present the only noble family of the Behr, especially the line Behr-Negendank, should exist, which until recently did not use the predicate; but this is a family which through considerable fideicommissa, wealth, age and reputation has a very weighty material and historical support.

In the rest of northern Germany, where common law still applies, those contrasts have not so sharply expressed themselves as with us. In the kingdom of Hanover there are, to my knowledge, still several old-noble families that do not use the “von”, thus the Behr, Bremer, Brammer, Fiege, Grote, Lüttken etc., and conversely there are in Hanover especially, but also in Mecklenburg, still many burgher families which indeed have nobility predicates but not nobility prerogatives, and indeed in Hanover alone 73 burgher families with the predicates “von”, “van” or “de”; in Mecklenburg, e.g., the von

⁹⁹ Archiv des historischen Vereins für Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg, vol. XII, p. 16.

¹⁰⁰ Paul Hoffmann, handwritten additions to the 1st edition of this volume, p. 78, in the Kleist Museum, Frankfurt (Oder): Antonius von Klist (II. 43), charter 537b of 6 July 1591; Wilhelm von Kleisten (III. 133), charter 627 of 14 April 1651. (2018)

Dadelsen and von Santen.¹⁰¹ In Holland the word “van” is by no means a sign of nobility. In Denmark likewise there is no outwardly recognizable predicate for the nobility. The “von” that came there from Germany is as a rule used only by the noble families immigrated from Germany and the newer diploma-nobility, and even by this not always. The old Danish, formerly politically powerful and in part still rich families (e.g. Bille, Brahe, Friis, Juel, Kaas, Rosenkrands, Sheel, Wind etc.) have never used the “von” and still do not use it.

On the other hand, there in official style the “von” is written before the names of all officers of the state budget, whether of noble or burgher origin.¹⁰² — In Sweden likewise only the immigrated German noble families use the “von”; to the old native nobility it is foreign.

We connect to this some further brief remarks on the character of the Pomeranians, especially of the Pomeranian nobility, and begin the same with Thomas Kantzow’s (wrote 1540) vivid portrayal:¹⁰³ “The people has become much more courtly and pious than it was in the Wendish time, yet it still has much coarseness in it from both the Wends and from the harsh heaven under which they dwell. For it holds little or nothing of studies and the liberal arts; therefore it also has not many learned people, although it very much has its ingenia, as one perceives in many, if only they were held to it; but their minds stand only on gaining something. Accordingly the young nobility, if they are pious, go hither and thither into princely courts or into war; the others, however, who care nothing for honor, rob on the roads, or secretly drive out the rich peasant, and it is always toil and need that the princes and the landscape can keep the land safe from them. The common man and peasantry of this land is very lazy and sluggish etc. etc. The nobility too in earlier years was not very diligent and far-sighted as to livelihood, but now in short years they have become it, and since the land has stood, the nobility in it has not been so rich and mighty as now. — The people is more good-hearted than friendly, more simple than clever, not especially brisk or merry, but somewhat serious and melancholy. Otherwise, however, it is an upright, faithful, discreet people that hates lies and flattering words, invites one another gladly as guests, and after its kind and means gladly does one good. — The Pomeranians are throughout big, well-grown, strong people, and of manly spirit; yet they are slow to anger; therefore they do not lightly make war, and are sooner warred upon than that they should begin it. They are, however, for war both by water and by land equipped and suited, and when it is needful to them to defend themselves against enemies, they are fearless and vehement; but as soon as the first fury is over, they are well to be calmed again.” This is the report of a countryman. But foreigners too knew how to value the merits of the Pomeranian nobility.

Thus the Augsburg patrician Philipp Hainhofer in his Pomeranian travel description (1617) rejoices in Pomerania’s “pretty nobility and knighthood” and praises in particular its hospitality and thrift, and that among it there are “many learned men, and also in warfare experienced knights, and quite notable brave,

¹⁰¹ v. Schlieffen, *Nachrichten von einigen Häusern des Geschlechts von Schlieffen*, p. 151.

¹⁰² v. dem Knesebeck, *Historisches Taschenbuch des Adels im Königreich Hannover*, p. 358 ff.—Hillebrand, *Lehrbuch des deutschen Privatrechts*, p. 48, note 1.—Masch, *Mecklenburger Adel* by O. T. v. Hefner, 1858, p. 9.—In a certain sense there also belong here the Prussian bourgeois families which place the word “van” before their family name. It is in any case original to wish to ascribe a Dutch origin to all these families. The bourgeois family van Stade, for example, is an old Western Pomeranian patrician house which, since it is not noble, may not make use of the predicate “von” according to the provisions of the General Land Law, but continues the long-established Low German “van” without hindrance. It is not to be denied, however, that a number of bourgeois families have gradually and imperceptibly transformed the originally indifferent “von” and “van” into the prerogative “von” of the Prussian noble estate.

¹⁰³ Kindly communicated by the Royal Danish Privy Archivist and Commissioner Wegener at Copenhagen.

tall, strong people”.¹⁰⁴ In the previous century a traveler expressed himself about the Pomeranians as follows: “The soul of the Pomeranian dwells in a sinewy, durable body composed of strong limbs and hardened to work. He is an honest German, upright and open-hearted, frank and bold, industrious and patient, serious and settled, thoughtful in forming a resolve, firm, steadfast, and in execution prudent without cunning, daring, unshaken, and in dangers brave, loving honor without ambition, and an enemy of all innovations whose harmlessness does not lie evident the same day. The nobility in Pomerania is numerous. As very estimable as the merits of the noble families and their forefathers for the fatherland are, so little proud are they in their intercourse, especially toward scholars. Various devote themselves even to this estate, or at least study for a time, before they take up residence on their estates. Many, if not most, first try themselves in war-services. Pomerania has also from of old produced great men: heroes, scholars, statesmen, notable merchants and capable artists. In general no science or art lacks lovers in Pomerania, just as little as the Pomeranians lack natural good gifts to become or to learn with ease what they are led to”.¹⁰⁵

<80> Known is the preference which Frederick the Great not undeservedly turned to the Pomeranian nobility and let be known on manifold occasions. Thus he said to the deputation of the Pomeranian nobility, which in the year 1779 petitioned for approval and support of the introduction of the knightly credit-system: “I love the Pomeranians like my brothers, and one cannot love them more than I love them; for they are brave people who have at all times, in defense of the fatherland both in the field and at home, stood by me with goods and blood, and I would have to be no human being, or have no human heart, if on this occasion I did not show you my gratitude. — As to the estates, one estate-member now keeps watch over the other that he does not deteriorate or devastate his estate, and that is useful; for thereby the nobility is preserved, which matters very much to me, since for the army the nobility is quite indispensable to me. Likewise I need the nobility in order to choose presidents and ministers from it, and I never look to whether someone is rich or poor if only he has merits. Then a poor man too can become rich, like e.g. von Tauentzien, who at home had nothing and has reached a fortune of at least 150,000 thalers. The late field-marshal von Schwerin told me more than once how his father sent him from home to Breslau to try his luck there; the same gave him only one thaler and a box on the ear, with the words: ‘Both of these from no one further!’”¹⁰⁶

3. The burgher estate.—It arose through the political importance which elevated the inhabitants of the towns as a distinct class of persons. The first inhabitants of the Pomeranian towns were almost throughout Germans; such Wends as were already dwelling there were assigned to the suburbs or wicks, and did not enjoy burgher right. Thereby the towns shaped themselves into true focal points of German character, and the exclusiveness against everything Wendish outlasted, in the guilds and corporations, even the already completed fusion of the two nations. In the towns the old distinctions according to freedom, knightly birth, ministeriality, serfdom and unfreedom were blurred, and the inhabitants were made into a uniform mass, out of which only the council families stood out to some extent.¹⁰⁶ The democratic element proceeding from the guilds, however, became in the burgher estate so predominant and powerful that at last, almost everywhere, not seldom without bloody struggles, it overcame the

¹⁰⁴ Pomerania or Vrsprungk, Altheit etc. described by Th. Kantzow, edited by Kosegarten, 1816, II, pp. 404, 408, 411.

¹⁰⁵ Baltische Studien, II, 2, p. 35.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Walter, German legal history, p. 503.

patriciate, and displaced it or levelled it with itself. By these processes the gulf between the burgher estate in the towns and the land-resident knighthood was considerably widened. Already toward the end of the sixteenth century it occurred that members of noble families who moved into the towns refused the burgher's oath, because they regarded it as "demeaning",¹⁰⁷ and since the middle of the seventeenth century the nobility looked upon the formerly highly coveted town offices only with a kind of contempt.

From the family of Kleist, members repeatedly went into the towns and into municipal offices. Thus Bisprow Kleist of the Raddatz line was in 1491 and 1493 mayor at Schievelbein; likewise Schier Kleist of the Vilnow line was first councillor at Schievelbein, then in 1525 mayor at Falkenburg. Thomas Kleist of Ruschitz was in 1544 a councillor at Stolp and a manly defender of municipal autonomy; likewise his son Gerson Kleist in 1583 and until his death in 1590, and Jürgen Kleist of Wendisch-Tychow in 1605 and 1629, were councillors of the same town. Joachim Kleist of the Muttrin line was about 1510 councillor at Cöslin, and became the founder of a branch which still, down beyond the middle of the seventeenth century, had its residence in Cöslin, and gave the town four councillors.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Riemann, *History of the town of Greifenberg*, p. 45.

4. The peasant estate arose out of the originally largest part of the nation, out of the rural inhabitants who were directly and indirectly occupied with agriculture and cattle-breeding. The peasants differed according to freedom and unfreedom, the size of their holdings, and their legal relations in respect of the land in their possession. A peasant estate as an estate of its own, however, emerged only when the contrast between knight and peasant, between the knight-born and the peasant, between burgher and peasant, took shape.^{108 109} There were free peasants (free village-reeves, free millers, free innkeepers), free rent-paying people, serf peasants, cottagers, also called *kotzen* or *kötter* (*coloni*, *rustici*, *villani*, *cassati*). Almost the entire peasant estate, with few exceptions, in Pomerania gradually fell into serfdom, until at last the abolition of hereditary subjection removed the most essential boundaries between the peasant estate and the burgher estate as estates of birth. Only in relation to the provincial estates (here even a nobleman can belong to the peasant estate) and in the application of the rules of inheritance of the peasant ordinance to the possessors of former peasant plots, does a peasant estate still continue to exist.

The free peasants, especially the village-reeves (*sculteti*, *praefecti*, *villici*, *burmester*), from the beginning stood by no means far below those of knightly birth. At the same level of personal freedom, the main difference consisted only in the smaller landed property, in part encumbered with services, and in the less perfect kind of war-service; indeed they even bore arms like knightly vassals.¹¹⁰ As a rule the village-reeve, besides rent-holdings (*mansi consuales*), from which he had to render services (*rusticalia servitia*) to the other peasants, without prejudice to his personal freedom, had one or more free hides (*mansi liberi*), for which in war and in peace he performed feudal services with a horse of inferior kind and equipment (*leypert*, *schultenklopper*). He was enfeoffed with his reeve's fief, just as a man of knightly birth with his man-fief, received a letter of enfeoffment, and was called free- or fief-reeve.¹¹¹

Moreover it was by no means necessary that the village-reeve should belong to the peasant estate. From the earliest times persons of knightly birth and burghers occur as actual village-reeves; the assumption of a reeve's office did not impair the estate of a man of knightly origin.¹¹² Even simple rent-paying peasant hides could be taken into one's own cultivation by persons of knightly condition without prejudice to their estate.¹¹³ Thus it was also not rare that from such village-reeves and free peasants there arose knightly and noble families.¹¹⁴

Similar to the case of the reeves, it was the case with the millers, innkeepers and other peasants, especially in the border districts toward Poland, in the Neustettin, Rummelsburg, Stolp, Bütow and Lauenburg districts, where these free, arms-bearing reeves, millers, innkeepers etc. formed a kind of

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¹⁰⁹ Walter, *Teutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 504.

¹¹⁰ An example from the year 1348 in the case of a peasant Nicolaus Elen at Woltersdorf on the island of Pöl, and his sons Nicolaus and Heinrich. (Lisch, *Mecklenburgische Jahrbücher* XV, p. 241, 242.)

¹¹¹ Wachs, *History of the old town of Colberg*, p. 356.—*Baltische Studien* VIII, 2, p. 203.—Riedel, *Beiträge zur Kunde des deutschen Rechts*, Part I, p. 45.—Barthold, *History of Pomerania and Rügen*, III, p. 315.—Riedel, *The Mark Brandenburg in the year 1250*, II, p. 205 ff., 208 ff., 211.

¹¹² Riedel, *Beiträge zur Kunde des deutschen Rechts*, Part I, p. 48, note 14, with examples.—Riedel, *The Mark Brandenburg in the year 1250*, II, p. 171, 217. (Cf. Part I, p. 161, l. 2 v. o., and l. 4 v. u.)

¹¹³ An example, Part I, p. 41, in the case of Ulrich von Schöning in the year 1372.

¹¹⁴ Cf. *Correspondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins* etc., year VI (1859), p. 47.—Examples from later times give, among others, the von Piper zu Drivoldeke on Rügen (v. Bohlen, *History of the house of v. Krassow*, II, p. 105), the von Rieck zu Hammer near Rummelsburg (cf. Bagmihl, *Pomeranian armorial*, I, p. 82; Klempin and Kratz, *Matricles and registers of the Pomeranian knighthood*, p. 526). According to Klempin's opinion, the houses v. Blanckenese and v. der Goltz also belong here.

military border.¹¹⁵

In general this whole class was briefly designated as “the Free”; with an expression borrowed from Polish they are also called “Panken” (little lords). The families of Herzberg, Vangerow and Lemke in the Neustettin district, already counted at the beginning of the seventeenth century among the knighthood and the nobility, are still in the muster-roll of 1523 counted among the “Paneken”, and are entered not with horse-services, like the knighthood, but only with wagon-services.¹¹⁶ In the Stolp and Rummelsburg districts, and especially in the Lauenburg and Bütow districts, there was a great number of such “Free”, here also called “Panen”, “Free and Panen”, “privileged Panen” or “free Pahlen”. Their settlement, however, in the latter two districts proceeded chiefly from the Teutonic Order and from Poland, and was thus originally directed against the Pomeranian border. They were partly Germans, who held their possessions under Culm or Magdeburg law, partly Poles, who held them under Polish knightly law, yet also under German law, against the obligation to “plate-service” (Plattendienst) with a horse.¹¹⁷ Under Pomeranian rule these Free- and Panen-estates were for the most part converted into man-fiefs, usually with reservations as to the hunting right. Through the character of their estates as man-fiefs the Free were in fact incorporated into the estate of the knighthood. One now counted them sometimes to the knighthood and the nobility, and sometimes not, although already the *Conclusa Sedinensia* of 1619 say:

“Because the knighthood in the districts of Lauenburg and Bütow do not wish to know any distinction between nobility and Free, therefore the Free should properly follow the example of the others of the

¹¹⁵ Very instructive on these relations is a complaint submitted in the year 1654, after the handover of *Hinterpommern* to Brandenburg, by “all enfeoffed Free, as reeves, innkeepers and millers and others besides, who, privileged and graced with princely benefices, [are] in the district of Neustettin” (P. P. A.: Stettin, Archive, P. II, Title 6, no. 324). It says therein: “Although there are found reeves holding fiefs, innkeepers holding fiefs, and millers holding fiefs, upon whose letters of enfeoffment and by the nature of the land serfdom attaches, nevertheless such a land ordinance cannot be drawn over us and ours, since our forefathers, out of the crown of Poland, Prussia, Stettin and other places, betook themselves into this district and, as free people, settled, bought such fief-reeve courts, fief-inns and mills, undertook and maintained the building-up of the villages, and thus brought such freedom upon us, for which reason we are still to this day called the Free in this district of Neustettin. As to what is [said] of the Free in Pomeranian feudal law, namely that the Free should in all things follow the example of those of noble estate, Your Electoral Highness etc. is, by title de Illat., aware. The blessed territorial princes of Pomerania, of Christian memory, also did not wish to understand such land ordinances, especially the point concerning serfdom, as applying to all sons of fief-reeves, fief-innkeepers and fief-millers without some distinction; rather the blessed territorial princes of Pomerania have ever and always, as often as they have been sworn to, and otherwise, offered to protect us and each one in his well-established freedoms and rights. From Title II, with the words ‘peasants and farm-servants’, as it is called, it is evident that such title speaks solely and only of those reeves, innkeepers and millers who formerly had been serfs before they received the fiefs over their reeve-courts etc. Such a condition has never existed with us and our forefathers’ goods, especially since our forefathers in part received such reeve-farms, fief-inns and mills as a salary to hold as fiefs, namely because they built these villages, lying in the district of Neustettin and on the Polish-Prussian border, defended the border with military hand, lay publicly in the field, and fought with extreme peril to life for the welfare and preservation of the fatherland; therefore such fief-inns, reeve-farms and mills became their *peculium ac castrense*. Over and above this, our forefathers and consequently we after them have not been obliged to perform any *servitia indefinita*; rather in our letters of enfeoffment it is expressly inserted that we, with harness, pistols and other weapons, when necessity requires and disputes exist at the borders, are to ride out, as likewise the nobility must do; therefore the land- or peasant ordinance likewise in this point of services cannot have been meant to apply to us.” Signed by 28 persons, among them 10 reeves, 6 millers and 5 innkeepers, all from the localities: Ratze[?]buhr, Persanzig, Flederborn, Stolzenitz, Walachsee, Kanacksee, Thurow, Küdde, Mossin and Labenz.

¹¹⁶ Part I, p. 40, note 17.—Klempin and Kratz, *Matricles and registers*, p. 172: “Item concerning the Paneken: the Herzbergs, the Vangerows, the Lemkes, who are accustomed to furnish a wagon.”

¹¹⁷ Many examples in Cramer, *History of the lands Lauenburg and Bütow*, Part II, p. 171 ff.—Cf. also v. Ledebur, *Prussian lexicon of nobility*, I, p. 113, under Brzezinski

nobility herein (in mourning garments etc.).”¹¹⁸ The view that they were to be counted to the nobility gained the upper hand,¹¹⁹ and in particular Frederick the Great strove, by

¹¹⁸ *Conclusa Pomeranica*, manuscript in the P. P. A.—In Gerdes, *Selected collection*, II, p. 345, and in Dähnert, *Collection of Pomeranian territorial charters*, I, p. 1048, it is erroneously printed “free lords” (Frey-Herren) instead of “Free” (Freyhen).—Also in Baron v. Zedlitz’s *Prussian lexicon of nobility* the Pomeranian Free are throughout confused with barons, although they are anything but that.

¹¹⁹ In the muster-roll of the year 1523, under the district of Stolp, after the enumeration of the horse-services of the knighthood, it says: “De Verszemynne tho Versze-myn syn Frygen” without assessment of services; in the districts of Lauenburg and Bütow only the horse-services of the knighthood are entered, and indeed in the district of Lauenburg 23 houses, in the district of Bütow only the house of Pomoiskey with 2 horse-services; all the other Bütow houses are therefore reckoned among the Free and Panen. (Cf. Klempin and Kratz, *Matricles and registers*, p. 175, 176.)—The homage-register of 1575 names in the Stolp land-vogtship the Free at Vartzmin: Stoitenine, Povel[t]ze, Plumpe (Feudal-Archive Title V, no. S); that of 1601 likewise the Free at Vargow and Vartzmin; in the district of Bütow “the Free, 9 villages” (L. A. Title V, no. 9).—The homage-register of 1606 names in the district of Bütow: the noble houses (only the Puttamer, Pirch, Wussow and Pomeiske), then the Free at Zemmen, Trzebiatkow, Borntuchen, Reckow, Little and Great Gustlow, Stüdnitz, Sonnenwalde, Hirschfelde (now Jellentsch), Czarndamerow and Modderow, finally also the reeves, the millers and the innkeepers (L. A. Title V, no. 13).—The homage-register of 1618, in the Neustettin district, names after the knighthood first the reeves, then the innkeepers, then the Free (at Gellin, Sparsee, Barenberg, Flederborn and Menggraben), finally the millers (L. A. Title V, no. 16). The difference in the order, in the case of the Free in the Bütow district, who there stand immediately behind the nobility and before the reeves, millers and innkeepers, whereas the Free in the Neustettin district are inserted only behind the reeves and millers, is to be noted. Apart from the Herzbergs, Vangerows and Lemkes, who already early entered the knighthood (see above), no further house of the Free in the Neustettin district rose to the nobility, whereas this was the case with all the Free in the Stolp, Rummelsburg, Lauenburg and Bütow districts, where the simple Free even for the most part outstripped the free reeves, free millers and free innkeepers in rank, so that a number of the latter remained in the peasant estate.—The hide-matricles of the year 1628, in the district of Lauenburg, name, beside the “knighthood” (22 houses), the “Free” at Schlussow, Schlochow, Genwinke, Chmelentz, Schimmerwitz, Aalbeck, Great and Little Damerkow, Great and Little Lüblow, Mersin, Puggerschow, Gartkewitz, Great and Little Perlinowitz, Great Schwichow, Poppow, Lissow, Zelasen, Slaikow, Schlaiaschow, Lübtow, Great and Little Bozopol, Bergensin, Sarbskee, Zechlin, Krempekewitz, Great and Little Komsow, Nawitz, Ribienke, Osseken, Nesnachow, Wierchuzin, Chottscheuwe, Jezow and Parachin, without naming the individual houses (except the Diezelski) by name; in the district of Bütow likewise, beside the knighthood (only the three houses Pirch, Wussow and Pomeiske), the “privileged Panen” at Reckow, Trzebiatkow, Stüdnitz, Great and Little Gustkow, Polcen, Jellentsch, Czarndamerow, Zemmen, Modderow and Stüdnitz.—Micraelius (printed 1639), in his *Old Pomeranian Land*, VI, p. 462–549, counts, under the “Register of the Pomeranian knighthood”, 58 houses of the “Free”, among them also such as the muster-rolls of 1523 already list under the knighthood with horse-services, thus the Damerkow, the Nesnachowen, the Towentzine, or such as the hide-matricles of 1628 count to the knighthood, thus the Gonschen, Schrocken, Schwichowen, Towentzine and Velstowen.—Among others the house of Palbitzki in particular, which Micraelius had counted among the “Free”, felt itself offended by this designation and demanded of Micraelius “a change of these words, very prejudicial to them, in his *Pomeranian Chronicon*, since they are in no wise, to their highest detriment, to be held and named as ‘Free, as they are called, and by error thus brought into print,’ but as incorporated into the duchy of Pomerania, to be held and named as *Hinterpomeranian nobility* of the Stolp and Schlawe districts”; he should therefore, to avoid unavoidable mischief, since the “other edition, contrary to hope, might gain far too long a delay”, bring to light “another sufficient document of the fair and well-grounded correction, for the guidance of the clear and incontrovertible truth concerning their undisputed noble estate and origin, at their expense” (original in the Löper Library, manuscript 196). They even sued him before the Stettin government, and Micraelius saw himself compelled to revoke his earlier statements in his *Syntagma historico-politicum*, book 3, section 12, fol. 1113 (Elzow’s *Adelsspiegel*, manuscript III, p. 215).—In the description drawn up in the year 1658 after the Brandenburg seizure of the lands of Lauenburg and Bütow, it says of the land of Lauenburg: “The nobility and knighthood of these lands consists of different families, among which the richest and most wealthy are etc. etc.” (there follow the names “of 18 noble families, among them also the Schwichows, whom Micraelius still counted among the Free); “the others, who also count themselves among the nobility, are no fixed families, but rather free people, who in part dwell on 1, 2, 3, and also on half a hide”; likewise of the land of Bütow: “The nobility and knighthood of these lands consists only of few families, namely the Pirch, Wussow, Pomeiske and Palbitzki; the others, who also count themselves among the nobility, are no fixed families, but rather

(Fortsetzung...)

founding the Stolp cadet-house and by training officers, to assist this poor Hinterpomeranian nobility, out of which indeed a number of very capable men arose.

These relations show, by contrast, an example of how old Wendish ancient nobility could sink down into the peasant estate, in the case of the so-called Knesitzen, Knetzen, Knesen or Knießen on Rügen. Kantzow says of them:¹²⁰ “The peasants stand well in this land and are rich, for they have their modest rents and service, and beyond that they do nothing, and most perform no services at all, but give money for it; whence it comes that the peasants count themselves as free and will not yield to the common nobility; for that reason they are held all the more in repute, that often a poor nobleman gives his daughter to a rich peasant, and the children thereafter count themselves half-noble; those children are then called the Knesen in the land.” J. von Bohlen¹²¹ has shown that Kantzow errs with respect to the origin of the Knesen or Knesitzen, that they are not to be regarded as peasants but rather as remnants of the old Wendish landed nobility, who had not offered their estates as fiefs in the German manner, and therefore rendered no feudal services, but only paid a duty-money, also possessed only the lower jurisdiction, and stood under the higher jurisdiction of the ducal vassals. The non-performance of the horse-services, however, separated them precisely from the knighthood and the nobility, and made them peasants.¹²²

Concerning the peasants further as follows.¹²³ The Wendish rural peasants were partly free, partly unfree; the immigrated German peasants naturally were and remained free, and assumed only certain performances toward the manorial lord (see above p. 66–68). The Wendish free man paid to the territorial lord the “Münfte” (the old tributum)¹²⁴ and since about 1250 “Bede”-money and “Bede”-corn, was bound to castle-service and subject to the jurisdiction of the judge appointed by the prince. The unfree Wend had a multitude of performances and dues to his lord of the soil. In the German peasant settlements the manorial lord retained jurisdiction and regalian rights, so far as he himself had them from the prince, received from the hide a stipulated grain-dues (pactum, lease) and a “Wurthen”-rent

¹¹⁹(...Fortsetzung)

free people, who in part dwell on 1–2, many only on half a hide” (Cramer, History of the lands Lauenburg and Bütow, Part I, appendix, p. 36, 24). These “free people” in the Bütow district are then later called the “free Pahlen” at Reckow, Modderow, Great Gusttow, Little Gustkow, Stüdnitz, Great Pomeiske, Georgendorf, Czarndamerow, Trzebiatkow, Polczen and Jellentsch; and beside them the free reeves, millers and innkeepers are then also named.

¹²⁰ Pomerania, or Origin, Antiquity etc., described by Th. Kantzow, edited by Kosegarten, 1816, II, p. 433.

¹²¹ History of the house of v. Krassow, II, p. 115 ff.

¹²² What the author says in this section about the Free requires repeated emendation. There can be no talk of a military border. Of the Neustettin district (apart from the district of Draheim, added only in the 18th century) the southern part was wilderness until the 16th century. Wildnis (as also the adjacent part of the Polish territory of D. Crone)—only a few places existed along the Küddow—and was mostly only settled from 1550 onwards, namely all the places named at p. 82, A. 4, and most of the places named at p. 81, A. 7. The Free therein are settled under contracts certainly not all alike. The relations in the lands of Lauenburg and Bütow were fixed under the rule of the Teutonic Order, not different from those in the remaining Order-state; they must therefore be recognized and can serve Pomeranian law only in a restricted manner for explanation. In the Stolp district there occur only those named at p. 82, A. 4, and the Roggenpan. The Rieck (p. 81, A. 6) in the Rummelsburg district were originally founders and possessors of the iron-hammer; otherwise there remained there only the Virgin and Roggenbuck at Schwessin, vassals of the v. Massow, and the free reeve at Reinfeld near Kolziglow. Q.

¹²³ This section is, as far as it concerns the peasants, summarized too briefly by me; by Kratz. Q.

¹²⁴ See Baltische Studien 22, p. 135 ff.

(census arearum); the peasant remained bound to grind at his mill and had services to perform which, according to the circumstances of the manorial lords, could be very various; the prince, or he whom he had enfeoffed therewith, received “Bede” and wagon-service. Where now, as was often the case on ecclesiastical estates, the lease in the thirteenth century had been commuted into money at the value of that time, there the peasant’s situation had to become ever more favorable with the constant sinking of money; where, on the other hand, in the villages of Wendish free men the prince granted or lent out his rights—thus regalia, court, Münte, Bede, castle- and team-service—there, especially when individual villages passed to individual vassals, the position of the free men had to sink; and since, with the exception of the land behind Stolp, they everywhere adopted German language, custom and mode of life, they had to merge with the German peasants into one estate.

The condition of such a peasant estate in the Middle Ages remained in essence the same. Let us hear what Kantzow—apart from what he writes about the Knesitzen on Rügen, p. 83—says: Some peasants [these are the Free] are everywhere in great freedom.¹²⁵ To the prince the peasants [in the whole land] give their modest rents in money and grain, thereafter they cultivate the land, and beyond that they give nothing, be it manorial dues, tithes, rents, cattle-dues, house-dues, fire-dues, head-dues and whatever other burdens there may be in other lands; only where for imperial service or for furnishing dowries for princely maidens a tax is to be levied, which may occur every ten years or more, they give 1/2 to 1 florin from the hide.¹²⁶ Especially in the land of Rügen, Barth, on the Tollense, near Pyritz and Rügenwalde they have modest, or indeed not so burdensome, service; there the farms are their inheritance, and whoever will may sell and alienate; there the lord receives from the purchase-money the tenth penny; and such peasants are of good means.¹²⁷ Also under the nobility there are rich peasants.¹²⁸ All these, then, are the peasants who “now wear English and other garments as fine as the nobility formerly did,”¹²⁹ whom the land ordinances of that time forbade to wear gold, silver, pearls, velvet and silk. But “the condition of the peasants is not all one; most sit upon honest rents; yet in Hinterpommern there are serfs.” “Some peasants who sit under the nobility are exceedingly heavily burdened; therefore they ... often run away ... they have nothing of their own in farm and field.”¹³⁰ “Those who have not their inheritance in the farms they drive out as often as they will.”¹³¹

Quite different is the condition 80 years later: what is expressed in the last sentences has then become the general rule; the peasant ordinance of 1616 knows only subject, bond peasants, and the luxury ordinances have no longer any occasion to proceed against them. How this came about may be shown by an example.

The abbey of Bukow passed in 1535 into ducal administration with 22 peasant villages, of which one

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¹²⁵ Kantzow, *Chronicle of Pomerania*, edition of Baron von Medem (Anclam 1841), p. 365.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 363 f.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 366.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 356.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 357.

¹³⁰ Kantzow, *Chronicle of Pomerania*, edition of Baron von Medem (Anclam 1841), p. 365.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* p. 366.

The Compilation of the Genealogy of the Kleist Lineage

by L. Quandt

1. In the genealogy of the Kleist lineage three periods are to be distinguished. The last, beginning with the oldest preserved letter of enfeoffment of 1477, provides a secure pedigree, in which, however, individual differences in the documents and the insertion of several persons require investigation. In the second period, beginning with 1316, the lineage appears under its name in a number of persons, yet genealogical connection only in the case of a part; whether and to what degree of certainty the combination of the data allows the formation of a pedigree table is to be determined. In the first period three men with the name of the lineage are encountered; whether and how they belong to it and which other men are to be regarded as its ancestors and collateral relatives, thus the origin of the lineage, is to be investigated.

The first means of proof are naturally the contemporary charters, of which Kratz left a rich supply gathered with the most careful diligence in copies or in excerpts, which one now endeavors to increase by extracts from the relevant church registers and from any accessible records. The charters (U.) down to 1523 are complete; thereafter individual ones of more general interest are communicated in full, or in regesta with the greatest exactness, in the charter-book and its supplements in the first and second part of this work; they are cited here with U. and their numbers, enclosed in round parentheses. For the first period the charters, together with the oldest seal, decide alone. For the second, the genealogy circulating within the family is already added. For the third, this is a second means of proof and necessary, since many documentary statements rest upon it, others receive understanding and linkage only through it, especially since the charters are of very different kinds and have no privilege of freedom from error. The nature, successive and differing formation, and the authority of that family genealogy are therefore first to be established, and the compilations that arose outside the family are to be judged. What was taken from Kratz's preliminary labors—mostly abridged—is marked with quotation marks and (Kr.)

2. The first testimony which the family has given about itself is contained in the Lb. [letter of enfeoffment] of 13 April 1477 (U. 125). In it Duke Boguslaw X enfeoffs all the Kleste seated in his land [to which the bishopric, the possession of the Bishop of Cammin, belonged only indirectly and was therefore not counted], namely Bisprowe at Muttrin with his sons Hennig, Peter, and Hans; Dubbeszlaff at Damen with his sons Drewes [= Andreas], Curd, Bisprow, Peter, and Pribbetzlaw; Pribbeslaw at Muttrin with his sons; the brothers Reymer and Bartes¹³⁴ at [Groß-] Tichow; Jurgen <90> and Peter, brothers, at Dubberow; Voltze¹³⁵ at Vilnow; and Curt together with his brothers at Raddaß. They petition and receive for themselves and their heirs the entire joint hand in all present and future fief-estates in the duchy¹³⁶ [not in the bishopric]; and they all have testified and acknowledged before

¹³⁴ Bartes (-is, -os, -us) is the Slavic shortening of the name Bartholomaeus (see the index to the Cod. Pom. u. d. W.); therefore some genealogists use the German shortening Bartel for it.

¹³⁵ German name. Shortening of Volkmar or Folcher; Kratz wants to regard it as Slavic, without any grounds.

¹³⁶ Bogislaw strove not only for better administration of the ducal possessions, but also for their enlargement, by applying feudal law more strictly. If uncertainties or formal deficiencies appeared regarding the entitlement of the holder of a fief, the fiefs were often confiscated and added to the ducal domain... However, it was not possible for the duke to bring about such a measure often. The wealthy and powerful families compelled him
(Fortsetzung...)

the duke that they had sprung from an “Oldervater” who had had three sons; from one had come the [named] Muttrin and Damen (lines), from the other the Tichow and Dubberow (lines), from the third the Vilnow and Raddaß (lines). filecite turn1file5

The Vilnow line left the land around 1500 and died out around 1530. The enfeoffed from the others appear distributed among those three stems in the letters of enfeoffment of the whole lineage (GLb.) of 1575 (U. 502), 1601 (547), 1608 (564), and the last one, drafted in 1711 subsequently for the enfeoffment of 1699 (U. 678); however, in those of 1618 (U. 585), 1621 (594), and the one drafted only in 1706 for the enfeoffment of 1665 (662), those of the first stem are distributed into the Damen, Muttrin-Viezow, and Ruschitz-Dargen (lines). On the other hand, in that of 1605 (U. 553) that is not expressly done, and in the enfeoffment registers of 1524 (418) and 1540 (459b), as well as in the GLb. of 1546 (469), not even brothers stand together. In these, the enfeoffed, as is to be inferred from the relationships of the individual persons, are arranged according to approximate age, yet with exceptions; also in 1575 the one named first is expressly designated as the senior of the family. In 1524 the first place is held by Jacob at Viezow, who, as then resident at the castle of Bubnitz, was of higher rank than the others; and the last three places have one of the oldest and the youngest member of the family, between them a clergyman, presumably as not personally present; the others stand fairly according to age.

3. To the interest which not only the fief-holding families take, and formerly took much more than now, in the knowledge of descent, there came for the Kleist a compulsion to record (it) through that privilege of 1477, which gave to all their fief-estates in the duchy the right of the old fiefs, and made all male members of the family entitled to inherit in all (of them) according to the degree of kinship. Thus in the GLb. of 1575 all members of the first, the Muttrin stem, are first listed with the conclusion: “all as above belonging into the Muttrin line according to their credible notice of descent presented to us and (as) descendants of the late Prissebur Kleist at Muttrin” (U. 502); and in that of 1601: “All as above belonging into the Muttrin line according to the showing of their notice presented to us, and descendants of the late Prissebur Kleist, formerly seated at Muttrin” (U. 547). Thus Prissebur is designated as ancestor of the Muttrin stem, as the one of the unnamed stem-brothers indicated in 1477, and at least this stem already had a written record of its descent up to Prissebur. This “notice” is preserved neither in the original nor in copy; but its essential content can be sufficiently established [§ 14, 18].

4. In the GLb. of 1608 (U. 564) it says of the first stem: “and thus all as above belonging into the Muttrin line and the Viezow, Damen, and Dargen lines sprung therefrom, and descendants of Prissebuer Kleist at Muttrin”; of the second stem: “belonging into the Dubberow line and descendants of Jacob Kleist at Dubberow and Tichow”; of the third: “descendants of Voltz Kleist the elder at Vilnow and Raddatz,” according to which the named ancestors are given as the three stem-brothers of the Lb. of 1477. And in their special Lb. of the same day (U. 565) the then members of the Damen line are derived by ascendancy, with naming of the intermediate links, from the Damen brothers Peter, Bisprow, and Churdt enfeoffed in 1477; the descendants namely of the first and of the fifth brother had died out. Still further up, to Dubschlaff, the father of the five, this is done in the GLb. of 1618 (U. 585); here, however, the two other lines of the Muttrin stem are also derived through the intermediate links from

¹³⁶(...Fortsetzung)

to grant them enfeoffment “zur gesamten Hand” (in joint tenure) in order to avoid the reversion of individual properties. Hans Branig, revision and introduction; Werner Buchholz, *Geschichte Pommerns, Part I: Vom Werden des neuzeitlichen Staates bis zum Verlust der staatlichen Selbständigkeit 1300–1648*, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna, 1997, p. 66.

Bisprow and Pribschlaff; likewise, in the second stem, here designated as descendants of Old Georg, the Dubberow (line) from the Peter of the Lb. of 1477, the Groß-Tichow (line) from Reimer and Bartes in the same (document) as the sons of Hans. All that is repeated in the GLb. of 1621 and in the one drafted in 1706 for 1665 and is further continued; in the last it is also stated for the Raddatz line, which in 1618 and 1621, as belonging to Duke Ulrich's Neustettin appanage, was not enfeoffed by the ruling duke at Stettin, but only in 1623 after his death. This genealogizing within letters of enfeoffment (thus, and LG., we shall designate it) is naturally not ascertained in the ducal chancery, which evidently lacked the data necessary for it; rather, in the GLb. from 1618 onward it will be taken from Bolduan [6], who likewise, and first, calls the progenitor of the Dubberow stem Georg. But in 1608 Bolduan's work did not yet exist; what the Damen branch submitted for the enfeoffment at that time is still extant [U. 563a] and does not provide what is necessary for that genealogizing. Thus the fief-chancery must have obtained this from another side.

5. Now the chamberlain v. d. Osten reports in his handwritten nobility-mirror (*Adelsspiegel*) [§ 20] at the beginning of the article on the Kleist lineage: "In 1768 I received from Government Councillor Löper in Lübbow a volume of Pomeranian collectanea of noble lineages, in which the following notice¹³⁷ concerning the Kleist family was found, which a v. Kleist about A. 1600 himself set down, and according to which I have throughout corrected this pedigree table; it stems either from Mr. Elzowio or Mr. Micraelius, because Government Councillor Löper had brought the essays of these two into one bundle." That the two writers, whose works also lie more than 50 years apart, had the essay in hand is therefore only a conclusion, although v. d. Osten in the second compilation reports it as definite, as he also does in other matters that in the first compilation are given as conclusion or conjecture. As the "essay of the old Kleist of about A. 1600" he cites it repeatedly, and in the second compilation he designates it as "a pedigree table and its description." Since he repeatedly says "in the same it stood, was," etc., he did not keep the volume. In the v. Löper Pomeranian collections now belonging to the Pomeranian Society for Antiquarian Studies, the essay is not found, as is reported to me upon inquiry; and Kratz's diligence in collecting would certainly have found it and, like other material from them, used it. Thus it will have perished in the fire at Lübbow, which, as the present owner reports, destroyed much that was noteworthy and valuable. Yet its content is not lost; thanks to the Osten excerpts it can be determined fairly completely [§ 15, 18]

6. "Around 1612 and 1613 the learned Jurga Valentin Winther, ducal privy councillor at Stettin, under the auspices of Duke Philipp II, the zealous promoter of the sciences and arts, and supported by the united forces of several scholars, conceived the plan of writing a great comprehensive work on Pomeranian geography and history in the Latin language, the *Balthus Pomeranicus*. The preparation of the genealogy of the Pomeranian noble lineages, which were to be treated in the 4th to 7th chapter of the third book, was undertaken by Pastor Paul Bolduan at Vessin near Stolp.¹³⁸ Duke Philipp had the nobility called upon, on 24 August 1614 through the land-reeves and officials, to submit their genealogies and coats of arms, yet this command had to be repeated often, in particular for the Belgard district still in 1615.¹³⁹ Bolduan's work therefore probably extended only to uniform ordering of the material delivered by the families and to translation into Latin; independent documentary research was scarcely undertaken by the country pastor living far from the archives in the eastern corner of

¹³⁷ See about them § 15.

¹³⁸ Frz. Woken, *Beitrag zur Pommerschen Historie*, pp. 9, 29, 47. A. C. V(anselow), *Adeliges Pommern*, preface; *Balt. Stud.* III. 1, p. 98.

¹³⁹ Woken, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 16.

Pomerania. On 2 June 1619 he sends the genealogy of the Bulgrin, just recorded from the mouth of Henning Bulgrin, and we learn at the same time that he had already sent the others earlier.¹⁴⁰ In all he brought together the genealogies of 65 Pomeranian families.¹⁴¹ Winther's work, however, did not come into being, since he died on 16 March 1623. The manuscript passed to his son, was still in the previous century in the possession of Landrat v. Lettow at Breitz, whose wife was a great-granddaughter of Winther, and probably perished in the destruction of the Lettow library around 1828,¹⁴² together with it the originals of the Bolduan genealogies. Fortunately copies exist of several, including the Kleist one, which around 1735 the cantor of the Stettin council school, Christoph Kiel, prepared, and they, with his entire collection of copied patriotic writings, passed into the possession of Consistorial Councillor Brüggemann, who later transferred his library to the General Landschaft of Altvorpommern,¹⁴³ of whose library at Stettin they form a part." (Kr.) The copy of the Schema amplissimae nobilissimaeque familiae Kleistianae taken by Kratz lies before me; it consists of a pedigree table which, including the daughters, comprises 255 numbers, and a short text connected to these numbers which mostly indicates only the known spouses, often also other relationships, with a few words. Twice Zamborst is designated as a Kleist seat-estate; but it was exchanged to the duke in 1615; the first among the many Kleist to whom Bolduan dedicates his schema is Magnus, who was still alive in May 1613 and was dead in March 1615; the last is Dominus Gerson, who died in 1681, whose father Jacob was born in 1584: accordingly it can only have been drafted in 1614 (or also 1613). Not a few men then living are missing, even Aegidius of Krummensee, who is indeed named in the dedication. From where he had most of his notices, about that later [§ 16]. "Among Kiel's copies of the genealogies in the Landschaft library there is also one of the Genealogia Kleistorum a Francisco Winthero scripta—this son of the above-mentioned Winther was councilman, then chamberlain, in 1668 and until his death in 1682 mayor at Colberg—consisting of a pedigree tree of 82 numbers, the daughters numbered as well, and remarks relating to the numbers" (Kr.). It appears as an extract from Bolduan, in that it gives the Cöslin, Muttrin, and Dargen (lines) the same as he does, among the Viezow (line) only the oldest son of Peter of Zatkow and not the daughters of Ewald of Poberow, of the Damen (line) only Dubsław of 1477 with his brothers, from the second and third branch only the progenitor; it also abbreviates the remarks here and there; yet it also has once more, naming the wife of Hans at Borntin († 1586) missing in Bolduan (and Elzow), and is more exact than the later genealogies, presumably from a record that came into his hands.

The short outline of the family in Micraelius (Old Pomerania, VI, p. 494 of the first edition of 1639) is full of errors; the mistake that the progenitor Prissebur was also seated at Damen, and the mixing of the Pribislaw of Muttrin (1477), Borntin († 1570), and Raddatz († 1541), is also found in Bolduan; he will therefore have seen Bolduan's schema.

7. In July 1863 Kratz found and copied, in the Ruschitz estate archive, a manuscript which contains the original notice [§ 3] and which we communicate below [§ 17]. "It consists of a paper booklet of 12 quarto leaves, and shows two hands belonging to the middle of the 17th century, which are clearly distinguished as a round, continuous and flowing chancery hand and a more pointed hand, lacking hyphens, [also by the orthography—the former writes: undt, zue, hatt, the latter: vnd, zu, hat etc.—which therefore does not belong to the original text]; 'Beginning, middle, and end are by the first, the intervening sections by the second hand.'" From what Kratz further adduces concerning the

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 51 ff.

¹⁴² Balt. Stud., op. cit., pp. 99, 119. It was sold by a court officer, although above the door stood the inscription "Fideicommiß", as the then lord of the manor assured me.

¹⁴³ Böhmer's edition of Kantzow's Chronicle, p. 98. Hasselbach-Kosegarten, Cod. Pom., p. XLI.

corrections and later insertions, it follows that two scribes dictated to one another alternately, and then, during the correction, exchanged roles; yet the one with the round hand also corrected himself. “The time of composition of the manuscript falls, as indicated above, judging by the hands, in the middle of the 17th century, in any case not before the year 1656, because the death of Hans Friedrich, the Neustettin huntsman-master who died in that year, is already mentioned” (Kr.). The family is also called “von Kleist” in the title of the manuscript; but the “von” is used among them only sporadically from 1653 onward, then more frequently, and only in the 18th century generally customary. Further, Kratz places the time of composition before 1690 and before 1680: before 1690, because a somewhat later hand¹⁴⁴, in paler ink, has noted in the margin: “dieß seind anno 90” etc.; before 1680, because Kratz holds the manuscript to be identical with the Zeblin one [§ 10], regards its owner, Landrat Joachim (who died at the end of 1679), as the editor, and assumes that his son Ewald, who since 1684 also possessed Ruschitz, brought it there, as is certainly the case with other Zeblin papers. But that is nothing but conjecture; one must not prove from such, especially since Kratz lets the original text, of which the manuscript is a reworking, have arisen in Ruschitz. All the data of the manuscript do not go beyond 1590; among the Groß-Tichow people they remain much further back still; and they are found elsewhere as well. Only the oldest branch of the Cöslin line, which acquired Schönnow, is carried down to Tonnies (who occurs 1605–1658) and his sons (one of whom still lived in 1700); his two wives are named, and to each their sons and daughters are assigned, whereas all other documents know nothing of the daughters and of the second wife. Evidently the manuscript arose there; it is to be designated as the Schönnow genealogy; it may indeed have come to Joachim in nearby Zeblin, and from there have been brought to Ruschitz. Hans Friedrich, whose death is reported parenthetically, belongs to the same branch and is Tonnies’s cousin. He is said to have died without heirs; yet he left, by the second wife, a very small son Friedrich Wilhelm, who, because of the name, was born only under the Elector’s government, i.e. at the earliest in 1654, and who died in 1710 as seated at Kalkberg. The unfamiliarity of the nearest cousins with his existence is more readily explained for the first time after the father’s death. Thus I hold the manuscript to have arisen about 1660.

8. “Albert Elzow, since 1671 town secretary and then councillor at Anklam, conceived the plan of collecting the genealogies of the Pomeranian nobility and publishing them in print under the title **Pommerscher Adelsspiegel** or **Speculum Nobilitatis Pomeraniae et principatus Rugiae**. As early as 1684 Martin Rango could place the appearance of the same in near prospect.¹⁴⁵ Yet nothing came of it. The original manuscript, which is now in the library of the Landhaus at Stettin (XXVII. Gen. 6.), reveals a last revision, whose latest additions, in Elzow’s hand, date from the year 1698, in which he died.¹⁴⁶ It came into the library of the Estates House of Farther Pomerania at Stargard, and indeed before 18 April 1699, thus soon after Elzow’s death. This appears from a correspondence inserted in various places between the then Landsyndicus of Farther Pomerania, Dr Laurens Rango, and several Pomeranian nobles, who in part make new submissions, in part request Elzow’s manuscript or pieces of it for copying or revision, and in part send back what was sent to them revised. Rango’s emending hand is still found in a remark of 18 Nov. 1708; other supplementing hands are also noticeable, doubtless those of later Landsyndici. In the year 1791 the genealogies, previously lying in separate fascicles, were bound into 4 volumes and paginated. Given these fortunes of the Elzow manuscripts, given the frequent lending and sending out of the individual fascicles, it is not to be wondered at that several genealogies

¹⁴⁴ In the note, “diese” is also written; in the text it is always “dieße”. However, regarding the note, cf. § 14γ.

¹⁴⁵ M. Rango, *Origines Pomeranicae*, pp. 83, 275.

¹⁴⁶ Stavenhagen, *Topographical and chronological description of the town of Anklam*, p. 141.

were lost, among them that of the family v. Kleist, which Chamberlain v. d. Osten already did not find in 1760. Yet a transcript made about 1735 (when therefore the original still existed) by Kiel has been preserved, which, like those of Bolduan, is located in the library of the Landschaft”¹⁴⁷ [p. 6]. A clean transcript in Kratz’s hand lies before us. “Elzow begins the genealogies with an introduction on the home, the coat of arms, and the main lines of the families in question; then follows the pedigree table and with it each time a ‘More detailed exposition of the names according to the numbers set beside them in the stem-line’; the conclusion is made by fragments of family trees, notices on the spreading of the family in foreign lands, a list of estates, and usually a ‘history,’ i.e. some narrative from a chronicler in which a member of the family treated plays a role. Elzow differs from Bolduan in that, here and there, he interweaves into the genealogies sent in by the families documentary material established by independent research and notes from chroniclers; unfortunately the criticism he employed in doing so must be described as rather superficial.” (Kr.)

In the Kleist genealogy, after the introduction follows the pedigree table of 172 numbers and its “More detailed exposition,” which Elzow closes with the words: “Here I have had to remain at a standstill, because, despite repeated requests, I have been able to obtain no information from those persons who still belong in this pedigree table. Yet I have found it necessary to mention the rest as well, though all is imperfect.” There then follow 8 small pedigree tables (see below), each with its description inserted between, and after that 65 individual persons; as a conclusion the complaint: “Although I would gladly have seen that the complete pedigree table, which is present within the family, could have been presented, yet, although I have repeatedly made efforts and requests for it, I have not been so fortunate as to obtain it. I have therefore had to make do with the information I have been able to obtain. I do believe, however, that in the *fragmenta* some errors will be found.”

Elzow did not use the Ruschitz manuscript, since its Schönower part was lacking to him. Bolduan likewise did not, since the actual pedigree table does not go down as far as his does. Yet it goes further with two tips. One is formed by Christian at Dubberow, for whom the wedding day is given, together with his brothers missing in Bolduan, his 12 children, of whom however only 2 are named, and his 6 grandchildren, of whom only one is named. The last of the other tip is Landrat Ewald Jochim at Vietzow, to whom, in 1706, the fief chancellery applied in order to obtain the notices necessary for the issuing of the subsequent letter of enfeoffment for 1665,¹⁴⁸ and Elzow exceptionally gives the days on which he and his parents were married and died; one degree lower still come the nearest cousins from the other Vietzow line, whose great-grandfather, however, is without a name, although Bolduan has the same. From this it will nevertheless follow that Elzow received the material for the pedigree table from the said Landrat [cf. § 15]. The journey which his brother Rüdiger made in 1694 to Holland etc. is the last date; thus one will be able to place the composition in 1695.

Of the *fragmenta* (8 small pedigree tables, see above) there are:

- a. 22 of the Zatkow line, with entirely false beginnings,
- b. 12 and c. 9 Wendisch-Tichow people, those descendants of 1 = no. 116 of the <95> pedigree table, Jürgen, and of his son Peter no. 140 omitted here, of whose brother Henning no. 139 the first in c. is the son,
- d. 6 Cöslin people, here entitled “of Muttrin and Dubberow,” 1 = 79 of the pedigree table,
- e. 7 Cöslin people, so that 1 = 65, 2 = 108 of the pedigree table,

¹⁴⁷ State Archive Stettin, in compilation file no. 65/16/0/60/498 under “Kleist”. According to the closing endorsement mentioned above, further genealogical materials follow which extend into the 18th century and therefore cannot originate from Elzow. (2021)

¹⁴⁸ Part I, p. 557, note.

f. 6 Groß-Tichow people,

h. 5 Dallentin people, 1 = 133 of the pedigree table;

of the 4 “Damen” people in g., 1 is wrong; 2, 3, 4 are 36, 59, 100 of the pedigree table, the whole originally taken from the funeral sermon for the daughter of 4.

One sees: here there are indeed **errores** and imperfection.

9. Elzow strove in vain to obtain “the complete pedigree table which is present within the family [before 1698].” There exists a manuscript consisting of 27 folio leaves, which is entitled: “**Descriptio genealogica** of those persons who in the family of the von Kleist have lived to manhood from Anno C. 1255, when their forefather the knight Conrad Kleist came from Bohemia into Pomerania, (and) became a progenitor of the whole Kleist family still existing now in the year 1712, consisting of more than 200 male persons, who now dwell in Pomerania, Poland, Prussia, Courland, the March, Lausitz, and Bavaria,” and which closes with the words: “And so far, up to this date, the family of the Kleists extends, and this pedigree table has been worked out with diligence, collated with that of Herr Chamberlain Kleist which is kept at Packdanzig in Poland, with Michel Kleist at Krojanke, with the late Landrat Jochim Kleist which is present at Zebbelin, and where some error was found corrected after mature consideration, so that this is now to be held for entirely correct, since herein no lack is present; unless it be that some of the Kleists, who died very young and without heirs, are not found here, which one has not been able to ascertain so exactly. Also those are still lacking who now live in great number as boys; likewise the younger officers who live in Royal Prussian, Danish, Saxon, and other lords’ service and in part bear the ranks of colonels, majors, and captains have not yet been added by their number, because it is hoped they will push their fortune still higher.” According to a note by the late President of the Higher Tribunal Adolf v. Kleist on the title page, the manuscript was communicated to him in October 1830 by Privy Councillor Nicolovius, likewise and at the same time an original letter of Lieutenant E. E. von Kleist dated Dramburg, 27 Feb. 1716, in which he asks a doctor to send back the register of the Kleist family, which he had had to communicate to him when he studied at Frankfurt in the year 1712 and had the honor to be deemed worthy of His Most Noble’s special kindness, because the doctor had wished to insert the family into his chronicle. Letter and manuscript therefore belong together. The writer of the letter is Christian Ewald v. Kl., son of Melchior Ludwig at Dietersdorf (near Dramburg) of the Dolgen house, born 1692; in Jan. 1714 ensign; in the **descr.** under no. 544 “Chr. Franz Ew. at Dolgen, serves, has studied at the University of Frankfurt.” This, therefore, was written after 1712, but in the same hand as the rest, a flowing chancery hand. Evidently the doctor had the copy handed to him in 1712 copied out by a scribe, to which also the many writing errors, especially in place- and family-names etc., and also several gaps in Latin sentences bear witness. The **descr.** itself was composed at the beginning of the year 1700; for 1) the sovereign is designated only as Elector of Brandenburg, who, as is known, on 18 January 1701 assumed the royal title of Prussia; before that, however, 2) the last time-determinations are from 1697 to 1699; it says 3) of Ewald Joachim at Vietzow: “has up to this date, besides 5 daughters, only one son,” according to the church book his eldest son was born in 1697, the second in June 1700, the following in 1701 and 1703; 4) Jochim at Bolkow “is in his 84th year,” according to the church book he was in Nov. 1700 in his 85th. That suffices; otherwise much confirming could still be adduced. Since, however, in the case of uncles of that letter-writer seated at Dolgen the years of death 1706 and 1707, in their case and in that of his father singular particulars, and in the case of two seated at nearby Raddatz additions have been appended, to the text given with “anitzo,” with later “itzo,” we have in this a slight enlargement of the **descr.**, certainly marginal notes of that letter-writer; for one of those additions stands in the text after no. 487, belongs however to no.

486, has been inserted by the copyist in the wrong place, and stood in the margin.¹⁴⁹

10. There still exists a copy of the Descr. In the Chamberlain v. d. Osten's first working-up of the Kleist genealogy, the basis is a so-called description of the pedigree-table copied by a scribe; in the broad spaces between the numbers and in the margin v. d. Osten, with his own hand and at various times, has inserted and added supplements; from his hand too are the continuation and the prefixed introduction and the later additions to both. When, then, at the beginning he says: "thus this following is Herr Vanselow's work," he can mean only that basis. And when he continues: "the description of the pedigree-table has been communicated to him by the late Landrat Kleist, and the same has been collated both with that which is kept with Chamberlain Kleist at Pach Dantzig in Poland, and with Michel Kleist's from Krojancke and Landrat Kleist's at Zebbelin, and has been accurately corrected according to the old family notices, in such wise that this is to be deemed correct and there is no manquement in it; unless it be that some Kleists died quite young, which one has not been able to ascertain exactly": by this adoption of the conclusion of the Descr. [p. 9] with that, that basis is declared to be identical with the description of the pedigree-table. And it is. What the copyist wrote agrees exactly with the Descr. (without the Dolgen additions) also in writing errors,¹⁵⁰ also in the numbering. It is true v. d. Osten has corrected the figures according to the supplements, but not where they are cited in the text, and the original ones are mostly recognizable; also a citation from it in Vanselow's "Adelichen Pommern" printed in 1741 is found in both under the indicated number 396. Only after 484 the figures of the basis are ahead of the Descr. by 5, because the latter has twice put several persons under one number, but the former has numbered each individually, and because two articles have been added. The last leaf with the Nos. after 541 has been cut away; on its first page 10 Nos. stood, on the second probably 4, according to the Descr.—What, accordingly, A. C. Vanselow (burgomaster at Plate 1732, 1767, died 1776 Kr.) worked on here is the pedigree-table, which v. d. Osten later replaced by the Hering one, editorial changes, and the adding of 2 articles and of 4 other persons where the Descr. has the blank numbers.—Perhaps this too is to be restricted. For at the beginning of his second working-up v. d. Osten says namely: "This work originates from the family itself. Namely the Landrat v. Kleist at Zebbelin [Joachim Ewald, the poet's father, † 1738] communicated his pedigree-table and its description to Herr Burgomaster Vanselow, and assured him thereby that he had collated it with Herr Michael v. Kleist at Crojancke and Chamberlain v. Kleist at Pach near Dantzig [Pogdanzig Kr. Schlochau], also confronted it with the old fief-letters, some church-registers, so that this could pass for correct." Thereby it might seem as if this Landrat had arranged or occasioned the working-up contained in the Descr., and v. d. Osten has misunderstood it so; but at the time of its origin, at the beginning of 1700, he was only 16 years old; presumably the additions proceed from him.

Kratz reports that there lay before him a pedigree-table made about 1730–40 of 555 numbers, which began with "1 Conradt Kleist Ritter vixit 1263, mortuus et sepultus in der Marienkirche zu Stettin" and his 3 sons: 2 Georg at Dubberow and Tigow uxor Glasenappen of Grammenz, 3 Prissebur at Muttrin and Glina vixit anno 1320, 4 Volze at Radatz and Vilnow vixit 1316." It is now not to be found. Since only the Descr. has the wife named under 2, and would also have to have the 555 numbers if it did not have some twice, the pedigree-table belonged to it. The Zarnekow one [§ 11] has the same beginning but 1 Conrad, Anno Chr., 2 Tichow, 3 Priessebur, 4 Raddatz Vilmenow.

¹⁴⁹ The manuscript is in the family archive since 2009.

¹⁵⁰ Among these, one point must be noted. The Descr. gives, under no. 39, to Henning of Muttrin a daughter of Paul of Bornentin as wife, and then immediately follows, under no. 41, with Peter. Thus Hans, with his no. 40, has dropped out. Thereupon the subsequent genealogies give to each a daughter of Paul, having thus found the scribal error. Yet according to Bolduan she was Hans's wife, and Henning had a niece, and this is confirmed by documents.

11. The Stavenow genealogy has the title: Historical notices concerning the ancient noble family of the Kleist, resident in the Royal Prussian, Electoral Brandenburg, then Polish and other lands, described with setting forth of the names, marriages, children and heirs, noble residences and knightly seats, according to the numbers noted in the great family-tree from No. 1 to 573, taken from unimpeachable sources and sufficiently proven with good documents, worked out with diligence, written down for the family unto eternal days for information and guidance, as collated with Chamberlain Kleist's pedigree-table and notices which are kept at Pachdanzig in Poland, with Michel Kleist's at Krojaske, with the late Landrat Jochim Kleist's which is present at Zebbelin, and where, if any error was found, corrected after mature consideration and after good reasons and documents obtained and arrived at with sufficient proofs, so that this description is now to be held for entirely correct, since herein no manquement is present; unless it be that some of the Kleists died quite young and without heirs and were not found here, which however one has not been able to ascertain so exactly; completed, and the following signed on good grounds, sealed with the inborn seals, and laid into keeping at the Kleist house Stavenow of the Muttrin line. Done at Stavenow in the Priegnitz near Perleberg the 14th of August anno 1754." The original is not present there, in general it is not to be found; what lies before us is a copy of the description without the family-tree. It contains, however, not 573 but 633 numbers; namely the last leaves with Nos. 517 ff. have been cut away and replaced by others. Yet the original stock can be ascertained. The painted Zarnekow family-tree, now the property of Herr v. Kleist at Damen, shows in the middle, in the form of a broad rosebush, the extended Muttrin-Damen stem, like bouquets on the left the Dubberow stem, on the right the Raddatz stem. The names stand in the lower part in shields, in the upper in small circles, both of which are bordered in yellow; but bordered in crimson-red and quite in the middle is the stem-line from Conrad (the knight adopted as common ancestor, 1248 ff.) down to Andreas Joachim at Stavenow († 1739) and his sons, the father exceptionally in a large shield. There is thus no doubt that he had the same made, and indeed in the year 1724, since of his 10 sons only the 4 eldest are included, the fourth being born 1723, the fifth (Arnd, who later emerged so notably in the Seven Years' War) being born 1725. The family-tree, which in contrast is probably the "great" one referred to in the title above, numbers up to 547, but has in the highest incomplete generation still 27 names,¹⁵¹ thus 574, and the one excess number is explained if the description was composed before the birth of that fourth son, thus 1722. And this time of composition is confirmed by the fact that the 574 numbers go down, beyond the Dolgen Descr., only with that Andreas Joachim's sons and brother's sons. The first 517 Nos. agree throughout with the Stavenow genealogy,—only the connection of sons with fathers is several times wrongly drawn,—but immediately with the newer replacement deviation enters.—The Stavenow genealogy likewise adopts (though embellished) the conclusion of the Descr. and thereby declares itself identical with it. The historical introduction is, as also with v. d. Osten, omitted; what was appropriated from it is furnished under Conrad under No. 1 immediately following the title; the Dolgen additions are lacking; at each number, deviating from the other so-called descriptions, the father, for the most part also the sons, are named; the statements about the wives are several times, those about the daughters often, shortened; the name Bartes is, as in the Descr., with v. d. Osten and in the Zarnekow family-tree, changed into Barthel;¹⁵² three unnamed persons of the Descr. (Nos. 57, 188, 328) and Gerson, the son of Gerson of Ruschitz (No. 206), are—and rightly—omitted; the gaps where the Descr. has the bare numbers without text are for the most part filled, and a number of persons missing from it from the last period are inserted in their proper place; hence perhaps in the title, out of the conclusion of the Descr., the clause has been omitted that those now living as boys are lacking.

¹⁵¹ Thus there are still 7 others, but they are recognizable as later additions by the cruder drawing, the differing and much poorer script, and the blacker ink.

¹⁵² See § 2. A. 1.

12. The Descr. according to Vanselow's redaction [§ 10] is taken over verbatim into a genealogy which exists and existed in two copies. The first is entitled "Copeyliche Acta Wegen der v. Kleistschen Familie 1767," was acquired by the late President of the Higher Tribunal v. Kleist, according to his remark on the title-leaf, from Herr Leonhard v. Kleist (still living);¹⁵³ the second, entitled *Gen. der v. Kleist* and written about 1774, was possessed by the late Chamberlain Xaver v. Kleist at Raddatz, is possessed by Count v. Kleist at Schmenzin. Both agree; only the second has a marginal addition which carries down the Zützen line, to which the owners belong, to 1830. The first has the same beginning which v. d. Osten prefixed to his first working-up (see § 10); thereby it is indicated as an expansion of the basis of the same, as comparison also shows, and Vanselow indicated as author. And thus it is explained that the second introduces itself as a copy of an original located in the Ostensche library at Plate; for it is different, excepting the basis, from the Ostensche working-ups. In these manuscripts Vanselow, as said, repeats the Zeblin Descr. of his first redaction, also in writing errors (yet he has the form *Bartes*), alters the determinations pointing to the time of composition in 1700 where it was easy (e.g. *Praesens* into *Praeteritum*, *anitzo* into *hernach*), but otherwise retains them, e.g. the one noted above (§ 10) with Ewald Joachim "has up to this date only one son," with Werner at Dubberow "is married and already has a daughter," although with both all sons are afterwards set forth. The generation living about 1700 is completed and the following added, as also earlier additions are made; the textless Nos. 57, 188 of the Descr. are omitted, the numbering up to No. 463 is that of v. d. Osten's first working-up after correction (cf. on that in § 10), whose materials are partly used; other is from Hering. "A. G. L. Hering, at that time Hofgerichtsrat in Cöslin, undertook in 1765, by commission of the Electoral-Cologne Generalmajor Clem. Aug. v. Kleist, a new working-up of the Kleist genealogy, and in doing so took Vanselow's entirely as basis, left its text unchanged, limited himself to further working-out of existing numbers and to the adding of some new numbers, partly according to oral information, partly from process-acts." (Kr.) Since Vanselow has inserted these additions of Hering, in their proper place, into his last working-up belonging to 1767 described above, that which Hering took as basis is an earlier, middle one. This is preserved in that appendix of the Stavenow genealogy, written by another hand, which replaces the cut-off leaves of it; for this, containing Nos. 517–633, agrees verbatim with the same numbers of the Copeyliche Acta,—only its 593 b, c, d, e are lacking,—and the Hering additions are appended as *Additamenta* written by the same hand. Vanselow's last working-up has 659 (in the second copy 660) numbers and 28 articles, the older numbers appended under b, c, etc.

A pedigree-table which v. d. Osten received in 1769 from Colonel Peter Christian v. Kleist at Gr. Tichow agreed, according to his statement, with the Zeblin one received by Vanselow,—[was it perhaps that copy of the Stavenow genealogy? see § 11]—likewise, according to Kratz's statement, a "description" which President v. Kleist received in 1830 from Herr v. Voß, with the Descr. This may be the copy of the Descr. underlying the Stavenow genealogy, since a Herr E. v. Voß possessed Stavenow.

13. According to Elzow, before 1698 there existed in the family a complete pedigree-table which he vainly requested [§ 8]. Without doubt, by his pressing, the composition of the Descr. in the year 1700 was occasioned; one wished perhaps to present him something perfect; his death came before it. The Descr. was "worked out with diligence, collated with 3 other pedigree-tables, and where any error showed itself corrected after mature consideration" [§ 8, 9]. The chamberlain with whom the one collated, present at Pogdanzig (Kr. Schlochau), belonged, is the one seated there, encountered 1680–1725, richly gifted, Christian Wedige of the Cöslin–Glieneke line; Michel at Krojanke [Krojancken, Krojanten, Kr. Conitz], whose was the second, belongs to the Muttrin–Krummensee line, his younger brother Matthias died 1703; from both proceed, evidently, the persons resident in Pomerellen, lacking from other documents, of the Descr. The owner of the third was "the late Landrat Jochim at Zeblin" who, "a clever man" (Descr.), was Landrat in 1627, died at the end of 1679 very aged,

¹⁵³ The genealogy is in the family archive since 2009.

belonging to the Damen branch. Of the second there is another trace. In the new working-up namely, which Steinbrück let follow his pedigree-table edited in 1823 [§ 21], he has often cited the family-book of the Kleist family, which otherwise no one knows and names. According to his excerpts it was a so-called description without family-tree, agreed essentially with the Descr., also in divergent names, yet two persons there present with only the bare names were lacking to it; it had, on the other hand, 3 persons who are not there but are found in Vanselow's last work; it had additions to 1 Dallentin person, 2 Vietzow persons, but especially to 5 Borntin persons, the nearest kindred of the Krummensee line; to these and the other persons seated in Pomerellen much and specific; concerning that chamberlain Christian Wedig it had an unfavorable judgment, but of Michel at Krojanten's brother Matthias it gave the year of death and other specific, as well as 5 of his sons and two grandsons, all of whom are known only thereby. Without doubt we have therein the pedigree-table of Michel of Krojanten carried down to about 1740.

The statements of the Descr. prove only that the final redaction and collation belong to the first half of 1700, not however that the "diligent working-out" which was collated with the three named pedigree-tables also belongs to it; that can be older, can be the one meant by Elzow as present before 1698. Where it arose can at first only be determined negatively: not where the three collated were, not with the Raddatzers and Wend. Tichowers, because there occur there the only significant errors which the Descr. and its successors have,—with the Raddatzers the sons of Asmus († 1597) do not stand in age-order, the third is the only one of those named of the first wife, with the Wend. Tichowers the sons of Rüdiger († 1675) are given to his uncle Rüdiger († before 1600), thereby the descendants shifted one generation too high,—also not in Vietzow, from where, evidently, Elzow received the basis of his pedigree-table [§ 8], which also for the Descr. formed a basis, probably in Dallentin [§ 15].

14. With Vanselow's last work of 1767 ends the previous manner in the family genealogy, which until then, a couple of fief-letters excepted, rested on the tradition and communication living within the family. Already a beginning had been made to use the rich store of documentary notices in the provincial archives. Therefore we pause here and consider the formation of the family genealogy, as hitherto according to the formal, so now according to the material side. There the earliest record of the same is now to be ascertained and set forth.

<100> We saw: in 1575 there existed a genealogical notice concerning the descendants of Prissebur, who is indicated as one of the three stem-brothers, the sons of the "Oldervater" mentioned in the Lb. of 1477 [§ 3]; the Chamberlain v. d. Osten used a genealogy of such a form that he could deem it composed about 1600 by a Kleist [§ 5]; the Ruschitz manuscript written about 1660 at Schönow goes down with only one line of the Cöslin branch to the time, with all the rest not beyond 1590 [§ 7], and indicates this as taken from an original arising about that time. We denote the Ruschitz manuscript with R., that used by v. d. Osten with O.; the parenthesized letters denote the sections into which we have divided the text following below.

"This original is composed between February 1575 and March 1601. For first the Kranksparn at Bulgrin are still indicated as existing (f.); but they were entirely extinct with Henning when the Ramel were enfeoffed with Bulgrin in 1606;¹⁵⁴ further, the court at Muttrin, whose half the since-then Ruschitz line exchanged in 1524, is inhabited (present tense) by Valentin (p.), who however [solemnly designated as seated at Muttrin] appears 1556–1610 [was still living in 1614 according to Bolduan's dedication, was dead in 1618]; and thirdly the Gesamthand, as it was granted to the family in 1477, 'was lastly confirmed in 1575 by Duke Johann Friedrich' [k.], thus it is written before the confirmations by the following dukes of 1601, 1605, 1608, 1618." Thus Kratz. Correct; but if we look more closely, other

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Brüggemann, 3, 640.

time-marks show a threefold time of composition.

α. Of Jürgen at Damen, Bisprow's son, it says: "he has three sons" [u.]. These are enfeoffed in 1575, but are not listed in the enfeoffment register (U. 501); the two younger, Jochim and Carsten, as at that time under age and out of the country, upon returning home request the enfeoffment in Dec. 1580 as now of age; the father had died "about 20 years" before (U.), thus 1560/1, and the sons are born at the latest 1550–55, hardly earlier, since Jochim still lived in 1636. Thereby this sentence is from a writing composed 1555–1560. It is possible that a writing error is present, has instead of had, or that a "left behind" has been omitted; but it is only possible, compelled by nothing.

β. Jacob at Ruschitz is listed in R. only as chancellor and vicedominus in the cathedral chapter [p]; he received the first office 1572, exchanged it in 1580 for that of landvogt at Stolp and Schlawe and administered this until death 20 June 1585; that sixth dignity in the cathedral chapter he received 1574, but in June 1576 advanced into the second, that of decanus, which he retained until death; nevertheless in the genealogies he is always, and still with Steinbrück, titled only vicedominus: this therefore stems from the original. Likewise R. has Jacob of Zatkow [n.] only as ducal court-servant [= court-junker], Elzow also as "afterwards captain at Neustettin," which he became in 1584. And last in their lines, whose children are not "carried down," are Hans at Krummensee [appears 1524–1575], Hans at Borrentin [† 1586], Curt at Voldekow [† 1578–82], Bartes the younger at Gr. Tichow [† c. 1526], Andreas there [† before 1566], Carsten at Krolow [† 1562; his son Lorenz left behind as a child of 1–2 years, progenitor of the whole branch, could not have been omitted in 1590], and as already deceased with unnamed children [y.] Paul at Krolow [† 1572], Peter at Wendisch Tichow [† 1572] and Henning there [† 1575 in the summer]. All this points to a composition in the first half of 1576; the Gr. Tichowers point to α.

γ. On the other hand R. designates Wilhelm of Viezow as "landvogt at Stolp and Schlawe, also captain at Belgard" [n.]—he was the former 1587–98, the latter 1578–87 and 98–1602—and Marten at Dargea as stiftsvogt [q.], which he was between 1 July and Nov. 1586, and indicates Magdalena von Eichstedt as second wife of Asmus at Raddatz, who in 1596 had several children after the first wife died about New Year 1584.¹⁵⁵ There is added the marginal note to the enfeoffment of 1325 (i. note f.): "This is anno 90, 275 years ago, that this letter over Glineke was given"; since it is written by a later hand and with paler ink, Kratz understood the year 1690; but since that involves a double and gross error in reckoning, I, with the deceased President v. Kleist, prefer 1590, so that the note already stood in the original and was only later entered into the new working-up; the year-number with respect to the 2 was probably unclear or given in Roman numerals. 1590, however, as the time of a new redaction of the original fits the above statements; also the children of Gerson of Ruschitz (who died at Stolp 4 April 1590) are not yet set forth.

But his brother Jacob is without doubt to be regarded as the author of β., the original manuscript of 1576, according to Kratz as well. He alone among the Kleists of that time, as chancellor of Stettin, was in a position to be able to inspect the documents referred to, also the foundation of the Marienstift, the Colbatz matricula and registers [a. d.], since the archive — part of which he put in order in 1578¹⁵⁶ — as well as the feudal matters were under his charge. Only for his father are year of death, age, and burial given; for his grandfather, his brother, and the cathedral scholasticus Pribslaw at Borntin only the year of death,¹⁵⁷ whom Jacob in a certain sense succeeded, in that as a result of his death he received a canonry at the cathedral; whereas for Ruschitz the years of acquisition and of princely confirmation are given. This too will speak for the fact that, with the progenitor of the Pribslaw line, the enfeoffment and

¹⁵⁵ See § 16 k.

¹⁵⁶ P. P. A. Bibl. II. 7.

¹⁵⁷ Elzow likewise derives it from Chancellor Jürgen [y], but mistakenly.

joint ownership in the Damensche estates are so emphasized, that he (contrary to the Lb. of 1477) is presumed [r.] to have been the eldest of the seven brothers and is then enumerated [w.]. To Gerson, then, the redaction and partial continuation, as they underlie R., will have to be ascribed. How it came to Schönow may perhaps be conjectured; Gerson's youngest daughter married into Sassenburg, which is one mile distant from Schönow.

The essay mentions (in i.) "the written *Nachrichtung* which the Muttrin branch had concerning its descent from Prissebur"; this is beyond question the same *Nachrichtung* which, according to the likewise mentioned Lb. of 1575, he produced [3], since the issuing of the Lb. belonged to the office of the chancellor, thus at that time Jacob's, although, as one co-enfeoffed therein, he could not be listed among the witnesses: and in R. the form is *Nachrichtung* solenn, only once does *Nachricht* stand. Jacob's essay of 1576 is thus an expansion of this "*Nachrichtung*", and to it belongs the chronological marker set out under a. Accordingly it was composed between 1555 and 1560; at that time there lived the learned magister and cathedral scholasticus, formerly episcopal chancellor, Pribslaw of Muttrin and Borntin, whom the Reformers in 1545 above all recommended as bishop, and who was born about 1486, and Paul of Kowalk, who appears as early as 1493, had recently died, and who thus was still a contemporary of Bispro of Muttrin, enfeoffed in 1477 and already of full manly age in 1433; we may regard the former as the author of the *Nachrichtung*.¹⁵⁸ It contained the lineage of all descendants of the said Bispro; to Jacob's work, apart from what falls in the period after 1560, belongs everything that has been inferred from charters and data of the princely archives, thus in particular a.—h.), and it is especially to be noted that the Lb. of 1364 (i.) was, during his tenure, much used in the border disputes with Poland, in the original and in copy. The Gr. Tichower are carried forward only up to the time of the composition of the *Nachrichtung*, thus presumably from it, and the statements about the end of the Vilnower and the death of Voltze of Raddatz, by their content, posit the earliest possible record; and in his case the contradiction in the words: "one says (*Praesens*) at that time this of him", requires that "at that time" is a later addition to an original manuscript. Only the Muttrin branch was, in the *Nachrichtung*, derived from Prissebur as one of the three stem-brothers, whom o. Z. has placed about 1320; for the two other branches, it is to be concluded, the then existing state and a few generations of the forefathers were given; R. too gives the connection of these with the stem-brothers only as a conjecture.

15. From his old Kleist of c. 1600 (O.) v. d. Osten, in his first working-up (more inaccurately in the second), reports "the following notice"; it agrees in content, sequence, and in part verbatim with a–h in R., the account of the origin and the related families of the Kleists. In what follows, i–z, he has, according to his statement, from the essay "throughout (and with his own hand) improved" the previous genealogy, specifically the Zebelin Descr. taken as basis; thus he excerpted it there where he found more or more correct than in his earlier aids, and these are all except Thilo [20]. He cites the essay only in 3 places, the latest of which concerns Hans, Henning's son [u.], who died 1599; but he must necessarily also have from it what is found otherwise nowhere except in R., and here [in y.] he shares with R. the writing error 1488 instead of 1486; in s. only he has the same closing sentence as R., and he has found in the essay the same gap that lies in R. [see to s.].

Eldow (E.) in the pedigree-table goes down with only two tips to his own time,¹⁵⁹ otherwise only down to about 1600; there thus lay beneath it a source-writing composed at that time. He now agrees with R. in a, b, h verbatim, gives c–g in the proper place in a correct summary; in verbal agreement with

¹⁵⁸ There are grounds for the assumption that the complete Lb. were in the possession of his descendants and were destroyed in 1630 when their knightly seat at Muttrin was burned by the Imperial troops.

¹⁵⁹ And with two more persons down to about 1640.

i–z he also gives the historical and biographical inserted into the genealogical material, even with the writing errors [in y.] 1488 instead of 1486 (as O. above) and (in a place not adopted by O.) 1374 instead of 1474; in s. he found the gap like R. and v. d. Osten, likewise the gap in n. as R. has it (what v. d. Osten found there is not clear). The divergences consist only in individual synonymous expressions, as well as in stylistic ones which were necessitated by the different arrangement of the genealogical material. In R., namely, the genealogy is a continuous narrative proceeding exactly according to the order of births and lines, which had no need of a pedigree-table. With E., however, a pedigree-table gives the genealogical connection; in it the persons are numbered according to the sequence of generations, in each according to the order of births and the lines arising thereby; according to the order of the numbers they are set forth in the ensuing description and what is necessary is supplied. It was likewise in the essay used by v. d. Osten, for it contained “a pedigree-table and its description,” and it is so in all working-ups except R. But R.’s arrangement is the original one, as it was customary from Moses and Hesiod onward; the other only became customary late. From that alone it is clear that what lies before us in O. and E. was not a copy but a working-up of the original underlying R. E. also goes beyond R. Of the 6 sons of Peter at Zatkow [n.] which both give, R. names only the first, Jacob; E. names this with the addition “afterwards captain at Neustettin” and the second, Joachim; Jacob of Ruschitz E. also designates as landvogt at Stolp and gives of him an extensive biography together with an extract from his testament (both probably from the funeral sermon on him printed 1587 by Dav. Crollius); he carries down his brother Gerson as chamberlain at Stolp, his wife, 2 sons and 4 daughters, the husband of the eldest and the first of the second, whereas Bolduan, who wrote 1614 or perhaps already 1613, also adds the second of these, the 2 husbands of the third, and the one of the fourth, as well as the wives of the sons and the 5–6-year-old son of the eldest. Accordingly those additions with E. also proceed from the Ruschitzers; and since what he reports in distinction from Bolduan reaches about as far as the administration of the Stolp landvogtei by Wilhelm of Viezow, from whose grandson seated at Viezow Elzow evidently received the basis of his pedigree-table [8], the conclusion lies near that Wilhelm brought a copy of Jacob’s original in its redaction composed 1590, together with the funeral sermon on this his predecessor in office at Stolp, from Stolp to Viezow and made some additions.

Elzow did not lie before Chamberlain v. d. Osten; what therefore the latter has and is otherwise found only with the former, he must have from the essay of c. 1600. Among that is Dubslaff as the elder brother of Tonnies of Damen [u.], whom otherwise only documents show to be Tonnies’s cousin.¹⁶⁰ Further, the erroneous swapping of the daughters of Peter and of his son Jacob at Vietzow [s. n.], which Elzow and all later have, only Bolduan and Winther excerpting him the correct: v. d. Osten found, as he notes twice and thereafter corrected, already in his essay; and with the same script and ink he adds with Jacob at Gr. Tichow [x.] the wife whom otherwise only Elzow names. From all this it follows sufficiently that Elzow and v. d. Osten used the same redaction of the original genealogy, also the same copy, if the latter’s conclusion [§ 5] is adopted. It is true a difference shows itself: v. d. Osten remarks in his second working-up that all pedigree-tables known to him, proceeding from the family itself (thus also the essay of 1600), set the Dubberow stem and its ancestor as the first, and he likewise sets this in the first work with Prissebur and thereupon other from the essay, whereas Elzow makes the stem the second as R., Bolduan and the Lb.; meanwhile that can be an alteration chosen by Elzow, as he has also constructed the first beginnings of the Dubberow and Raddatz stems deviating from all others. Moreover it is to be noted that the order of the three stems which places Prissebur in the middle rests not on historical grounds but is evidently chosen only for the sake of symmetry in the pedigree-tables, especially the painted ones; thus, e.g., Elzow’s family-tree shows in the last completely continuous generation in this stem 37 persons, in the other two each 3 persons.

¹⁶⁰ The details belong in the biography.

Accordingly the essay of the old Kleist with v. d. Osten and Elzow's source-writing are identical, and, according to the above, are to be designated as the Vietzow genealogy (V.). And with the sons of that landvogt Wilhelm, who brought their basis from Stolp to Viezow, are found the latest statements which only O. and V. have: with Achatius at Viezow that his children of first marriage died early; with Peter that he was settled off with money; with Ewald that in the brotherly partition of 1605 Dallentin fell to him.¹⁶¹ The first, who in 1606/7 was summoned to the settlement between the dukes, afterwards as Landrat was deputed to the most important affairs, e.g. 1627 to the visitation of the university, 1628 to the revision of the Landesordnungen, was a "fundamental-learned man" and in a petition shows for that time unusual insight into medieval provincial conditions, I hold to be the one who reworked the original into a "pedigree-table and its description"; thus the citations found with Elzow from Thuanus, from Chytraeus's Saxon and Schütz's Prussian chronicle, works of the 16th century, may belong to him, indeed also as later additions those from Friedeborn's Stettin histories (printed 1613) and Cramer's Kirchenchronicon (printed 1628), since he died 1637. Before that, because before the extinction of the ducal house (q. v.) this genealogy is composed; and after 1603, since Nic. v. Zastrow († 1646) is designated as princely captain of Wollin and that fits only for the time when the office of Wollin was a widow's portion (autumn 1603 to 1618, 1620 to 1635). That the Kranksparn are still indicated as existing (f.) and the GLb. of 1575 as the last proves nothing; that is retained from the original, as the second also still with Elzow 1695, with Vanselow 1767. But the GLb. of 1608 names differently the ancestor of the Dubberow stem Jacob, likewise Elzow, who has altered here, that of the Dubberow branch;¹⁶² and v. d. Osten gives, at first indeed after Thilo, to the first the by-name Jacob. If now that Lb. has the name out of an FG. [§ 4], then that was the Vietzow one, and this is composed 1607.

Where now in the genealogy R. (i–z) agrees with O. and E., that is found verbatim also in the Descriptio (D.) of 1700—wherefrom it is explained that v. d. Osten, who indeed copied the Zeblin copy, had so few "improvements" to enter—and indeed in the synonymous deviations almost always as with E., very rarely as with R., yet instead of the false year-number 1374 with both the correct 1474 [y.]. But of the introduction (a–h) in the Dolgen copy only the material is used for a peculiar one; the Zeblin, like the Stavenow genealogy and Vanselow, omit it entirely, bring what seemed suitable under No. 1 with Ritter Conrad Clest. The sequence of the three stems is as with the Ostensche copy of V., so that thus such a copy is essentially copied.

16. Bolduan (B.) laid Jacob's original of 1576 as basis and carried it in part down to his own time. This is shown, in my view, by the following data.

a) He wrote his genealogy 1613 or 1614; in the first case certainly, in the second probably, the princely summons to send in the genealogies was not yet in the hands of the noble families.

b) His place of residence Vessin lies 3/4 mile from Stolp; there the brothers Jacob and Gerson had lived, and their works were at that time located there. What he had so near at hand he surely did not wish to beg together; one should think of Elzow's complaints and that there was as yet no post.

c) Gerson's widow, living at least still in 1607, was from his Vessin; concerning her children he is very exactly informed; he even has her about five-year-old grandson, indeed as the last of the domini patroni to whom he dedicates his work.

d) At that time Georg of Wend. Tichow also lived in Stolp, whose first wife likewise was from Vessin; he has Georg's about ten-year-old son Peter, who must also be the penultimate in the dedication, and the remaining members of the line completely; whereas of Magnus at Dubberow, living far away,

¹⁶¹ Hering, on the basis of records, places it in 1606. That is no contradiction; the partition took place upon the father's death (December 1605), the formal recording and sovereign confirmation in 1608.

¹⁶² See § 17, notes 7 and 21.

only 1 son and 1 daughter.

e) In Stolp there lived at that time also, as a widow, the daughter of Matthias from Damen, and he alone has also her grandson Matthias, in his 12th year, and a younger brother of the same who died early; the nearest cousins are lacking though two occur in the dedication.

f) Of the other Damen line, Peter's descendants, the children of Asmus are all found,—the one daughter was wife of Lorenz at Krolow,—of his brother Adrian the sons; of Valentin from Muttrin some children are lacking, his brother Otto (whom R. nevertheless has) and his children entirely; all Vietzow lines are pretty complete; a daughter of the Stolp landvogt Wilhelm was married to Lantow near Stolp.

g) On the other hand the Krummenseers (where yet Aegidius occurs in the dedication), Muttriners, Cösliners (for Moritz's wife is lacking), the Damens of Curt's line (only Venz's daughter is there, and together with her mother from Glowitz only with B.), the Raddatzers and Gr. Tichowers are not carried further down than the original of 1576 in R.; Hans of Drenow († 1599), Henning of Belgard's son, present in R., is lacking.

h) The gaps which R. and V. have in s. and u. B. fills; and

i) the daughters of Peter († 1501) and Jacob († 1547) from Vietzow, which V. and all following swap, only B. has correctly [s. n.].

k) He has <105> as wife of Alexander at Raddatz a v. d. Goltz, not that of his brother Asmus, and he alone the sister Gertrud of both; R. and E. add with the first a daughter of Marx v. Wolde at Schnakenburg and one of Eickstedt as second and third wife; D. calls the former Sabina and Asmus's wife a v. Wacholt from Dargislaff. According to U. this died in the first days of the year 1584, and Asmus († 1597 Apr. 6) in 1596 had Magdalena v. Eickstedt and by her already the 3 surviving sons, of whom the eldest were 1601, 1605 minoren, 1613 of age, the youngest married before 1616, so that the mother must still have been married in 1584; on the other hand, according to U., Alexander's widow was the mother of his sons left behind, of age about 1610. Thereby there is scarcely doubt that she is the second wife; the third, however, is the second of the brother; the statement with B. stems from the time when Alexander was married with the first wife who died without heirs; that can have been 1576.

Finally l) in the alternative it is surely to be presumed that B. did not have the women and daughters in the 15th century and at the beginning of the 16th from oral tradition, but through Jacob's writing of 1576 out of the notice of c. 1555.

If then B. and V. had the women and daughters from the original, R. has not taken them up completely; for many women and (except Jacob's and Gerson's sister) all daughters are lacking there. But once a daughter is entered by name, three times the number of the daughters is entered in the margin; and since this is now also the case with the sisters of the Schönow people, through or for whom the manuscript, as it lies before us, was worked over about 1660, it follows on the one hand that the omission was originally intended, on the other hand that a more complete original lay before them. This latter also results if our view of the marginal note "Dies seind a. 90" etc. (see § 14. γ) is correct. Also the text of R. has in 7 places writing errors, in 6 places omissions.¹⁶³

In x. it is reported that the Tichow Kleists can carry themselves up to Hans and his brother, the father of Tessen at Dubberow: "But what Tessen's father was called the stem-linea shows." And in m., that Jacob at Cöslin begot different sons, "whose name is to be found in the Genealogia." This stem-linea or Genealogia was at that time a pedigree-table. Such the original did not need according to its form; the context shows (in x. cf. beginning of y.) that the author of the original did not know how to name Tessen's father; and the addition there would be an absurdity for him; he would also have named Jacob's sons if he had been able. The two sentences between the quotation marks are thus additions,

¹⁶³ See e, i, k, m, p, q, s, u, y, z.

either of the Schönow working-up of c. 1660 to the redaction of the original of 1590, or of this latter to Jacob's original of 1576; in the latter case the pedigree-table would be to be regarded as identical with that in the Vietzow redaction, also as the basis of Bolduan's pedigree-table. The second alternative appears more acceptable.

17. Let the family genealogy now follow, as it was written down about 1590. I give the transcript of the Ruschitz manuscript taken by Kratz in 1863 (which, by report, later perished) quite exactly and in its orthography, although it is scarcely that of the original text;¹⁶⁴ I place what there is insertions and additions in the margin in round brackets, also retain the paragraph divisions and designate them, for the sake of citation, with letters. The quotation marks refer to the letters O.E.D. standing in the margin and show that what is enclosed is also found with v. d. Osten (here mostly only in substance, not verbatim), with Elzow and in the Descr.; O.V. stands where the original text is cited. Under the individual sections, indented, stand the corrections, variants (only substantive, not synonymous) and additions from the said documents, so far as these are to be regarded as proceeding from V. or at least belong to the time. What Bolduan (B.) also has is printed in spaced type; what he alone has is left in Latin. What in my view the original text contained is given in ordinary type, the rest in smaller type. The title in R. reads: "Some notice of the whole fief- and purchase-letters also the whole Handt of the ancient noble family in Pomerania called the von Kleist"; it is to be ascribed to the working-up of c. 1660, because it is so unsuitable, the "von" among the Kleists only comes in after 1650, and the original text has the form *Nachrichtung solenn*.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. on this in § 7.

a. „[O.V.E.D.] Auß alten Historien auch Brieff undt Siegeln, so einß Teils in den fürstl. Archiven ¹⁶⁵ undt Clöstern, auch theilß bei den Kleisten vorhanden wirt befunden, daß die Kleiste mit den Bulgrinen, Woitgen, Klingsporn undt Bützken ^{a)} eines Geschlechts undt Herkommens sein, auch wie die Alten berichten ^{b)} ^{c)}, in dem Dorffe Kleist zwischen Zanow undt Rugenwalde belegen gewohnt", „[O.V.] auch im Stettinschen Orte ansehnliche Güter gehabt haben", „[O.V.E.D.] wie sie auch noch diese Zeit einerley Schilt undt helm führen, nur allein auß Irthumb bißweilen die Farben endern".

b. „[O.V.E.D.] Alß aber nach Schickunge Gottes des Allmächtigen der Kleiste viel geworden, haben sie sich vertheilet, undt einige Güter mehr an sich gekauft, theilß auch von den Landesfürsten verdienet ^{a)}."

c. „[O.V.] Nemblich ein Teil im Ambt Belgart die Güter Muttrin undt Damen, auch etzliche mehr im Herzogthumb undt Stifft kauffweise an sich gebracht; dieße haben der Kleiste Nahmen behalten."

d. „[O.V.] Die andern haben der Kleiste Hauß undt „[O.V.D.] Hoff mit einem großen Platz zu Alten Stettin, welcher Platz itzo der fürstliche Hoff ^{a)} ist", angenommen, auch etzliche Güter „in dem Colbatzischen Orte" gekauft undt sich in der Herzoge zu Stettin Pommern Dienste begeben, auch „[O.V.D.] von ihnen das Gut Berkenbrode verdienet"; dieße haben auch der Kleiste Nahmen behalten, undt lange Zeit die Güter im Stetinischen undt Colbatzischen Orte beßeßen, „[O.V.D.] auch vornehme Ampter bey den Herzogen von Pommern bedienet", darnach „[D.] als Berkenbrode in den großen Kriegen ^{b)} verwüstet, sein sie gantz in Stettin gezogen, daselbst lange Zeit ^{c)} gewohnt, und von den übrigen Gütern im Colbatzischen Orte gelebet". Nachgehent „[O.V.D.] hat Conradus Kleist ^{d)} Ritter et miles daß Dorff Belitz undt etzliche Hueffen zum Brode, Schönefelde und Sabest dem Kloster O.V. Colbatz Anno 1269 gegeben, wie auß der alten Colbatzischen Matrikel zu ersehen". „[O.V.] Alß aber die Landesfürsten" ^{e)} ihren fürstl. Hoff zue Alten Stettin, da nun St. Marien Kirche liegt, zue der Thumbkirchen verehret, „[O.V.] haben sie den Kleisten ihre curiam oder Hoff abgehandelt, undt dahin ihren fürstl. Hoff

a) Woitken, Krancksparen (Klangspohren D.), Butzken O.E.D.
b) Nach der Alten Aussage E.
c) + anfänglich O.

a) Da dann dieselben so auf dem Gute Kleist und ihre Nachkommen den Namen Kleist behalten und „[D.] die andern als die Bulgrine, Woedtken und Butzken den Namen von den Gütern angenommen. (So E. statt c.d.e.f.g.)

a) und Fürsten Platz und Freiheit genannt wird O.

b) die das Absterben der Markgrafen A. 1319 veranlaßte D.[gegen den Context].

c) eine Zeit lang D.

d) Ursprünglich stand R. „Hercules genant", das ist durchgestrichen, dafür Kleist gesetzt (Kr.); vermutlich ist dem Schreiber „Her Clest" dictiert.

e) keinen bequemern Platz zur Anlegung ihres Schlosses finden konnten O.

f) von dieser Linie, und

gelegt, daentgegen aber den Kleisten in dem Abt Kloster Colbatz ewiglich und so lange ein Kleist ^{f)} im Leben sein würde", zugesagt undt „[O.V.]verschrieben, daß sie im Kloster Eßen, Trinken, notturftige Kleydung" undt Versorgunge, wan Jemandt von ihnen darin sein wolte, „[O.V.]haben solten, wie dan auch ein Kleist ^{g)} (Richart), so viel man Nachrichtunge hat, Anno 1516 zue O.V.D. Colbatz gestorben ^{h)} (und alda begraben)¹⁶⁶. „[O.V.D.]Solches bezeuget des Thumb Capittels St. Marien zue Alten Stettin Foundation ", „[O.V.]auch des Closters Colbatz alte Matrikel undt Registraturen".

g) der letzte von dieser Linie Namens Richart O., sind mit Ausnahme der 2 letzten Wörter wohl Zusatz Ostens, widersprechen dem Anfang von h: Nach Absterben etc.

h) sein soll O.

e. „[O.V.] Daß dritte Theil der Kleiste hatt bey Treptow etzliche Gueter gekauffet, nemlich das Dorff Woitke, davon sie [den Namen geändert]" ^{a)} der Kleiste Namen nicht offte gebrauchet, wie sie dan noch ^{b)} „zu dießer Zeit die Woitken heißen, jedoch einen Schildt und Helm mit den Kleisten haben, und vor Vettern der Kleiste gerechnet werden".

a) Daß das eingeschlossene ursprünglich, fordert das „davon"

b) Im Mscr. dennoch.

f. „[O.V.] Daß vierte Theil hatt zur Heidewertß ein Gut gekauffet, selbige die Klancksparen ^{a)} geheießen worden, wie sie auch annoch heißen und mit den Kleisten einen Schilt und Helm ^{b)} füren."

a) Krancksparen O.

b) behalten und noch O.

g. „[O.V.] Daß funffte Theil hat" daß Dorff Kleiste behalten, und wie sie darzu ^{a)} „ein Dorff Bulgrin genennet an sich gebracht, hatt man sie die Bulgrine nach dem Dorffe geheießen, wie denn oft bei andern Geschlechtern geschen ist", und annoch geschicht ^{b)}.

a) O.: hat beim Dorfe Kleist das D. B. etc.;zum (statt beim) = darzu wäre richtig. Auch E. hat mißverstanden, s. o. nach b.

b) daß sie nicht anders als der Kleiste Vettern sind, und gleichfalls einerley Wappen haben. O. Annoch ein anderer Kleist hat das Dorf Butzke acquiriert und ebenmäßig davon den Namen angenommen mit gleichmäßiger Beybehaltung des Wappens. [Dies hat O. nur in der zweiten Bearbeitung, wohl als eigne Ergänzung.]

¹⁶⁶ Kratz rejects the report of the vitalitium of the Kleists in Colbatz merely with mockery, saying that "Richard" arose from "Richard," who was captain of the district (Amtshauptmann) at Colbatz and died in 1595. But proof is lacking that he died there as such; a conjecture is no proof; and that a Richard died in 1516 and enjoyed a vitalitium in the monastery is in no way impossible, and alienation in return for vitalitium is nothing rare. (Cf. U. 109.) It is secured by the appeal, in the original, to the Colbatz registers, which can refer only to this, and by the character of the original, especially the introduction, which indeed shows misunderstanding and erroneous inferences, but nothing wholly invented out of thin air. Thus there must underlie the report about the vitalitium of the Kleists a fact which, probably through misunderstanding of the expressions, has been falsely generalized. Accordingly I hold the Richard who died in 1516 to have been a brother of the Joachim who appears in 1506/13 at Cöslin, because in Joachim's descendants the name Richard recurs alone and through six generations. He was then half-brother of the canon Hinrich Levin, who until 1488 was a notary, then princely court-notary at Stettin, and certainly, like others, acquired house and court there, which can have been inherited by Richard, just as Joachim received his Cöslin inheritance. He could then have conveyed it to Colbatz in return for vitalitium; it would have become merged with the abbot's court on the Rödenberg and secularized, and this itself might have been taken as that which had been conveyed.

h. „[O.V.E.] Nach Absterben der Kleiste, so die Gütere zu Alten Stettin¹⁶⁷ und Berkenbrode beseßen, sein im Belgardischen Amte drei Brüder deß Geschlechts geplieben¹⁶⁸, und [haben] sich also vertheilet, daß ein Bruder und seine Erben nach Muttrin und Damen, der ander und seine Erben nach Dubberow und Tichow, der dritte und seine Erben nach Raddatze und Vilnowe ^{a)} gekommen. Solcheß haben die Kleiste bei Herzogk Bogislai Regierunge mit glaublichen Nachrichten bescheinigt, und J. F. G. habenß Anno 1477 der Kleisten Lehen und gesamten Handt Brieff zur Gedechtnise und Zeugknuß inseriren laßen. Von welchen dreien Brüdern alle itzige Kleiste herkommen, dieselben Gütere mit einer gesamten Hant annoch dieße Zeit besitzen", „[E.]auch da sie viel mehr Lehengüter an sich gebracht, von den Hertzogen verdienet", eins Theilß auch gekauffet.

a) Vilmenow O.

¹⁶⁷ “Of this more will be said below”—with E. this has happened only through what is said about Conrad (note 2).

¹⁶⁸ The father of the three brothers appears with Bolduan and Winther only as “— Kleistius,” first with E. as “Conradus Kleist at Belitz etc., knight and counsellor of Duke Barnim, is cited A. 1240 in a diploma in which Duke Barnim grants the town of Gartz certain estates, as a witness”; yet comparison with i. shows that already about 1660 some gave him the passage.

Von den Muttrinschen und Damenschen Kleisten.

i. Die Muttrinschen und Damenschen Kleiste können die gradus ihrer Voreltern ascendendo nicht höher berechnen, so viel sie schriftliche Nachrichtungen haben, alß von „[O.E.D.] Prissebur Kleiste, der hat anno ^{a)} 1320 zu Muttrin¹⁶⁹ gewonet, und die helffte an Glineke, und zu der andern helffte der Glasenappen Hant ^{b)} erlanget“, „[O.]welcheß ihnen von Hertzogk Wartißlaff anno Christi 1364 zu Newen Stettin confirmiret worden. Und ist vermutlich, daß dießer Prissebur der dreien Brüder einer gewesen ist. Sonsten „[O.E.D.]wirt Voltze Kliestes in einem Brieffe zu Belgart anno 1316 datiret gedacht“, welcher der Zeit und Sitzes halben vermutlich der dreien Brüder einer gewesen, und Prisseburß, der anno 1320 zu Muttrin gewonet, Bruder wird gewesen sein. Und das Voltze Kleist, Henningß des ersten fünffte Sohn nach ihme genennet worden, welcher sonsten viel jünger gewesen, weil er mit seinen Brüdern anno 1474 ihre Lehen entfangen, wie baldt soll angezeigt werden ^{c)}. Und würde hierauß folgen, daß Prissebur der Muttrinschen und Voltze etwa „[D.] der Vilnowschen und Raddatzischen - weil in der Linie viel des Namens sein“ - Bruder¹⁷⁰ wird gewesen sein. Wie der Tichowschen und Dubberowschen Bruder geheißßen, findet man keine Nachrichtungen¹⁷¹. Seine Descendentes aber sein

a) ums Jahr E.D.

b) der Gl. H. in R. ursprünglich, korrigiert in „von den Glasenappen“ E.D.: „die Glasenappen die gesamte Hand. Dies ist unrichtig, denn die Kleist hatten sie später. Korrekturen (auch die Kratzsche: „die gesamte Hand“) sind unnötig. Gesamte oder Samende Hand ist bekanntlich der terminus technicus für gemeinschaftliche Belehnung mehrerer, für einen Teil faktisch, für einen andern eventuell, er ist hergenommen von dem Ritus der Belehnung, da alle belehnten an den vom Verleiher dargereichten Hut (Lanzen- oder Fahnenstaffel etc.) griffen. Wie also das Lehnrecht aller an einem Gut die gesamte Hand ist, so das des einzelnen derselben seine Hand. Der Glasenappen Hand ist also der Anteil vom Lehnrecht an Glienke, den die Gl. hatten.

c) Geschieht in k. und r., darnach habe ich das Jahr 1477 im Mscr. geändert.

d) Zusatz, weil in Widerspruch mit d. und mit „Nach Absterben etc.“ in h., und weil gegen die chronologische Ordnung in der Urschrift.

e) † unverheiratet E.D.

f) Hier die §. 14 γ. angeführte Randnote.

g) So R.D. des E.

h) So E.D., in R. irrig „hat auch“.

i) Filia Elisabetha, maritus Conradus Manteufelius Arnhusensis.

¹⁶⁹ The year is lacking with B. in Kiel's transcript, but Woken found it in the original and Winther has it from there. "Prissebur 'at Damen'" with B. is an error flowing from h.

¹⁷⁰ Meaning: the brother of the three who belongs, as progenitor, to the Muttrin etc. line; the alteration is therefore unnecessary.

¹⁷¹ What in R. is conjecture, from Bolduan onward counts as certain: Prissebur and Volz are the first and third of the stem-brothers; the second, as the Dubberow branch, is Georg, called Jacob in the feoffment-letter book (Fortsetzung...)

suo loco richtigk verzeichnet. Ingleichen wird Conradi Kleistes anno 1240 gedacht; ob aber derselbe von den Muttrinschen oder den andern Kleisten, so zu Alten Stettin und Berkenbrode ihren Sitz gehabt, gewesen, ist unbewust ^{d)}. Obgemelter „[O.]Prissebur ist alt geworden“, und „[O.E.D.] hatt zween Söne hinter sich gelaßen, Jarßlaffen und Hennigk“. „[E.D.]Jarßlaff hat erstlich Damen an sich gebracht, und zween Söne gehabt, Herman und Georgen, welche zu Damen gewonet und ohne Erben abgangen, denn Herman ^{e)} von einem Pferde umbkommen, Georg aber bei Belgardt, wie er“ auß der Stadt gezogen, und „im Felde sich mit etzlichen verunwilliget, erschlagen worden“. „[O.]Daß obgemelte Jarßlaff und Hennigk Prisseburs Söne gewesen, bezeuget ein alter Brieff, den Prissebur vor sich und im Namen seiner beiden Söne Jarßlaffes und Hennings auff Glineke anno 1325 erhalten“ ^{f)}. „[E.D.]Henningk ist zu Muttrin geplieben und hat eineß ^{g)} Wedelstetten Tochter zur Ehe genommen, der ^{h)} den dritten Theil an Gultzow gehabt. Mit gedachter seiner Ehewirtinn er sieben Sohnß gezeuget, benantlich Bisperow, Pribslaff, Dubbeschlaß, Jacob, Schir, David und Voltzen“ ⁱ⁾. Unter dießen sieben die drei eltesten gefreiet, wie folget.

Bisperow Kleist.

k. ¹⁷² „[E.D.]Bisperow, Hennigk Kleistes erster Sone zu Muttrin hat mit eineß Natzemerß Tochter drei Söne gehabt, Hennigk, Hanß, Peter. Dieser Bisperow ^{a)} hat nebst seinen Brüdern und eltesten Vettern vom Hertzogk Bogislao die gesamte Hant auff daß gantze Geschlecht der Kleiste, so im Leben gewesen und hernach geboren würden ^{b)}, „auch auff alle Lehengüter, so sie die Zeit im Besitze gehabt und kunfftig an daß Geschlecht bringen würden, anno 1477 zu Belgardt erhalten, welche ^{b)} anno 1486 zu Rügenwalde von demselben Hertzogk Bogislao und folgigk von Hertzogk Barnimo anno 1546, letzlich auch von Hertzogk Joanne Friderico anno 1575 vernewert, vermehret und bestetiget ist.

a) hat für die Familie das Judigenat in Polen erworben und bekommen. O. (aus V.? Tinte und Schrift sind nicht dagegen).

b) R. allein schiebt ein „erlanget“, sinnstörend.

a) Uxor Nefina Schivelbeinensis.

¹⁷¹(...Fortsetzung)

(Lb.) of 1608 [4]. With E., however, Volz is the Dubberow ancestor, the Raddatz one unnamed. Cf. p. ... note, p. ... note.

¹⁷² Bisprow = M 12 = III. 1 (2007)

l.¹⁷³ „[E.D.]H e n n i g k , Bisperowen erster Sohn zu Muttrin ^{a)} hat einen S o n e benantlich J o c h i m gezeuget", „[E.]dießer sich in *Cößlin* heußlich niedergelaßen", und „[E.D.]mit seiner *Haußfrawen*, E. eineß *Tornowen* Tochter, *drei Söne* gezeuget, alß *Tönnieß*, *Jacob und Vith*," welche alle drei in Coßlin gewonet. Der erste benantlich „*Tönnieß* hat eines *Steinwern* Tochter zur *Ehe* gehabt, mit derselben *zween Söne Moritzen und Richardten* gezeuget". „[D.]Moritz hat zur Ehe genommen" Gerdrut „Manteuffel von Broitze, mit derselben drei Söne, Tönnieß, Richarden und Christoff gehabt, unter welchen der erste sich" eine Zeitlangk „[D.]am Holsteinschen Hofe zu Sonderburgk in fürstl. Diensten auffgehalten", hernach ein Stück Lehen unter der Crone Pohlen benantlich Schönowe erkauffet, alda er „[D.]mit eineß Benikedorffen Tochter" zwey Söhne gezeuget, als „Moritz Danieln und" Anthonius „Jürgen" (undt zwey Töchter). mit der andern Frawen, Jochim Manteuffeln Tochter von Lestien zween Söne, benantlich „[D.]Jochim (Christoff) und Richardt (Wilke" undt eine Tochter). „Die andern zween Antonii Brüdere, alß Richart und Christoff sein unbefreihet gestorben." (Deß alten Tönnieß). Kleisten ander Sohn Richart ist f. Hauptman uff Colbitz gewesen, welcher „einen Sone Hanß Friedr. gehabt, so der fürstl. Witben zu Newen Stettin gedienet" u. ohne Leibeß Erben verstorben ^{b)}. „[D.E.]Der andere obbemelten Jochim Kleisten Sone benantlich Jacob" „[E.]so auch in Coßlin gewonet". hat unterschiedtliche ^{c)} „[E.D.]Söne mit eineß Blanckenburgen Tochter" gezeuget, derer Name in der Genealogia zu befinden ^{d)}. Der dritter Jochim Kleisten Sone, benantlich „*Vith* hat mit eineß ^{e)} *Mönnichowen Tochter*" „[D.]einen Sohn benantlich Danieln" gezeuget, welcher bei J. F. Gudn Herzogen Johan Friedrichen am Alten Stettinschen Hofe gedienet, alda derselbe in coelibatu gestorben und in S. Marien Kirche begraben worden.

b) Über diesen Zusatz s. §. 7.

c) Sechs D.

d) Zusatz s. §. 16 Ende.

e) Christiani (B.).

¹⁷³ Henning = M 20 = III. 4, Moritz III. 86 progenitor, House Schönau (2007)

m.¹⁷⁴ „[E.D.]Hanß Kleist zue Muttrin, Bisperowen ander Sohn, hatt mit Paul Bornentins zue Bornentin erbseßen Tochter viel Söhne undt Töchtere gezeuget ^{a)}), davon nur zwey Söhne im Leben geblieben, Hennig undt Pribschlaß. Hennig der erste Sohn zue Muttrin hat mit Peter Zizevitzen zu Varzin Tochter gehabt drey Söhne, Hans, Marten undt Andreas. Hanß zue Krummenseh erbseßen hat in Pohlen gefreyett, die andern zwey, alß Marten ^{c)} undt Andreas ^{d)} sein ohne Erben verstorben. Pribschlaß zue Bornentin ^{e)}), Hanßen zue Muttrin ander Sohn, ist nach Rohm gezogen, alda sieben Jahr verblieben ^{f)})", hernacher Scholasticus zue Cammin, „[E.D.]undt des Bischoffs Cantzler geworden" ^{g)}), ist gestorben anno 1570, „[E.D.]hatt mit Elisabeth Belowen von der Gatze ^{h)} zwey Söhne gehabt, Hanß undt Samueln (u. 2 Töchter)ⁱ⁾). Hanß wohnete zue Bornentin, Samuel aber ist auf einem frantzösischen [Feld-]Zuge geblieben ^{k)})".

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a) So E.D., hinterlaßen in R. ist irrig wegen des gleich folgenden.

b) filiae Anna mar. Christianus Veersen, Dorothea mar. Georgius Podewelsius, Margaretha.

c) moritur signifer in Gallia.

d) moritur caelebs.

e) und Muttrin E.D.

f) und wie er wieder zu Hause gekommen, ist er Canonicus E.D.

g) hat A. 1529 der Pomm. Landschaft Verschreibung an den Churfürsten von Brandenburg mit unterschrieben etc. E.D.

h) Henningi filia B. Tochter Gerds und der Catharina Glasenapp vom Hause Wusterwitz E.D.

i) wovon die älteste Abigail an Hans von Wolde auf Wusterbard, und die andre Hedwig an Wulff (Wolfgang) von Wedel auf Mellen verheirathet worden E.D. [dazu B:] Dorothea, Margaretha, Anna.

k) moritur in Gallia.

¹⁷⁴ Hans

n.¹⁷⁵ [E.D.] Peter Kleist zue Vizow, Bisperowen dritter Sohn ^{a)}, ist von Herzog Bogislao zum Hauptman zue Newen Stettin gesetzt ^{b)}, hatt Barbara Teßen ^{c)} von Schmoltzin zur Ehe genommen, undt einen Sohn mit ihr gezeuget, Nahmens Jacob ^{d)}, welcher das Schloß undt Stadt Bublitz an sich gebracht, undt „[D.] *gefreyett Anna von der Osten* (filia Ewaldi) zur Woldenburgk“, und mit ihr nachgelaßen „[E.D.] vier Söhne, Peter, Ewaldt, Wilhelm undt Jochim, welche gewohnet haben Peter ^{e)} zue Zattjow, Ewaldt zu Poberow undt Wilhelm zue Vizow ^{d)}).

a) Ritter und fürstl. Pommerscher Rat E.D.

b) wird A. 1488 in einer Anwartungsschrift von Herzog Bogislaff Heinrich Borcken gegeben als ein Zeuge mit angeführt F.D.

c) Lucas Tochter E.D.B.

d) Dorothea monialis [Nonne]. Elisabetha mar. Conradus Manteufelius Poltzinensis, Adelheidis mar. Thomas Massovius in Wobelanse filius Rüdigeri, Anna mar. Casparus Waldovius Bernsteinesis. Jacobs Töchter: Sophia mar. Joannes a Borne Grasseensis, Perpetua mar. Bartholomaeus Veersen, Barbara mar. Christianus Heidebrechius Parnoviensis, Dorothea mar. Petrus Podewilsus, Anna mar. Martinus Loden in zucher [-en]. Dagegen fand v. d. Osten in V. die vier ersten als Jacobs Töchter aufgeführt, (Dorothea als Frau des Peter v. Podewils, wie sie B. bei Jacob hat) und Jacobs vier andre dem Peter, doch, wie es scheint, nur Anna und Barbara mit ihren Taufnamen; D. hat alle vier ohne Taufnamen, nennt den Lode Jacob; E. nennt diesen Martin, hat nur den Taufnamen der Barbara, laßt die Frau des Bthl. Fersen unbenannt, hat sie aber als Perpetua mit demselben Mann „auf Crampe, Titzow und Pobantz“ als Tochter des Jacob auf Tichow [x.] und der Sophia von der Osten. Bolduan hat das richtige, also das ursprüngliche. Denn 1) Thomas v. Massow erscheint schon 1496, ist 1526 alt und seine Frau Alheit hat ihr Geschmuck zum Theil ihren Töchtern zugekehrt, [die also vermählt oder doch verlobt waren], beider Sohn Rüdiger ist noch nicht volljährig (U. 424), tritt aber von 1534 an auf; 2) Elisabeth ist 1529 mit Curd Manteuffel (1523 bischöfl. Rat) verheiratet (U. 440) und zwar lange, weil damals die Leibgedingsbriefe meistens ausgestellt wurden, wenn der Mann den Tod erwartete; 3) Casp. v. Waldow ist 1526 Bürge für Jacob (U. 422d); dagegen 4) Carsten Heydebreck erscheint 1540. 1552, und 5) Anna ist Witwe des Marten Lode 1574. 1584.

e) hat mit seinen Brüdern Anno 1557 die Güter getheilet, nachdem Er vorher als der älteste 10 Jahr allein administriert D.

Jochim ist in Frankreich geblieben ^{f)}, Peter hatt Jochim Belowen zue Peest Tochter Sophiam zur Ehe genommen“, „[E.] undt mit ihr sechs Söhne hinterlaßen ^{g)} (undt zwey Töchter); Jacob Kleist, Peter Kleisten Son, ist in Hertzogk Johan Friedrichen Hoffdienste ^{h)} gewesen“; (undt hat die eine Tochter ⁱ⁾ Andreae Sohn Valentin zue Muttrin gefreyett ^{k)}).

f) aus einem französischen Feldzuge E.D. Als er in Frankreich gestorben, haben sein halbes Vizo die andern 3 Brüder in 3 Theile getheilet, Wilhelm hatt sein Theil zu seinem halben Vizo gelegeet, aus die andern beyden Theile ein jeder ein absonderlich Ackerwerk gebauet D.

g) S. o.

h) und hernach fürstl. Hauptmann zu Neuenstettin E.D.B. ux. Catharina a Wolden filia Marci, Kinder: Petrus, Guilielmus, Ewaldus, Sophia.

i) Anna.

k) Elseba, mar. Sebastianus a Wedel.

¹⁷⁵ Peter M 21 = III. 5 House Vietzow (2007)

„Ewalt zu Poberow hat mit Jurgen Manteuffeln zu Colp in Tochter ¹⁾ etzliche Söhne gezeuget ^{m)}. Wilhelm Kleist zu Vitzow ist Lantvogt zu Stolp und Schlaw, auch Hauptman zu Belgart gewesen ⁿ⁾. Obbemelter Peter hat sieben Söne gehabt ^{o)}.

l) Scholastica B.D.

m) E hat 2, unbenannt. B. Georgius ux. N. Petersdorffia filia Danielis, Jacobus ux. Anna Sagera, Wilkius moritur. Guilielmus moritur. Petrus moritur. Anna mar. Caspar Carnitzius, Agnes monialis, Catharina mar. N. Steinwehr, Dorothea.

n) hat A. 1574 die Reuovation der Pomm. Landstände Verschreibung an den Churfürsten zu Brandenburg mit unterschrieben, Ehefrau Barbara Kameken, Achatii Tochter; Kinder: Jacobus moritur in Gallia, Achatius Philippo II. Duci Pom. a consiliis, Ewaldus (auf Dallentin, welches ihm 1605 in der brüderlichen Theilung zugefallen ist E.) ux. Adelheidis Glasenapia. filia Pauli Polnoviensis. Petrus (mit Gelde abgefunden E.) Christina mar. Vincentius Damitzius in kervin, Barbara mar. Rüdigerus Massovius Lantoviensis.

o) Oben (g.) 6 hinterlassen, - die hat E., außer Jacob noch Joachim auf Zattkow (ux. Ursula a Wolden Wusterbarensis filia Joannis) 4 unbenannte, - B. hat die 7 außer den genannten Philippus (in Patroua laut Dedic.) ux. 1. Anna a Wedelen, 2. Anna Kleistia Seleskensis filia Ambros., Georgius ux. Barbara - Ewaldus †, Bisprovius †, Guilielmus †; D. hat noch den laut U. den Vater überlebenden Christoph und einen ungenannten.

o.¹⁷⁶ [E.D.] Pribslaus Kleist, Hennings deß ersten zu Muttrin ander Sohn ^{a)} hatte 5 Söne, nemlich Jacob, Dubschlaff, Hennigk, Peter, Pribschlaff ^{b)}", von welchen die zween eltesten alß Jacob und Dubschlaff gefreiet, „[E.D.] die andern drei sein ohne Erben verstorben".

a) A. 1474 E. ux. Elisabeth a Briesen B.D. Cantor Capituli Caminensis, vixit A. 1530 B., also Verwechselung doch muß R. ähnliches gefunden haben, da es die lateinische Namensform braucht, die bei ihm wie in U. nur bei Geistlichen üblich ist; man hat denn 1590 schon gebessert;

b) D. und Nachfolger lassen den letzten weg.

¹⁷⁶ Pribslaff M 14 = III. 3, Ruschütz-Dargenscher branch (2007)

p.¹⁷⁷ [E.D.] J a c o b Kleist, Pribschlaffen eltester Sohn zu Muttrin ^{a)}, hat einen S o n e nachgelaßen, T h o m a s Kleiste, welcher den halben Hoff zu Muttrin, darauff Valntin Kleist wonet ^{b)}, und seinen Antheil an den Muttrinschen, Zatkoweschen, Boitzinschen¹⁷⁸, Kikoweschen und Döbelschen Gütern kegen daß Dorff Ru ß k e, welcheß Jurgen Kleist, Hertzogen Bogislai Cantzler und Hauptman zu Rügenwalde an daß Geschlecht anno 1478 brachte", in der Stolpischen Landvogtei belegen, „anno 1524 verwechselt hatt, vermuege deß Transmutation Brieffes, so von Hertzog Barnimo A. 1530 confirmiret¹⁷⁹, und ist J a c o b Kleist 1515 gestorben. Deßen Sohn T h o m a s ^{c)} hat vier S ö h n e gehabt, nemlich Erich zu Rusche, 2. *Ernst*, welcher in des Königs Friedrichen ^{d)} zu Dennemarken Dienste gestorben und in Copenhagen begraben worden, 3. J a c o b, d u c i s Joannis Friederici Cantzler und Vicedominus zu Camin ^{e)}, 4 Gerson Kleist zu Rußke, [hatt auch ^{f)}] gehabt eine Tochter Anna Kleistes, Claweß Stoientinß zu Vixsow geseßen Haußfrawe." „[O.]Benanter Thomas Kleist ist gestorben anno 1575, wie er 71 Jar alt gewesen, zu Stolpe begraben ^{g)}".

a) fürstl. pomm. Hauptmann zu B ü t o w E.D., ux. Anna Tesmara filia Nicolai in Bucholz.

b) hernach gewonet E.D.

c) hat zur Ehe gehabt S o p h i a Stoyentins, Peter Stojentins auf G ö r n (O.E.D.) und Frauen Elisabeth von der Osten (O.E.) Tochter.

d) Der Name nur in R.

e) und hernach Landvoigt zu Stolp und Schlawe (etc. s. in Biographie) E.D.

f) So etwas ist zu supplieren.

g) Gerson ist Raths Cämmerer zu Stolp gewesen (E.), hat zur Ehe gehabt R e g i n a Woyten, Tochter des Benedict Vessinensis, fürstl. pomm. Hauptmanns zu Bütow und der Frau Elisabeth Stojentins vom Hause Giesebitz, mit welcher er gezeugt

4 Töchter, Sophia, Elisabeth, Anna und Christina, wovon die erste an Georg Schwave auf Gr. Machemin und Beddelin (Anm. So D., Elzows Abschrift fälschlich Zeddelin), die andre an Phil. Jatzkow, fürstl. Pomm. Hauptm. zu Wollin, 2. Achatius Zitzevitzius Zitzevicensis, die dritte 1. Nicolaus Kleistius Tichoviensis, 2. Gerardus Massovius Sukoviensis, die letzte Justus Zarte Sassenburgensis verheirathet worden, und die Söhne J a c o b ux. Dorothea Zarten Sassenburgensis filia Antonii. (filius Gerson) und T h o m a s ux. Catharina Lettovia Drevensis auf Ruße E.D.

¹⁷⁷ Jacob M 28 = III. 12, Thomas III. 39 (2007)

¹⁷⁸ The Boitzen family not in E.D., but in the charter of 1524 (U. 418); R. thus reports more faithfully.

¹⁷⁹ The charter (451) preserved only in copy has partly 1534, partly 1537.

q.[E.D.], *Dubschlaff*, Pribbeschlaff Kleisten ander Sohn hat seinen Antheil an den Muttrinschen und den dazugehörigen Gütern permutiret mit seinen Vettern den Damenschen Kleisten gegen *Dargen* im Stifft Cammin belegen, auch etwaß an Dargen von den Bonninen daselbst bekommen, und *Barbaram Bonninß aus Dargen* zur Ehe genommen, mit derselben 3 Söne gezeuget, nemlich *Jacob*, welcher 16 Jar fürstlicher Stettinscher Jegermeister gewesen, auch *Hauptman zu Colbitze* ^{a)}, 2. *Tönnieß*, welcher für Magdeburgk geplieben¹⁸⁰, 3. *Marten* ^{b)}, welcher auf etzlichen [Kriegs-]Zügen" Hauptmann und ^{c)} Fenrich gewesen), „folgich Stifftsvogt im Bischofthumb Cammin ^{e)} geworden ^{f)}".

- a) moritur caelebs.
- b) auf Dargen.
- c) So emendiere ich Haupttreffen, Fenrich im Mskr.
- d) Und zwar 1577 unter dem Könige von Polen Rittmeister E.D. mit Zitat aus Chytraeus und Thuanus.
- e) und Hauptmann zu Cörlin E.
- f) Dubschlaff ist A. 1547 gestorben und hat auch etliche Töchter hinterlassen E., Regina moritur virgo, Anna mar. Achatius Sagerus et tertia. Martin hat zur Ehe gehabt Anna Belowen, Adrians auf Gatze Tochter E.D. filii Jacobus moritur. Adrianus, Reinholdus.

[E.], *Die andern Pribschlaff* Kleisten drei *Sonß*, Hennigk, Peter und Pribschlaff sein *ohne Leibeß Erben* mit Todte abgangen, und ihre Lehen und Erbgüter auff Dubschlaffen und seines Brudern Sohn Thomas Kleisten vererbet."

¹⁸⁰ Thus: 1552.

Dubbeschlaß Kleist.

r.¹⁸¹ [E.D.]Deß alten und ersten „Hennigs zu Muttrin dritter Sohn *Dubschlaß* Kleist, welcher auf Wendische Sprache ist *Bratta*^{a)} genennet worden, hat zu Damen gewonet", ist junger gewesen O.E. alß sein Bruder Pribschlaß, welcher zu Muttrin gepleiben, dann „[O.E.]Dubschlaß, Jacob und David O. Damen, Pisperow, Pribschlaß, Voltze und Schir Muttrin behalten," „[O.]welcheß bezeugen die unterschiedliche Lehenbrieffe, als Anno 1474 Pribschlaß die Muttrinschen, und Anno 1477 Bißperow die Muttrinschen, und Dubschlaß die Damenschen Gütere zu Lehn entfangen", und stehet in Pribschlaßs Lehenbrieffe austrucklich, das er die gesamte Hant an seines Brudern Dubschlaß Damenschen Gütern gesucht hat, und dieselben ihme und seinem Bruder Bisperowen verliehen. Weil auch Pribschlaß anno 1474 sein Lehn gesucht, und ihme mit den Worten vor sich und in Namen seiner Brüder Bisperoweß, Dubschlaßes und Jacobß vermuege deß Lehenbrieffes verliehen, und hernacher anno 1477 Bisperow und Dubschlaß ihre Muttrinsche und Damensche Lehen entfangen, will folgen, das Pribschlaß auch elter gewesen, denn Bisperow, oder das Bisperow die Zeit außlendisch oder kranck gewesen, und in der Person nebst Dubschlaß und den andern zu anderer Zeit, wie in principum aulis gebreuchlich, zu erscheinen ist verwiesen worden, und das folgentß anno 1477 die Belenunge geschen. Gemelter Dubschlaß zu Damen hat mit *eineß Podewilßs Tochter* von Podewilß „[E.D.]5 *Söhne gehabt*^{b)}, benantlich: *Dreweß, Curdt, Bißperow, Peter und Pribschlaß*. Er hat die Helffte an Bublitz gehabt [als] am Schloße, Stadt und dazu belegen Dörffern, welche Helffte Ludwigg Graff von Eberstein, elegirter Bischoff zu Camin anno 1479 vor achtelalhundert Reinsche Gulden von ihme gekauft und wiedrumb anß Stifft gebracht." „[E.]Darnach aber ist daß gantze Amt Bublitz nochmaln verkauffet und in vieler Hende E. gekommen."

a) Brata O., Bratt E.D.

b) Er soll drei Frauen gehabt haben, davon die eine (wie oben), und eine eines Glasenappen vom Hause Grammentz Tochter gewesen sein soll, und ist Bisperow von der letzten geboren E.; er hatte zur ersten Ehe die Podewils, zur andern die Glasenapp D.

s.¹⁸² [E.D.], „Der erste Sohn [Dubschlaß], *Dreweß von Damen*, fürstl. Pomm. Rath, wird A. 1488 in einem Stralsundischen Privilegio¹⁸³ als ein Zeuge mit aufgeführt", „[D.]*er hat in der ersten Ehe mit eines Mönnichowen Bucoviensis Tochter den Sohn*" „[E.D.]*Matthias* [auf Damen]“, „[E.]*welcher von den Pauren zu Drenow erschlagen*", „*und in der andern Ehe mit eineß von der Osten*

¹⁸¹ Dubislaw M 13 = III. 2 branch Damen (2007)

¹⁸² Andreas (Drewe) M 23 = III. 7 (2007)

¹⁸³ See U. 201

Tochter, quae mortuo filio Dubislao nupsit Dionysio a Wedelen, einen Sohn Dubschlaffen, so zu Damen auch umbß Leben gekommen, gezeuget. Alß auch „[E.D.]Matthiae Sohn Tonnieß, von eines Woperschnowen Tochter geboren, zu Damen ersoffen“, „[O.]so sein Dreweß Kleisten Lehengüter an seine Brüder [an deren Kinder O.] gefallen“. Matthiae filiae Anna mar. N. Leicovius [v. Leckow O.], Sophia, mar. Joachimus Kleistius Damensis.

Daß R. in diesem Abschnitt etwas, zunächst Drewes mit dem Namen des Vaters und einer Frau, ausgelassen hat, zeigt seine Erwähnung am Ende und in r., so wie der Anfang von t. u. v. Ich habe aus B.E.D. ergänzt, bezweifle aber, daß es so in der ersten Urschrift gelautet. Einmal muß v. d. Osten in V. einen andern Anfang gefunden haben, da er in beiden Bearbeitungen den Drewes als von den Drenowschen Bauern erschlagen angibt, (den Matthias nach B. als von seinen Bauern erschlagen); eben so Elzow, indem er des Drewes „Frau“ als unbekannt bezeichnet, den „zu Damen ums Leben gekommenen Dubschlaff“ als des Matthias ältern Sohn hat; so hat diesen auch O. zunächst nach Thilo, aber auch den andern nach B. und D., der nach D. ohne Erben verstarb. Zieht man zweitens die U. hinzu, so ergibt sich (was hier nicht auszuführen ist): Drewes starb 1488, hatte die Söhne Bartes, der 1493 erscheint, Matthias † nach 1506, Dubschlaff zu Boldekow, der 1524 als „de aller oldeste“ bezeichnet wird; Matthias Sohn war Tonnies † c. 153., Bartes Sohn Dubschlaff, de junge, 1526/7 von Joachim Kl. erschlagen. Nur dieses Mutter kann die sein, die nach Dubschlaffs Tode als Witwe heirathete, dann war sie nicht des 38 J. zuvor gestorbenen Drewes sondern des Bartes Frau, und wahrscheinlich seine zweite. Es scheint nach alle dem, daß die Urschrift das richtige aber zum Teil unleserlich geworden hatte, die Redaktoren sich auf verschiedene Weise halfen.

t.¹⁸⁴ „[E.D.] Curdt Kleist, Bratten ander Sohn ^{a)} hat ^{b)} eineß Woperschnowen Tochter von Standemin zur Ehe gehabt, und 4 Söne nachgelaßen, nemlich Dreweß, Paul, Jurgen und Lorentzen ^{c)}.

1. Dreweß Kleist hat zu Voldekow gewonet, und mit seiner Haußfrawen, eines Podewilsen Tochter, zween Söhne gehabt, nemlich Jurgen undt Curdt zu Voldekow ^{d)}.

2. Paul Kleist ^{a)}, Curdtß ander Sohn, hatte von ^{e)} eineß Bornen ^{f)} Tochter drei Söne, benantlich Ventze zu Kowalke ^{g)}, Tonnies ^{h)}, Hertzogs Barnimi" Hoffdiener und „Stallmeister ⁱ⁾ und Jurgen ^{k)}.

3. Jurgen, Curtß dritter Sohn ^{a)}, hat von Reimer von Wolden zur Schnakenburgk Tochter einen Sohn Lorentz Kleist zu Damen geseßen nachgelaßen.

4. Lorentz Kleist ^{l)}, Curteß vierter Sohn, ist Hertzogk Georgen Secretarius undt darnach ^{m)} Hauptman ⁿ⁾ zu Camp geworden ^{o)}.

a) auf Damen E.D.

b) zur ersten Ehe eine von Manteuffel, zum andern D.

c) und mit derselben auch zwo Töchter gezeuget, davon (E.D.) die eine an Dinnies Belowen auf Pennekow und (F.) die andre Anna an Nicolaus Zitzewitzen auf Budow verheirathet worden (E.D.).

d) dessen Frau Emerentia von Zastroen (D.) tres sorores.

e) Anna D.

f) vom Hause Grasse, Antonii (E.D.) auf Grasse und Zamzow und Freuen Ilse von Jatzkow vom Hanse Schwartow (O.E.).

g) ux. Abela Putkamera Glovitzensis, filia Elisabetha.

h) auf Cowalck E.D.

i) Hat A. 1600 Johann Friedrichs Leichbegängniß mit beygewohnt (E.D.)

k) auf Kowalk, Frau Ilse von Schmelingen, Heinrichs von Schmelingen auf Todenhagen und Frau Dorothea Zastrowen (E.D.) aus Dargerese (E.) Tochter, mit welcher unter andern eine Tochter Felicia, an Claus von Schmelingen auf Streitz verheyrathet E.D.

l) auf Damen E.D.B.

m) A. 1553 E. 1573 D. [l. 1535. 1537] fürstlicher Rath und (F.D.).

n) Usedom E.D.

o) Er war o. Z. unvermählt, die Frau (eine Wopersnow v. Standemin) und Söhne (Paul und Georg), welche ihm B. gibt, sind denn seine Mutter und überlebenden Brüder. Er fand wohl „Erben und ihre Mutter“, deutete falsch.O.E.D.

¹⁸⁴ Curt M 24 = III. 8 Damen - Voldekower side-branch (2007)

u.¹⁸⁵ „[O.E.D.]Bißperow, Bratten oder Dubschlaffs dritter Sohn ^{a)} hat [zwo Frauen gehabt,] mit seiner ersten Frawen, Eggert Manteuffeln von Polzin Tochter", „[O.E.]drei Söhne Hennigk, Dubschlaff und Jurgen ^{b)}, [und mit der andern", Sophia, Ventz v. Wolden ^{c)} Tochter, auch 3 Söhne, Joachim, Hans ^{d)} und Jurgen ^{e)}] nachgelaßen.

1. „[O.V.E.] Hennigk ist ein Presbyter zu Belgard gewesen, und hatte einen Sohn Hanß Kleist, welcher zu Drenow gewonet ^{f)}".

2. „[E.D.] Dubschlaff ist in der Persante ersoffen.

3. Jochim zu Damen ^{g)} „[E.] hatte drei Sonß, benantlich Matthias, Ventze und Bisperow"; „Matthias ^{a)} hat [Sophia, Curdt und Valentin Manteuffeln zu Broitze Schwester ^{h)} zur Ehe genommen ⁱ⁾; Bisperow wahr Hertzogk Barnimi Hoffdiener starb in Dennemark ^{k)}; Ventze ist auch ohne Erben mit Tode abgangen.

4. Jurgen zu Damen ^{l)} hat 3 Sonß, Jochim Richart und Carsten ^{a)}".

a) auf Damen E.D.

b) et filiam Dorotheam, mar. Henningus Belovius Gatzensis.

c) Sophia v. Wedel D., Schreibfehler, Czeffe von dem Wolde (U. 377).

d) moritur puer.

e) Daß R. das aus B. ergänzte ausgelassen, erhellt aus dem Fehlen der zweiten Frau und der nachherigen Aufführung ihrer Söhne unter 3 und 4. (Jurgen von der ersten ist ursprünglicher Schreibfehler für Pribslaff, welcher laut U. Bruder von 1. 3. 4 und, weil vor 1527 verheirathet, erster Ehe war.) Elzow hat es schon so gefunden, da er die zweite Frau nicht nennt.

Als ihre Tochter hat O. Gertrud, Frau des Matheus v. Wolde <115> a. Wusterbart; eben so in U.

g) und ohne Erben gestorben O.D. und eine Tochter Ursula so an Jochim von Hechthusen auf Navin verheirathet. O. aus V. g. Frau Sophie Kleisten D. filia Mathei (siehe s.).

h) Christoffs und Anna Mellins vom Hause Batzewitz Tochter E.D.

i) Kinder Dubislaus ux. Ilsa Brünnovia (filii Matthias et Georgius-Eridericus). Vincentius †, Maria mar. 1. Petrus a Wolde Wusterbard; 2. Marcus Putkamerus Puberov: Über Dub. und Matth. Elzow ausführlich.

k) kinderlos B.

l) Frau Dorothea Parsoen D.

v. [E.D.]Peter Kleist zue Dahmen, Bratten vierter Sohn hatt *Eulgard* ^{a)} von Wolde ^{b)} gefreyett, undt drey Söhne gehabt, *Andreas, Pribschlaff und Jacob* ^{c)}. *Andreas* ^{d)}, Petri erster Sohn, hatt *Cecilia von Wedeln*, Martin Wedeln Compters zue Wildenbruch Schwester ^{e)}geheurathet, undt mit ihr zween ^{f)} Söhne gezeuget, *Valentin* zue Muttrin, welcher Peter *Kleisten zue Zattkow* Tochter [Anna] gefreyett ^{g)}, undt Otten zue Kikow v. Drenow", „[E.]fürstl. Hoffbedienten zue Alten Stettin ^{h)}.

a) Oelgard E.D. Uligardis B.

b) filiam Andreae.

c) und 3 Töchter, als Elseba an Peter von Zastrow auf Wustranse, Catharina an Jochim Damitzen auf Möllen und Dorothea an Dinnies Borcken auf Claushagen verheirathet E.D.

d) Dreves auf Damen E.

e) Tochter in E.D. ist falsch, auch nach der Gen. der Wedel, und B. hat sie als filia Ottonis.

f) D. hat noch Peter, † jung.

g) filii Andreas, Petrus, Guilielmus, Otto.

h) Frau und Tochter bei E.D. aus späterem Dokument.

¹⁸⁵ Bispro M 25 = III. 9 Damen - Zarnekower side-branch (2007)

Pribschlaff, Peters ander Sohn zue Damen, hat mit [*Anna*] *Jochim Parsowen* ⁱ⁾ Tochter", „[E.D.] vier Söhne nachgelaßen alß

1 *Teßen* ^{k)}, welcher Herzog Johan Friedrichen Stallmeister am kaißl. Hoffe undt sonst viel Jahre geweßen¹⁸⁶, wie auch [hernach] *Haubtman zue Newen Stettin undt Belgardt* ^{l)}, hatt eines *Wacholdten* ^{m)} Tochter [*Ursula*] zur Ehe genommen ⁿ⁾.

2. Aßmuß Kleist, Haubtman zue Cößlin, hatt *Carsten Heydebreken* ^{o)} Tochter ^{p)} *Lorentz Flemings* nachgelaßne Wittwe" zue Bentze „gefreyett.

3. *Danieln, Herzog* Johan Friedrichen ^{q)} Hoffdiener undt „Raht.

4. *Adrian* Kleist zue Dahmen. Jacob Kleist, Peters dritter Sohn, hatt gewohnet ^{r)} zue Kowalck undt *nicht gefreyett*".

„[E.] *Pribschlaff*, Bratten 5 Sohn, hatt einen *Sohn Jacob* gehabt, welcher *ohne Erben* mit Todte abgangen".

i) auf Parsow E.

k) auf Damen und Cowalck E.D.

l) E. und D. haben hier eine Notiz aus Schütz Preuß. Chronik (s. Biogr.) wohl aus V., da D. Schultz schreibt.

m) a Suet., Joachims auf Dargislaff und Dorotheen Kleist vom Hause Dubberow und Krolow.

n) Tochter Tessenia, Frau des Christoph von Hagen auf Naulin.

o) Parnoviensis.

p) Catharina. Kinder Tessinius †, Christianus, Daniel, Nicolaus, Guilielmus, Barbara mar. Laurentius Kleistius Kroloviensis, Anna mar. Petrus zastrovius.

q) Barnims E.D. [nur dessen Hofdiener]. Er starb 1585 s. Friedeborn (1613) E.

r) Ux. Maria zastrowia Wustransensis; filii Pribislaus ux. Anna Podewelsa, Martinus, Jacobus.

w. „[E.] Bißhero ist die Genealogia des alten Hennings [Kleistes] zue Muttrin undt seiner dreyen Söhne Bisperowe, Pribschlaff und Dubschlaff erzehlet, die andern vier [Söhne als Jacob, Schir, David und Voltze] sein ohne Erben verstorben. Dießer" Bratta oder „[O.E.] Dubschlaff zue [O.E.] Damen hat Jacob undt Davidts Antheil an den Damenscheu Gütern allein an sich genommen, undt seiner Brüder Pribschlaff undt Bisperowen Kinder haben eß Einigkeit beizubehalten dabeybleiben laßen. Alß auch Jürgen Kleist, Jarißlaffen jüngster Sohn vor Belgardt erschlagen, hatt Bratta die Damenschen Güter, welche Jarißlaff gehabt, an sich gebracht [und vor sich eingenommen], fürgebent, daß sie ihm albereits bei Jarislai eltisten Sohns Hermanni Zeiten verpfendet [E.] geweßen, darüber er zue Damen geblieben." „[E.] Ob er sich aber deßhalben mit seinen Brüdern [Bisperowen, Pribschlaffen, Volzen und Schir], welche damahlig noch im Leben geweßen, undt ihren Sitz [und Unterhalt] zue Muttrin undt in den zugehörigen Gütern gehabt, oder mit ihren Kindern vergliechen, ist vermuthlich, man findet aber hievon gantz keine Nachricht."

¹⁸⁶ Thus: he held the office when Duke Johann Friedrich was staying at the Imperial court, and thereafter; "master of the horse and long at the Imperial court" with E.D. is therefore a misunderstanding.

Von den Dubberow und Tichowschen Kleisten.

x.¹⁸⁷ Die Tichowschen Kleiste rechnen per gradus ihre Genealogiam von Hanß Kleisten. Ob dießer Hanß der dreyen Brüder, davon im Anfange gedacht einer geweßen, kan man nicht wißen¹⁸⁸. Sonst ist Teßen zue Dubberow dießes Hanßens Brudersohn geweßen, folget derowegen hieraus, daß dießer Hanß nicht der dreyen Brüder einer geweßen ist sondern deßelben Sohn nebst seinem Bruder, Teßens Vater zue Dubberow. Wie aber Teßens Vater geheißten, weiset die Stammlinea¹⁸⁹. Dießer „[E.D.] Hanß hatt zue Tichow gewohnet undt zween Söhne, Reimer undt Bartes" hinterlassen, dieße haben nach ihres Vaters Absterben ihre Lehn undt gesambte Handt an die Muttrin Damensche undt datzu gehörige Güter empfangen Anno 1477. „Bartes^{a)} hatte mit *eines von Brießen Tochter* zwei Söhne *Jacob* und *Marten*, beide auf Tichow, dieser 1523 (so E.B.) oder drey Söhne *Jacob v. Marten* undt *Andreas* (so R.D.)^{b)}, undt *Reimer*^{c)} mit *eines von Born*^{d)} Tochter 3 Söhne, alß *Bartes, Teßen, Jochim*^{e)}".

y.¹⁹⁰ Waß die Dubberowschen Kleiste anlanget, hatte „[E.D.] zue Dubberow gewohnet Tessen, Hanßen zue Tichow Brudersohn, welcher mit N. Damitzen Tochter von Carvin zwey Söhne nachgelaßen, als *Jürgen* undt *Petern*. Dießer *Jürgen*^{a)} ist Hertzogk *Bogislay Cantzler*, auch *Voigt* [Hauptman R.] zue *Rügenwalde* undt *Bütow* geweßen, hatt *Zanow* mit dem *Zolle* und aller *Herligkeit* inne gehabt, auch daselbst auff dem *Walle*^{b)} vor *Zanow*" nach „*Cößlin* werts gewohnet. Er hatt auch das *Dorff Crolow* mit dem *See* von den *Zitzwitzten* gekauft" „[E.] undt von *Herzog Bogislao* durch seine lange undt trewe Dienste ansehnliche *Lehngüter* verdienet, welche noch jetzo bey dem *Geschlechte* sein^{c)}".

a) auf Tichow A. 1523 E.D.

b) In R. ist dies Korrektur statt der gestrichenen Worte „zwei Söhne Marten undt Reimer Andreas". Die Urschrift von 1576 hatte wohl wie B. Elzow schiebt ein „seine Tochter hat zur Ehe bekommen Voltzen v. Kleisten auf Raddatz", hat es aus z. herüber genommen, denn das Zeitverhältniß und die Verbindung ihres Mannes mit Michel macht sie zur Tochter des jüngern Bartes.

c) auf Tichow E.D.

d) auf Grassöe E.D.

e) E. hat als Reimers Söhne Michel, Jochim, Carsten auf Tichow. Aber so heißen drei von Bartes, des Sohnes Reimers sechs Söhnen. Er hat sie wohl als dieses Bartes Söhne gefunden, da er aber statt dieses fälschlich den ältern Bartes in 1523 setzte, ist er zur Änderung veranlaßt. Von dem Michel bemerkt er: „so A. 1588 Herzog Joh. Friedrich Hofjunker gewesen", aber das gehört nicht ihm, der schon 1524 auftritt, sondern seinem gleichnamigen Neffen, der c. 1611 starb.E.D.

a) auf Zanow und Dubberow E.D.

b) So E.D., Walde R.

c) Das Gut Rusze im Stolpischen hat er A. 1478 ans Geschlecht gebracht E.D. [das ist wohl aus p. herübergenommen, das Jahr ist falsch].

¹⁸⁷ Hans I. 24, Reimer and Bartes I. 26 and 27 = II. 2 and 3 (2007)

¹⁸⁸ See p. 108, note 3. From Bolduan onward Georg counts as father of Hans and Peter, and this Peter as father of Tessen. Deviating, E.: Volz; sons Conrad, Henning, and Prissebur; Conrad's sons Jacob (the father of Tessen) and Hans. The one whom the Lb. (and V.?) makes the ancestor of the Dubberow stem he makes the ancestor of the Dubberow branch, inserting others.

¹⁸⁹ See on this § 16, end.

¹⁹⁰ Tessen I. 25 = II. 1; Georg (Jürgen) and Peter I. 28 and 29 = II. 4 and 5.

„[E.D.] Nachdehme ihme aber Herzog Bogiſlaff das Städtlein Zanow wegen des Zoll ^{d)} Regals undt anderer Herligkeit abgehandelt, hat er daentgegen stattliche Lehngüter bekommen, welche die Dubberow-Tichow undt Crolowischen Kleiste annoch im Besitzhaben. Bey seinen Zeiten hat auch H. Bogislaus Anno 1477 den Kleisten, so im Landt Pommern wahren ^{e)}“ undt künfftig würden geboren werden, „daß Privilegium gegeben [daß alle Kleistes der Zeit lebten oder ins künfftige geboren würden] an alle Lehngüter, so sie im Besitz hettenoder künfftig an daß Geschlecht bringen würden, die gesambte Hand, die sie zuvor allbereits Anno 1374 [1474 D.] allein auff die Güter, so sie im Besitz gehabt, erlanget, ex specialigratia haben sollten ^{f)}“, „[O.E.]welches Privileg hernacher von selbigem H. Bog. 1488 ^{g)} vernewert vermehrt v. confirmirt ist worden ^{h)}“ „[E.D.]Dießer Jürgen Kleist hatt Hanß Stoyentinß [auf Gorne], Landtvoigten zur Stolp Tochter ⁱ⁾ zur Ehe genommen, undt mit ihr ^{k)} einen Sohn Jacob gezeuget, welcher ^{l)} von einem genant Carze Manteuffel“ von Rügken zu¹⁹¹ „erstochen, undt ist derselbe dießerthalben in Beysein aller Kleiste, so die Zeit im Leben wahren, zue Rügenwalde mit dem Rade von unten auff gerichtet worden.

Peter Kleist ^{m)}, Teßens ander Sohn“, „[O.E.] hat mit eines Krümmelß Tochter ⁿ⁾“ „[E.D.] nachgelaßen zween Söhne, Jürgen undt Christoff, welche nach Jacobs Tode, alle Lehngüter, so Jürgen Kleist an sich gebracht hatte, geerbet.

d) E.D. schieben ein: als eines.

e) wohnen E.D.

f) Zu haben solten fehlt in R. Conjunction und Subject, also ist das aus E.D. ergänzte ausgelassen und der Satz, den diese nicht haben, an andre Stelle gebracht. Das Jahr ist 1474 s. r.

g) Das Jahr ist 1486 nach k. und der U.

h) A. 1481 hat er nebst Warner v. d. Schulenburg die Hoff und Landesordnung dermaßen bestellet, daß zu ihrer Zeit Pommern im besten Flor gestanden, und A. 1505 nebst Döring Ramel die Zwistigkeit zwischen Herzog Bugislaffen und der Cron Polen und insonderheit der Stadt Danzig wegen der verlauffenen Bauern und Straßen-Räuber zu Conitz nach Wunsch beygelegt. Schütz in der Preuß. Chron. S. 411. Er ist A. 1518 gestorben E.D. [das Jahr falsch]

i) Anna.

k) zwo Töchter, Elisabeth und Anna, wovon jene an Christoffer Manteuffel auf Kerstin und diese an Jacob Wobesern Silkoviensis fürstl. pommerschen Canzler verheyrahtet worden E.D.

l) in arce Bütoviana.

m) auf Dubberow E.D.

n) Cunegunda vom Hause Muddel E.

¹⁹¹ It was therefore murder by stealth, and in the princely castle; hence the unusually severe punishment.

Jürgen¹⁹² zue Tichow ^{o)} hat mit Mechel Glaßenappen ^{p)} drey Söhne gehabt, Paul, Hennig und Peter, Hennig undt Peter wohnten zue Tichow, Paul aber zue Crolow", haben alle drey Söhne und Töchtern nachgelaßen, „[O.]Paul mit Tönnies Natzemern zue Ristow Tochter ^{q)}, Peter von Massowen zue Bartin ^{r)} undt Hennig mit Hechthaußen ^{s)} zu Grüßow ^{t)}".

„[E.D.] Cristoff¹⁹³ Kleist zue Dubberow ^{u)} hatt zween Söhne nachgelaßen, Christian [Carsten] undt Magnum. Christian zue Crolow hat Gert Rameln zue Wusterwitz Tochter Annam ^{v)} undt Magnus ^{w)} Jacob Mönnichowen, Hofmarschalln, Tochter ^{w)} zur Ehe genommen."

o) Schlaviensi [= in LV. Schlawe].

p) filia Henningi.

q) Dorothea filia Dionysii [Dinnies statt Tönnies] Ristoviensis; Kinder: Friedricus in Krolow, ux. Anna Belovia Selleskensis filia Ambrosii, Sophia, m. Christophorus Böne Besoviensis [diese hat auch E.], Maria m. Paulus Natzmarus in Rützenhagen, Dorothea m. Joannes Natzmarus in Notzkow, Catharina, Benigna m. Sebastianus Recovius Stolpensis.

r) Dorothea filia Nicolai, Kinder: Georgius u. 1. Christina Woytenia Vessinensis o. K., 2. Dorothea Belovia Pennecoviensis filia Antonii (ex qua Petrus), Rüdigerus, Nicolaus ux. Anna Kleistia Ruschzensis, Henningus, Antonius, Paulus, Dorothea m. Antonius Zarte Sassenburgensis, Anna m. Bartholomaeus Stoientinus Gisebitzensis filius Christiani.

s) Magdalena, Kinder Petrus in Tichow, ux. Gertrudis Massowia filia Ewaldi Bartinensis (davon Henningus, Ewaldus, Georgius, Magdalena, Dorothea, Anna-Maria), Catharina m. Lucas Weierus, Essaea m. Thomas Stuckius in Rebbelin. Anna m. Erasmus Podewelsus, Elisabetha m. Gregorius Grumcovius Runoviensis, Elseba m. Joachimus Zitzevitzius Dubschoviensis filius Caspari, Maria.

t) Grüssow hat allein noch O., folglich aus V., wo denn auch das übrige von den 3 Brüdern stand.

u) A. 1540 hat zur Ehe gehabt Dorothea v. Wedel vom Hause Crempitzow E.D., filia Dionysii.

v) mit welcher er gezeuget eine Tochter Christiana, so an Nicolaus Zastrowen auf Cölpin und Wustransee verheyrahtet worden, und einen Sohn Lorenz aus Crolow, dessen Frau Barbara Kleist, Asmus Tochter auf Damen, und Kinder Christian, Anna, Catharina, Barbara, Christina E.D., auch B. ohne die letzte.

w) Sophia.. Kinder Christoph † Dorothea (B.) diese Frau des Haus Zastrow aus Risnow, fürstl. Wollinschen Hauptm., 3 andre Töchter F.

¹⁹² Georg (Jürgen) II. 13

¹⁹³ Christopher II. 14

Von den Vilnow und Raddatzischen Kleisten.

z. Dieße sein von dem dritten Bruder entsproßen, undt hat solches H. Bogislaus der Kleiste Lehn undt gesambten Handtbrieffen, alß „[E.D.] Volze zue Vilnow undt Curdt zue Raddatze ihre Lehn auff die Vilnowischen v. Raddatzischen Güter undt die gesambte Handt auff die Muttrin undt Damenschen Güter A. 1477 empfangen, zur Gedechnuß einverleiben laßen." Wie aber der dritte Bruder geheießen, davon die Vilnow undt Raddatzischen ihren Ursprungk haben, findet man keine mehr Nachrichtunge, alß oben bey den Muttrinschen Kleisten gedacht ist¹⁹⁴. Daß aber dieser beyden [Stammväter^{a)}] Brüder geweßen, Dubschlaff undt Pribschlaff^{b)}, ist guter Beweiß vorhanden, undt große Vermuthunge, das ihr Vater der dreyen Brüder einer geweßen. „[E.D.] Dubschlaff¹⁹⁵ hat zu Vilnow gewohnt, u. zwey Söhne gehabt, Volzen u. Prißebuhr, Volze wieder zwey Söhne, Schir u. Hennig, welche ihr Lehngut Vilnow vor 600 Reinsche Gulden verkaufft, undt ist Schir in des Margraffen^{c)} Hafft zue Falckenburg im Gefängniß, Hennig aber zue Frankfurt an der Oder gestorben.

Pribschlaff¹⁹⁶ hatt seinen Sitz zum Raddatz gehabt undt zwey Söhne hinterlaßen, Pribschlaff [Bisperow D.^{d)}], der ohne Erben verstorben, undt Volzen, welcher mit Roloff Zastrowen Tochter von Wustranse vier Söhne gezeuget, H. Pribslavium Cantorem^{e)} im Thum Capittel zue Cammin^{f)}, Curt, Schir undt Roloff. Alß aber der Schivelbeinsche Krieg mit den Belgardischen wahr, ist Volze auff der Belgardischen Seytte Hauptman geweßen, undt daselbst im Felde erschlagen. Man

a) scil. der Vilnowschen und Raddatzischen. Daß so etwas zu supplieren fordert der Context.

b) D. hat noch einen dritten, den erblosen Jarißlaff.

c) von Brandenburg E.D.

d) So nennen ihn die U., Pribschlaff ist Schreibfehler, da kein Beispiel vorhanden ist, daß vor dem 17. Jahrh. der älteste Sohn dem Vater gleichnamig, D. hat noch als Brüder Jarßlaff, Joachim, Curt.

e) Canonicus E.B., dieser weil er einen andern für den Cantor hält s. o.

f) hat A. 1529 die Verschreibung der Pomm. Landstände an den Churfürsten zu Brandenburg mit unterschrieben E.D.

g) auf Raddatz A. 1523.

h) D.: 4 Söhne Georg, Jochim, Völz, Jobst, außer Völz erblos.

i) auf Raddatz E.D.

k) et filia Gertrudis.

¹⁹⁴ The father of Dubschlaff and Pribschlaff is Volz with the others; with E. unnamed; see note

¹⁹⁵ Dubschlaff I. R 8, Volz I. R 16 = IV. 2, Prissebur I. R 17 (2007)

¹⁹⁶ Pribschlaff I. R 6, Volz I. R 12 = IV. 1 (2007)

sagt damahlig¹⁹⁷ dießes von ihme, als er erstlich im Haupt tödtlich verwundet, daß er den Kopf zusammen binden laßen, undt alsbaldt widerumb zue seinem Haussen geeylet undt Widerstandt gethan, biß er entlich vollig pleiben müßen. Curdt hat" nach seines Vatern Voltzen Todte „vor sich vndt im Nahmen seiner drey Brüder ihre Lehn undt gesambte Handt Anno 1477 empfangen" undt ist dießes derselbe Curt geweßen, dessen oben gedacht ist. „Schir ^e) hat seinen Bruder Roloff erschlagen, darumb ist er von seinem Bruder Pribslavio Cantore gedrungen worden nach Rohm zu lauffen, undt den Papst ümb Absolution zu ersuchen. Wie er dießelbe erlangt undt widerumb ins Landt kam, hatt er eines Glaßenappen Tochter zur Ehe genommen undt mit ihr einen Sohn ^h) gezeuget, Volze zum Raddatze, welcher Bartes Kleisten Tochter zue Tichow gefreyett, undt mit ihr drey Söhne gehabt, Alexandern, Asmus ⁱ) undt Jürgen ^k). Alexander zue Raddatze hat drey Frawen gehabt. Die erste ist eine [von der] Goltzen, die andre" Marx „von Wolden von der Schnakenburg, die dritte eines Eyckstedten Tochter geweßen ^l). Jürgen ist im Kriege in Dennemarck erschossen worden ^m)."

l) S. hierüber §. 16 k.
m) unverheiratet O.

¹⁹⁷ See § 14 End.

18. In the foregoing the family genealogy, as it was recorded down to 1614, has been reproduced completely. What belongs to the notice of c. 1555, the record of Chancellor Jacob Kl. of 1576, its continuing redactions of 1590 and c. 1607, and Bolduan's additions of 1614, can almost everywhere be decided with certainty. The continuation contained in R. of the Schönow line down to c. 1660 has also been communicated. That Elzow's pedigree-table carries down two lines of the Vietzow people and one of the Dubberow people to his time (1695) was noted above [§ 8, p. 49]. Of his appended fragmenta the 4th, 5th, 8th are correct, though of small extent, and indeed with connection to the pedigree-table; with connection to Bolduan the 3rd; without connection the 6th; more complete is 2 and connects, but leaves out the one forming the second generation; most complete is 1, but in the first generations entirely false; all, however, afford in the individual confirmation.¹⁹⁸ That members of the family strove to carry forward the whole genealogy is shown by the "complete pedigree-table" which existed in 1695, the 3 pedigree-tables which were collated in 1700, and of which the Zeblin one will have arisen at the latest in 1660. Through the collation the *Descriptio* received the form in which we have it; it itself arose not long before, can be the one mentioned by Elzow 1695 [§ 13, p. 54]. It has, as the continuous comparison in § 17 shows, taken up the original for the time after c. 1450 almost completely, and indeed after the redaction which Elzow also used, the Vietzow one [15]. Kratz's assumption that Elzow's pedigree-table itself was copied over is erroneous, since the D. also has from the original what is lacking to it; but it must be conceded that it is borrowed for the final redaction of the D. and some additions are taken from it. Where and by whom the D. was prepared and completed, on that a conjecture can be set up. It certainly arose in the Neustettin district; for two of the collated 3 pedigree-tables were located in the adjoining part of Pomerellen; the owner of the one was from Krummensee close by it, that of the other from Naß Glienke in it; one copy of the D. stems from Dolgen, and it gives improvements and additions to the original in respect of the Raddatzers 1450–1540 and is therein in part confirmed by U. On the other hand it has peculiar additions only with the Vietzow people of c. 1550, 1570, and it lays the Vietzow redaction of the original as basis. Both together point to the Kleists seated at Dallentin—between Raddatz and Dolgen—the Landrat Peter Rüdiger († 1684), grandson of landvogt Wilhelm, who must have brought the Ruschitz original to Vietzow, and his sons.

The family genealogy can thus be regarded as a whole and cited as FG.; only where necessary are the year-numbers of its working-up, 1555, 1576, 1590, 1607, 1700, to be added.

From the successive formation of the FG. it follows that its data are wholly or nearly contemporary and deserve belief. The rich store of documentary data gathered by Kratz indeed gives much <120> detail for the individual persons, also a number of missing, childless family members, but leaves the family-tree after 1430 essentially unchanged, otherwise confirms, also historical. Thus, for example, R. reports Volz of Raddatz fell in the Schivelbein war [i.e. 1469], Schir and Henning of Vilnow sold [c. 1500] Vilnow, died in the March, Schir at Falkenburg in prison; according to contemporary U. Volz died before 1477, Schir and Henning after sale of their hereditary estate dwell in the March, Schir is burgomaster in Falkenburg and is in bad repute for common acts of violence. If we disregard the beginning of the FG. of 1576

¹⁹⁸ For its use it must be noted that E. repeatedly indicates persons as living in 1691, though for a portion an earlier death is demonstrable. I think he received, in 1691, a communication that had been written 10–12 years earlier, and related its "now" to 1691.

concerning the kinship of the Kleists with other families, where from two charter passages not exactly weighed, from the name of the village Kleist and from the equality of the coat of arms, which indeed also according to distinguished researchers in this field, e.g. v. Ledebur, proves kinship, and from what has long been assumed within the family too much is inferred, still already it speaks for its credibility, in the representation of the beginning of the family itself, that it puts what is inferred from existing data only as conjecture, distinguishes it definitely from what is reported, in which indeed the later working-ups have not followed it. Also for the FG. of 1700, which designates itself as the result of diligent work and careful examination, close investigation confirms that. From all this it follows that the FG. in general is to be accepted in all data set forth as certain, where documents or impossibility do not compel rejection.

19. That one cannot dispense with it is shown by Thilo's work. Even before the FG. through Vanselow in 1767 received the last conclusion, "the council- and fief-archivist Joh. Chph. Thilo, † 10 Nov. 1762, worked up the Kleist genealogy from a source hitherto wholly unused, namely the old Pomeranian fief-archive. By seeking to emancipate himself entirely from family tradition, Bolduan, Elzow, etc., and by removing Conrad Kleist of c. 1250 as common ancestor, he formed for the ancestors the following family-tree of those named in the Lb. of 1477:

Prissebuhr (I. 1388)	{ (Prissebuhr II. 1430)	{ Bisprow Muttrin 1477 zc.
		{ Dubsloff Bratta Damen 1477 zc.
	{ (Dubsloff 1430)	{ Pribslaff Muttrin 1477 zc.
Jürgen od. Jacob zu	{ (Jürgen 1430)	{ (Jochim 1477. 1499 †).
Dubb. u. Tychow (1388)	{ (Hans 1430)	{ (Jürgen 1477. 87) {Reimar 1477.
		{ Hans (Muttrin 1477) {Bartus 1477.
Volz Wilnow und Rad-	{ (N. 1420)	{ Volz 1477.
daß (1388)	{ Volz	{ Curt (auch genannt) Schier 1477." (Rr.)

wherein what is in parentheses has neither in U. nor in FG. any trace, and the last two names belong to brothers. For the following time “he excerpted the Lb., but added to those which gave no ascendants of the enfeoffed the same out of those where such were, but NB. according to his interpretation of the same. An example will make his procedure clear; therefore let the excerpt of the GLb. of 1546 (U. 469) stand here after his treatment:

	Sohn des	Enkel des	Urenkel des	Ururenkel des
1. Henning zu Belgard	Henning	Bisprow	Prissebuhr II.	
2. Jacob zu Vizow	Peter	“	“	
3. Pribislauff zu Borntin	Hans	“	“	
4. Drews zu Muttrin	Dubslaff	Prissebuhr II.	Prissebuhr I.	
5. Paul zu Kowalk	“	“	“	
6. Drews 7. Jürgen zu Kow.	Curt	Dubslaff	“	
8. Pribslauff zu Kowalk	Peter	Dubslaff	Prissebuhr I.	
9. Jochim 10. Jürgen z.	Bisprow	“	“	
Damen				
11. Christoff zu Dubberow	Peter	Jürgen II.	Jürgen I.	
12. Jürgen 13. Hans zu Muttrin	Henning	Peter	Jürgen II.	
14. Michel 15. Jochim	Bartes	Hans II.	Hans I.	
16. Drews zu Gr. Tychow				
17. Tönnies 18. Jacob 19. Veit zu Cöslin.	Jochim	Henning	Bisprow	Dubslaff
20. Jacob zu Kowalk	Jürgen	Jürgen	Jürgen	
21. Volz zu Raddatz	Curt	s. o.		
22. Thomas zu Stolp	Jacob	Pribslauff	Dubslaff	Prissebuhr I.”

[The Lb. contains only what is printed in spaced type, expressly gives 6, 7 as brothers of 5 (who was a son of Curt), 12 as brother of 11. In reality: 1 is brother of 9, 10; 4 and 20 are brothers of 8; 13 is son of Henning, the brother of 3; 16 is son of the indicated Bartes the elder, but 14, 15 are sons of Bartes the younger, son of Reimer; Henning the grandfather of 17, 18, 19 is identical with Henning, Bisprow's, under 1]. "But the worst was that Thilo in various places

corrected the Lb. and files which did not wish to agree with his family-tree.”¹⁹⁹ (Kr.) His work is thus unusable, but shows that one cannot dispense with the FG. His great pedigree-table of 584 numbers was in 1859 made a gift to the family by Major Theodor v. Kl. Thilo’s 99 fief-letter extracts Thilo’s widow sold in 1764 for 100 thalers to Colonel Peter Christian v. Kl. at Gr. Tichow.²⁰⁰

20. The chamberlain and Landrat Friedr. Wilh. v. d. Osten at Castle Plate (died 27 Feb. 1786 Kr.) devoted himself with quite particular zeal to the investigation of the history and genealogy of the Pomeranian noble families. His works therein are of considerable extent, ordered by the alphabet, and are kept under the title *Pomeranian Adelsspiegel*²⁰¹ in the fideicommiss library founded by him from Castle Plate, the Kleist genealogy in vol. VII.²⁰² After the short introduction and a (defective) list of estates, in the first working-up follows the pedigree-table after Hering, then the description. Here the basis is the Zebelin *Descriptio* written by a scribe’s hand [§ 10]; in the broad intervals between the individual numbers and in the margin v. d. Osten with his own hand and at various times everywhere added supplements; his sources were Winther’s literary remains with Bolduan’s schema, essays communicated by LR. v. Heydebreck, since 1766 Hering’s work, since 1768 the Vietzow genealogy of c. 1610, since 1769 Thilo’s works received from Colonel P. Ch. v. Kl., ancestry-tables, funeral sermons, and, as the correspondence partly still extant shows, notices sent in by individual family members; the sources are seldom cited, only Thilo almost always; some are recognizable from the different handwriting and ink. In the second work all this is with his own hand uniformly and at one time worked in, excepting slight and few later additions, also by another hand; in substance nothing new is added, the sources (except Thilo) not marked, the three stems separated and each for itself numbered and furnished with a pedigree-table. As was natural, he gave the Thilo fief-letter extracts full credence, and here they became the first basis; but since he also held fast to the FG., he has the same persons often in 2, 3, indeed 4 places without noting the identity. Thereby the composition is unusable; but he has, also out of Thilo, a multitude of individual notices which, where church books and files are present for comparison, for the most part prove true, thereby also supporting the others.

21. “M. Joach. Bernh. Steinbrück, pastor at St. Petri at Stettin, † 14 July 1789, known as author of several small writings bearing on Pomeranian history, occupied himself also with preference with the genealogy of the Pomeranian noble families, in which he mostly took Elzow’s works

¹⁹⁹ An example see Part I, p. 557, note.

²⁰⁰ A copy is in the State Archive Greifswald, Rep. 40 No. 35 gg, fols. 2–13 (2007).

²⁰¹ “The fruits of Osten’s own work became little known, since he always had misgivings about giving them to the public through print. Among his posthumous manuscripts, the ‘*Pomeranian Adelsspiegel*’ bearing the year 1769, which (without the special family history of the von der Osten house) comprises 14 folio volumes, indisputably occupies first place. The families are described individually in alphabetical order, chiefly making use of the works of Albert Elzow. But in each volume there are many pages filled with Osten’s small scholarly hand and with family trees drawn by him. He was able to obtain these supplements to Elzow’s work through direct inquiries to the individual families, although, as he declared more than once, he sometimes did not receive a single answer to many letters.” (Count von Bismarck-Osten at Plathe, c. 1942, published in **Pommersche Lebensbilder**, vol. IV, 1966). (2007)

²⁰² The two versions are in the State Archive Greifswald, Rep. 41 No. 28, Plathe (2007).

as basis, reworked or further carried out. His 'Gen. Kleist. 1787' is located in the library of the Society for Pomeranian History and Antiquities; in the further working-out he has, according to his own statement, used chiefly the family notices of the Cologne lieutenant-general Clemens August v. Kl.²⁰³ His rich genealogical literary estate his son Joh. Joach. Steinbrück, likewise preacher at St. Petri, inherited and devoted to its completion and further working-out an exceedingly great zeal, but not connected with sufficient criticism. Concerning working-up of the Kleist genealogy he entered, 1820 ff., into connection with members of the family, received out of the Gr. Tichow archive Thilo's collectanea and other scripts, which the Society for Pomeranian History has acquired out of his literary estate (Mscr. Ia. 84 in its library), and in 1823 had the family-tree printed in 200 copies with the title: Pedigree-table of the esteemed von Kleist family, submitted to all its members and also others who have chosen genealogy as the object of their research, for examination, correction, and extension. He afterwards completed the family history and rectified the pedigree-table; both are now located in the Pomeranian provincial archive. The printed pedigree-table is, especially for the older times, wholly unusable, since he himself worked too quickly and superficially and gave Thilo's extracts full credence, indeed even multiplied their errors."²⁰⁴ (After Kr.)

22. "When in 1793 the Raddatz stem died out, 26 agnates from the other two stems reported themselves for the succession. Since the branching-off had happened long before the first Lb. of 1477 in a time when one had no documentary notices, one was directed, for determining the closeness of degrees, to the pedigree-tables present within the family. There were submitted at the Cöslin Hofgericht which conducted the inheritance process: a) one by Landschaftsdirektor Carl Caspar v. Kl. at Segenthin, which was only a copy of the last v. d. Osten work [§ 20], thus a wholly new product, which however was concealed; b) the Zarnekow one; c) one made in 1793 by the fief-secretary O. E. Schultz for LR. Otto Bog. v. Kl. at Dubberow. This, now in the possession of Major Rud. v. Kl. at Jeseritz, is made after the fief-files and for the time before 1477 after Bolduan and Elzow, comprises 713 numbers; another copy with only 711, otherwise wholly the same, is located at Ruschitz. A 'Complete genealogical demonstration of the family of those von Kleist in July 1793,' property of the † President of the Higher Tribunal, has only 662 numbers, of which only 610 are numbered, thus seems to have been made somewhat earlier than the others. Since two of the submitted pedigree-tables made members of the Gr. Tichow branch appear as the nearest entitled fief-successors but the Segethin one did not, in 1795 the fief-secretary Kriminalrat Zitelmann was charged with a revision of the 3 tables; he in 1796 submitted a report together with a pedigree-table, drawn from the fief-files and for the time before 1477 from Bolduan and Elzow, on the basis of which on 9 Jan. 1797 the judgment (U. 699) was rendered. Schultz's preparatory works passed over with his other genealogical works to the Royal Library in Berlin. A copy of the same, enlarged by notices out of the known manuscript collection of Ordensrat König, the library-secretary Emil Kunstmann made in 1844 as 'Notices of the Royal Berlin Library for the history of the family von Kleist',²⁰⁵ the manuscript possessed by the late President Exc. affords in substance nothing new. Zitelmann in

²⁰³ Today in the State Archive Greifswald, Rep. 40 No. 35 gg, fols. 2–13 (2007).

²⁰⁴ The manuscript as well as the correspondence with family members is in the State Archive Greifswald, file Rep. 40 No. 35 gg; a copy of the printed pedigree table is in the archive (Archiwum Pan'stwowe) Stettin (2007).

²⁰⁵ Berlin State Library, MS. gen. fol. 269 (2007).

1806 made yet a second Kleist genealogy, of whose whereabouts nothing has become known.”
(After Kr.)

23. There further lie before us some fragments present in the Copenhagen state archive concerning the Danish members of the family, which are put together about 1820 but do not prove wholly reliable; Kratz received them at the same time through Commissioner Wegner at Copenhagen and Baron v. Simolin in Courland, supplements and corrections through Captain (ret.) Lengnich at Copenhagen.²⁰⁶ Further, the pedigree-tables of the Courland line, carried down with great diligence and exemplary care to the newest time at the Courland knights’ house at Mitau, of which one copy arranged by the chamberlain Baron v. Simolin and one copy sent in by herself lie before us, the latter with the title: “Pedigree-table of the Courland indigenous family Barons von Kleist, documentary issued at Mitau in the knights’ house 28 March 1860.” Their usefulness, however, holds only for the time since the immigration of this branch into Courland shortly before the end of the 17th century. They first arose in 1739, when Frdr. Kas. v. Kl. at Susten asserted the right of indigenate.

Besides the pedigree-tables there is still to be mentioned a list lying before us of those v. Kleist who from c. 1700–1860 were Prussian officers (310 numbers), from the files of the War Ministry.²⁰⁷ Of those of the regular troops some are lacking who were discharged early or cashiered, as well as those employed with garrison battalions and the artillery; then all serving in free corps and land battalions. The forenames are often altered, therefore some are difficult, some not at all, to identify. Communicated are only the ranks with the date of entry from ensign upward to resignation or death. In the sheets left behind by Kratz with the personal notes there is for a part still age, home, and other marked with the citation: v. Mülverstedt and: v. Ledebur Mscr., which also not seldom are cited for other persons; comparison teaches that these researchers drew from Berlin archives, also from ancestry-tables which v. d. Osten already used. Meanwhile examination has taught me that these must be subordinate to other proofs; it is evident that the tables of the 16 ancestors, which, e.g., were necessary for admission into the Order of St. John, are often filled from unreliable statements, also by mere conjecture.

From the material lying before him, then, Kratz also, according to the original division of the family, worked out three pedigree-tables, the bare names, however before the Ruschitz manuscript, the Descriptio, and other important things became known to him.

²⁰⁶ Communications of the Danish Privy Archive concerning the von Kleist family in the year 1860 to Kratz, *Aarsberetninger fra det Kongelige Geheimearchiv*, third volume, p. XII (2009).

²⁰⁷ These documents, insofar as they were not lost in the war, are now located in the Secret State Archives in Berlin. The documents relating to the von Kleist family are complete. They can be accessed at: https://archivdatenbank.gsta.spk-berlin.de/midosasearch-gsta/MidosaSEARCH/iv_ha_rep_1/index.htm
Assignment of persons <https://www.v-kleist.com/Zuordnung.htm>

Section III

Origin and Coat of Arms of the House of Kleist

by G. Kratz

Chapter 1

Origin of the House of Kleist according to documentary research

1. In the foregoing it has been set forth²⁰⁸ how it was first Elzow who, at the close of the seventeenth century, inserted the knight Conrad Clest into the family tree of the House of Kleist as the common progenitor; how since then he has been retained in all later genealogical tables; indeed, by being inserted into the genealogies drawn up by officials of the fief chancellery, he even enjoyed a kind of official recognition, although this procedure was justified neither by the contents of the letters of enfeoffment, nor by any other testimony found among the fief records, nor by the older family tradition. It will now be in order, on the basis of the existing charters, to examine what is to be made of this Conrad Clest.

Conradus Clest (Klest, Klist, Clist) appears first²⁰⁹ as a witness in the charter of the year 1248, in which Duke Barnim I of Pomerania conveys to the monastery of Walkenried, situated on the southern edge of the Harz, the manor of Damitzow and the field-mark of Radekow [Urk. 26]; also in the same year for the first time in his dignity as marshal in the deed of foundation of the monastery of Marienfließ, issued at Pyritz [Urk. 25 a.]; furthermore in 1249 in the deed of foundation of the German town of Garz [Urk. 18., to 18 (in the 2nd addendum)], and in the charter in which the duke grants to the citizens of Stettin the site of the castle under Magdeburg law [Urk. 28 a]. In the year 1248 he was not yet a knight, for he is still listed after the milites [Urk. 26], but he is already so in 1249 [Urk. 18., to 18 (in the 2nd addendum)]. Another charter of the year 1249 and two charters of the year 1254 [Urk. 27. 32. 32 a] also make known a brother of Conrad in the knight Bertholdus Clest; and now we encounter the knight and marshal Conrad Clest frequently still down to the year 1284 [Urk. 29. 30. 30a. 25. to 25 (in the 2nd addendum), 30b. 30c. 30d. 32. 32a. 33. 34. 35. 40. 41. 42. 45. 48. 55. 70], whereas Berthold, though still living in 1255 [Urk. 36], had already died in 1269 [Urk. 48]. Probably Conrad was the elder²¹⁰ brother, since in two charters [Urk. 32. 32a.] he is placed before Berthold, although in a third [Urk. 27] Berthold, conversely, stands first.

In the year 1254 Duke Barnim I, in a charter issued at Selow on the Lake Madü [Urk. 32], conveyed to the monastery of Colbatz the village of Lucowe Zedeliz with 60 Hufen, which the monastery had received from the brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest. Whether the brothers had given the estate to the monks as a gift or sold it cannot be seen from the act of conveyance; probably, however, the latter was the case. Without the prince's consent they could not carry out the alienation, for, whether they held the estate as an allod under Slavic law or as a fief under German law, they always had in it only either a *jus hereditarium* or a *dominium utile*, as against the actual *proprietas* of the Slavic territorial lord or the *dominium directum* of the German overlord; and to these two rights of the duke was attached a right of reversion (*Heimfall*), which did not permit the holder a unilateral alienation to the dead hand.²¹¹ Therefore the transfer of the estate to the monastery took place in such a manner that the holders

²⁰⁸ In the section of Kratz's work which has been replaced by the preceding part. For what is necessary see p.

²⁰⁹ The charters of 1240 [Urk. 18] and of 1246 [Urk. 25] are, according to more recent investigations initiated by Klempin, to be placed in the years 1249 and 1252. Cf. the 2nd addendum to the charter-book to 18 and 25.

²¹⁰ ?? Q.

²¹¹ Cf. Fabricius, *Studien zur Geschichte der wendischen Ostseeländer*, booklet 2, p. 58.

resigned the estate to the duke, and he in turn renounced his right of reversion by conveying the possession to the monastery for ever (in perpetuum).²¹² As to where the village of Lucowe Zedeliz—this oldest known possession of the brothers Clest—is to be sought, the confirmations of the Colbatz monastic estates by Bogislav IV and Otto I of 2 February 1296²¹³ and by Wartislav IV of 13 July 1313²¹⁴ give sufficient clarification, in that they list among the possessions of the monastery: *Lucovcedeliz que nunc Kercow dicitur cum sexaginta mansis*. Accordingly there remains scarcely any doubt that the village of Kerkow in the district of Schildberg, situated northeast of Schönfließ between Bahn and Soldin, is meant—at that time presumably still belonging to the district of Pyritz.²¹⁵ Apart from this possession, both the places of issue and the objects of the charters from 1248 to 1259 trace the appearance of the brothers chiefly back to the region of Pyritz [Urk. 25a. 29. 36], Garz [Urk. 26. 18], Stettin [Urk. 28a. 30. 30b. 30c.], Colbatz [Urk. 27. 32a. 33. 34], Fiddichow [Urk. 25. 40], and Stargard [Urk. 30 d]. The content of princely charters at this time is by no means yet to be regarded as unconnected with the persons of the witnesses, as indeed was the case in later times, when the latter consisted once for all of the councillors and the prince's permanent entourage. Now one still chose as charter-witnesses people who either had a positive interest in the alienation or other disposition being carried out, or else such as, by reason of residence in the vicinity, possessed a more exact knowledge of the matters being disposed of. Thus Conrad Clest is also named in 1259²¹⁶ among the arbitrators who are to decide the dispute between the duke and the bishop of Cammin concerning the tithe in the district of Fiddichow [Urk. 40]; and certainly recourse was taken here to men who, by residence in those or neighbouring districts, were precisely acquainted with the circumstances. The village of Leine, southwest of Lake Mordü, from which Clest's fellow-arbitrator Theodoricus de Leyne takes his name, lies quite near the village of Belitz, in whose possession, as a feudal man of the monastery of Colbatz, we shall find below in the year 1269 both Conrad Clest and his brother Berthold [Urk. 48]. It is plausible that Conrad already lived here even now; indeed, perhaps the life-tenure of Belitz, Brode, and the 8 Hufen at Gr. Schönfeld and Sabes was among the equivalents which the brothers received from the monastery for the cession of Lucowe Zedeliz.

A very noteworthy piece of information regarding Conrad Clest's relation to the duke is provided by the charter of 1263 [Urk. 42], in which Barnim I, at the request of the citizenry of Stettin, conveyed to 12 cathedral canons the castle of Stettin demolished in the year 1249—or rather the rampart which marked the site of the former castle (*castrum Stettin sive vallum in quo castrum fuit temporibus antiquis*)—in order to build there a church in honour of the Holy Virgin Mary, the later collegiate church of St Mary. Since the church of St Peter and St Paul was founded in the year 1124 by Bishop Otto of Bamberg before the castle (*ante introitum civitatis in area spatiosa, ante portam urbis*)²¹⁷, and

²¹² Cf. on such appropriations v. Raumer in v. Ledebur's *Allgemeines Archiv für Geschichtskunde des preußischen Staats*, VIII, 313.

²¹³ Colbatz matricula no. 219, 220.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 222.

²¹⁵ Cf. on the southern border of the district of Pyritz: Quandt in the *Baltische Studien*, year XV, fasc. 1, p. 185.

²¹⁶ The charter belongs in 1264. Q.

²¹⁷ Herbord's *Vita Ottonis episcopi Bambergensis*, bk. III, ch. 14, in Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, XIV, p. 810. Ebbo's *Vita Ottonis ep. Bamb.*, bk. III, ch. 15, in Pertz, *ibid.*, p. 871. — Monachus of Prüfening's *Vita Ottonis ep. Bamb.*, bk. III, ch. 7, in Pertz, *ibid.*, p. 900. — With the biographers of St Otto, *civitas*, *urbs* always means a castle; towns in the German sense were unknown to the Slavs. Only endowment with a German town law conferred on the inhabitants of the open castle-settlement the right and duty of fortifying the place.

since the Jacob's church consecrated in 1187 lay outside the castle (*extra castellum Stetin*)²¹⁸, and both churches were still in 1237 designated as lying outside the walls (*extra municionem, extra ipsum opidum*)²¹⁹, the site of the castle is accordingly confined to the north-west corner of the present city—its highest points—embracing roughly the mass of houses between the small Cathedral Street, the Kohlmarkt, the Fuhrstraße, the deep castle moat still visible today in the palace garden, and the green parade-ground which only in more recent times came into being through the filling-in of the city moat.²²⁰ In this castle (*arx ducis*) there was the ducal court with its subsidiary buildings (*curtis or curia ducis, sedes ducis, palatium et curtis ducis cum aedibus propria sedes et masiio ducis in castro*)²²¹, with the dwellings of the castle officials and castle-men; in pagan times also the temple of Triglaff; and sufficient space to take in, during hostile invasions, the inhabitants of the castle-settlement and the surrounding district with their belongings, while in times of peace the castle-men drew the necessary maintenance from nearby farmsteads held as castle-fiefs. But after Barnim I in the year 1243 had endowed Stettin with Magdeburg town law and had authorized the German mercantile and industrial population, in place of the protection previously enjoyed from the castle, to self-defence and to the walling of the town, the castle with its fortifications within the town had to appear to the citizens not only superfluous, but also, as a coercive fortress, threatening to their young freedom; and in the year 1249 they pressed the duke to raze the castle. The duke, who, threatened by the Poles and the margraves of Brandenburg, had need of strong supports and believed he could find them in the newly fortified towns, readily acceded to this demand, and not only granted to the citizenry the desolate castle site under town law, but also stipulated that none of his vassals might build a castle within three miles of the town [Urk. 28a.]. Among the witnesses of this act is also our marshal Conrad, and already with this charter it lies very near at hand to see in him either a castle-man of the castle now demolished, or at least a vassal settled in the immediate environs of the town; for both categories were chiefly concerned in that disposition of the duke. But we come still closer to the matter. The demolition naturally concerned only the fortifications; it did not touch the ducal court situated within them. When, therefore, in 1263 the citizenry transferred the castle site to the 12 cathedral canons, the duke expressly reserved to himself, upon confirmation of the gift, his court (*curia nostra in antedicto castro*), and besides that the former court of the knight Conrad Cleist, which lay in the valley toward the north (*curia quondam Conradi militis dicti Cleist, quae jacet in valle versus aquilonem*). Hereafter it appears beyond doubt that Conrad Cleist was one of the former castle-men of Stettin, whose services, after the demolition of the castle, had become unnecessary here, and who were now employed elsewhere and compensated for the castle-fiefs they had held at the castle of Stettin with other fief-pieces.

<130> As the site of the reserved ducal court I unhesitatingly regard the location of the present palace, which 83 years later still, namely in the year 1346, is designated by Barnim III as “*curia nostra in loco castrense civitatis nostre Stetyn*”.²²² I therefore do not share Hering's view²²³ that two different ducal courts, or even castles, are to be assumed—one on the site of the present Marienkirchplatz, the other on the site of the present palace—inasmuch as he claims for the extent of the castle razed in 1249 only the space of the Marienkirchplatz, and seeks to demonstrate, under the adjoining houses thereof, the reserved ducal curia. By contrast, the court of Conrad Cleist apparently lay not within the castle, but

²¹⁸ Cod. 61.

²¹⁹ Cod. 254.

²²⁰ Baltische Studien, year X, fasc. 1, p. 48, note 1.

²²¹ Herbord, op. cit., bk. II, ch. 23, 25, in Pertz, op. cit., pp. 788, 790. — Ebbo, op. cit., bk. II, ch. 7, 8; bk. III, ch. 16; pp. 848, 872.

²²² v. Eickstedt, Urkundensammlung I, p. 208.

²²³ Baltische Studien X, 1, p. 58.

outside the walls northward in the valley—if indeed “in valle”, and not rather “in vallo”, is to be read. Duke Barnim I, who already in 1250 had ceded the Uckermark (terra Ukeram) to the margrave Johann of Brandenburg, in exchange for the latter’s relinquishment of claims to the land of Wolgast, and had recognized the margraves’ feudal overlordship,²²⁴ lost in the next decade, as a result of repeated unfortunate wars against the margraves, a considerable stretch of territory on the right bank of the Oder as well, north of the Warthe and Netze; this thereafter remained permanently united with the Mark Brandenburg as the “land beyond the Oder (terra trans Oderam)” or “Neumark”. To these districts belonged also the land of Chintz, ceded to Brandenburg about 1260—an area whose centre was the castle of Chintz, today’s Kienitz on the left bank of the Oder northwest of Cüstrin; and which on the left bank comprised the tract between the main arm of the Oder and the so-called old Oder, now greatly dried up, flowing by Gorgast, Gusow, Quappendorf, and Wrietzen; and on the right side of the Oder extended as far as Quartschen, Darmietzel, and Nabern.²²⁵ Perhaps Conrad Cleist, after the razing of the castle at Stettin, became a castle-man in the aforesaid Chintz, then a very important border fortress. That would explain why, from 1261 onward—thus after the cession of the castle and the land of Chintz to Brandenburg—he appears in Brandenburg charters and in the train of the margraves. The charter mentioned above of 1259 [Urk. 40] is namely the last that lets him be recognized in the train of Duke Barnim I; in 1261 we already find him in Märkisch territories, and indeed near Oderberg as a witness of the abbot of the monastery of Mariensee or Parstein, later Chorin [Urk. 41]. There too, during the lifetime of Margrave Johann († 1266), at the latter’s command he still took part in the delimitation of the monastic arable of Mariensee at the village of Liepe, situated westward near Oderberg [Urk. 45]. The castle of Chintz seems, after its cession to Brandenburg—since it no longer corresponded, under the new circumstances, to its former purpose as a border fortress—to have greatly declined in importance. By contrast Oderberg, which already before 1214 had been laid out by Margrave Albrecht II as a Märkisch border fortress in the first instance against Chintz,²²⁶ retained its importance all the more, since opposite it still lay the Pomeranian border fortress Zehden, which only after 1265 passed to Brandenburg.²²⁷ It is therefore very probable that the margraves razed Chintz and transferred the castle garrison there to Oderberg. Thus we meet Conrad Cleist after 1261 in the region of Oderberg.

In the year 1269 Conrad Cleist is once more temporarily in Pomerania, where he still possessed benefices from the monastery of Colbatz—if indeed the village of Sczalin, in which he issues Urk. 48, is correctly to be interpreted as Schellin, southwest of Stargard near the Madü.²²⁸ Here he gives the monastery a revers, acknowledging the reversion to it—upon his death—of the village of Belitz situated southwest of the Madü, and of the village-site at Brode, once granted to him and his already deceased brother Berthold for life; of which former site there is still a reminder in the present Berkenbrode “Paßmühle” or the pass at the Plöne; together with 8 Hufen in the nearby villages Groß _ Schönfeld and

²²⁴ Cod. 452.

²²⁵ Quandt in the *Baltische Studien* XV, 1, p. 181.

²²⁶ v. Raumer, *Die Neumark im J. 1337*, p. 2.

²²⁷ Quandt, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

²²⁸ One might also think of Zellin north of Kienitz and southwest of Bärwalde (cf. Riedel, *C. d. Br. I*, 18, p. 445, for the year 1317), or of Sellin (Selin) northeast of Bärwalde (cf. v. Raumer, *Die Neumark im J. 1337*, p. 80) in the Neumark; yet the presence seems to speak against this assumption of the ducal-Pomeranian or episcopal-Cammin vassal Hinricus comes (de Kerkberg) and of Anselmus de Blankenborch. The former still appears down to 1277 in charters of Barnim I and Bishop Hermann of Cammin at Stettin and Cammin (*Diplomat. eccles. St. Marias Stetin*. — Dreger 440. — Original in the P. P. A.: Pudagl. Urk. — Lisch, *Urk. z. Gesch. d. Geschl. Behr I*, 68. — Schöttgen et Kreysig, *Dipl. et script.* III, 8); the latter, still a castle-man at Pyritz in 1253 (Dreger 238), does indeed appear from 1267 onward in the Brandenburg Uckermark, but he possessed—similarly to Conrad Cleist—a life benefice from the monastery of Colbatz, namely the village of Falkenberg [Urk. 33], situated northeast near Belitz, by the Cleist fief-estate.

Sabes.²²⁹ Since he has no seal of his own (*proprium autentium sigillum non habemus*), Bishop Hermann of Cammin, as diocesan bishop, and Duke Barnim I, as overlord of the Colbatz monastic estates, are to seal the revers and thereby guarantee the restitution. In the year 1273 we find Conrad Clest on the Drage bridge, presumably near Fürstenau or Neuwedel²³⁰ in the district of Arnswalde, present with other Brandenburg vassals, as Duke Mestwin II of Eastern Pomerania enfeoffs Margrave Johann II, Otto IV, and Conrad with his castles and lands of Stolp and Schlawe, in order thereby to obtain their protection against the dukes of Western Pomerania and the princes of Rügen. Whether, as a Brandenburg vassal, he personally took part in the war which Barnim I's son and successor Bogislaw IV—called “Lief unde Sele” on account of his resoluteness—stirred up about 1279 or 1280 in order to shake off the feudal relationship to Brandenburg, may be left undecided; since he had borne knighthood already for 35 years, he must have reached a high age, which does not make his participation likely. Present he was, however, on 13 August 1284 at the peace concluded at Vierraden (? *apud rotas*) as surety for the margraves Otto and Conrad, his feudal lords [Urk. 70]; immediately before him a Conradus de Oderberch is again named. This is the last charter that brings forward the knight Conrad Clest, and he may soon afterwards have died, at about the age of 60. Two questions now first of all press themselves upon us, which require a fuller discussion before we go further, namely:

- 1) Are the brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest, the first bearers of this family name, Wends or Germans? (see below, 2.)
- 2) Are these brothers the forefathers of the House of Kleist, now flourishing? (see below, 4.)

2. In the fourth and fifth chapters of the first part it has been shown how thoroughly Slavic and German nationality became intermingled in Pomerania, and how, finally, old Slavic noble families could be transformed into German ones so completely that, in the younger generations, even the memory of Slavic origin was lost. The tradition of the House of Kleist likewise does not touch, in any way, the question whether the family is a native old-Wendish one or an immigrated German one. In general it cannot be settled otherwise than by a thorough examination of the conditions at the time of the colonization.

From the attempt to draw, with the help of etymology, a conclusion from the family name Clest as to the nationality from which the family derives its origin, we must for two reasons refrain from the outset, since it will hardly yield an adequate result.

Just as often as a German assumed a by-name from a Slavic-named place when he came into

²²⁹ Dreger has wholly misunderstood the content of the charter, and then also has arranged its text in accordance with his once-formed prejudice (see note 1 to Urk. 48). In the Colbatz matricula it stands quite clearly: *ville — Belitz — quam possedimus ad usus nostros diebus vite*; it is understood that the comma missing in the matricula after Colbas has been inserted. It cannot be translated otherwise than: we renounce, for the case of our death (on our day of death, from our day of death onward), the village of Belitz, which we have held for our lifetime with all right, except heritably (only not heritably), from the abbot and convent at Colbatz. The later *possideramus* is bad Latin for *possederimus*. When Dreger thought to improve that sentence by giving the last part as follows: *preter quod hereditatem ab abbats et conventu de Colbas in die obitus nostri renunciavimus*, the original sense was thereby wholly lost. From Dreger's sentence one can indeed, with some forcing, bring out the sense that he finds in it after the heading of his print—namely that Conrad Clest in this charter renounces his further life-right of possession and at the same time has returned the benefices. It remains, however, always enigmatic how Dreger, with his notion of the state of affairs, reconciled himself to the *dies obitus* of the charter.

²³⁰ According to Quandt in the *Baltische Studien*, year 15, fasc. 1, p. 190, against v. Raumer (Neumark, p. 39), who thinks of Dramburg.

possession of such a place or took up his residence there, just as often did the reverse occur, namely that a Slav, for the same reasons, called himself after a German-named locality²³¹. Thus, for example, the sons of the palatine Swenzo, the brothers Petrus of Neuenburg and Laurentius of Rügenwalde (1301, 1310), are, despite their German by-names, unquestionably Slavs; Borante de Borantenhagen (1249), despite the German “Hagen” after which he names himself, descends from the old Slavic princely house of Rügen; the Rügen family of Stangenberg is of Wendish origin and was originally called Slaweke or Slawekevitz²³². Conversely, both the old counts of Schwerin and the Pomeranian family of Schwerin are of German origin despite the Wendish stem “Schwerin”; Hermannus de Carow [Urk. 73] belongs to the German family of Schöning, which immigrated into Pomerania from the Brunswick region; the Rügen family of Rekontin is a German one, which named itself from the oldest possession it had acquired in the Principality of Rügen²³³; and, to cite examples also from a historically later period of a neighboring land, the West Prussian families v. Grabowski, v. Gruszinski, v. Plachecki, v. Osowski, v. Klinski, v. Jescerski, v. Gorski, etc., are German families and were originally called v. Götzendorf, v. Rosenberg, v. Falken, v. Kalkstein, v. Rautenberg, v. Lewald. Precisely from designation by possession, place of residence, or homeland, a great many family names arose. In doing so it is by no means necessary that such family names adopted from a place should always be marked by inserting a “de” or “von” between the baptismal name and the family name; rather, in charters one frequently finds persons who use “de” and “von” as often as they omit them. Thus Heinricus de Listen (1243, 1249) also appears as Hinricus Listen (1247)²³⁴; Johannes de Apeldorn (1242, 1255) as Johannes Apeldorn (1258)²³⁵; Jacobus de Trebetowe (1250, 1262) as Jacobus Trebetowe (1249, 1258)²³⁶; Johannes de Brusevitz (1260, 1268) as Johannes Bruseviz (1255)²³⁷; Rodolfus de Zedelin (1255, 1263) as Rodolfus Zedelin (1260)²³⁸; and so forth. The result of this observation is that, in this early period, the addition of “de” and “von” indeed regularly permits the inference that the lineage is derived from a locality, but by no means does the absence of those particles permit the opposite inference. It is therefore very possible that the family name of the brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest is also based on a locality and that “de” has merely been omitted; we shall also demonstrate further below that there was no lack of such localities which could, in that way, have influenced the formation of the family name Clest. In that case, however, as mentioned above, the Slavic or German root of the place-name would not furnish the slightest point for determining the nationality of the family which found itself moved to adopt it as a family name²³⁹.

Family names, however, arose in other ways as well. Sometimes it was an ethnonym, e.g. During (Thuringus), Beier (Bavarus), Westfal, Holste (Holsatus), Steding, Keding, Friso, Fleming, Saxo, Dene (Danus); sometimes an official designation, e.g. Schulte, Vaget (Vogt), Sluter (closer, claviger), Kack (cook, kitchen-master), Putkamer (under-chamberlain); sometimes a personal by-name, indeed even a nickname, taken from bodily, mental, or other peculiarities, also perhaps from clothing, from the coat of

²³¹ Cf. Riedel, *Die Mark Brandenburg im J. 1250*, II, p. 37.

²³² Klempin and Kratz, *Matrikeln und Verzeichnisse der pommerschen Ritterschaft*, p. 58 ff.

²³³ Klempin and Kratz, *loc. cit.*, p. 16.

²³⁴ Cod. 322, 368; Urk. 18 [“de” missing in Cod. 368; it also appears in Dreger 332, 333. Q.].

²³⁵ Cod. 314, 333 [456, 458, 463, 491 Q.]. Dreger 260, 261. Fabricius, *Rüg. Urk.* II, 69 [“de” missing only here and in Cod. 491 Q.].

²³⁶ Cod. 429, 440. Dreger 265, 313, 346. Fabricius, *op. cit.*, II, 69 [“de” missing here and in Cod. 429 Q.].

²³⁷ Urk. 36. Dreger 264, 326, 334, 332, 333, 341, 336, 349, 359, 355, 363, 426 [Cod. 354: “de” missing only in Urk. 36, Dreger 264 Q.].

²³⁸ Urk. 36, 42. Dreger 287, 329, 325, 338, 341, 349, 335, 355, 358 [346 b, 356, 371, 377: “de” missing only in Dreger 325 Q.].

²³⁹ Cf. Riedel, *Cod. d. Brand.* I, 1, pp. 16, 277.

arms, and from other incalculable accidents, e.g. Schele (Luscus), Witte (Albus), Rode (Rufus), Rodemunt, Munt, Hoveth (i.e. head), Claw (i.e. claw), Crantz, Span, Kule (i.e. club), Mortkule, Lepel, Glasenap (i.e. glass-cup), Ketelhot, Klankspare, Stoltevot (i.e. proud-foot), Barvot (Nudipus), Scovoth (i.e. shoe-foot), Kronesben (i.e. crane's leg), Pawenstert (i.e. peacock's tail), Adebar (i.e. stork), Specht, Berchane (i.e. black grouse), Behr (Ursus), Hahn (Gallus), Voss (Vulpes), Wolf (Lupus), Maler, Pape (Clericus), Mörder, Mortberner, Manduvel, Kabold, etc.—which was inherited from father to son and became a family name. One may well assume that these organically grown family names, as I should like to call them in contrast to the artificial ones taken from localities, were more deeply rooted—chiefly—in national consciousness, and therefore already allow a better inference as to the nationality of the bearer than do the latter; yet even here one will not be able to avoid mistakes. In general the Slavs adopted family names later than the Germans, in part only when they had already completely succumbed to German influence, and thus it could happen that a Slavic family had already become so German that it chose a German family name according to the above points of view. Thus, for example, the Pomeranian noble family of the Witten at Tribsow, despite the German name, is in the highest degree probably of Slavic origin²⁴⁰. But if we set aside such exceptions and maintain as the principal rule that the German as well as the Slav took such predicative family names chiefly from his mother tongue, this again does not advance us a single step with the name Clest, for it can be of German as well as of Slavic origin. Kleest, klist is a German word, still in use about 1600 in Upper Saxony, and means a lance-shaft or lance²⁴¹. One might also think of the old German words glest (gloss) and glisten (to glisten)²⁴². In Low Saxon dialect one uses klistern, and in the Osnabrück dialect klestern, for “pampered,” “picky in eating.” In the same dialect klitz means “the borg,” the credit, likewise a small wooden ball, a boy's toy²⁴³. The insertion of t before the sibilant need not disturb us here; similar insertions are found very frequently: thus earlier we have Putlist for Putlitz, Zirkwist for Zirkwitz, Lenst for Lenz²⁴⁴, Kisterow for Kitzerow²⁴⁵, Letzenow for Leistenow²⁴⁶, Leitzen for Leisten²⁴⁷, Leistnitz or Letzen for Leist²⁴⁸, Getz for Geist²⁴⁹, etc. Of great importance, furthermore, are the various word-derivations from the German root contained in the word kleben (to stick). Klei (English clay, Dutch kley) is the name used in Bremen, Hamburg, and North Frisia for the blue, muddy clay of which marshland consists. To this belong also the Low Saxon klevisk, klefsk: sticky; the Low German klitschig, used of underbaked, tough bread; the Flemish klessen, klissen, kleissen, to stick, to hang fast;

²⁴⁰ Klempin and Kratz, *Matrikeln und Verzeichnisse*, p. 145.—Concerning a third mode of origin of family names through the permanent retention of a patronymic derived from the father's baptismal name (e.g. Wezeli (= filius to be supplied) = son of Wetzel; Berndes (= son to be supplied) = son of Bernd; Nizinc = son of Nizo; Tessitz = son of Tessen), we shall have occasion to speak further below.

²⁴¹ Quandt, ms., and in Cod., p. 1014 to no. 331, after Johann Leonhard Frisch's *Teutsch-lateinisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin 1741.

²⁴² English: glisten; glister, gloss; related to the German glitzern.

²⁴³ *Versuch eines bremisch-niedersächsischen Wörterbuchs*, II, p. 798

²⁴⁴ Lisch, *Meklenburgische Jahrbücher*, XIII, p. 246.

²⁴⁵ Riedel, C. d. Brand. I, 18, p. 114; charter of 1339.

²⁴⁶ Cf. above, p. 91.

²⁴⁷ Lisch, loc. cit., VI, p. 141.

²⁴⁸ Cod., p. 995. Klempin and Kratz, *Matrikeln und Verzeichnisse*, p. 320.

²⁴⁹ Lisch, op. cit., XII, pp. 324–325, where the knight Johannes de Getz in 1304 calls himself Johannes de Geist on his seal.

the Dutch *klesse*, *klisse*, the burdock²⁵⁰; finally the word *Kleister* (Low German *klister*, Old Scandinavian *klestr*, *klistr*, Estonian *kliister*)²⁵¹, which is so well known that it needs no explanation. In a German–Latin glossary of the seventeenth century it is said outright²⁵²: “Kleist and Kleister: glue, flour paste; from Kley, gluey earth, tenacious clay.”

Let us now turn to the Slavic idiom. It is interesting, but it contributes to making the decision of the question—whether in the name *Kleist* we have before us a German or a Slavic word—even more difficult, that here too we can trace things back to the concept “to stick.” Thus there is the Polish *kleić*, to stick, to glue, to make stick; *kleisty*, sticky, pasty, tough; *klayster*, paste; *klaystrowac*, to paste; *kleistość*, stickiness; and correspondingly in Russian: *клеАстой*, resinous; *клеАхх*, sticky; *клеАхстеръ*, paste; *клепхстеромъ*, *клеЙть*, to paste. Other word-forms that may come into consideration here are the Bohemian: *klest*, branch, brushwood/faggots; *klestiti*, to cut; *klestenj*, cutting, breach; *chlista*, a freedman; *kljc*, key, hook; *kljciti*, to lock; further *klest* and *klestna*, cleft, fissure, clamp, tongs—the latter word in Polish and Kashubian: *kleszcze*, in Upper Lusatian Wendish: *kljeschczi*, in Russian: *клещЙ*; finally the Russian *клеАсть*, *клетёвка*, the crossbill²⁵³. The names occurring in Pomeranian and Rügen charters—*Clits*²⁵⁴, *Janik Clistcervitz*²⁵⁵, and *Martinus Cliszaryvicz*, *Clicerviz* or *Klitsarevii*²⁵⁶ (son of *Clistcer*, *Cliszar*, or *Clicer*), *fluvius Klestnitza* and *stagnum Klestno*²⁵⁷; further, the name of the brook *Clestzin* in the Tuchel district near *Czirsk*²⁵⁸, of the brook *Clesnicza* near *Wierschuczín* in the Lauenburg district²⁵⁹, of the lake *Klystevvitz* near the monastery of *Himmelpfort* in the *Uckermark*²⁶⁰, of the “*Burgerseeken*, called *Klesna* in Polish,” near *Driesen*²⁶¹, of the *Iacus Clitzse* between the *Elbe* and the *Havel*²⁶², etc.—undoubtedly have Slavic roots; and since precisely in the names of waters, lakes, and brooks the Slavic syllable <135> *klest* and *klist* appears so frequently²⁶³, I should also like to derive from a Slavic root the name of the *Kleistsee* near the outlying farm *Blankenhagen* between *Wangerin* and *Freienwalde*, which drains by the *Kleist* brook into the *Wodschwineesee*, and near which there is also

²⁵⁰ Versuch eines bremisch-niedersächsischen Wörterbuchs, II, pp. 798, 806, 807.—Dähnert, Plattdeutsches Wörterbuch, p. 235.

²⁵¹ Dähnert, op. cit., p. 236.—v. Parrot, Versuch über Lieven, Lätten, Eesten, booklet 4, Erläut. no. 15.

²⁵² Manuscript in the library of the Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde, p. 440.

²⁵³ Cod., pp. 198, 247, 856.—Mrongovius, Deutsch-Polnisches Handwörterbuch, pp. 319, 320, 473, 688, 683.—Bose, Wendisch-deutsches Wörterbuch, p. 23.—Schmidt, Russisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch, pp. 136, 137, 583, 586, 721.

²⁵⁴ Cod. 83, charter of 1236.

²⁵⁵ Cod. 85, charter of 1207.

²⁵⁶ Cod. 410, charter of 1249.—Dreger 235, charter of 1253.—Fabricius, Rügensch. Urkund., II, p. 129.

²⁵⁷ Cod. 106, charter of 1216.—Just as from *Lestnitz*: *Leist*, so too from *Klestnitza*: *Kleist* could arise.

²⁵⁸ Charter of 1365 in Dreger’s transcript of the 10 small town-privilege books of the Teutonic Order, p. 306.

²⁵⁹ Charter of 1342 in the large border-book of the Teutonic Order A, fol. XXXV (in Dreger’s transcript, p. 187).

²⁶⁰ Riedel, C. de Brand. I, 13, p. 8, charter of 1299.

²⁶¹ Riedel, op. cit., I, 18, p. 364, charter of 1526.

²⁶² Riedel, op. cit., I, 3, p. 81, charter of 1145.

²⁶³ *Kljutsch* is the spring, the source (*Wohlbrück*, Geschichte des Bistums Lebus, p.).

a Kleistberg²⁶⁴. The conjectures about one or another derivation of the family name Kleist leave here a broad, but wholly unfruitful, scope. Only this one point may still be recalled: Kleist does not, as has been asserted with reference to the coat-of-arms device, mean “fox” in any Slavic dialect. The fox is called, in Old Slavic, Serbian, and Slovenian: lis, lisiza; in Polish: lis, liszka, lisica; in Kashubian: les; in Bohemian: lissak; in Serbian: lischka; in Russian: lisiza; in Wendish: leisko, leiska²⁶⁵; everywhere at the very least the characteristic guttural sound that begins the name Kleist is lacking.

Let us look for another criterion for judging Slavic or German origin.

In the fourth chapter of the first part it has been set forth that the system of knighthood and fiefs was brought to the Wends only through the Germans. We might therefore, with some confidence, regard the first knights, squires, and vassals appearing in Pomerania (*milites*, *armigeri*, *servi*, *fideles*, *vasalli*), as well as the bailiffs and Schultheißen (*advocati*, *sculteti*, *praefecti*) as representatives of German administration of justice, as Germans. But given the rapid adoption that knighthood, in particular, found among the native nobility, and given the specifically German interpretation of Wendish conditions from which German notaries and charter-writers could not free themselves (as, for example, they early on made a burchgravius out of the Slavic *kastellan*), the designation *miles*, under which the brothers Clest appear, gives even in the earliest period only an uncertain clue. Even if, for example, one still counts as Germans the first *milites* named in Pomerania—Yeneke *miles dictus de Virchen* (1228)²⁶⁶, Mattheus *miles de Grindiz* (1234)²⁶⁷, Helboldus *miles* (1235)²⁶⁸—yet in the charter of the year 1236, which calls Conradus, Wedgo, Luttardus, Dobezaus, Nezul *milites*²⁶⁹, one would have justified misgivings about declaring the last two witnesses Germans so simply, solely because of the addition *milites*. We must therefore also abandon this attempt to reach the goal.

As the guiding principle for a correct assessment of the question whether an old Pomeranian family is of German or Wendish origin, the following will recommend itself:

The Germans used German baptismal names, the Wends Slavic baptismal names; the biblical and the Roman and Greek saints’ names were in equal use among Germans and Wends as fellow confessors of Christianity.

Today’s custom or bad custom of baptizing the German man Louis, Henri, Ferdinand, Octavio, William, Fedor (I would rather not speak at all of women’s names), for no other reason than because they are such beautiful names, was as foreign to the old Germans and Slavs as the practice of glorifying, in the name of the person baptized, the names of all the godparents, and instead of one name giving him a register of names to accompany him on his path through life. Let one search in Westphalian charters of the 12th or 13th century for Slavic baptismal names, or in old Polish charters—for example, the charter of the year 1136, in which Pope Innocent II determined the diocese of the archbishopric of Gnesen and

²⁶⁴ According to obliging communications from Major Ludwig von Kleist (I. 815 a.) at Halle, these names are not of more recent origin; rather, they were already described 24 years ago by the local peasants as old traditional ones.

²⁶⁵ Burmeister, *Über die Sprache der in Mecklenburg wohnenden Obotriten-Wenden*, p. 36.—Mrongovius, *loc. cit.*, p. 230.—Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 548.—Lisch, *Mecklenburgische Jahrbücher*, VI, p. 69.

²⁶⁶ Cod. 169, Dargun charter.

²⁶⁷ Cod. 216, Colbatz charter.

²⁶⁸ Cod. 227, 228.

²⁶⁹ Cod. 242, Demmin charter.

in doing so named more than 300 Polish and Pomerellian landowners²⁷⁰ — for a name of German sound! It will be in vain. Germans and Slavs deemed only one baptismal name necessary, and this the person baptized received after his father, his grandfather, or other close relatives. To such baptismal names the fame of the lineage attached itself; they were not abandoned without weighty causes, and that is the reason for the observation that in the Middle Ages baptismal names were almost regularly inherited within a family, in that—save for rare exceptions—the children were again and again given the names of their paternal and maternal forebears. In the absence of a family name, this peculiarity even offers a clue for tracing the generations further back, and it has been found practical to designate certain older lineages that still have no family name by the constantly recurring baptismal name, thus the Swabian Burchardings, the Franconian Conradings, etc. With extraordinary consistency that principle was carried through by certain families. It is by no means rare that several brothers all bear the same baptismal name, thus in the family von Asseburg 1345: Borchardus dictus Vasolt, Borchardus medius, nec non Borchardus junior fratres dicti de Asseborg famuli, filii quendam Borchardi de Asseburg militis cognominati Lange²⁷¹; the brothers Borchardus longus and Borchardus Lochte de Asseburg; the former's children in turn are: Borchard, canon at Halberstadt, Borchard, Borchard, Borchard and Borchard; those of the latter are called: Borchard, Ludewic, Borchard and Ecbert²⁷². Likewise, in the lineages of the burgraves of Magdeburg and the counts of Lutterberg, several brothers simultaneously bore the name Burchard. In the house of the counts of Schwarzburg and Kefernburg the names Günther and Heinrich were inherited from generation to generation, and identical names among brothers are entirely usual. Thus the sons of Günther VII of Kefernburg are called: Otto, Günther, Günther, Günther, Günther, Günther, Otto and Berthold; the sons of Günther XII of Schwarzburg: Günther, Günther, Günther, Heinrich and Heinrich, and again the latter's sons: Günther, Heinrich, Günther, Gerhard, Günther and Günther²⁷³. The House of Reuss, vogts at Plauen, has consisted for 8 centuries down to the present day solely of Heinrichs, to the exclusion of every other baptismal name, and more than 300 members can be counted, among them 8, 9, indeed 10 brothers of the same name²⁷⁴. If, then, the custom of giving brothers identical names was not so prevalent among the Slavs as among the Germans²⁷⁵, those nonetheless held no less to the propagation of the traditional baptismal names from generation to generation. Thus the Piasts preserved the names Boleslaw, Mieczislaw, Casimir and Wladislaw, the princes of Rügen the names Witzlaw and Jaromar, the dukes of Pomerania the names Wartislaw, Bogislaw, Casimir and Barnim. Now one might well think that now and then one of the vassals and court-servants of the dukes must have been minded to baptize his sons, in the prince's honor, with the prince's name; but in vain will one search among the hundreds of Pomeranian noble lineages of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries for a Wartislaw or Barnim, although the Pomeranian princely house can show 10 Wartislaws and 12 Barnims²⁷⁶. Foreign baptismal names were brought over chiefly by mothers from other lineages, and then, with several sons, alongside the baptismal name of the father and of the paternal grandfather, that of the maternal grandfather would also be used, which latter then often

²⁷⁰ Cod. 13

²⁷¹ New communications from the field of historical-antiquarian research of the Thuringian-Saxon association, vol. III, fasc. 4, p. 28.

²⁷² Bege, History of some of the most famous castles of the families of the Duchy of Brunswick, p. 73.

²⁷³ Hops, Genealogical Atlas, vol. I, p. 170.

²⁷⁴ Hops, loc. cit., vol. I, pp. 178, 180. [All of the Hohenzollern from c. 1200 to 1450 are named Friedrich. Q.]

²⁷⁵ Examples do occur, e.g. Pribislaus de Slavia, dominus terrae Doberen et terrae Belgarth in Cassubia [Urk. 75], had a brother Pribislaus; both were sons of Pribislaus. (Lisch, Mecklenburg Yearbooks XI, pp. 81, 265.)

²⁷⁶ Cf. Wohlbrück in: v. Ledebur, General Archive for Historical Knowledge of the Prussian State, II, p. 38.

became at home in the family. Where so close a fusion took place as among Wends and Germans in Pomerania, the old tribal traditions were naturally abandoned in time, and a mutual exchange took place. The national contrasts, however, came out in that time far more originally and sharply than in our present cosmopolitan age—if one disregards a certain artificially aroused and maintained nationalistic delusion—and precisely for that reason they acted all the more exclusively and repulsively. It therefore cannot be assumed that already at the first impact of two nations—an impact precisely suited to bring each nation's peculiarities more strongly than before to consciousness—there occurred a mutual surrender of their dearest habits and memories. And what could have lain nearer and been dearer to the German as well as to the Wend in that time, when the bonds of family and the bond based on community of blood were of such far-reaching significance²⁷⁷, than the name of the father and of the paternal forebears—especially where a family name was still wholly lacking! Only when family ties had been formed between Germans and Slavs—ties which must have made descent from both nations equally dear and valuable to the offspring of the union—could there be talk of borrowing a baptismal name of foreign nationality, and then perhaps one of the younger-born sons of a German received the name of his maternal Wendish grandfather, or conversely. It will be useful here to append a list of all German baptismal names which, since the beginning of German immigration into Pomerania, appear in charters among laymen, with indication of the year and of the charter in which a person of that name first occurs, namely up to 1249, in which year—alongside Conrad Clest already named in 1248—his brother Berthold likewise appears for the first time²⁷⁸.

Alardus. 1236. (Cod. 241). Adalhard. 8. from athal-hart (Förstemann p. 149, 604). Noble-hard.²⁷⁹

Albernus, Albero. 1241. (Cod. 292). Athalbero. 10. from athal-bera (F. 140, 224). Noble-bear.

Albertus. 1235. (Cod. 226). Adalberaht. 8. from athal-beraht (F. 142, 236). Nobly-renowned.

Anselmus. 1243. (Cod. 332). Anshalm. 8. from ans-helm (F. 108, 654). God's-helm.

Arnoldus. c. 1220. (Cod. 130). Arnoald. 7. from ara-vald (F. 118, 1236). Eagle-ruler.

Baldewinus. 1242. (Cod. 308). Baldavin. 8. from bald-vin (F. 209, 1315). Bold-companion.

Beringerus. 1187. (Cod. 61). Berinher. 8. from bera-hari (F. 232, 614). Bear-host.

Bernhardus. 1249. (Cod. 245). Berinhard. 8. from bera-hard (F. 231, 604). Bear-strong.

Bertholdus, Bartoldus. 1241. (Cod. 294). Berahtold. 7. from berahtvald (F. 252, 1236). Fame-ruler.

Boldericus. 1241. (Cod. 298). Baldarich. 6. from baldric (F. 208, 1037). Bold-realm.

Boldrammus. 1245. (Cod. 347). Paldhram. 8. from bald-hraban (F. 207, 706). Bold-raven.

Bolto. 1242. (Cod. 307). Bald. 4. (F. 204). Bold, brave.

Brunwardas. 1242. (Cod. 307). Brunward. 7. from brun-varð (F. 286, 1263). Armor-warden.

Burchardus. 1243. (Cod. 318). Burghard. 8. from burg-hard (F. 295, 604). Burghard.

Degenhardus. 1243. (Cod. 330). Theganhard. 8. from thegan-hard (F. 1153, 606). Warrior-strong.

Detlevus, Thetlevus. 1242. (Cod. 307). Thiotleip. 9. from thiuda-laif (F. 1181, 825). People's-son.

Egbertus, Ekebertus, Hebertus. 1242. (Cod. 307). Agabert. 7. from ag-beraht (F. 13, 236). Sword-renowned.

²⁷⁷ Walter, *German Legal History*, p. 508.—Röpel, *History of Poland*, pp. 83, 85 ff.

²⁷⁸ In the following alphabetical list only the West Pomeranian charters are taken into account, i.e. those of the actual Duchy of Slavien between the Riekgraben and the Leba.

²⁷⁹ Very many of these names, in my view, are to be interpreted differently; see at the end of this section. Q.

- Egeno. 1243. (Cod. 322). Agino. 8. from agin, Old High German ekka (F. 32). Edge, sword's sharpness.
- Ekkehardus, Eggehardus, Eghiherd. c. 1220. (Cod. 138. Urk. 3). Agihard. 8. from ag-hard (F. 16, 604). Sword-strong.
- Esykus. 1234. (Cod. 219). Ansich. 8. from ans, Old Norse âs, god (F. 102). Divine.
- Fridericus. 1242. (Cod. 306, 313, 314). Frithuric. 5. from frith-ric (F. 428, 1038). Peace-realm.
- Vrowinus. 1233. (Cod. 208) from fraw-vin (F. 414). Joy-companion.
- Gheribertus, Gerbertus. 1241. (Cod. 298). Garibert. 7. from gar-beraht (F. 476, 237). Spear-renowned.
- Gherbrandus. 1243. (Cod. 332). Gerbrand. 9. from gar-brand (F. 477, 280). Spear-brand, or also spear-sword.
- Gerhardus, Gherardus. 1235. (Cod. 230). Garehard. 7. from gar-hard (F. 479, 605). Spear-strong.
- Godefridus, Godico, Godika, Godekinus. 1236. (Cod. 241). Godafrid. 7. from god-frith (F. 534, 422). God's-peace.
- Gozwinus. 1189. (Cod. 66). Gaudoin. 8. from gaud-vin (F. 504, 1315). Goth-companion.
- Hartmannus. 1243. (Cod. 330). Hartman. 8. from hard-man (F. 609, 902). Hard-man.
- Harnit, Harnidhus, Harneydus. 1240. (Cod. 288). Hartnid. 9. from hard-nid (F. 610, 956). Hard-strife.
- Heinricus, Henricus. 1173. (Cod. 36. Cf. Balt. Stud. 10.1 p. 144). Haimirich. 8. from haim-ric (F. 591, 1038). Home-realm.
- Helboldus, Hellenboldus, Helmoldus. 1235. (Cod. 228). Helmbald. 9. from helm-bald (F. 655, 203). Helmet-bold.
- Helmbertus. 1243. (Cod. 332). Helmpert. 8. from helm-beraht (F. 655, 237). Helmet-renowned.
- Hermannus. 1173. (Cod. 36²⁸⁰. Cf. Balt. Stud. 10.1 p. 144). Hariman. 7. from hari-man (F. 627, 903). Army-man.
- Conradus. 1236. (Cod. 241). Chunrad. 8. from chun-rad (F. 315, 992). Lineage-counsel, or also Bold-counsel.
- Lambertus. 1243. (Cod. 324). Landoberct. 7. from land-beraht (F. 832, 238). Land-renowned.
- Lenardus. 1234. (Cod. 220). Leonard. 6. from lew-hard (F. 843, 605). Lion-strong.
- Lutherus, Luderus. 1237. (Cod. 354). Liuthari. 6. from liud-hari (F. 870, 615). People's-host.
- Ludolfus, Ludeke, Ludico, Ludica. 1242. (Cod. 308). Liudulf. 6. from liud-vulf (F. 877, 1341). People's-wolf.
- Ludewicus. 1248. (Cod. 389. Urk. 25a.). Liudowicus. 6. from liud-vig (F. 875, 1292). People's-battle.
- Lippoldus, Lupoldus. 1237. (Cod. 252). Liutbald. 7. from liud-bald (F. 861, 203). People's-bold.
- Luttardus. 1236. (Cod. 242). Liudhard. 6. from liud-hard (F. 869, 605). People's-strong.
- Marquardus. 1237. (Cod. 354). Marachward. 8. from marka (or also marah)-wart (F. 915, 1263). Border-warden, perhaps also horse-warden.
- Otto. 1249. (Cod. 419). Audo. 7. from aud, Anglo-Saxon eád, possession/wealth, and the Gothic audags, Anglo-Saxon eádag, Old High German otag, rich (F. 163).
- Ratimarus, Retimarus²⁸¹. 1234. (Cod. 214, 215). Ratmar. 8. from rad-mar (F. 1002, 908).

²⁸⁰ The charter is, however, suspect [? ? Q.].

²⁸¹ Slavic name. Q.

Counsel-renowned. Raven, Raveno. 1235. (Cod. 228). Hraban. 6. (F. 707). Raven.

Reinbernus. 1249. (Cod. 424). Ragenber. 9. from ragan-bera or berin (F. 1013, 224). Counsel-bear, or also god-bear.

Reinboldus, Rimboldus. 1234. (Cod. 219, Urk. 11). Raganbaldi. 8. from ragan-bald (F. 1012, 203). Counsel-bold, or god-bold.

Reineko. 1249. (Cod. 280, Urk. 18). Reinco. 11. from ragan, Gothic ragin, counsel, or Old Norse regin, the gods (F. 1011), also as a diminutive of Reinhardus.

Rothgerus, Rutgerus, Rodengerus. 1243. (Cod. 320). Hrodgar. 7. from hrod-gar (F. 727, 472). Fame-spear.

Rodolphus, Rudolfus. 1242. (Cod. 310, 313). Hrodulf. 5. from hrod-vulf (F. 745, 1341). Fame-wolf. Sifridus. 1228. (Cod. 171). Sigifrid. 7. from sig-frith (F. 1091, 423). Victory-peace.

Tammo, Thammo. 1243. (Cod. 327). Tammo. 10. often a shortening of Thanemar, from thanc-mar, thanks-renowned (F. 1141, 1151, 908).

Theodericus, Thidericus. 1237. (Cod. 252). Theudoricus. 1. from thinda-ric (F. 1188, 1038). People's-realm.

Thimmo, Tymmo. 1242. (Cod. 310). Timo. 8. may, however, also be used as a shortening of the Greek name Timotheus (F. 1202).

Olricus, Ulricus. 1245. (Cod. 346, 333). Odalric. 8. from othal-ric (F. 981, 1038). Fatherland-realm.

Walterus, Woltherus. c. 1187. (Cod. 77). Waldhar. 6. from vald-hari (F. 1244, 616). Ruling-host.

Wedgo, Wedeke, Widekinus, Wedekindus. 1236. (Cod. 242). Widuco. 8. from vid, Old High German wît, wide, or Old High German witu, Anglo-Saxon vudu, wood/forest (F. 1280).

Wernerus. 1242. (Cod. 308). Warinheri. 6. from varin-heri (F. 1269, 616). Defense-host.

Wigandus. 1243. (Cod. 332). Wigand. 8. from vig-and (F. 1293, 84). Battle-judge.

Wilhelmus, Willekinus, Willeke. 1234. (Cod. 219). Willahalm. 8. from vilja-helm (F. 1310, 654). Will-helm.

Besides these German baptismal names, the following indifferent—i.e. biblical and Greek as well as Latin—baptismal names occur among laymen up to the year 1249: Nicolaus (1153), Johannes (1177), also in the shortenings Jaczo (1175), Janic (1176), Jenik (c. 1186), Yeneke (1228), Janich (c. 1230), Jakezo (1233), Jakeze, Jakisz (1235); further: Stephanus (c. 1182), Bartholomeus or Barthos²⁸² (1208), Andreas (1215), Jacobus (1216), Paulus (1219), Laurentius (1219), Petrus (c. 1220), Thomas (1222), Symon (1234), Helysas (1234), Jordanus (1234), Mattheus or Mathias (c. 1234), Cristianus (1240), Michael (1242), Philippus (1248). But one of the German baptismal names listed above must exceptionally be counted among the indifferent ones, namely the name Heinrich. This baptismal name, for unknown reasons²⁸³, comes into use extraordinarily early among the Pomeranian Wends, and even earlier among the neighboring Obodrites; indeed, precisely the first persons appearing in Pomerania with this name—Henricus Plochimeris (1173), Henricus castellanus in Uznam (1182–1218), and Henricus filius Ranni, illustris Luticiorum prosapia ceteris antecellens (c. 1202–1219)—are sufficiently marked as Wends by the Slavic patronymic (Plochimeris = son of Plochimer), by the castellany, and by the attested Lutician origin. All other baptismal names from this time-section up to 1249 are of Slavic origin. The <140> great number of these can fittingly be passed over here, and reference is hereby made

²⁸² Slavic name. Q.

²⁸³ The persons were baptized under Henry the Lion. Q.

to the later compilation of German and Wendish names, as well as to the Hasselbach–Kosegarten Codex Pomeran. diplomat., which devotes particular care to their etymological explanation.

Even a brief glance at the above list shows that the majority of the specifically German names do not become visible before 1240. But to show their rarity even more clearly, there follows here (omitting the Heinrichs) a complete list of all laymen with German names appearing in West Pomeranian charters up to the year 1233.

1173. Hermannus Teutonicus (Cod. 36, 128. Charter of Duke Casimir, issued at Dargun. Both charters are, moreover, not free of suspicion²⁸⁴).

1187–c. 1202. Beringerus laicus in Bambergensi bene natus, fidelis Teutunicus, multo tempore in castro Stetin honeste conversatus, cum beneficio a duce Boguzlao bene ditatus (Cod. 61, 82. Charter of Duke Bogislaw I.).

c. 1187. vir nobilis dompnus Walterus (Cod. 77, 78. Charter of Duke Bogislaw I. for the monastery of Colbatz).

1189. Gozvinus, homo abbatis Colbacensis (Cod. 66. Charter of Bishop Siegfried of Cammin).

c. 1220. Arnoldus de Vico (Cod. 130. Charter of Swantibor, Casimir's son, for the monastery of Colbatz). Echiherd monetarius (Cod. 138. Urk. 3.—Charter of Duchess Anastasia for Stettin).

1228–1232. Sifridus (Cod. 171, 197, 198. Charters of Duke Wartislaw III at Demmin).

1232. Woltherus comes de Goia dilectus amicus noster (Cod. 197, 198. Charters of Duke Wartislaw III at Demmin).

1233. Vrowinus laicus (Cod. 208. Charter of Duke Barnim I, issued at the monastery of Stolp on the Peene).

To these nine persons are added in the year 1234: 4 new laymen with German baptismal names; in 1235 again 4; in 1236: 5, etc. That the two first named were even especially singled out with the addition Teutonicus is no less a guarantee of the then great rarity of such people in the duke's retinue. Moreover, it is doubtful whether among the next-following persons Gozvinus and Echiherd are to be regarded as men of knightly rank. In short, it most conclusively follows that the main swarm of German knights and those of knightly birth first arrived about 1235 and in the next-following years, and that only from those years onward can one speak of an actual immigration of that estate. As the first Conrad of knightly rank in West Pomerania appears Conradus de Sconenwalde 1236²⁸⁵, then in 1237 the seneschal Conradus²⁸⁶, who in 1239 takes the name from Pasewalk²⁸⁷; as the first Berthold: Bertholdus Thuringus 1241²⁸⁸.

How, finally, from time immemorial and far beyond the first two thirds of the 13th century the German and Wendish baptismal names were maintained in constant separation, will become quite clear from the following compilation, in which—taking into account all known West Pomeranian and Rügen charters up to the year 1284 (in which Conrad Clest appears in charters for the last time)—in chronological order all those persons are listed for whom a relationship is expressly stated. To facilitate clarity, the Wendish baptismal names are printed in spaced type, the German baptismal names in bold type, the indifferent ones together with the name Heinrich in ordinary type, and one will easily gain the conviction that here never (with a single exception in the Wendish lineage of Gristow) is a specifically Slavic name brought

²⁸⁴ Groundless. Q.

²⁸⁵ Cod. 241.

²⁸⁶ Cod. 254.

²⁸⁷ Cod. 270.

²⁸⁸ Cod. 294, 296.

into agnatic connection with a specifically German name.

<146> We will now, more specifically, consider some of the more significant Wendish and German lineages of Pomerania and Rügen from this point of view. One might think that precisely the Wendish princely houses, as the most vigorous promoters of German ways—who moreover were variously linked by marriage with German princely and noble lineages—must have found it especially close at hand, closer at least than their Wendish subjects, to adopt German baptismal names along with German institutions and customs; but this is by no means confirmed.

The native Wendish lineage of the dukes of West Pomerania, beginning with the brothers Wartislaw I (1124, 1127) and Ratibor († before 1153), shows in the second generation the names: Bogislaw I, Casimir I, Wartislaw II, Swantepolk; in the third generation: Ratibor, Wartislaw, Bogislaw II, Casimir II, Bartholomaeus, Casimir; in the fourth generation: Barnim I, Bogislaw III, Wartislaw III, Wartislaw, Swantibor; in the fifth generation: Bogislaw IV (1274–1309), Barnim II (1280–1295), Otto I (1280–1345), Casimir (1242–1277); in the sixth generation: Wartislaw IV, Barnim III, Otto, Casimir, Swantibor; in the seventh generation: Bogislaw V, Barnim IV, Wartislaw V, Casimir IV, Bogislaw VII, Swantibor, etc. The German name Otto came into the lineage through Otto I's mother, a daughter of Margrave Otto III of Brandenburg–Stargard.

The dukes of East Pomerania begin with the brothers Sambor I (1178–1207) and Mestwin I (1207–1220); in the second generation: Subislaw, Swantepolk, Swantepolk, Wartislaw, Sambor II, Ratibor; in the third generation: Mestwin II, Wartislaw, Subislaw—and here the line became extinct in 1295 with Mestwin II, without any German baptismal name having been adopted.

The princes of Rügen begin with the brothers Tezlaw (1162–1170) and Jaromar I (1193–1218); in the second generation: Barnuta, Wizlaw I, Pybygnaw, Swantepolk; in the third generation: Jaroslaw, Petrus, Jaromar II, Wizlaw, Burislaw, Nicolaus; in the fourth generation: Wizlaw II, Jaromar; in the fifth generation: Wizlaw III, Jaromar, Sambor, Swantepolk; in the sixth generation: Wizlaw, Jaromar, Jaromar; extinct with Wizlaw III in 1325. No German baptismal name occurs.

The lords of Putbus begin with Stoislav (1193); in the second generation: Isaac, Borante, Pritbor; in the third generation: Borante, Stoislav; in the fourth generation: Pritbor, Nicolaus, Teze; in the fifth generation: Henning, Borante Stoislav; only in the sixth generation does a Woldemar (1354 † 1392) appear alongside the old traditional Wendish names; his mother was a Dane.

The lords of Gristow descend from Barnuta (1193–1236), son of Prince Tezlaw of Rügen; second generation: Dubislaus de Gristow (1249) and Johannes de Gr. (1267–1289); third generation: Henneke or Johannes de Gr. (1275–1314), Reinbernus de Gr. (1275), Bartholomeus de Gr. (1289, 1290), etc. The name Reinbernus came into the family through a relationship with the German lineage de Scalipe; Reimarus de Scalipe, presumably a son of Reinbernus de Scalipe, calls Johannes de Gristow his “patruus” in 1289²⁸⁹.

The lineage of Borcke²⁹⁰ begins with Borco; second generation: Pribislaus (c. 1186); third generation: Borco († c. 1218); fourth generation unknown (probably a Pribislaus); fifth generation: Borco (1251–1287); sixth generation: Johannes (1282), Jacobus (1282–1295), Borco (1287), Nicolaus (1295–1311); in the following generations the following new baptismal names are added: 1306 Borante or Brant, 1338 as first German baptismal name Bernhard or Bernt, 1354 Heinrich, 1355 Friedrich or Vicko and Matthias or Matzke, 1388 Ulrich, 1399 Schire²⁹¹, etc.

²⁸⁹ Fabricius, Documents on the history of the Principality of Rügen, III, no. 328.

²⁹⁰ Cf. below, ch. 3 B I.

²⁹¹ The name appears in older charters as Siro, Siroslauk (Quandt MS).

The lineage of Bulgrin²⁹² begins with Bartholomaeus or Bartus the Black (1286, 1288) and his sons: Andreas de Bulgrin (1286–1317), Paulus filius Bartus or Bartuse-vitz, also de Bilgrin (1286–1335), Bartholomaeus Bartuskevitz (1286–1303), Primislaus Bartuskevitz (1286–1300), and Matthaeus Barteviz or de Bulgrin (1286–1317); third generation: Johannes or Henningus Pauli or Bulgrin (1335, 1338), Bartus Bartcevitze (1338, 1359), Andreas, Paulus, Rubeke²⁹³; fourth generation: Paulus Bartezeitze (1335, 1347), Ulricus Bartsevitze (1335–1336), Friedrich or Vicko Bartezeitze (1335, 1347), etc.

The lineage of Zuhm²⁹⁴ begins with the brothers Sum I or Sumeke and Martinus (1237–1242); second generation unknown; third generation: Sum II of Wittow (1302); fourth generation: Guzlaf Sum (1316, 1347) or Sumoviz, Sum III the Younger (1316, 1326), Tzelmer (Sulimar) Sumovitz (1316), Razlaf Sumovitz (1316), Johannes Sumovitz (1316), and Tideke or Thidericus Sum (1326, 1342), etc.

The lineage of der Lancken²⁹⁵ begins with Zuliz-laue I (1237–1243), son of Gustizlaus Tessimeritz; second generation: Pritbor de Lancka (1285–1316), Tessimer von der Lancken (1316), Grymeslaf v. d. L. (1316), Pribe (1316), Darsit Lanca (1316), Matthias v. d. L. (1316); third generation: Pritbor II (1326), Sulislaw II (1326), Sulislaw III (1335, 1358), Heinrich (1349, 1374), Albrecht (1362), Ertmar (1362); fourth generation: Pritbor III (1356), Nedamir (1346, 1349), Sulislaw IV (1373), Ricquinius (1385, 1386), etc.

The lineage Schlaweke, Schlawekewitz, or von Stangenberg²⁹⁶ begins with Zlavik (1237–1243), son of Pribislaus Tessimeritz; second generation: Slaweke or Slavkovitz (1253, 1280), Guzlaf (1253, 1280), Cosan or Kozen (1253, 1280); third generation: Slaweke III de Schaprode (1302, 1313), Tesmar (1302); fourth generation: Hartwig Slaweke (1320), Slaweke IV the Black, also de Stangenberg (1326), Pribeslaus Slavkovitz (1332), Tezlaus Slawcovitz or Tetze de Stangenberg (1316, 1328), Slaweke V the Little, or Slawekinus Slawcovitz (1323, 1332); fifth generation: Pribbezlaf de Kontze (1332, 1353), Petrus (1353), Slawekinus VI (1360, 1364), Tidericus Slaweke (1344, 1347), etc.

Let us now turn also to some immigrant German lineages.

The counts of Eberstein, originating from Brunswick territory, appear in Pomerania with Count Otto of E. (1267, 1288) and Bernardus de Eversten, canon at Cammin (1278, 1288); then the following baptismal names emerge: 1281 Ludowicus or Ladewich, 1286 Gevehardus, 1303 Hermann and Albrecht, 1434 Wulfgang or Wulf, Johannes, Nicolaus or Clawes, and Wizlaw, etc.

The noble advocates (Edelvögte) of Salzwedel in the Altmark, later counts of Gützkow, came to Pomerania in 1233 with Jaczo I (Johannes) advocatus de Saltwedele (1219 with the archbishop of Magdeburg, 1232 with Duke Otto of Brunswick, 1233 and 1235 in Pomerania, † before 1237) and his brother Conrad (formerly cathedral canons at Magdeburg 1229, 1232), bishop of Cammin (1233–1241, † 1248); second generation: Jaczo or Johannes II (1253, 1257) and Conradus (1253–1284), domini in Gützkow; third generation: Jakezo III and Conrad; fourth generation: Johannes IV, Henning or Johannes V, Nicolaus, Bernhard; fifth generation: Johannes VI; extinct with Johannes IV in 1357, without having adopted a Wendish baptismal name²⁹⁷.

²⁹² Cf. below, ch. 12 a 1 II.

²⁹³ Occurs as Ruleke, i.e. Rudolf. Q.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Klempin and Kratz, *Matriculas and Registers*, p. 42.

²⁹⁵ Cf. Klempin and Kratz, loc. cit., p. 45 ff.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Klempin and Kratz, loc. cit., p. 58 ff.

²⁹⁷ The name Jaczo, a shortening of Johannes (see above p. 139), does indeed at first glance acquire a Slavic appearance through the cz, but only in seeming. Cz is quite commonly used in German words for z, thus “czu” for (Fortsetzung...)

The lineage of Schöning, from Brunswick territory²⁹⁸, appears in Pomerania with Conradus de Schening (1250–1253). In the following generations the following names emerge: 1277 Heinrich, 1277 Conrad, 1277 Johann, 1277 Heinrich, 1278 Gottschalck, 1278 Conrad, 1280 Hermann, 1284 Albrecht, 1304 Heinrich, 1307 Conrad, 1319 Albrecht, etc.

The lineage of Behr, from the Osnabrück region, the Lüneburg region, or from the Harz districts²⁹⁹, appears in Pomerania and Rügen with Hugold (1231), Theoderich (1248, 1279), Lippold (1237–1298), Ulrich (1241–1290), Harnid (1240–1283), Wedege (1240–1270), etc. No Wendish baptismal name occurs.

The lineage of Eickstedt from Thuringia and the Altmark³⁰⁰ appears in Pomerania in 1280 with Bertramms or Beteke (1264, 1284); his brother is Fridericus (1269, 1309); in the following generation: Fridericus II (1286, 1312), Bertram II (1290, 1319), Bertram III (1296, 1320), Johannes, Nicolaus, etc. No Wendish baptismal name occurs.

The lineage of der Osten, originating from the Bremen region and further probably from the Paderborn region, appears in Pomerania with the brothers Olricus (1245, 1255) and Fredericus (1248, 1280) and Hermannus (1249, 1280); then the following baptismal names occur: 1266 Johannes, 1271 Otto, 1273 Heinrich, 1281 Wedego or Wedekindus and Bertoldus or Beteke, 1290 Herbordus, 1291 Arnoldus or Arnt, 1317 Borchart, 1338 Gottschalk, 1350 Dobirgost, etc.

To cite still more examples—especially of lineages whose descent and genealogy are less secure—does not seem expedient, since one would easily be led into the blunder of assuming as proven, and adducing as an example, something that still remains to be proven. The foregoing examples and overviews will, however, suffice to provide a clear survey of the state of the matter. In fairness, doubts should therefore arise as to whether two men with German baptismal names such as Conrad and Berthold Clest, who appear in Pomerania in the year 1249 as knights in full manhood and thus were then at least 21 years old³⁰¹, were already born in the land—so that one would have to presuppose a knightly lineage immigrated to Pomerania at the latest before 1228—whereas, on the other hand, even granting the possibility of that case, an even lesser probability would attach to the assumption that a Wendish

²⁹⁷(...Fortsetzung)

“zu”, “czwene” for “zwene”, “herczoge” for “Herzoge”, etc. [Urk. 96, 97, 98, etc.]. The shortening Jaczo arose from Johannes, just as Vicko from Friedrich, Beteke from Bertram, Heino from Heinrich, Cuno from Conrad, etc. The view of Wohlbrück and Baron v. Ledebur (*History of the Altmark*, pp. 71 ff., 218 ff., 236 ff.), who assume noble advocates of Salzwedel from a German and from a Wendish house, and derive the latter from Jaczo, the sister’s son of the last Wendish king Pribislaw of Brandenburg, cannot be shared. The noble brothers Friedrich (1145) and Volrad of Salzwedel (1145, 1152), further the noble Conrad of Salzwedel (1160), likewise Fredericus advocatus de Saltwedele (1184–1215), who in 1207 had several sons, and the above-mentioned brothers Jaczo and Conrad, belong to one and the same lineage. Yet I concede that Jaczo of Salzwedel may, through his mother, have been a grandson of that above-mentioned Wend Jaczo who stayed in Pomerania in 1178 (Cod. 26). [The charter is to be dated to 1177. Q.]

²⁹⁸ Cf. v. Schöning, *Historical notices concerning the lineage von Schöning*, Part I, p. 1 ff.

²⁹⁹ Cf. Lisch, *Documents and researches on the history of the lineage Behr*, Part I and II.—v. Ledebur, *Archive for German Noble History*, I, p. 76 ff.

³⁰⁰ Reference cannot be made here to: v. Eickstedt, *Family book of the dynastic lineage von Eickstedt*, Ratibor 1860. Apart from the wholly unjustified derivation of the ministerial lineage from the noble lineage von Eickstedt, and the surprising identification of the name Dubislaw with “Eickstedt”, various persons from foreign lineages, e.g. de Stade, de Cokstede, and de Eilstede, have been drawn into the Eickstedt pedigree, which thereby becomes almost unusable in its older part.

³⁰¹ Cf. Scheidt, *Historical and diplomatic notices of the high and low nobility in Germany*, p. 98. (v. Schlieffen), *Notices concerning some houses of the lineage von Schlieffen*, p. 67.—Rauschnick, *History of the German nobility*, 2nd booklet, p. 41.—v. Strantz, *History of the German nobility*, 2nd edition, Part I, p. 143.

nobleman had married the daughter of an immigrant German knight about 1228, and that from this marriage two sons had again arisen who in 1249 were already knights. To the highest improbability, finally, the assumption would rise that a Wendish father, already about 1228, should have denied his nationality to such a degree that he named both sons with German baptismal names such as Conrad and Berthold.

The brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest are therefore, judging from their German baptismal names, undoubtedly Germans; and since their first appearance falls precisely in the fifth decade of the 13th century, in the time when Barnim I, so hard pressed by the margraves, received the German knights with open arms in order with them to garrison the endangered frontier castles and to set against the Brandenburg conquerors warriors who were better acquainted with the superior arms and warfare of the Germans than were his Wends, one may with good reason count the two brothers Clest among the newly immigrated German knights who came about 1235 to 1250 and in the next-following years.

Although I regard the German descent of the brothers Clest as established with sufficient certainty, I will nevertheless not omit to draw attention to some other circumstances which can contribute to strengthening the result obtained still further.

Conrad Clest held the marshal's office at Barnim I's court [Urk. 25a, 28a, 30a, 30b, 30c, 30d, 32a]. The very word "Marschalk" is in itself a German one, a compound of *mâr*: horse, mare, and *scalk*: servant; it thus essentially means nothing other than "stable-servant." Even if the office of a stable-servant cannot exactly be designated as specifically German—for where would such not exist?—yet the stable-servant with the high rank of a court officer, as the German "marshal" gradually attained it by way of ministerial status and knightly rank, was unknown to foreign peoples, especially to the Slavs. When, therefore, this court office in time gained entry at almost all non-German princely courts, the foreign German name was adopted along with the foreign office, in default of an all-embracing native designation, so that the word "marshal" became at home in most Slavic and Romance languages. In Pomerania and Rügen as well, office and title were unknown until immigrant scions of German ministerial and knightly lineages brought and naturalized both. It lay in the nature of the case that the first Pomeranian marshals were exclusively Germans. In West Pomerania, at Barnim I's court, we meet with marshals at all only since 1239, and indeed the first³⁰² is Johannes de Brelin³⁰³; <150> he is

³⁰² Establishing a reliable sequence of the marshals is not as simple as it may at first glance appear. Usually the office was administered only for a certain time by young vigorous men (cf. Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, *History of the Altmark*, p. 116), who soon handed it over to younger men, yet retained the marshal's title (see Part I, p. 720, note 1). Some brought the marshal's title already from their homeland without holding the office in Pomerania, e.g. Ludolfus marscalcus de Padelborne, 1263 (Dreger 351, 356), just as something similar also occurs with the chamberlains, e.g. with Bavarus camerarius, who brought the chamberlain's title from the Altmark (see further below), and with Ecbertus camerarius de Hildensem, 1260–1269 (Dreger 326, 329, 325, 334, 407; original in the P. P. A.). Further, the marshals—as officials generally—when they used their official title, mostly omitted the family name, so that it is often difficult correctly to distinguish several successive marshals of the same baptismal name. Without Urk. 32a, p. 721, it would for example not have been possible to establish the identity of Marshal Conradus and the knight Conradus Clest, for Conrad is never called Clest when he bears the marshal's title, and conversely never "marshal" when he appears with the family name Clest.

³⁰³ Cod. 270, 310, 321, 324, 325, 327, 332, etc.; in 1243 already quondam marscalcus (Cod. 322), yet long afterwards, down to 1250 (Cod. 439), still simply called marscalcus. (In Cod. 322 the sentence containing quondam marscalcus is of later composition, from c. 1216; Cod. pp. 684, 685, 1013. Q.)

followed by Boldericus 1241³⁰⁴, then Heinricus Listhen 1247³⁰⁵, then our Conradus Clest 1248–1254, Gerbodo 1254 [Urk. 33], Gobelo or Gobelinus 1257–1264³⁰⁶, and finally in 1266 the first Wendish marshal: Pribizlaus [Urk. 43, 44]. At the Demmin court under Wartislaw III the first marshal named is Heinricus de Zaienz from 1258³⁰⁷; in the principality of Rügen Eggehardus from 1253³⁰⁸; in the East Pomeranian duchy none occur at all, although here, after the Polish model, a large number of court officers functioned under the most various titles of office.

That the very existence of a family name in so early a time as 1248 also constitutes no insignificant moment for the German origin of the brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest is here for the present only to be indicated; and I refer in the meantime to the compilation p. 102 ff., on scanning which one will very soon make the observation that, while almost all Germans already bear family names, this is, with very few exceptions, still not the case among the Wends. We shall return to this point later.

3. After the question concerning the German or Wendish origin of the brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest has been disposed of, a new one at once confronts us:

From where did the brothers come to Pomerania, what is the narrower fatherland of this German lineage, where lay its ancestral seats, what route did it take to Pomerania?

Answering this question has its difficulties. The brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest are the first persons who occur in documents at all with the family name Clest, and, without the guidance of a family name, to pursue the origin of an immigrated lineage in distant lands borders on the threshold of the impossible. Nevertheless, we shall attempt at least to approach the solution of the question.

Compatriots stick together, especially abroad. In people who are neighbors at home without necessarily being in close intercourse, the feeling of belonging together, the need for mutual communication and association, awakens with irresistible force when they meet among people of alien custom and language. The emigrant who takes leave of his homeland forever does not forget the place where his cradle stood; he remains in contact with his relatives and former companions who stayed behind; in the feeling of his isolation he willingly fosters the wish of those left behind to follow him, and those who follow find, in the one who emigrated earlier, their first and most knowledgeable support in the newly sought places of settlement. Thus one lineage draws another after it, and family groups from a far-distant homeland, after long wandering, find themselves reunited in surprising fashion under a people of alien language and custom. The new settlements are christened with dear names from the homeland, and after centuries—when new lineages have moved in, the older ones have died out or wandered further—firmly rooted place-names still recall the passage of a lineage long since vanished there.

As has already been reported earlier, it was above all the industrious Cistercian monks who broke the road for Saxon immigration into Pomerania. In particular, from the Cistercian monastery of Camp or Altenkamp, situated near Geldern in the Archbishopric of Cologne, a great number of daughter foundations went forth, which in turn sent many branches onward to the northeast. From Altenkamp,

³⁰⁴ Cod. 298 (to be struck out, since Johannes was marshal up to and including 1243, Cod. pp. 684, 691, 693, 696, 710; this name has dropped out in the matricula transcript Cod. 298, and this is also evident from the fact that between Baldericus and marscalcus it has a D on p. 1088, which is explicable only as having arisen from the abbreviation of a name. Q.)

³⁰⁵ Cod. 368.

³⁰⁶ First in Dreger 287; in 1265 already quondam marscalcus (Dreger 371, 377), yet still called marscalcus in 1289.

³⁰⁷ Fabricius, Documents on the history of the Principality of Rügen, II, 69.

³⁰⁸ Cod. 489.

about 1129 the monastery of Amelungsborn near Holzminden was staffed, then about 1120 to 1127 the monastery of Walkenried on the southern edge of the Harz, northwest of Nordhausen; in 1147 Michaelstein on the northern Harz near Blankenburg; in 1231 Neuenkamp in the Principality of Rügen³⁰⁹. The monastery of Amelungsborn, from which the first bishop of Schwerin, Berno, also sprang³¹⁰, staffed Doberan in Mecklenburg about 1170, and from the latter in turn went forth the monastery of Dobbertin near Goldberg in Mecklenburg, about 1172 the monastery of Dargun near Demmin, and about 1170 to 1173 the monastery of Colbatz³¹¹ in Pomerania. On the other hand, the monastery of Walkenried staffed the monastery of Sichern in the Mansfeld region in 1141; from Sichern the monastery of Lehnin, founded in the year 1180 in the Zauche southeast of Brandenburg, was staffed; from Lehnin in 1258 the former Premonstratensian monastery of Mariensee (later Chorin), founded about 1231 near Oderberg in the Uckermark, was staffed with Cistercians, and likewise the monastery of Gramzow in the Uckermark was established³¹², while at the same time the monastery of Altenkamp in 1232 acquired possessions south of Wredenhagen in Mecklenburg³¹³, the monastery of Amelungsborn likewise possessions in Mecklenburg and in the Priegnitz—namely about 1219 Satow south of Doberan, and in 1233 the estate of Dranse between Wittstock and Mirow—the monastery of Michaelstein in 1233 possessions near Güstrow in Mecklenburg³¹⁴, and finally the monastery of Walkenried—at whose request Margrave Otto of Brandenburg in 1202 granted revenues to the cathedral chapter at Stendal³¹⁵—acquired both properties near Wredenhagen and, in 1236 and 1239, extensive possessions in the Uckermark at Lake Cölpin³¹⁶, and in 1248 properties near Stettin [Urk. 26], always with the authority to attract colonists.

In the foregoing, the military roads stand out along which immigration, broadly speaking, followed: first the German peasants, then—in Pomerania since the fourth and fifth decades of the thirteenth century—the German knightly lineages moved up after them. It took place from Thuringia and from the Harz regions via the Halberstadt and Magdeburg areas, then both via the Zauche and the Havelland and, above all, via the Altmark, the Priegnitz, southern Mecklenburg, and the Uckermark into the region of Stettin, Pyritz, and Stargard; from Westphalia, Brunswick, Bremen, and Holstein via Mecklenburg into the region of Demmin, to the Rügen mainland and the island of Rügen, the island of Usedom, and the bishopric of Cammin, where the two directions crossed. Into Eastern Pomerania, into the region of Schlawe, Rügenwalde, and Stolp, the lineages already settled near Stettin moved onward, while at the same time the native Wendish lineages were pushed back there; beyond the Stolpe, during the colonization, only very few German lineages penetrated³¹⁷. The home law followed the streams of the various tribes. While in the territories of Barnim I., which from 1295 made up the Duchy of Stettin, the

³⁰⁹ Cod. 188.

³¹⁰ Lisch, Meklenburg. Jahrbücher, XI. 12.

³¹¹ ? ? Q.

³¹² Riedel, Die Mark Brandenburg im J. 1250, II. 45.

³¹³ Riedel, C. d. Brand.

³¹⁴ Cod. 211.

³¹⁵ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. I. S. 1.

³¹⁶ Urkundenbuch des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen, H. II. Nr. 209. 225.

³¹⁷ Padberg, Die ländliche Verfassung in der Provinz Pommern, S. 214, nach Klempin. Vgl. auch v. Ledebur in den Märkischen Forschungen III. S. 119. 338. — Riedel, Die Mark Brandenburg im J. 1250, II. S. 44—47. — Archiv des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen, Jahrg. 1851. S. 199. — Klempin und Kratz, Matrikeln und Verzeichnisse der pommerschen Ritterschaft, S. 5—148.

newly established towns were endowed with Magdeburg municipal law³¹⁸, and Brandenburg law became customary as the law of the land, the immigrants coming from the west brought, into the districts on both sides of the Swine that from 1295 formed the Duchy of Wolgast, for their towns Lübeck municipal law, and for the countryside Schwerin land law.

Let us now consider the company in which the brothers Clest appear, namely the co-witnesses with whom, together, they occur in charters. There, among others, our attention is drawn to the knight Fridericus de Ramstede, who appears in Pomerania already from 1242 onward³¹⁹, and who in 1249 is named together with Berthold and Conrad Clest in the charter in which Barnim I. exchanges an estate with the monastery of Colbatz in order to lay out the town of Damm upon it [Urk. 27], likewise together with Conrad Clest and the chamberlain Baurus in the Garz foundation charter [Urk. 18. Cf. on 18 (in the 2nd Supplement)]. A Ramstatt mentioned as early as 1318 (now Ober- and Nieder-Ramstatt) lies southeast near Darmstadt in the Grand Duchy of Hesse³²⁰, and there too the knight Petrus de Ramstatt or Ramestad, with his brother Johannes, occurs in documents from 1255–1265³²¹. Remarkably, precisely in the same region, from 1246–1255, there also appears a knight Conradus Clebiz (Glebize, Klebis, Klebitz) with possessions at Umstadt, east of Darmstadt, as progenitor of the family Clebiz (Klebizz, Klewisch, Klebis, Clebisse, Clebis, Cleebisz, Klebesz, Clybetz, Clebehsen), which died out there in 1573 with Conrad Clebiz³²². But even though (p. 93) attention has been drawn to the close connection of the name “Kleist” with the word “kleben” (“to stick”), and to individual word-forms derived from this concept which—like *klevisk*—approach the name *Klebiz* noticeably, or which—like *klessen*, *klissen*—cast off the *b*-sound as inessential, one will nevertheless not be allowed to lay so great a weight upon these phenomena as to conclude, from kinship of words, also actual kinship of Conrad Clebiz with the brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest. It is equally venturesome to bring the said Ramstatt—alongside which the village Ramstat in Upper Hesse, already named in the 10th century, would further have to be added³²³ — and the knights Petrus and Johannes de Ramstatt into a direct connection with the Pomeranian Fridericus de Ramstede. In general, the region around Darmstadt already lies outside the sphere of Saxony from which the immigration into Pomerania took place; and although it is known that Saxony, for its part, received influx from its hinterlands, especially Swabia, that many a Swabian name was carried over into Saxony, indeed that a Saxon Swabengau, *pagus* (Suevon), between the Saale and the Bode, had come into being³²⁴, still, since this South-German immigration into Saxony took place more than a century earlier than the Saxon immigration into Pomerania, we can hardly think of a direct

³¹⁸ In the year 1234 Prenzlau received Magdeburg municipal law; in 1243 Stettin; in 1249 Garz on the Oder; in 1253 Stargard; in 1254 Greifenhagen; in 1255 Damm; in 1263 Pyritz; in 1268 Gollnow; likewise Pasewalk, Penkun, Pölitz, Neuwar, and Werben used it.

³¹⁹ Cod. 306, 313, 339, 368. The charters Cod. 257, 258, 271, 272 and Dreger 180 are forgeries by Pudagla monks (cf. p. 137, A, 3) and therefore do not come into consideration here.

³²⁰ Wenck, *Hessische Landesgeschichte*, I. U. B., p. 94, no. 144. — Scriba, *Regesten der bis jetzt gedruckten Urkunden zur Landes- und Ortsgeschichte des Großherzogtums Hessen*, I. Abt., p. 77, regesta 833, 837.

³²¹ *Archiv für Hessische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, V. Abhandl. XI, pp. 9–10.

³²² *Archiv für Hessische Geschichte etc.*, V. Abhandl. XVI, pp. 3–4 ff. — Whether a Detlevus (de) Clevetze at Lübeck († before 1335) (Cod. dipl. Lubecensis, II, p. 1069, 549) belongs to the same family or to another may remain undiscussed here. Around 1555, among the vassals settled in the lordship of Storkow in the Mark Brandenburg, there is also a Mattheus Klebissen, citizen at Luckau with 12 Hufen in Creblitz, and somewhat later Hans Klebis at Luckau (v. Eickstedt, *Beiträge zu einem neuen Landbuch der Marken Brandenburg*, pp. 22, 193).

³²³ Scriba, *Regesten*, II. Abt., p. 256, note F; p. 257, note G, 143.

³²⁴ Belongs already to the 6th century; received the name from the early Germanic Suebi east of the Elbe.

attachment of Pomeranian lineages to South-German names. Nor should the name of the above-mentioned knight and chamberlain (Theodericus) Baurus or Bawarus [Urk. 26. 18. 25] create the notion as if this man had perhaps come directly from Bavaria to Pomerania. Let us therefore look about in nearer regions, in old Saxony. Here we have Ramstedt northeast of Wolmirstädt, north of Magdeburg, close to the left bank of the Elbe³²⁵. That this Ramstedt in the Magdeburg region stands in close connection with the Pomeranian knight Fridericus de Ramstede is very probable³²⁶. The chamberlain Theodericus Bawarus or Beier (Baurus camararius), who—as already mentioned above—is named not only in the Garz foundation charter of 1249 [U. 18. Cf. on 18 (in the 2nd Supplement)] but already in 1248 [Urk. 26] and again in 1252 [Urk. 25. Cf. on 25 (in the 2nd Supplement)] together with Conrad Clest, and in two of these charters also together with Johannes de Boizenburch (the presumed founder of the village of Beyersdorf southwest of Pyritz), we meet already in 1235 as Bavarus camerarius at Gardelegen in the Altmark³²⁷, and indeed together with a Gozwinus de Boizcenburch, whose lineage we shall touch upon further below. The chamberlain Theodericus Bawarus continues to appear in Pomerania down to 1264³²⁸. A knight Otto Bawarus is found already in 1236 in Mecklenburg³²⁹ and, in 1244, specifically at Röbel, in charters issued for the monastery of Amelungsborn [Urk. 23. 24]—all the more interesting when we consider that the Pomeranian Bawarus appears together with Conradus Clest, Johannes de Boizenburch, Hinricus de Albrechtshusen and others in a charter in which the monastery of Walkenried, the sister foundation of Amelungsborn, is endowed with gifts by Duke Barnim I. [Urk. 26]. The very name of Hinricus de Albrechtshusen, in Pomerania since 1243³³⁰, in 1249 a co-witness of Conrad Clest together with Johannes de Boizenburch, Godefridus de Insleve, Heinricus de Saltwedele [Urk. 28 a.], and in 1257 again a witness in a charter issued by Barnim I. for the monastery of Walkenried³³¹, likewise seems, via the Altmark, to point further to the region of Amelungsborn, where a villa Albrechtinchusen near Corvey is already named in 822³³². In a similar way, in a charter of 1247, in which the cathedral chapter of Brandenburg confirms to the monastery of Walkenried the tithe of 100 Hufen in the Uckerland given to the monastery by Bishop Rutger of Brandenburg, besides Conradus de Walkenrieth plebanus there appears a Wernherus, Schultheiß of Stettin³³³, who already occurs in Pomerania in 1242 and 1243³³⁴, and here in the Brandenburg charter appears as witness without doubt because of the close relations in which he stood to the brothers of Walkenried. An Arnoldus de Valkenrede, whose villa is already mentioned in Pomerania in 1240³³⁵, I do not venture, on account of his name, to connect with Walkenried with certainty. For the family later writes itself Falkenrede; and likewise the village of Falkenrede, southeast of Nauen in the Havelland, is already written with an F in Emperor Charles IV's Land Book of 1375; indeed, in general V in older charters is mostly used for F, although examples also occur where it stands for W, as, for example, the monastery of Walkenried is

³²⁵ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 5, p. 465.

³²⁶ Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, *Geschichte der Altmark*, pp. 296, 335. — Wohlbrück, *Geschichtl. Nachr. von dem Geschl. v. Alvensleben*, I, p. 98.

³²⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 22, p. 365.

³²⁸ Dreger 363.

³²⁹ Cod. 234.

³³⁰ Cod. 322.

³³¹ Dreger 287.

³³² Erhard, *Regesta histor. Westphaliae*, no. 308.

³³³ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 13, p. 316.

³³⁴ Cod. 308, 320.

³³⁵ Cod. 288.

written several times Valkenrode in an old Klempzen inventory of charters³³⁶. But Thuringia is indicated by Hermann, Count of Gleichen, Bishop of Cammin (1251–1288), whose close kinsman Otto, Count of Eberstein, from a noble family that had its ancestral castle near Amelungsborn and many possessions in Thuringia, succeeded the bishop and appears in Pomerania from 1267 onward³³⁷. From Thuringia further come the brothers Heinrich and Gocemar, Counts of Kirchberg, who from 1255–1277 appear repeatedly in the retinue of Bishop Hermann of Cammin and of Barnim I.³³⁸, the former even a witness of Conrad Clest in his charter issued at Szalin in 1269 [Urk. 48]; further, Heinrich Count of Kevernberg, in 1259 a witness of Barnim I. together with Conrad Clest³³⁹ [Urk. 40], and still in Barnim's following down to 1270³⁴⁰; further, Nicolaus Count of Spiegelberg, 1280–1284 in Pomerania with Bogislaw IV.³⁴¹; finally, Albert lord of Arnstein, nephew of Wartislaw III and provost at Demmin, in 1254³⁴². Moreover, the very name of the brothers Johannes and Bertholdus Thuringus, who from 1240 onward occur very frequently in Pomeranian charters³⁴³, already recalls a Thuringian origin. In the year 1222 a Heinricus Specht appears as witness of Count Ernestus de Velsecke in Thuringia³⁴⁴, and in 1226 at Göttingen; Hermannus Specht 1235–1255 in charters of the Counts of Weichlingen for the monastery of Walkenried; in 1265 Johannes Specht in charters of the Thuringian Counts of Lutterberg³⁴⁵; in 1255 Volcekinus Specht in Pomerania in a charter of Barnim I. for the monastery of Colbatz³⁴⁶. Udalricus, Schultheiß of Tullestedt, is in 1212 witness of Count Lampert of Gleichen³⁴⁷; Theodoricus de Tullestede in 1264 and 1271 witness of Landgrave Albrecht of Thuringia, also in a Walkenried charter³⁴⁸; both presumably bearing the name after the Tullenestedt already named in 874 (now Töttelstädt), northwest of Gotha. In 1271 Hermannus de Dulstede is in Pomerania witness of Otto de Rambin, a son of Henricus de Monte³⁴⁹, whose family—already appearing in 1237 with Theodiricus de Berghe in Pomerania at the monastery of Stolp near Anklam³⁵⁰—is presumably likewise to be traced back to Thuringia and the Brunswick lands. That Theodericus de Berghe is probably identical with that Thidericus de Monte who with his

³³⁶ Bibliothek der Gesellsch. f. Pomm. Gesch. u. Altert., Msc. I a, fol. 53, fol. 289, 291.

³³⁷ Diplom. eccl. S. Mariae Stettin, I, no. 7.

³³⁸ Dreger 273, 274, 272, 376, 392, 314, 415, 429, 422, 424, 433, 434, 440. — Riedel, C. d. Br. II, 1, p. 68. — Cod., p. 780. — Lisch, Urk. d. Geschl. Behr, I, no. 68. — Schöttgen u. Kreysig, Diplomataria et scriptores, III, no. 8.

³³⁹ 1264, see above p. 5. Q.

³⁴⁰ Original in P. P. A. Schr. II, no. 42.

³⁴¹ Hering, Histor. Nachricht., no. 8. — Lisch, Urk. des Geschl. Behr, I, 109. — Original in the Wollin city archive. Pyritzer Matr., fol. 6v. Greifenberger Stadtbuch, p. 201.

³⁴² Dreger 245. — An Albertus de Arnstein is also found in 1235 together with Gozwinus de Boizenburch and the chamberlain Bawarus at Gardelegen in the Altmark (cf. above and Riedel, C. d. Br. I, 22, p. 365). [He is, according to o. Z., Wartislaw's brother-in-law. Q.]

³⁴³ Cod. 288, 294, 296, 302, 310, 307, 333, 335, 346, 355, 384, 399, 400, 425, 426, 419. Dreger 246, 275, etc.

³⁴⁴ Wolf, Politische Geschichte des Eichsfeldes, I, Urk., p. 18.

³⁴⁵ Urkundenbuch des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen, II, pp. 113, 148, 212, 243.

³⁴⁶ Dreger 269.

³⁴⁷ Schöttgen et Kreysig, Diplom. et script., I, 725.

³⁴⁸ Urkundenb. des histor. Vereins für Niedersachsen, II, p. 243. — Schöttgen et Kreysig, loc. cit., II, 446.

³⁴⁹ Matrikel des Stettiner Nonnenklosters. — Original in P. P. A. Schr. XVIII, no. 11.

³⁵⁰ Cod. 253.

brother Segebandus appears from 1222 to 1236 in the following of Duke Otto of Brunswick³⁵¹; there too we meet already in 1217 Bernardus de Berge³⁵², further Gerhardus de Berge 1231–1253 as witness of Count Friedrich of Beichlingen in Walkenried charters³⁵³, Bertholdus de Berge in 1242 as witness of the council at Weißenfels in a Walkenried charter, and in 1253 as witness of the Counts of Stolberg³⁵⁴, etc. Ludolfus de Swanebeke and Bernhardus de Swanebeke are 1246 and 1248 witnesses of the Counts of Regenstein in charters for the monastery of Walkenried³⁵⁵, probably bearing the name after Schwanebeck, already named in the 9th century, one mile northeast of Halberstadt³⁵⁶, after which a noble family also named itself; and already in 1238 Ludolfus de Svanebeke is a canon at Magdeburg³⁵⁷. Next we find, in 1243, a Henricus de Svanebek with Barnim I. in Pomerania³⁵⁸, where also a village Schwanebeck near Zachau, three miles southeast of Stargard, appears; in 1269 a knight Johannes de Swanenbecke as witness of Henricus de Stegelitz at the <155> foundation of the monastery Marienpforte near Boitzenburg in the Uckermark³⁵⁹; and along the way a village Schwanebeck north of Belzig in the Zauche, a Schwanebeck near Nauen in the Havelland³⁶⁰, and a Schwanebeck northeast of Berlin. Almost simultaneously with Henricus de Svanebek there appears in 1239 a Henricus de Svaneberch, together with the brothers Albertus and Godefridus de Insleve, as witness in a charter of Barnim I. in which he grants the monastery of Walkenried 108 Hufen at Pozlow, southwest of Prenzlau³⁶¹; in 1253 the same man, together with Conrad Clest, in Barnim I's endowment of the town of Stargard [Urk. 30 d.]; in 1270 with Barnim I. also a Volradus de Swanenberg in the Colbatz region³⁶², who already appears in 1264 as witness in the charter in which the monastery of Seehausen, south of Prenzlau, buys from the monastery of Walkenried the village of Radekow near Stettin³⁶³. Their lineage seems to be traceable back to Schwaneberg, south of Wanzleben and southwest of Magdeburg in the district of North Thuringia, already named there in 939³⁶⁴; thus also in 1233 a Bertramus de Swaneberch, together with Gozwinus de Boicenburch, Alvericus de Kerkow and others, appears as witness of the margraves Johann and Otto at Salbke south of Magdeburg³⁶⁵; and in 1279 a knight Wernerus de Swaneberge occurs in a charter of the margraves Johann, Otto and Conrad at Stendal in the

³⁵¹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 16, pp. 318, 397; I. 22, pp. 90–91. — Lisch, *Meklenburg. Jahrbücher* XXV, 154.

³⁵² Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 16, p. 396.

³⁵³ *Urkundenb. des histor. Vereins für Niedersachsen*, II, 135, 199.

³⁵⁴ *Loc. cit.*, II, 173, 207.

³⁵⁵ *Loc. cit.*, II, 178, 184.

³⁵⁶ Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, II, 1345.

³⁵⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 8, p. 150.

³⁵⁸ Cod. 321. — Cf. Riedel, *Die Mark Brandenburg i. J. 1250*, II, p. 45. — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, *Geschichte der Altmark*, p. 296. — Wohlbrück, *Geschichtl. Nachrichten von dem Geschlecht v. Alvensleben*, I, p. 98.

³⁵⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 21, p. 2.

³⁶⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 13, p. 128 (charter of 1257).

³⁶¹ Cod. 270.

³⁶² Original in P. P. A. Schr. II, no. 42.

³⁶³ *Urkundenbuch des histor. Vereins für Niedersachsen*, II, 242.

³⁶⁴ Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, II, 1345.

³⁶⁵ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 15.

Altmark³⁶⁶, who in 1284 again appears together with Conrad Clest on the Brandenburg side at the conclusion of the Treaty of Vierraden [Urk. 70]. Corresponding to the Magdeburg Schwaneberg there lies a village Schwaneberg west of Penkun. A similar migration was undertaken by the name Seehausen. Seehusen (now Seesen) east of Gandersheim, west of Goslar, is already mentioned in the 10th century³⁶⁷; in 1272 the knight Gevehardus de Sehusen is witness of Count Heinrich of Waldenburg³⁶⁸. Another Seehausen, after which a noble family named itself, lies west of Magdeburg³⁶⁹; Seehausen east of Salzwedel in the Altmark appears already in 966³⁷⁰; then in 1258 Seehausen near Oderberg in the Uckermark³⁷¹; in 1271 a Franciscan guardian Hildebrandus de Sehusen at Stettin, together with the above-mentioned Hermannus de Dulstede, is witness of Otto de Rambin. Southeast of Neuahaldensleben, northeast of Magdeburg, and near the former monastery of Hillersleben lie Wederinge (now Wedringen) and Wodeneswege (now Gutenswegen), the latter already in 973³⁷², the former also mentioned in 1152³⁷³, the former, however, probably leading further back to Wettringen (1002 Wadingas) north of Steinfurt, northwest of Münster³⁷⁴, where also the Münster canon Franko de Wetheringe 1155–1196, the noble Conradus de Wetherenge 1155–1178, and Rutgerus de Weteringen 1184 appear in Münster charters³⁷⁵. Further we find, beside a river Weterunge in the Altmark³⁷⁶, a Meinhardus de Wederig in 1162 in a charter of the monastery of Hillersleben³⁷⁷, 1197 Otto de Wederinge with Bishop Gardolf of Halberstadt³⁷⁸, finally Johannes de Wederinghe 1253–1270 with Barnim I. at Stettin and Greifenhagen³⁷⁹, as well as, on the other hand, Johannes de Wotenswege in 1200 as witness of the Counts of Grieben in the Altmark³⁸⁰, 1241 Gese, Johannes and Bertholdus de Wodenswege, together with the latter's brother, as witnesses of Margrave Otto in a charter for the monastery of Althaldensleben³⁸¹, 1254 Bertholdus de Wodenswege at Gardelegen³⁸², further the knight Heinrichus de Wodenswege in 1270 at Lychen, in 1271 in the Altmark, in 1275 at Spandau³⁸³, finally a Hinricus de

³⁶⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 15, p. 24.

³⁶⁷ Förstemann, loc. cit., II, 1255.

³⁶⁸ Urkundenbuch des histor. Vereins für Niedersachsen, II, 273.

³⁶⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, pp. 51–52, 54 (charter of 1257).

³⁷⁰ Förstemann, loc. cit., II, 1255.

³⁷¹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 13, p. 205.

³⁷² Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17, p. 423. — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 284.

³⁷³ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 22, p. 416.

³⁷⁴ Förstemann, loc. cit., II, 1455. — Erhard, Regesta hist. Westph., I, nos. 679, 716, pp. 142, 146.

³⁷⁵ Erhard, Cod. dipl. hist. Westfaliae, II, nos. 308, 375, 396, 328 b, 372, 382, 443, pp. 85, 129, 143, 99, 126, 134, 171.

³⁷⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 6, p. 404 (charter of 1343).

³⁷⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 22, pp. 420–421.

³⁷⁸ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 22, pp. 422–423.

³⁷⁹ Cod. 490. Pyritzer Matrikel. — Cf. Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 296. — Wohlbrück, Geschichtl. Nachrichten von dem Geschlecht v. Alvensleben, I, 98.

³⁸⁰ v. Ledebur, Allgem. Archiv f. Geschichtskunde des Preuß. Staats, VII, 358.

³⁸¹ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 22.

³⁸² Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 22, p. 370.

³⁸³ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 489; I. 22, p. 8; I. 20, p. 187.

Wodenswegen 1267–1272 with Barnim I., mostly in the Demmin region³⁸⁴, 1274 at Röbel in Mecklenburg [Urk. 57], where also a village Godenswege south of Stargard. After the now vanished village Insleben near Magdeburg³⁸⁵ no doubt named themselves Bernardus de Insleve, who in 1261 and 1262 attests charters at Sandow on the Elbe³⁸⁶, and the Pomeranian brothers Albertus, Godefridus Luderus and Fredericus de Insleve, of whom especially the first occurs frequently, 1239–1277, with Barnim I. in the Stettin region³⁸⁷, and indeed with his brother Godefridus also in Barnim I.'s charter of 1239 in which he grants the monastery of Walkenried possessions in the Uckerland³⁸⁸, while Godefridus de Insleve appears, together with Conrad Clest and Johannes de Boizenburch, in the charter of 1249 in which Barnim I. promises the Stettiners the demolition of the castle at Stettin [Urk. 28 a.]. The origin of the Mecklenburg family of Plessen seems to be traceable back to the Thuringian nobles of Plesse, who were also vassals of the bishopric of Paderborn and appear repeatedly in Walkenried charters from 1191 onward—something for which the baptismal name Helmold, very popular with both, already speaks. Helmoldus de Plesse is 1270–1283 a Burgmann at Wismar³⁸⁹, 1271 witness of Heinrich of Mecklenburg together with Theodericus Clawe³⁹⁰. This Theodericus Clawe, who with his brothers Orlicus and Arnoldus occurs in Mecklenburg already from 1240 onward³⁹¹, likewise descends from a Thuringian family; 1238 Bertholdus Clawe is a citizen at Mühlhausen in Thuringia; 1255 Sifridus Clawe de Rosla in a Walkenried charter³⁹². Heinrich Grubo, in Mecklenburg since 1227 and a Burgmann at Güstrow³⁹³, in 1243 and 1244 together with the above-mentioned Otto Bawarus [Urk. 22. 23. 24], likewise seems to stem from Thuringia or from the Brunswick region; Henricus Grubo junior is in 1230 witness of the Count of Eberstein in a Walkenried charter³⁹⁴, likewise in 1248 together with Baldewinus de Blankenburg witness of Duke Otto of Brunswick³⁹⁵. The said Baldewinus de Blankenburg, who (see above p. 115) occurs together in a treaty between Count Siegfried of Osterburg and Duke Otto of Brunswick³⁹⁶, and is also in 1243 with the latter at Brunswick³⁹⁷, belongs to a ministerial family of the Counts of Blankenburg in the Harz, already appearing in 1144 with Jordanus

³⁸⁴ Dreger 403, 446. — Original in P. P. A. — Cf. Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., pp. 296, 284. — Wohlbrück, Geschichtl. Nachrichten von dem Geschl. v. Alvensleben, I, 98. — Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 489; I. 22, p. 8; I. 20, p. 187.

³⁸⁵ Wohlbrück, Geschichtl. Nachrichten von dem Geschl. v. Alvensleben, I, 98, note *.

³⁸⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 69.

³⁸⁷ Cod. 288, 321, 322, 324, 325, 332, 335, 338, etc. — Wohlbrück, Geschichtl. Nachrichten von dem Geschl. v. Alvensleben, I, 98. — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, Geschichte der Altmark, p. 296.

³⁸⁸ Cod. 230.

³⁸⁹ Lisch, Mecklenburg. Jahrbücher V, 6; VI, 100; VII, 303; XIV, 254.

³⁹⁰ Lisch, Mecklenburger Urkunden, II, pp. 49–50.

³⁹¹ Lisch, Mecklenburger Urkunden, II, pp. 24, 30; I, p. 125. — Lisch, Mecklenb. Jahrbücher VII, 303; XIV, 197, 250.

³⁹² Urkundenbuch des histor. Vereins für Niedersachsen, II, 159, 213. — Cf. Klempin and Kratz, Matrikeln und Verzeichnisse, p. 55.

³⁹³ Lisch, Mecklenb. Jahrbücher II, 215; IX, 292; X, 6, 44, 207; XII, 310; XIII, 275. — Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 2, p. 364.

³⁹⁴ Urkundenbuch des histor. Vereins für Niedersachsen, II, 130.

³⁹⁵ Loc. cit., IV, 32–33.

³⁹⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 16, p. 318.

³⁹⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 486.

de Blankenburg³⁹⁸, which sent branches to Pomerania. Anselmus de Blankenborch was in 1253 a Burgmann at Pyritz³⁹⁹ and, like Conrad Clest, held from the monastery of Colbatz a fief-estate for life, regarding which he came to an agreement with the monastery in 1254 in Conrad Clest's presence [Urk. 33]; 1267 he was, together with Conrad Clest, in the Uckermark already Brandenburgian at that time [Urk. 45], and in the same year with Henricus de Morunge and Gerardus de Bozcineborch with the margraves at Gransee⁴⁰⁰; 1269 we meet him as witness of Conrad Clest in the charter which the latter issued for the monastery of Colbatz on account of his lifelong benefices [Urk. 48], and then still often down to about 1287 in charters of the margraves of Brandenburg—for example, in 1271 at Borstal with Bertramus de Bentz; in 1272 at Neuruppin with Gerhardus de Bucceneborch, Beteco de Ecstede, Georgius de Kercowe (whose families we shall touch upon further and more closely below), further with Heinricus de Stendale and Bertrammus (Beteko) de Bentze⁴⁰¹, the latter of whom again appears in 1273 together with the just-mentioned Georgius de Kerkowe and with Conradus Clest [Urk. 55]. A brother of Anselmus de Blankenburg was presumably Jordanus de Blankenborch, canon at Hildesheim, whom we find in 1255–1257 in Pomerania in the retinue of Bishop Hermann of Cammin, born Count of Gleichen⁴⁰². In the passage of the family through the Mark there arose Blankenburg in the Barnim, north of Berlin⁴⁰³, Blankenburg in the Prignitz⁴⁰⁴, and Blankenburg southeast of Prenzlau in the Uckermark; probably also after the latter place calls himself Martinus, advocate of Blankenburch, who in 1264, together with the above-mentioned Volradus de Swaneberge and with Bertramus de Hecstete, attests the charter in which the Uckermark monastery of Seehausen buys from the monastery of Walkenried the village of Radekow near Stettin⁴⁰⁵. The said Bertramus de Hecstete, in turn, again leads back to Thuringia. Here, in the Mansfeld region, sat the nobles of Eickstedt (1130–1164) and of Bornstedt or de Burnstede (1145–1152), from the stock of the nobles of Schraplau⁴⁰⁶. The ancestral seats of this noble family were Eickstedt, already named in 1053 (now Ober- and Nieder-Eichstedt), southwest of Querfurt⁴⁰⁷, and Bornstedt, occurring already in 979, southwest of Eisleben, south of Mansfeld⁴⁰⁸; further, Bornstedt west of Magdeburg, southwest of Neuhaldeleben, likewise already in the 10th century⁴⁰⁹, and Eichstedt north of Stendal in the Altmark, first mentioned in 1162⁴¹⁰. Even if not shoots of the said noble family, still ministerial families of the same name show themselves northward; and while already in 1250 a knight Henricus de Bornstede appears in Duke Barnim I.'s following at Stettin⁴¹¹, we first find Volradus and Theodoricus de Eckstede in 1204 as witnesses of Count Albrecht

³⁹⁸ Harenberg, *histor. Gandershern.*, p. 707.

³⁹⁹ Cod. 490.

⁴⁰⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 95.

⁴⁰¹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 16, p. 3; I. 15, p. 21.

⁴⁰² Lisch, *Mecklenburg. Jahrbücher* XII, 316. — Dreger 297.

⁴⁰³ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 8, p. 418 (charter of 1459).

⁴⁰⁴ Riedel, *Die Mark Brandenburg im J. 1250*, II, p. 46, note I.

⁴⁰⁵ *Urkundenbuch des histor. Vereins für Niedersachsen*, II, 243. — Cf. Klempin and Kratz, *Matrikeln und Verzeichnisse*, p. III.

⁴⁰⁶ v. Raumer, *Historische Charten und Stammtafeln*, no. XVII.

⁴⁰⁷ Förstemann, *loc. cit.*, II, 28.

⁴⁰⁸ Förstemann, *loc. cit.*, II, 308.

⁴⁰⁹ Förstemann, *loc. cit.*, II, 302. — Cf. Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17, pp. 461, 474 (charter of 1311).

⁴¹⁰ v. Ledebur, *Allgem. Archiv für Geschichtskunde des preuß. Staats*, VI, 189.

⁴¹¹ Cod. 438.

of Arneburg in the Altmark in a charter issued for the monastery of Ilsenburg on the Brocken⁴¹², then Fredericus de Ecstede 1225–1279 in the Altmark⁴¹³, further Fredericus and Thidericus de Ekstede in 1249 at Röbel in Mecklenburg [Urk. 28], finally in 1280 the knight Bertramus de Ekstede with Bogislaw IV. at Stettin⁴¹⁴. The latter is the same man who in 1264, as Bertramus de Heistete, appears in the above-mentioned charter of the monastery of Seehausen; 1276 as Beteko de Ecstede with Count Gunzelin of Schwerin⁴¹⁵; and 1272–1281 with his brother Fredericus, with Bertramus de Benz, Johannes de Stegliz, Henricus de Bellinge, Thetlevus de Wozstrow, Wilhelmus de Kerkow and others with the margraves of Brandenburg⁴¹⁶, and in 1284 together with his brother Fridericus de Ecstede and Conrad Clest attests, on the Brandenburg side, the conclusion of the Treaty of Vierraden [Urk. 70]. In the passage of those families through the Mark there arose Bornstedt in the Havelland near Potsdam⁴¹⁷, Eichstädt southeast of Kremmen in the land of Glin⁴¹⁸, and Eickstedt east of Prenzlau in the Uckermark. From Alvensleben, already named in 964, southwest of Neuahaldensleben, three miles northwest of Magdeburg⁴¹⁹, which in turn is probably to be traced back to Alvundesleve (now Aseleben) already named in 991, southeast of Eisleben between the Sweet and the Salty Lake⁴²⁰, no doubt derives its name Wichardus de Alvensleve (1175 and 1185 charter-witness of Bishop Gero of Halberstadt), whose sons Alkmarus, Johannes and Gevehardus de Alvensleve appear from 1196 to 1216 in charters of the bishops of Halberstadt⁴²¹. Of Gevehardus's sons, Conradus de Alvensleve is 1224–1235 canon at Halberstadt; his brother Johann 1232–1248 Schultheiß and Drost of the bishop of Halberstadt⁴²², and in 1268 the knight Burchardus de Alvensleve, presumably a grandson of Gevehard, appears with Barnim I. at Stettin⁴²³. The stock of Wernherus de Riden, who in 1255, together with Bartoldus Klist, is named as witness in a charter issued for the Pyritz nunnery [Urk. 36], and who already in 1253, with several of his kin, belonged to the castle-guard at Pyritz⁴²⁴, seems, by its name, to be traceable back to Rieden near Kaltennordheim (already named in 795), northwest of Meiningen, or to Riede (now Rietheburg), occurring already in 932, at the confluence of the Helme into the Unstrut⁴²⁵. Theodericus de Kotene,

⁴¹² Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 2.

⁴¹³ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 6, p. 399; I. 5, p. 40; I. 16, p. 320. — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur (Geschichte der Altmark, p. 247 ff.) distinguish, by the coat of arms, a Thuringian and an Altmark ministerial family of Eickstedt—something we cannot agree with for reasons to be developed later in Chapter 3 under A. (p. ...).

⁴¹⁴ Matrikel des Stettiner Nonnenklosters.

⁴¹⁵ Lisch, Mecklenb. Jahrbücher XI, 263.

⁴¹⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 15, p. 21; I. 13, p. 222. Bukower Matrikel.

⁴¹⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 11, p. 154 (charter of 1304).

⁴¹⁸ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 8, p. 419 (charter of 1459).

⁴¹⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 91 (charter of 1266). — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 289. — Wohlbrück, Geschichtl. Nachrichten von dem Geschl. von Alvensleben, I, 5.

⁴²⁰ Förstemann, loc. cit., II, 58.

⁴²¹ Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 289 ff. — Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 6, p. 450; II. 1, p. 6; I. 22, pp. 425, 422, 423; I. 17, p. 40. — Wohlbrück, Geschichtl. Nachrichten von dem Geschl. v. Alvensleben, I, 2, 11, 28.

⁴²² Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17, p. 40. — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 291. — Wohlbrück, Geschichtl. Nachrichten von dem Geschlecht v. Alvensleben, I, 38, 42.

⁴²³ Dreger 425. — Lisch, Urkunden des Geschl. Behr, I, no. 60. — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 296. — Wohlbrück, Geschichtl. Nachrichten von dem Geschl. von Alvensleben, I, 97.

⁴²⁴ Cod. 490.

⁴²⁵ Förstemann, loc. cit., II, 1196, 1199.

already in Pomerania in 1240⁴²⁶, and still down to 1279 with Barnim I. and Bishop Hermann of Cammin, was in 1253, together with his brothers, and further with the de Riden and Anselmus de Blankenburg, a Burgmann at Pyritz. Of his brothers, Conradus de Cotene appears—probably the same Conradus de Cothene who as late as 1233 was a Schöppe in the county of Dornburg near Magdeburg⁴²⁷—first in Pomerania in 1241⁴²⁸, and is named in 1249 together with Berthold and Conrad Clest in Barnim I.’s charter concerning the laying-out of the German town of Damm [Urk. 27]; in 1262 the knight Gherbodus de Köthene appoints Johannes Calve and Conradus de Welppe as Hagenmeisters in his village Holteshagen near Pölitz⁴²⁹. The name of the family therefore seems to be traceable back to Köthen in Anhalt (northwest of which lies Calbe), and to Kothene, mentioned already in 1254, between Gardelegen and Stendal⁴³⁰, where likewise north of Gardelegen there lies a place Calbe already named in 1121⁴³¹, and where moreover already in 1207 an E. de Calve with his sons appears in a charter issued at Salzwedel by Margrave Albrecht for the monastery of Marienthal near Helmstädt⁴³², further at Stendal in 1285 a citizen Johannes de Calve and in 1292 a Henricus Calve appears⁴³³. In the years 1171–1180 a Henricus de Cotene appears at Werben in the Altmark in charters of Count Theoderich of Werben, son of Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, for the monastery of Obernkirchen in Westphalia⁴³⁴; in Westphalia again, already in the 9th century a deserted settlement Cothun near Corvey is mentioned, likewise 1251 a Cothen in the county of Mark⁴³⁵, and in 1193 Godefridus de Coten with his son Wilhelmus in a charter of Bishop Hermann of Münster⁴³⁶. The village Köchen in the district Teltow–Storkow, and Köthen west of Freienwalde on the Oder, will have arisen during the passage of the family toward Pomerania. To Zerbst in Anhalt, as whose lord and at the same time as Brandenburg vassal Richardus de Tzerwist appears in 1259⁴³⁷, the name of the Stendal citizen Baldeuinus de Zerwist (1266)⁴³⁸ likewise seems to be traceable; 1244 Conradus de Therewist is among the founders of the town of Friedland in the land of Stargard⁴³⁹; 1261 the squire Conradus de Serwitiz together with Conradus Clest in the Uckermark [Urk. 41], and there likewise a place Servitiz (now Serwst) southwest of Angermünde⁴⁴⁰. Thuringia is further indicated by the Pomeranian families Predole and Helpte. Hartwicus de Predele and his brother Ludowicus are 1168 and 1170 ministerials of the bishop of

⁴²⁶ Cod. 288.

⁴²⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 14.

⁴²⁸ Cod. 296.

⁴²⁹ Dreger 349. [“Stolteshagen” in the charter, i.e. Stolzenhagen. Q.]

⁴³⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 22, p. 370; I. 15, p. 73.

⁴³¹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17, p. 427.

⁴³² Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 4. — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 249.

⁴³³ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 15, pp. 33, 83.

⁴³⁴ Erhard, Codex diplom. histor. Westfaliae, II, nos. 352, 410, pp. 113, 153.

⁴³⁵ Wilmans, Westphälisches Urkundenbuch, III, no. 533, p. 286. — As in 1321 Kothene is named together with Osthernen (today Ostheeren) near Stendal (Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 15, p. 73), so there is also an Ostheeren in the district of Hamm in Westphalia, and on the other hand an Ostheeren (Osterne or Hosthernen) in the land of Löwenberg near Zehdenick (Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 7, p. 243, charter of 1270, and p. 329).

⁴³⁶ Erhard, Cod. dipl. histor. Westfaliae, II, no. 535, p. 233.

⁴³⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, pp. 62, 64, 65.

⁴³⁸ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 15, p. 82; I. 17, pp. 473, 476.

⁴³⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 487.

⁴⁴⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 13, p. 206.

Naumburg⁴⁴¹; then we have a place Predel (now Prödel) near Leitzkau northwest of Zerbst⁴⁴², Predule (now Predöhl) southeast near Puttlitz in the Prignitz⁴⁴³ and Priedoli 1232 in the land of Bützow⁴⁴⁴; 1267 Johannes Pridole is a squire of Barnim I.⁴⁴⁵, likewise Otto de Predole <160> (Predol) 1276–1281 in Pomerania⁴⁴⁶. Helpede (now Helfte) southwest of Eisleben is already named in 1004⁴⁴⁷. The knight Tylo de Helpede is 1277 witness of the nobles of Hackenborn⁴⁴⁸, 1272 a domina Helpe in Pomerania⁴⁴⁹, and at least as early as 1292 a village Helpede (now Helpt) south of Friedland in Mecklenburg⁴⁵⁰, as also a village Helpede (now Helpe) northeast of Arnswalde in the Neumark is named early on⁴⁵¹. In 1271 a Conradus Kraz is witness of the monastery of Sonnefeld in Thuringia⁴⁵²; later the family appears in the Altmark, where a village Craz or Cratze (now Kraatz) south of Arendsee, east of Salzwedel, arises⁴⁵³, while already on the way thither, near Förderstedt west of Calbe, a now deserted place Kratz is visible⁴⁵⁴; further it comes into the Prignitz, where in 1293 Johannes Craz with his sons, in 1294 Thidericus and Ghevehardus Craz as councillors at Perleberg⁴⁵⁵, further into the Ruppín territory where a village Kraatz lies west of Zehdenick⁴⁵⁶, and into the Uckermark, where likewise a village Kraatz northwest of Prenzlau was founded⁴⁵⁷.

How great a significance the Altmark in particular had for the passage of the Saxon and Thuringian families into the southern parts of Pomerania will already be clearly evident from what precedes. From the outset, as a bulwark pushed forward by Germanism against Slavdom, it later permanently formed the bridge for a main mass of emigrants⁴⁵⁸. The following examples will bring this even more clearly to light. — Duke Barnim I. entrusted the establishment of the new German town of Prenzlau, in 1234, to eight men from Stendal, and granted it Magdeburg municipal law [Urk. 11], the same that Stendal and

⁴⁴¹ Schöttgen et Kreysig, *Diplomat. et scriptores*, II, 429–430. [Evidently from Predel between Zeitz and Pegau in the bishopric of Naumburg (thus not in Thuringia); the name is also Slavic = “by the valley”. Q.]

⁴⁴² Riedel, *C. d. Br. I. 8*, p. 419 (charter of 1459).

⁴⁴³ Riedel, *C. d. Br. I. 2*, p. 27 (charter of 1350).

⁴⁴⁴ Lisch, *Meklenb. Urk.*, III, 25.

⁴⁴⁵ Lisch, *Meklenb. Urk.*, II, 20.

⁴⁴⁶ Verchener *Matrikel*. Originals in P. P. A. — Lisch, *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Geschl. Behr*, I, 101.

⁴⁴⁷ Förstemann, *loc. cit.*, II, 724.

⁴⁴⁸ Schöttgen et Kreysig, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 713.

⁴⁴⁹ Dähnert, *Pomm. Bibl.*, V, 228.

⁴⁵⁰ Riedel, *C. d. Br. II. 1*, p. 415.

⁴⁵¹ v. Raumer, *Die Neumark Brandenburg im J. 1337*, p. 102.

⁴⁵² Schöttgen et Kreysig, *loc. cit.*, III, p. 640. [Cf. the Cratz of Scharfenstein in the Rheingau west of Wiesbaden. Q.]

⁴⁵³ Riedel, *C. d. Br. I. 22*, p. 32 (charter of 1327).

⁴⁵⁴ Grote, *Reichsfreih. zu Schauen, Verzeichnis jetzt wüster Ortschaften*, p. 16, after Hermes and Weigelt, *Der Regierungsbez. Magdeburg*.

⁴⁵⁵ Riedel, *C. d. Br. I. 1*, pp. 124–125.

⁴⁵⁶ Riedel, *C. d. Br. I. 8*, p. 420 (charter of 1459).

⁴⁵⁷ Riedel, *C. d. Br. II. 1*, pp. 475, 477 (charter of 1321); I. 13, p. 29 (charter of 1336). — Fidicin, *Kaiser Karl's IV. Landbuch der Mark Brandenburg (1375)*, p. 149, no. 61.

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, *Geschichte der Altmark*; also v. Ledebur in: *Märkische Forschungen*, III, pp. 119, 338.

the other towns of the Altmark possessed. A place Stendal or Nyen Stendal (now Stendel) lies southeast of Prenzlau and northeast of Angermünde⁴⁵⁹; in 1215 Heinrich of Stendal is with Margrave Albrecht II in the camp at Staffelde, in 1225 with his widow at Seehausen, in 1231 Henricus de Steyndale is witness of the Margraves Johann and Otto in the charter of foundation of the monastery of Parstein, later Chorin, in the Uckermark⁴⁶⁰. — Perhaps Stettin too received its Magdeburg municipal law in 1243 from Stendal; the agreement of many names of the municipal families on both sides seems to point to it. Thus Henricus Baroot (Nupides), Schultheiß at Stettin, in 1251 and 1253 together with Conrad Clest [Urk. 30. 30 b. 30 c.], and still named down to 1271⁴⁶¹, came from a Stendal burgher family which perhaps had come from Cologne on the Rhine into the Altmark⁴⁶². As early as 1233 a Barvot is a councilman at Stendal⁴⁶³, and indeed together with Hartung de Sandowe and Arnoldus Sapiens, just as correspondingly at Stettin we also find a burgher Lambertus de Sandow in 1243⁴⁶⁴, further a burgher Thidericus Sapiens 1261–1264, and an Arnoldus Sapiens 1263⁴⁶⁵; likewise a village Sandow west of Arnswalde already in 1282 as property of the monastery of Colbatz⁴⁶⁶; in 1258 Fridericus Barvot is witness of Margrave Johann in a charter issued at Breitenfelde near Gardelegen⁴⁶⁷. — The village Sanne northeast of Stendal occurs already in 1209⁴⁶⁸; another Sanne or Sannen also lies between Salzwedel and Osterburg; 1251–1275 Conrad or Cuno de Sanne is burgher and Schöffe at Stendal⁴⁶⁹, 1283 Arnoldus de Sanna burgher in Stettin⁴⁷⁰. — With Jerichow in the Schollene district southeast of Stendal, or rather with the Jarchau already named in 1245 (still Jerchowe in 1312) north of Stendal⁴⁷¹, after which the Stendal councilmen Wilhelmus and Heidenricus de Jericho (1251) and Johannes de Jerchowe (1272) likely named themselves⁴⁷², the Pomeranian knight Henricus de Garchowe and the Pomeranian squire Henricus de Jerichow⁴⁷³ seem to be connected; of these, the former appears since 1245 in Duke Barnim I's retinue⁴⁷⁴, and in 1246, together with Conrad Clest, Johannes de Boizenborch and the chamberlain Baurus, is witness as Barnim sells to the monastery of Walkenried the villages Damitzow and Radekow near Stettin [Urk. 26]. — That Johannes de Boizenburch, who in 1248 and 1249 occurs together with Conrad Clest, the chamberlain Baurus, Godefridus de Insleve, Henricus de Saltwedele and others [Urk. 26. 18. cf. on 18 (in the 2nd Supplement) 28 a.], likewise stems from the Altmark. Gozwinus de

⁴⁵⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 13, p. 321 (charter of 1318); I. 8, p. 420 (charter of 1459).

⁴⁶⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 13, p. 202. — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 267.

⁴⁶¹ Dreger 277, 332, 333, 341, 336, 349, 355, 357, 363, 377, 399, 416, 400, 439. Matrikel des Stettiner Nonnenklosters. Urk. 42.

⁴⁶² Riedel, Die Mark Brandenburg im J. 1250, p. 52, note 3.

⁴⁶³ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 15, p. 10.

⁴⁶⁴ Cod. 324, 325.

⁴⁶⁵ Dreger 332, 333, 336, 359, 355, 357, 363.

⁴⁶⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 18, p. 1.

⁴⁶⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 18, p. 61; III. 3, p. 2.

⁴⁶⁸ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 5, p. 30.

⁴⁶⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 15, pp. 13, 20; I. 5, p. 40. — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 336.

⁴⁷⁰ Lisch, Mecklenburg. Urk. I, 174.

⁴⁷¹ v. Ledebur, Allgem. Archiv, VI, 189. — Frh. v. Ledebur, Archiv für deutsche Adelsgeschichte, p. 150.

⁴⁷² Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 15, pp. 13, 20.

⁴⁷³ Cod. 398.

⁴⁷⁴ Cod. 347, 366. — Cf. Riedel, Die Mark Brandenburg im J. 1250, II, p. 44, note 3. — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 333.

Boiceneburch, whose name points to Boitzenburg on the Elbe, is already named from 1215 down to 1235 in the Altmark at Stendal, Werben and Gardelegen⁴⁷⁵, in 1233 together with Alvericus de Kerkowe, Bertramus de Swaneberch and Conradus de Cothene as witness of the Margraves Johann and Otto at Salbke south of Magdeburg⁴⁷⁶, and in 1236 at the treaty of the margraves with Duke Wartislav III at Cremmen⁴⁷⁷; in 1271 a Gherardus de Boyceneburch, who had possessions at Boitzenburg in the Uckermark west of Prenzlau, is at Gerswalde southeast of that Boitzenburg, in the company of Bertramus de Benssz, Georgius de Kercow and Fredericus de Ekstede⁴⁷⁸. — Henricus and Thidericus de Listen likewise seem to stem from the Altmark; together with Conradus Clest and Johannes de Boizenburg they attest the Garz foundation charter in 1249 [Urk. 18. Cf. on 18 (in the 2nd Supplement)], of whom the former occurs already since 1243, the latter still in 1261 at Stettin⁴⁷⁹. A village Listen (now Liesten)⁴⁸⁰, after which a Salzwedel burgher family named itself⁴⁸¹, lies east of Salzwedel. Incidentally, Bertherus List in 1265 and 1266, and Johannes List in 1275, occur as witnesses of the Margraves of Landsberg in Thuringia⁴⁸², and later one also encounters a burgher family List at Frankfurt on the Oder⁴⁸³. — A place Wigilebe (now Wiegleben) south of Langensalza occurs already in the 11th century⁴⁸⁴, then Wegeleben one mile east of Halberstadt⁴⁸⁵; 1251–1288 Theodericus de Wegeleve is councilman at Stendal⁴⁸⁶, and in 1254 the knight Hermannus de Wegeleve, together with Conrad Clest, is witness of Duke Barnim I. in the Colbatz region [Urk. 33]⁴⁸⁷. — Bearing the name from Snetlinge (now Schneidlingen) near Aschersleben⁴⁸⁸, there appears in 1155, with Margrave Albrecht at Magdeburg, beside the noble Erpo de Snetlinge a ministerial Eglolfus de Snetlinge⁴⁸⁹; in 1241 Ulricus de Snetlinken at Satzwezel⁴⁹⁰; in 1253 and 1257 Henricus de Snet-IMFS with Margrave Johann at Spandau and at the foundation of the towns of Lychen and Neu-Landsberg⁴⁹¹; Rodolphus and Albertus de Snetglinghe are Burgmannen at Spandau in 1271⁴⁹², in 1272 Albertus de Snetlinge is canon at

⁴⁷⁵ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 15, p. 7; I. 6, pp. 400–401; I. 22, p. 365; II. 1, p. 7.

⁴⁷⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 14.

⁴⁷⁷ Cod. 241.

⁴⁷⁸ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 21, p. 2; I. 19, p. 174.

⁴⁷⁹ Cod. 322, 332, 333, 368.

⁴⁸⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 22, p. 22 (charter of 1312).

⁴⁸¹ Hermann Listen 1446–1463, Hinricus Lysten 1447–1468. — Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 14, pp. 282, 286, 287, 290, 291, 296, 327, 338, etc.

⁴⁸² Schöttgen et Kreysig, *Diplomataria et scriptores*, II, 373, 447. [Instead of “in Thuringia” it must read “in the Osterland”. Q.]

⁴⁸³ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 12, p. 161; I. 23, pp. 44, 56 (charter of 1350, etc.).

⁴⁸⁴ Förstemann, loc. cit., II, 1522.

⁴⁸⁵ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 93 (charter of 1267).

⁴⁸⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 15, pp. 13, 25, 29, 31, 37, 82.

⁴⁸⁷ Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 296. — Wohlbrück, *Geschichtl. Nachrichten von dem Geschl. v. Alvensleben*, I, 98.

⁴⁸⁸ Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 277. — Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17, pp. 468, 472 (charter of 1311).

⁴⁸⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 10, p. 72.

⁴⁹⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 14, p. 2.

⁴⁹¹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 23, pp. 2–3; I. 13, p. 317; I. 18, p. 370.

⁴⁹² Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 11, p. 8.

Stendal⁴⁹³; 1269–1284 one meets the knight Conradus de Snetlingen at Tangermünde, Stendal, Brandenburg, in 1273 the same man together with Henricus de Stekelin as witnesses of the margraves in a charter for the Stendal cathedral chapter⁴⁹⁴; and while already in 1274 a knight Olricus de Steckelin is witness of Duke Barnim I. in a charter issued at Pölitz⁴⁹⁵, we soon thereafter, namely in 1278, also meet a Johannes Snetligge with possessions in Pritzlow near Stettin⁴⁹⁶, and the same man also in 1284 together with Conrad Clest at the conclusion of the Vierraden peace treaty on the Brandenburg side [Urk. 70]. A place Snetlinge already existing in 1285 east of Kyritz in the Prignitz⁴⁹⁷ marks the path by which the family of the same name had gone from the Altmark to Pomerania. The place Dusdowe (now Düsedau) near Osterburg in the Altmark is already named in 1238⁴⁹⁸, and 1265–1278 the knight and chamberlain Arnoldus de Dusdowe appears in a series of charters of Barnim I. in the Stettin region⁴⁹⁹. — East of Osterburg lies Uchtenhagen on the Uchte⁵⁰⁰, after which Herbertus de Uchtenhagen names himself; in 1256, together with Bertramus de Bens, he appears with the Margraves Johann and Otto at Sandow near Havelberg⁵⁰¹, while already in 1243 the knight Gerardus de Ochtenhagen appears at Stettin in Barnim I's retinue⁵⁰², and soon a village Uchtenhagen northeast of Stargard in Pomerania also becomes known. — Not far from Uchtenhagen in the Altmark, south of Werben, lie the villages Clinte and the Thene already named in 1186 (now Theenhof)⁵⁰³; another Klinte or Klint also lay further on near Groß Rodensleben west of Magdeburg⁵⁰⁴. While already in 1255 a squire Johannes de Clint, together with Bertoldus Klist, appears as charter-witness of Barnim I. at Pyritz (thus near the Pomeranian Werben) and also in 1260 attests a charter at Damm⁵⁰⁵, on the other hand one finds first, in 1257–1265, a knight Henricus de Thene (de Thenis) as Vogt at Biesenthal repeatedly in Margrave Otto's retinue⁵⁰⁶, then the knight Otto de Thene (Theen) 1278–1281 just as frequently with Duke Bogislaw IV. in the Stettin region⁵⁰⁷. — Already in 1209 Grotinswachten, later Swechten (now Großen

⁴⁹³ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 15, p. 20.

⁴⁹⁴ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 5, p. 40.

⁴⁹⁵ Dähnert, Pomm. Bibl. III, 414.

⁴⁹⁶ Matrikel des Stettiner Nonnenklosters, no. 60.

⁴⁹⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 2, p. 306.

⁴⁹⁸ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 6, p. 451.

⁴⁹⁹ Dreger 381, 374. — Original in P. P. A. Schr. 2, no. 42; Stolper Urk., no. 19. — Belbucker Matrikel, Jasenitzer Matrikel, Colbater Matrikel, Diplom. civit. Stettin. — Dähnert, Pomm. Bibl. V, 228, 268. — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 332.

⁵⁰⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 6, p. 457.

⁵⁰¹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 3, p. 343. Here erroneously "Bertramus de Bnens"; it is the same man whom we find in 1273 as Beteko de Bentz together with Conradus Clest [Urk. 55]. A Groß and Klein Bentz (now Bähnitz) lies near Nauen; a Bentz (now Beenz) east of Boitzenburg in the Uckermark; another Beenz east of Boitzenburg near Lychen; in Pomerania, by contrast, we have Groß and Klein Bentz near Daber, and Faulen-Benz near Massow.

⁵⁰² Cod. 324, 325. — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 284 ff.

⁵⁰³ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 3, pp. 88, 90; I. 6, p. 31. — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 337.

⁵⁰⁴ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17, p. 54 (charter of 1315).

⁵⁰⁵ Dreger 329.

⁵⁰⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 8, p. 166; I. 11, p. 5; I. 13, pp. 129, 207; I. 18, p. 570.

⁵⁰⁷ Dähnert, Pomm. Bibliothek V, 219. — Urk. 66, 68. — Matrikel des Stettiner Nonnenklosters; Diplomataria civitat. Stettin et Treptow. — Lisch, Urkunden zur Geschichte des Geschl. Behr, I, 101.

Schwechten) southeast of Osterburg is named⁵⁰⁸; in 1255 Hinricus de Svecthen is a cleric at Havelberg⁵⁰⁹, in 1266 the knight Conradus de Swechten is witness of Barnim I. at Damm⁵¹⁰. — The place Schadewachte in the Altmark occurs already in 1207⁵¹¹; in 1279 and 1289 a Giselbertus (Ghiso) de Schadewachten likewise appears as a burgher at Stendal⁵¹², and 1267–1271 the knight Reimarus (Reinerus, Reineko) de Scadevvachte is with Barnim I. in Stettin and Damm⁵¹³. — Moringen or Morungen (now Möhringen) west of Stendal is first named about 1180 and then belonged to the monastery of Königslutter in Brunswick⁵¹⁴; earlier there already appears, in 1016, a Moringen west of Nordheim northwest of Göttingen, likewise in 1050 a Morungen in the Mansfeld mountain district⁵¹⁵; in 1267 Henricus de Morunge, together with Anselmus de Blankenborch and Gerardus de Boycineborch, is with the margraves at Gransee⁵¹⁶, in 1282 Petrus de Moringe is burgher at Stendal⁵¹⁷, and already 1261–1280 the knight Olricus de Moringe is with Barnim I. and Bogislaw IV. in the region of Stettin⁵¹⁸, where then a village Möhringen west of Stettin likewise comes to the fore. — Bertramus de Scheningen, probably bearing his name from Schöningen east of Wolfenbüttel and Schöppenstädt in Brunswick, is in 1191, together with Theodoricus de Schonenwalde, witness of Count Heinrich of Gardelegen at Stendal⁵¹⁹; in 1245 Heinrichus de Scheningen is witness of Bishop Meinhard of Halberstadt⁵²⁰; then in 1250 the knight Conradus de Scheninge appears with Barnim I. at Stettin⁵²¹, in 1253 the same man, together with Conrad Clest, Hinricus de Svanenbergh, Fridericus Kronesben and others, in the endowment charter of the town of Stargard [Urk. 30 d.], and soon there also appears a village Schöningen between Garz and Stettin, while on the other hand a Conradus de Sconenwalde likewise appears in Pomerania in 1236–1241, partly with Barnim I. and partly with Wartislaw III⁵²². The Fridericus Kronesben named in 1253 together with Conrad Clest seems to stem from the Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel region, where in 1311 Johannes and David Kronesben are still found as vassals of Halberstadt⁵²³. — Also we already find in 1221 a Fridericus Cronesben on the mainland of the Principality of Rügen⁵²⁴.

⁵⁰⁸ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 5, p. 30; I. 15, p. 43.

⁵⁰⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 22, p. 433; I. 3, p. 92.

⁵¹⁰ Dreger 383.

⁵¹¹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 5, p. 29.

⁵¹² Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 15, pp. 24, 25, 27, 29, 31, 37, 39.

⁵¹³ Dreger 399, 400, 439. — Matrikel des Stettiner Nonnenklosters. — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 336.

⁵¹⁴ v. Ledebur, Allgem. Archiv VI, 189. — Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17, p. 436 (charter of 1201).

⁵¹⁵ Förstemann, loc. cit., II, 1006, 1042.

⁵¹⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 95. — Cf. Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 288.

⁵¹⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 15, p. 27.

⁵¹⁸ Dreger 332, 333, 336, 377, 399, 416, 400, 439. — Matrikel des Stettiner Nonnenklosters. Diplom. eccl. St. Mariae Stetin.

⁵¹⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17, p. 436.

⁵²⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, p. 25.

⁵²¹ Cod. 438; here erroneously “Steninghe”.

⁵²² Cod. 241, 274, 288, 294, 296.

⁵²³ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17, p. 467. — Wohlbrück and v. Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 296.

⁵²⁴ Cod. 134.

Burchardus de kocstede, whose name points to Kochstedt north of Halberstadt⁵²⁵, is about 1200 a witness of Margrave Otto in a charter for the monastery of Diesdorf, south-west of Salzwedel⁵²⁶, 1209 a witness of Margrave Albrecht at Tangermünde⁵²⁷, 1212 with the same in camp near Weissensee in Thuringia⁵²⁸, and 1219 in Brandenburg with Bishop Siegfried⁵²⁹; 1253, 1255 and 1269 the brothers Heinricus and Albertus de Kocstede, together with Buchardus de Velelanz and Sifridus de Cozwic (Coswig on the Elbe near Wittenberg), Anselmus de Blankenburg, Fredericus de Hyndenborg, etc., are witnesses of Bishop Hermann of Cammin and of the Margraves in the Uckermark⁵³⁰, where also a village Cocstede (now Kaakstädt) south of Prenzlau is already named in 1284⁵³¹. — Bellingen, south of Stendal, is already mentioned in 1207⁵³²; 1236 Heinricus de Bellinge is in the retinue of the Margraves Johann and Otto at Tangermünde⁵³³, 1260 Engelkinus de Bellinge is witness of Bishop Hermann of Cammin in the Uckermark⁵³⁴, 1261 the same, together with Conrad Clest, is in the Uckermark [Urk. 41], 1274 Heinricus de Belling (de Bellighen) is with Barnim I. in a Colbatz charter⁵³⁵, 1276 and 1277 the same is with the Margraves in the Uckermark at Werbellin and Straßburg⁵³⁶, and 1284 with Conrad Clest at the conclusion of the Peace of Vierraden on the Brandenburg side [Urk. 70]. A village Bellingen in the Uckermark⁵³⁷, also a village Belling north near Pasewalk, and Bellingen (now Belgen), south-east of Königsberg in the Neumark⁵³⁸, recall the migrations of the family. — After Staffelde, east of Stendal, Germanus de Stapheld named himself, who in 1208, and de Stafvelde, who 1209–1215, appears in the Altmark;⁵³⁹ next Hinricus de Staffelde appears 1256–1279 with Barnim I. and Bogislav IV. in the Stettin region, there likewise a village Staffelde north of Garz on the Oder, as do localities of the same name near Kremmen in the land of Glin⁵⁴⁰ and already in 1298 south of Soldin in the Neumark⁵⁴¹. — After Hindenburg, north of Stendal,⁵⁴² whose name perhaps further leads back to the castle Hindenburg near Brackel in the Paderborn country,⁵⁴³ after which certain counts of Eberstein used to style

⁵²⁵ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17. S. 468. Urk. v. J. 1311. - Frh. v. Ledebur, Archiv für deutsche Adelsgeschichte. I. S. 376.

⁵²⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 16. S. 395.

⁵²⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 5. S. 30. I. 3. S. 91.

⁵²⁸ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1. S. 6.

⁵²⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 8. S. 136.

⁵³⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 21. S. 90. II. 1. S. 100. Dreger 373. — Vgl. auch Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 13. S. 208. 209, Urk. v. J. 1259.

⁵³¹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 13. S. 223.

⁵³² Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 5. S. 29. 30.

⁵³³ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 5. S. 35. - Wohlbrück und v. Ledebur a. a. O. S. 330.

⁵³⁴ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1. S. 68.

⁵³⁵ Colbatzer Matrikel.

⁵³⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 13. S. 220. 221.

⁵³⁷ Riedel, Die Mark Brandenburg im J. 1250, II. S. 46. Anm. 1. nach dem Landbuch von 1375 S. 168. 234.

⁵³⁸ v. Raumer, Die Neumark im J. 1337. S. 84.

⁵³⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 5. S. 7. S. 7. I. 17. S. 3. — Wohlbrück und v. Ledebur a. a. O. S. 250.

⁵⁴⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 8. S. 419, Urk. v. J. 1459.

⁵⁴¹ v. Raumer, Die Neumark im J. 1337, S. 39.

⁵⁴² Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17. S. 479, Urk. v. J. 1327.

⁵⁴³ v. Ledebur in den: Märkischen Forschungen. III. S. 329.

themselves⁵⁴⁴, the brothers Reynerus and Fridericus de Hindenburg named themselves, 1208 at Havelberg⁵⁴⁵, and the former in the same year, together with Germarus de Stapheld, witness of Margrave Albrecht in a charter issued at Sandow for the monastery Arendsee⁵⁴⁶. Next we find 1253 to <165> after 1286 a knight Fridericus de Hindenburg exceedingly often in charters of Barnim I. in the Stettin region⁵⁴⁷, further a village Hindenburg west near Naugard, and on the intermediate route from the Altmark to Pomerania Hindenburg in the Priegnitz⁵⁴⁸, Hindenburg near Templin, and Hindenburg south-west of Prenzlau in the Uckermark⁵⁴⁹. — North-west of Hindenburg in the Altmark lies Nienkerken (now Neukirchen), already named in 1263⁵⁵⁰, a name which indeed could often arise, yet perhaps also refers directly to an earlier place of the same name, thus for example to Nienkerken on the right bank of the Weser below Vegesack (already named 1267), Nienkerken in the bishopric of Minden, south of Bassum, Nienkerken near Schneverdingen, diocese of Verden (already named 1287), Nienkerken in the Osnabrück country, west of Bramsche, Nienkerken in Oldenburg, west of Damme⁵⁵¹, Nienkerken in the Alte Land, Nienkerken in the land of Hadeln, Nienkerken in the office of Gröenberg, Nienkerken in the office of Wöltingeroda, between Schladen and Liebenburg⁵⁵². The noble Adolfus de Nienkerken was, from 1143–1182, Vogt of the bishopric of Bremen (advocatus ecclesiae Bremensis), and at the same time a vassal of the bishop of Hildesheim; in 1147 there lived Carolus de nova ecclesia, belonging to a ministerial family of Corvey⁵⁵³. In the years 1244—1261 we meet Arnoldus de Nienkerken (de Nova ecclesia) in Mecklenburg, especially at Röbel [Urk. 23. 24. 28. 31. 37. 38] and together with the Eickstedts; finally Rodolfus (Ludolfus) de Nienkerken from 1251 onwards down to after 128? very frequently in Barnim I.'s charters in the region of Stettin⁵⁵⁴, and with Fredericus de Hindenborch, 1251 and 1259 [1264 Q.] also together with Conrad Clest [Urk. 30 a. 40]. — Steglitz, south-east of Stendal, is already named in 1207⁵⁵⁵; we also meet already in 1197 a Henricus de Stegelitz at Brandenburg⁵⁵⁶; Sifridus de Stegelitz in 1215 at Magdeburg; in 1225 in a charter at Werben in the Altmark and at

⁵⁴⁴ Im J. 1266 Bertoldus de Brakel et de Hindenburg issued a charter at Hindenburg near Brackel, in which Borchardus de Halremunt appears as witness (Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen, Jahrg. 1858. 1. Doppelheft, S. 116). Johannes de Brakel and his brother Conradus were 1263—1285 councillors and citizens at Stettin (Dreger 356. 399. 400. 439 etc.); Ludolfus Halremund is already found in 1304 in Mecklenburg [Urk. 78. 79].

⁵⁴⁵ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 3. S. 89.

⁵⁴⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17. S. 3.

⁵⁴⁷ Cod. 490. Dreger 383. 422. 424. 425. 426. 433. 434. 438. 439. 440. 442 etc. — Wohlbrück und v. Ledebur a. a. O. S. 250. — Die Urkunden Cod. 334 und Dreger 180 von 1214 und 1247 kommen als gefälschte (vgl. oben S. 137. Anm. 3. und 152. Anm. 1) nicht in Betracht.

⁵⁴⁸ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 1. S. 15.

⁵⁴⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I, 21. S. 34, Urk. v. J. 1343.

⁵⁵⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 6. S. 18.

⁵⁵¹ This is suggested by Nienkerken bei Greifswald, since at first it was also called Damme. Q.

⁵⁵² Mooyer in: Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen. Jahrg. 1858. 1. Doppelheft. S. 21.

⁵⁵³ Mooyer a. a. O. S. 9—23. 49.

⁵⁵⁴ Dreger 309. 344. 419 etc. [um Anklam. Q.]

⁵⁵⁵ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 5. S. 29.

⁵⁵⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 8. S. 124. I. 7. S. 469. — Wohlbrück und v. Ledebur a. a. O. S. 337.

Brandenburg with Bishop Gernand⁵⁵⁷; there likewise in 1227 Conradus de Stegelitz⁵⁵⁸; in 1232 Henricus de Stegeliz with the Margraves Johann and Otto at Spandau⁵⁵⁹; in 1243 the knight Henricus de Stegelitz at Stendal⁵⁶⁰; and 1248 to 1260 Henricus de Stegelitz, perhaps the one just named, in the Uckermark⁵⁶¹. On the road between the Altmark and the Uckermark lies a village Stegelitz in the district Jerichow, a Stegelitz in the Teltow-Storkow district⁵⁶², and a Stegelitz in the Templin district. — After Kerkow between Salzwedel and Osterburg the knight Aivericus de Kerkowe named himself, 1225 with Countess Mechthild at Seehausen and with Count Heinrich of Aschersleben, 1227 with Duke Otto of Brunswick, and 1233–1252, with his sons Gerhardus and Ludovicus, with the Margraves Otto and Johann at Havelberg, Salzwedel, Brandenburg, Stendal and Warbelin⁵⁶³, thus also 1236 with Gocewinus de Boecenburg, Thidardus de Wostrowe, Bodo and Wernerus de Saltwedel and the Vogt of Oderberg at the treaty with Duke Wartislaw III at Cremmen on the Brandenburg side⁵⁶⁴. Gerardus de Kerkow appears 1236 in the charter in which the Margraves Otto and Johann give to the monastery Walkenried the Colpin lake with 100 Hufen of land⁵⁶⁵, 1249 in a charter of Margrave Johann for the town of Brandenburg together with Borchardus de Velewantz (of Velefantz in the land of Glin near Kremmen)⁵⁶⁶, the same who in 1246 and 1253 also occurs near Fiddichow in Pomerania together with Conrad Gest [Urk. 25. 30 d.]; finally 1251–1260 Gerardus de Kerkow (Kirchowe) is partly near Magdeburg and at Spandau⁵⁶⁷, partly in the Uckermark, while in 1256 one meets Hinricus de Kerkow in the Priegnitz⁵⁶⁸, 1273 the brothers Georrius and Thydericus de Kerkow (Kirchow), who in 1270 made claims to Löwenberg near Zehdenick⁵⁶⁹, together with Conrad Clest and Beteko and Heidenricus de Bentz on the Dragen bridge in the Neumark [Urk. 55]; finally Wilhelmus de Kerkow in 1284, with Conrad Clest, Werner de Swanenberch, Bernhardus and Reinherus de Bentz, Beteke and Fridericus de Ekstede, Henricus de Bellinge, Johannes de Snetlinge, Conradus de Oderberch, Ludolfus de Bekendorf, Thethardus de Wostrow, Wilhelmus de Bertekow, etc., is found at the conclusion of the Peace of Vierraden on the Brandenburg side [Urk. 70]. As places of the same name there are: Kerkow, south-west of Zehdenick in the land of Glin⁵⁷⁰, Kerkow north of Angermünde⁵⁷¹ or Neu-Angermünde (as it was called, to distinguish it from Angermünde or Tangermünde in the Altmark, from which it derived

⁵⁵⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 8. S. 131. 140. 141.

⁵⁵⁸ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 8. S. 142.

⁵⁵⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 11. S. 2.

⁵⁶⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 15. S. 11.

⁵⁶¹ Cod. 469. Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1. S. 68. I. 13. S. 317. I. 21. S. 1. — Urk. 45.

⁵⁶² Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 8. S. 419, Urk. v. J. 1459.

⁵⁶³ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 6. S. 399. 400. I. 14. S. 3. I. 15. S. 11. 12. L. 16. S. 399. I. 22. S. 4. 5. — Wohlbrück und v. Ledebur a. a. O. S. 261 ff.

⁵⁶⁴ Cod. 241.

⁵⁶⁵ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 13. S. 312.

⁵⁶⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 7. S. 203, Urk. v. J. 1356.

⁵⁶⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 21. S. 89. I. 11. S. 3. I. 13. S. 128.

⁵⁶⁸ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 1. S. 243.

⁵⁶⁹ Riedel I. 7. S. 243, vgl. auch ibid. S. 245.

⁵⁷⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 8. S. 420, Urk. v. J. 1459.

⁵⁷¹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 8. S. 185, Urk. v. J. 1296.

its name), and Kerkow (now Karkow) near Freienwalde in Pomerania⁵⁷²; also Lucowe Zedelis, the oldest possession of Conrad Clest, later received the name Kerkow (see above p. 128). — After Bertkow or Bertkau near Arneburg the name was borne by Otto von Bertkau, 1225 with Count Heinrich of Aschersleben⁵⁷³, Theodericus and Fridericus de Bertekow, 1232 castle-men at Wusterhausen in the county of Ruppín⁵⁷⁴, the latter with Lodewicus and Gerarus de Kercow 1244 and 1247 at Brandenburg⁵⁷⁵, 1247 at Salzwedel in the Altmark⁵⁷⁶, 1248 with Henricus de Stegelitz, Burchardus de Valewanz, Henricus de Snetling, Gerardus de Kerkow and Johannes de Bentz in the Uckermark⁵⁷⁷. Then the knight Theodericus de Bertekow appears 1243—1280 in many charters of Barnim I. in the Stettin region⁵⁷⁸, 1251 also together with Conrad Clest [Urk. 30 a.], and 1254 as secondary witness of the two brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest in Barnim I.'s charter concerning the Clest possession Lucowe Zedeliz [Urk. 32], further 1284 Wilhelmus de Bertekow, as already mentioned above, together with Conrad Clest at the peace concluded at Vierraden [Urk. 70], while corresponding to the village Bertkow in the Altmark there is a village Bertikow east of Prenzlau in the Uckermark, further the village Berticowe (now Bartikow) already named in 1282 as a possession of the monastery Colbatz, south-east of Greifenhagen⁵⁷⁹. — Directly pointing to Salzwedel is Henricus de Saltwedel, who 1249 appears together with Conrad Clest in the charter in which Barnim I. promises the Stettiners the demolition of the castle at Stettin [Urk. 28 a.], likewise Theodericus de Saltwedele, 1261—1271 citizen at Stettin⁵⁸⁰. — A Cristianus Miles (presumably a Latin translation of the family name “Ritter”), 1273 councillor at Salzwedel⁵⁸¹, likewise has a namesake Arnoldus vocatus Miles at Stettin, who there in 1263 was councillor [Urk. 42]. — Horst, south-west of Salzwedel, quite near the former provosty of Döhre, and already named in 1289⁵⁸², further Horst (now Butterhorst) south-west of Osterburg near Calbe⁵⁸³, which with their names perhaps lead back to Horste (now Hörste) east of Lippstadt in Westphalia, already named in 1036⁵⁸⁴, where also in 1194 an Almarus de Horste⁵⁸⁵, correspond first with a village Horst in the Priegnitz north of Kyritz; 1248 Wilhelmus de Horst is, together with Conrad Clest, with Barnim I. at Pyritz [Urk. 25 a.], there likewise in 1261 a Bartholdus de Horst⁵⁸⁶. — In the year 1230 the knight Rodolfus de Bekethorp, who perhaps takes his name from Bekendorp (now Beckendorf) east of

⁵⁷² Riedel, C. d. Br. I, 18. S. 111, Urk. v. J. 1338.

⁵⁷³ Gercken, Fragm. March. I. 69.

⁵⁷⁴ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17. S. 4. I. 22. S. 4.

⁵⁷⁵ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 10. S. 202. 203. II. 1. S. 29. 487.

⁵⁷⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 14. S. 3.

⁵⁷⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 3. S. 317. I. 21. S. 89.

⁵⁷⁸ Cod. 313. 321. 322. 324. 325. 332. 338. 339. 347. 366. 368. 469 etc. — Wohlbrück und v Ledebuhr a. a. O. S. 260.

⁵⁷⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I 18. S. 1.

⁵⁸⁰ Dreger 336. 359. 377. 399. 416. 400 etc.

⁵⁸¹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 14. S. 14.

⁵⁸² Riedel C. d. Br. I. 14. S. 35.

⁵⁸³ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17. S. 57, Urk. v. J. 1323.

⁵⁸⁴ Förstemann a. a. O. II. 809. — Ehrhard, Cod. dipl. Westphal. 127.

⁵⁸⁵ Ehrhard, Cod. dipl. Westphal. 540.

⁵⁸⁶ Dreger 338.

Seehausen near Magdeburg⁵⁸⁷, is witness of the monastery Diesdorf, south-west of Salzwedel⁵⁸⁸, 1248 one finds the knight Egbertus de Bekendorpe in Vorpommern⁵⁸⁹, 1272 Ludeko (Ludekinus) de Bekendorpe with Margrave Johann at Lübeck⁵⁹⁰, the same in 1281 with Thethardus de Woztrow near Zehdenick and Templin in the Uckermark⁵⁹¹, and 1284, as Ludolfus de Bekendorp, as already mentioned, together with Conradus Clest at the Vierraden peace treaty [Urk. 70]. — Eberhard Bere, the progenitor of the Behr family, 1189—1197 in the retinue of Duke Heinrich the Lion, probably came from the Osnabrück region, yet also occurs in a Walkenried charter, and had possessions near the monastery of Ebstorf north-east of Uelzen in the Lüneburg country. Of his sons the third, Lippoldus Ursus, was in 1224 and 1225 a vassal of the Counts of Lüchow, north of Salzwedel⁵⁹². Lippold's sons we meet repeatedly in Pomeranian charters, especially Theodoricus Bere 1248 to 1264, Lippoldus Bere (Ursus, Bering) 1237—1255, Harnid Bere 1240—1283, Wedege Bere 1240—1270⁵⁹³; meanwhile we meet Theodoricus, Harnid and Wedege 1239—1274 also often at Röbel in Mecklenburg, and indeed among others together with Arnoldus de Nienkerken [Urk. 16. 28. 31. 51. 56].⁵⁹⁴ In particular, the aforesaid Thidericus and Lippoldus Bere (Beringe) are, 1248, together with Conradus Clest and Wilhelmus de Horst, at Pyritz witnesses of Barnim I. at the foundation of the monastery Marienfließ [Urk. 25 a.], and again 1255 likewise at Pyritz, together with Bartoldus Klist, Wernherus de Riden and Johannes de Clint [Urk. 36]. — In the years 1188—1223 a noble Waltherus de Boldensele occurs in Lower Saxony⁵⁹⁵, namely 1217 with Boldesalus, provost of the monastery Ebstorf⁵⁹⁶, and with Bernardus de Berge, Tidericus de Wustrowe and Alexander de Versne. Waltherus de Boldensele seems to have borne his name from Böddensell in the district of Gardelegen⁵⁹⁷, Alexander de Versne his from Veerßen near Uelzen⁵⁹⁸. The knight Walterus de Boldensele (Baldensele, Boltlensele), perhaps a son of the former, who still remains in the Brunswick country in 1248 and 1249⁵⁹⁹, we find 1250 in Pomerania as witness of Barnim I. at Stettin; also 1252 together with Conradus Clest and Theodoricus Bawarus in a charter issued for the Stettin nunnery [Urk. 25. Vgl. zu 25 (im 2. Nachtrag)], and, on the other hand, 1272 with Barnim I. Otto de Versne, as also 1281 with Bogislaw IV. Conradus de Versne⁶⁰⁰. Herewith the number of proofs for the close connection of the Pomeranian land, and especially of the region of Stettin, with

⁵⁸⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1. S. 49-51. Urk. v. J. 1257.

⁵⁸⁸ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 16. S. 398.

⁵⁸⁹ Cod. 399.

⁵⁹⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1. S. 117.

⁵⁹¹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 13. S. 129.

⁵⁹² Lisch, Urkunden des Geschl. Behr, I. S. 8. 10. 17. 18. 31. 32. 34. 95 und Urk. Nr. 1. 2. 3. 7. 8. — Frh. v. Ledebur has recently (Archiv für deutsche Adelsgeschichte, I. S. 76 ff.) disputed the descent of the Pomeranian and Rügen Behr from Eberhard Bere, and has sought to prove the Harz region as their home.

⁵⁹³ Lisch a. a. O. Urk. Nr. 11. 13. 16. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22 etc.

⁵⁹⁴ Ferner Lisch a. a. O. Urk. Nr. 47. 47.

⁵⁹⁵ Zeitschrift des histor. Vereins für Niedersachsen. Jahrg. 1852. S. 210.

⁵⁹⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 16. S. 396.

⁵⁹⁷ Wohlbrück und v. Ledebur a. a. O. S. 331.

⁵⁹⁸ Vgl. Lisch, Mecklenburgische Jahrbücher, XXV. 134. 136, Urk. v. J. 1294. — Dem Orte entspricht ein weiter westlich bei Meppen an der Ems gelegenes Bersen, das schon zu Anfang des 10. Jahrhunderts als Firsni, im 12. Jahrh. als Bersnen vorkommt (Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins zu Osnabrück, VI. S. 185. 209).

⁵⁹⁹ Sudendorff, Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Herzöge von Braunschweig und Lüneburg, I. S. 22. Nr. 32. — Treuer, Geschlechtshistorie der Herren von Münchhausen, Urk. S.

⁶⁰⁰ Originale im P. P. A. — Colbatzer Matrikel.

the Altmark and its Westphalian, Brunswick and Thuringian hinterland, which is expressed in the manifold transfer of the place- and family-names of the one land into the other, shall be brought to a close, although a still larger number might easily be adduced. On the other hand, it did not appear advisable to give fewer examples than has been done, because precisely their abundance, each supporting the other, is best suited to bring the fact before the eye and to conviction. In no wise, however, is it intended to awaken the notion as though a Pomeranian family, for which in one of those hinterlands of immigration a place of the same name is found, must necessarily stand in direct connection with it. The name might rather have been transferred by persons of quite different descent, and after the lapse of generations, to individual places in the East and North-East; and perhaps only from one of the latter did an immigrant family into Pomerania, whose home might lie far from the first place of that name, take up the name and retain it. If we now seek in those hinterlands for points of support for the origin of the family of the brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest, who always appear in such close connection with persons of immigrant Westphalian, Brunswick, Thuringian and Altmark families, we indeed first meet, to begin with the most distant regions, a Klist mill north of Warburg in Westphalia; but, although we know the direct and indirect connection of that region with Pomerania and the lands of passage, it nevertheless seems too venturesome to bring the name of the old family into connection with the name of that mill, of whose older or later origin nothing more precise is known. Similar may be the case with a Busch Kliste between Gnölpzig and Strenz-Naundorf, lying south-east of Alsleben in the former Magdeburg Saal district and present Mansfeld Lake district. This copse still exists, and elsewhere⁶⁰¹ the conjecture has already been expressed that the name may have remained from a village formerly existing there. But that is all that is known, or rather conjectured; for from earlier times and in documents nothing is known concerning the locality and its name. We are here, however, already in a region from which migration to the North and North-East, as is well known, flowed abundantly. If we recall that from the Mansfeld monastery of Sichem the monastery Lehnin in the Zauche was staffed, and follow this direction, we find, between Lehnin and Belitz, south-east of the former: Cleistow (Kleistow, Claistow, Klaisto, Klistow, Kliestow), an old village which is not entered in Emperor Charles IV's Land Book of the Mark of Brandenburg of the year 1375 only because at that time it no longer belonged to the Mark, but to Saxony—namely to the bailiwick of Belzig—with which it only in 1816 again came to Prussia⁶⁰². Farther to the south-east, in the Teltow, south of Trebbin, and from of old belonging to that castle, lies again a village Cliestow or Kliestow, called Clistow in Emperor Charles IV's Land Book of 1375⁶⁰³, written Clestow in 1505 and 1535⁶⁰⁴. Then we find Kliestow quite near Frankfurt on the Oder in the land of Lebus. This village is already in the year 1320, as “villa Clistow”, given by Duke Rudolf of Saxony to the town of Frankfurt⁶⁰⁵; in 1325 the allodium Clistow appears in the possession of the sons of the Frankfurt burgher Liphard⁶⁰⁶; in 1328 Margrave Ludwig enfeoffs the Frankfurt burgher Johannes de Lichtenberg with 12 Hufen at Clistowe, which, after the

⁶⁰¹ Neue Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen des Thüringisch-Sächsischen Vereins, B. I. H. 1. S. 27.

⁶⁰² Fidicin, Die Territorien der Mark Brandenburg, B. HI. Abt. III. Der Zauchische Kreis S. VI. VII. und beide Karten. — Daß nach der ersten Karte der Ort Klistow schon zu den in vorchristlicher Zeit vorhanden gewesen Ortschaften gehört haben soll, scheint eine bloße Vermutung Fidicin's zu sein, die der urkundlichen Begründung entbehren dürfte.

⁶⁰³ Fidicin, Kaiser Karls IV. Landbuch der Mark Brandenburg, 1856 S. 21. — Vgl. Fidicin, Die Territorien der Mark Brandenburg. B. I. Geschichte des Kreises Teltow. S. 75, wo auch dieses Dorf wie das vorhergenannte, aber ebenfalls ohne Grund, auf wendisch-heidn. Zeit zurückgeführt wird.

⁶⁰⁴ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 11. S. 456. — v. Raumer, C. d. Br. continuat. II. S. 285.

⁶⁰⁵ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 23. S. 24.

⁶⁰⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 20. S. 302.

town had in 1338 ceded the ownership of the village to the bishop of Lebus, belonged to his descendants still in 1407, but later passed to Mertin Wynn, and before 1437 to the town of Frankfurt⁶⁰⁷. Either after possessions in this village or after origin from it⁶⁰⁸ a Frankfurt burgher family called itself, from which “Lorenz Kliestow of Frankfurt” in the year 1432 was enfeoffed by Margrave Johann of Brandenburg with the village Kunersdorf (Cunrestorff) near Lebus, which he had bought from Heinrich and Jorge den Haken, as a proper man-fief.⁶⁰⁹

It is sometimes remarked that the addition of the syllable *ow* is something quite insignificant and commonplace. Thus, for example, the German family Ramel, which immigrated into Pomerania, is not seldom written Ramelow or Romelow, and even founded a village Ramelow in the bishopric of Cammin; the town Plate is, especially in the 16th century, very frequently written Platow, and likewise the family von Platen; the family von Mach also called itself von Machow, the von Lietzen Lietzow, the von Grape Grapow; indeed even the well-known Pomeranian chancellor Jürgen Kleist is called Jorg Klistow in a Märkisch charter of c. 1491 [Urk. 233].⁶¹⁰ — Whether, however, the three localities Kleistow and Kliestow mentioned above stand in connexion with one another and with the Thuringian Kliste, and on the other hand with the brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest or their family, may remain undecided. The Lebusian Kliestow, in particular, already lies quite far removed from the road of immigration into Pomerania.

With far greater interest, because of greater significance for that migration, we follow another direction, to which the name of the town of Alsleben, lying north-west of the above-mentioned copse Kliste in the Magdeburg Saal district, seems to lead. North-east of Halberstadt there lies likewise Groß- and Klein-Alsleben, and near it Hadmersleben. The Augustinian monastery at Hadmersleben already possessed in the year 1112 Diesdorf in the Altmark,⁶¹¹ south-west of Salzwedel, where about <170> 1160 likewise an Augustinian nunnery arose, and presently the provostry of Döhre lying near by to the north. Already on the way thither, in the bailiwick of Steincke, west of Gardelegen and near the Lüneburg border, there formerly lay a now deserted settlement Kleisto⁶¹². Then, however, quite near Döhre there lies a village Kleistow or Kleisten. This Kleistow is indeed not listed among the villages of the Altmark in Emperor Charles IV's Land Book of 1375, yet a great many other older villages are missing there as well⁶¹³, and in this omission there is no ground for the assumption that the place did not yet exist at that time. The oldest documentary notice of the village is furnished by a charter of 1443, according to which the provostry of Döhre then had dues in the “villa Klestene”⁶¹⁴. A charter of 1458 reports something similar, in which the village is already called Clestowe⁶¹⁵; in 1477 and 1507 the

⁶⁰⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 23. S. 24. 32. 70. 145. 146. 147. 206.

⁶⁰⁸ In dem Verzeichnis der Lebusischen Lehnleute vom J. 1400 wird der „Leman“ d. h. Lehnmann von Clistow mit 8 Hufen daselbst genannt. (Wohlbrück, Geschichte des Bistums Lebus, III. S. 310). Es ist wohl möglich, daß ein solches Clistower Lehnmannsgeschlecht seinen Namen nach dem Dorfe, in welchem es saß, angenommen hat.

⁶⁰⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 23. S. 199.

⁶¹⁰ That the ending of place-names in *ow* does not always point to Slav descent, but that *ow* is often appended to words of purely German derivation, is already remarked by v. Ledebur (Correspondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Altertumsvereine. VII. Jahrg. S. 44).

⁶¹¹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 16. S. 292.

⁶¹² Grote, Reichsfreih. zu Schauen, Verzeichnis jetzt wüster Ortschaften, S. 16, nach Walther,

⁶¹³ Vgl. Fidin, Kaiser Karl's IV. Landbuch, S. 174.

⁶¹⁴ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 16. S. 481.

⁶¹⁵ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 16. S. 490.

family von dem Knesebeck is found with possessions at Clestou or Klestow⁶¹⁶, and in 1491 we already have the present spelling Kleistow⁶¹⁷. While the oldest spelling of this place already approaches perceptibly the name of the brothers Clest, this is the case still far more with the village Kleeste or Klieste in the Priegnitz, lying west of Puttlitz close upon the Mecklenburg border, and still in 1684 written Klest⁶¹⁸; to which there may further be added in Mecklenburg the village Kleisten, north-east of Dobbartin, mentioned already in 1274 as “villa Clesten”⁶¹⁹, and finally a wood Cleste occurring already in 1228 near Güstrow⁶²⁰. These points in the Altmark, in the Priegnitz, and in southern Mecklenburg lie, properly speaking, upon the great highway of Saxon immigration into Pomerania; and if one considers that south of Güstrow there lies a village Badendieck, just as east of Kleistow in the Altmark there is a place Badendieck (now Bodenteich); that, further, at the same time and together with the wood Cleste near Güstrow there also appears a wood Primere (in whose place the present Priemerburg east of Güstrow is remembered)⁶²¹, just as in the Altmark there is a villa Primer (now Priemern) east of Arendsee⁶²²; that Mühlengiez and Karcheez (Kirch-Geez) south-west of Güstrow were founded by the Altmark family of Jeetze, or de Getz, stemming from the region of Arendsee, where also lies the village Jeetze⁶²³; that a village Klues lies near the Priemerburg at Güstrow, just as we find a Klüß quite near Kleeste in the Priegnitz; further, west near Kleeste in the Priegnitz a village Dambeck, just as likewise an old monastery Dambeck east of Kleistow in the Altmark, south of Salzwedel; likewise Horst north-east of Kleeste in the Priegnitz, just as east of Kleistow in the Altmark there is a village Deutsch-Horst; while Lockststedt south-east of Kleeste in the Priegnitz, south of Puttlitz, points not only to Lockstedt south-east of Kleistow in the Altmark near Klötze, but further to the Locstede (now Lauchstädt) already named in the 11th century, north-west of Merseburg⁶²⁴; and, likewise, that the village Mansfeld near Puttlitz and the family legend of the geese at Puttlitz recall the connexion of these regions with the county of Mansfeld⁶²⁵;—then the question concerning the origin of the brothers Clest may well be answered, from the comparison of all these individual circumstances in connexion with the foregoing general discussions of Pomeranian immigration, as follows:

⁶¹⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17. S. 348. I.

⁶¹⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 6. S. 255.

⁶¹⁸ Berghaus, Landbuch der Mark Brandenburg, I. S. 682.

⁶¹⁹ Lisch, Geschichte und Urkunden des Geschlechts Hahn, I. Urk. S. 62. — Hier kommt jedoch schon 1227 ein Bach Clestene (Meklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, I. S. 334) und 1286 ein See Clesten vor (Lisch, a. a. O. I. Urk. S. 123), und es wäre nicht unmöglich, daß das Dorf von diesen Gewässern (vgl. S. 134) den Namen erhalten hätte, doch ist auch der umgekehrte Fall möglich.

⁶²⁰ Meklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, I. S. 344. — Vgl. ebendas. S. 345, unse

⁶²¹ a. a. O.

⁶²² Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 22. S. 28. 30, Urk. v. J. 1323.

⁶²³ As early as 1283 the squire Jobus de Gece appears in Mecklenburg (Lisch, Mecklenburgische Jahrbücher, VI. S. 204. XII. 12. 325), 1293 the knight Johannes de Getz (de Getze), who in 1314 held in pledge the estate Wargentin bei Malchin belonging to the altmärkische Kloster Arendsee [Urk. 82]. — Walter (Genealogische Geschichte des Geschlechts von Jeetze) disputes the connexion of the Mecklenburg family with the Altmark one solely because both bear different coats of arms. We shall prove further below (Kap. 3 A) that difference of arms alone affords no ground for separating families of the same name.

⁶²⁴ Förstemann, Altdeutsches Stammbuch. II. S. 945.

⁶²⁵ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 1. S. 277. Also in the Friedeberger Kreise der Neumark, already in 1337, Lockstede (jetzt Lauchstädt) and Mansfelde lay close to one another, and the family von Bornstedt (s. S. 157) had possessions in them. (Gollmert, Das Neumärkische Landbuch Markgraf Ludwigs S. 93. Frh. v. Ledebur. Archiv für deutsche Adelsgeschichte, I. S. 375. 376.)

With high probability the brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest come from the Altmark, perhaps their forebears further from Thuringia; and the localities Kleisto near Steincke, Kleistow near Salzwedel, Kleeste near Puttlitz and Kleisten near Dobbartin stand in probable connexion with the name of the family and its migration into Pomerania.

Before we close this inquiry, we must still cast a sidelong glance at the Havelland.

In a charter of the year 1520, in which Elector Joachim of Brandenburg sells to the Brandenburg cathedral chapter the village of Butzow in the Havelland, it is said: "They and their descendants shall also have power, authority, and right to buy and to bring into their possession the goods, rents, and dues which the Brosicken and Klesten in the said village of Butzow hold from us and our lordship as a fief, and likewise to have as property those which fall vacant and die out without heirs, at whatever time that may occur, etc." The family here called "Klesten" at Butzow was properly called Clesen, Cletzen, Klessen. At the compilation of Emperor Charles IV's Land Book in the year 1375 the family still had no possessions in Butzow, but it had already by the year 1428. In a charter of that year⁶²⁶ mention is made of "a farm in the village Buczow, lying next to the parsonage house, which Willeke Closen (Fidicin⁶²⁷ reads Clesen) has hitherto held of us and of the Margraviate of Brandenburg as a fief," and in 1458 Elector Frederick enfeoffs Hansz, Wilke, Claws, and Peter the Cletzen at Butzow with revenues and their share of the jurisdiction at Butzow⁶²⁸. Fidicin's⁶²⁹ remark that the Brandenburg cathedral chapter seems soon after the granting of the expectancy in 1520 to have acquired the K.-estate is not correct; for still at the diet at Berlin in the year 1572 the family appears numerously represented, namely by Claus, Adam, Matthias, Franz, and Lorenz the Klessen at Bützow⁶³⁰. — The family was also settled in the neighbouring villages of Buschow, Bagow, Waschow, and Niebede, all lying between Brandenburg and Nauen. The Klesse at Buschow are already named in 1412⁶³¹, and in the tax register of the year 1450 it is said: "Buschow has Knobeloch of my lord, upon the field-mark his XVIII hides; thus has Klessow VI"; further, in the tax register of the year 1480: "XVIII hides, thereof the Kleysen have VI free"⁶³². For the village of Bagow the tax register of 1450 says: "Bochow has Peter von Klyszen of my lord, upon the field-mark his XX hides, thereof has Peter von Klyszen VI free"⁶³³. At Wachow the Klessen possessed in the 15th and 16th centuries the Schulzen-jurisdiction with 2 free hides⁶³⁴, and still in the "List of the Junkers and villages in the Landreuter district of Spandow Anno 1620" it is said: "Wachow. A free

⁶²⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 8. S. 401. Nr. 440, according to the Kurmärkisches Lehnscopialbuch of the Geheimes Staatsarchiv XVI. 15.

⁶²⁷ Territorien der Mark Brandenburg, III. Kreis Westhavelland, p. 12.

⁶²⁸ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 11. p. 388.

⁶²⁹ Territorien der Mark Brandenburg, loc. cit.

⁶³⁰ v. Eickstedt, Beiträge zu einem neueren Landbuch der Marken Brandenburg, p. 79.

⁶³¹ Fidicin, Territorien, loc. cit., p. 11, according to Copiarium 14 of the Geheimes Staatsarchiv. — Also, in the passage of Emperor Charles IV's Land Book (ed. Fidicin p. 105): "Buschow sunt XVIII mansi, quorum habet Clot II," Fidicin (Territorien, loc. cit., p. 11) already believes he must read Clesse instead of Clot, which I nevertheless doubt. It is far more probable that what is meant here is the family Clot (Clote, Kloet, Clott, Klot, Kloth, Kloth), which already in 1440 and still at the end of the 16th century was seated in the more southerly Lühnow (Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 9 S. 151. 171. 176. 179. I. 11. S. 329. — v. Eickstedt, Beiträge zu einem Landbuch etc., p. 31. 79. 169.

⁶³² Fidicin, Kaiser Karl's IV. Landbuch, p. 326.

⁶³³ Fidicin, loc. cit., p. 327.

⁶³⁴ Fidicin, Territorien, loc. cit., p. 59.

Schulze. The Cleszen hold the entire hand jointly among themselves”⁶³⁵. For the village Niebede the Land Book of 1375⁶³⁶ says: “Nybede sunt XXX mansi, quarum habet Jan de Clitz III ad curiam.” In the year 1572 the Kleissen at Liebenwalde in the land of Barnim are also named, where even at the end of the 16th century a Berndt Kleissen, son of Clawes, was seated⁶³⁷. — However changeful the spelling is, it can hardly be doubtful that everywhere the same family is meant⁶³⁸. North of the above-named villages of the Havelland, in the land of Friesack and west of the town of the same name, lies the probable home of the family, the village Kleessen, whose name in the course of time has undergone quite similar changes to that of the like-named family. The village was called, namely, in 1352: Cletzen⁶³⁹, c. 1500: Kleieszen⁶⁴⁰, 1541: Klessen⁶⁴¹, 1556: Klissen⁶⁴², 1616: Klesen⁶⁴³, and is at present written Kleessen, Klessen, Clessen, also Clessow⁶⁴⁴.

From all this it follows that the charter of the year 1520 mentioned at the beginning, whose printed text moreover derives not from an original but from a diplomatarium, is the only source that once produces the form Klesten; it may therefore with fairly great certainty be reduced to a mere writing or reading error. In any case this solitary occurrence does not suffice to make a connexion between the Havelland Kleessen and the brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest, or the Pomeranian family of Kleist, acceptable—so much the less since conversely in the latter the form Kleessen never occurs⁶⁴⁵, and precisely in the oldest period the two names are definitely distinguished.

4. We now come to the second question:

Are the brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest, whose German origin has been demonstrated in the preceding section, the progenitors of the family von Kleist that still flourishes today? and is the latter in general a German or a Wendish family?

The first part of this question must be answered in the negative; the family von Kleist is not a German

⁶³⁵ Fidicin, Territorien, loc. cit., XXIX, according to Copiarium No. 79, fol. 195 of the Geheimes Staatsarchiv.

⁶³⁶ Fidicin, Landbuch, p. 103.

⁶³⁷ v. Eickstaedt, Beiträge etc., p. 85. 169.

⁶³⁸ Not to be included here is the knight Albrecht von Cleetz (Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 18. p. 219); it is the knight Albertus de Cleptzk (Clepzyk, Clepizk, Cleptz, Clepezek, Cleps, Klepez, Klepiz, Clepezk), who from 1291 to 1327 appears frequently in Märkisch charters, and probably took his name from Klepzig, south of Belzig (1297 Clepzet, Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 10. p. 222). (Another Klepzig lies east of Halle.) A better transcript of that charter also gives this name. — Nor does Cristoff von Cleetiz likely belong here, whom the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Paul von Rusdorf in 1440 enfeoffed with the outwork Thomaswalde and 12 Hufen in the Dirschau territory (Dreger's copy of the ten small handfeste books of the Teutonic Order, p. 777).

⁶³⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 7. p. 49.

⁶⁴⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 8. p. 457.

⁶⁴¹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 7. pp. 60. 70.

⁶⁴² Fidicin, Territorien, loc. cit., p. 27.

⁶⁴³ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 7. p. 66.

⁶⁴⁴ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 7. p. 41.

⁶⁴⁵ Except in Urk. 406 of the year 1521, where the name of Lorenz Kleist is written Kleeß. The charter is, however, written in Holstein, and the Holstein scribe did not correctly understand the name. A poor Märkisch transcript of Urk. 337 of the year 1500 (Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 6. p. 165. No. 2371, according to the Kurmärkisches LehnCopialbuch V. 22) likewise makes the name of Jürgen Clest into Kleeß, probably because the name of the Märkisch family Kleessen was hovering before the mind. The original, however, also clearly has Clest.

one, but a Wendish.

The next charter which, after Conrad Clest's last appearance in the year 1284 [Urk. 70], brings forward the name Clest as a family name, is—after an interval of 80 years—a charter issued at Neustettin in 1364 by Duke Wartislaw V., in which Prissebur “de de Klest het” at Muttrin is named [Urk. 83]⁶⁴⁶; after him there are documentarily, 1368—1383, the squire Dubbeslaf Clest, Cleest, Clist [Urk. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88], 1385 and 1386 the previous man's son Dubbeslaf Cleest with his brothers [Urk. 83. 89. 90], 1387 the cousins Pribbeslaf and Bisprav Clest [Urk. 91], 1389 Briezmar (without doubt Pritzbur⁶⁴⁷) Kleste at Zatkow and Bisbra (Bispraw) Kleste, son of the Vulcz [Urk. 92], further Tessin Cleest at Dubberow⁶⁴⁸, 1402—1407 the old Bispraw Klest [Urk. 93. 94. 100], 1402 the young Bispraw Klest [Urk. 93. 94. 95]. What first strikes the eye is the complete lack of a German baptismal name down into the 15th century. Prissebur⁶⁴⁹, Dubislaw⁶⁵⁰, Pribislaw⁶⁵¹, Bispraw⁶⁵², Tessin⁶⁵³ are names of genuine Wendish sound; only Vulcz (Voltz) could count as an abbreviation of the German baptismal names Volkmar, Volkhard, or Volkwin⁶⁵⁴, yet just as well it may have sprung from a Wendish root, namely analogously to the name of the old Wendish, Rügen family Voltzke, Volske, Volzeke, Volzekevitz, Fulzeke, Folsche⁶⁵⁵.

If one considers once more what has been discussed at length above (pp. 141 ff.) and substantiated by examples—namely with what consistency Wends and Germans held fast to their national baptismal names—then it can scarcely be assumed that the family von Kleist should have made so considerable an exception to this generally observed rule, to wit: that while the first two representatives, already becoming visible in 1248 and 1249, bore German baptismal names, their descendants should still down to 1402 have borne only Wendish baptismal names. We must therefore most decisively reject the assumption of an agnatic connexion of the brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest with the Prisseburs, Dubislaws, Pribislaws, Bispraws, and Tessins Clest of the 14th and 15th centuries; and nothing remains but to assume, alongside the German, also a Wendish family Clest.

In attempting to trace the line of descent of the Wendish family Clest further back, to determine the time when the family name first appears with it, and to ascertain the reasons that moved it to adopt this family name, one must first consider the charter issued at Stolp in Hinterpommern in 1289 by the Mecklenburg prince Pribislaus de Slavia, lord of the lands of Daber and Belgard, in which he grants to the monastery Bukow near Rügenwalde 200 Hufen near Persanzig in his land of Belgard [Urk. 75]; at

⁶⁴⁶ In a charter of 13 November 1325 a “Nicolao Klest” appears as witness. See the note in the supplement p. . (2006)

⁶⁴⁷ The Prussian scribe of the charter also writes: Bisbra, Bolczin, for Bispraw, Polczin.

⁶⁴⁸ The charters containing this name were to be published in the second supplement to the Urkundenbuch under numbers 91 a. and 91 b., but were no longer in the collection. (2007)

⁶⁴⁹ Czech: Prisnobor, and probably means “strict fighter,” “strong fighter,” from prjsen, strictness, and boriti, to destroy (Codex pp. 281. 408. 486).

⁶⁵⁰ From doba, time, and slawa, glory; thus: “time-glory” (Codex p. 94).

⁶⁵¹ The Czech names Priba and Pribik mean auctus, crescens, and slawa: glory; thus Pribislaw approximately: “increasing, growing glory” (Codex p. 281. — Lisch, Meklenburg. Jahrbücher II. p. 12, after Hanka).

⁶⁵² In Czech Bezprawe means “wrong,” from bez, without, and prawo, right (Codex p. 931).

⁶⁵³ Tessen, Tessin, Tesan from the Czech tesiti (Polish cieszyć), to gladden, to rejoice, to comfort. From this also the names Tessimer (“joy-peace”), Tesslaw (“joy-glory”), and the Czech name Tesek. (Codex pp. 88. 161. 199. 385. — Jungmann, Böhmisches Wörterbuch, T. IV, p. 581.)

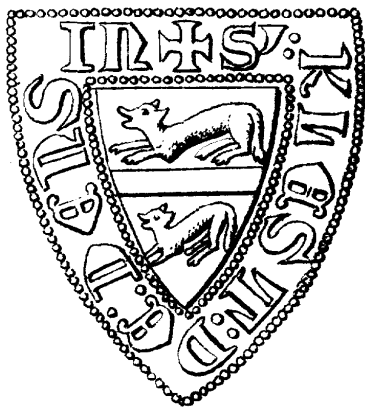
⁶⁵⁴ Klöden, Der falsche Waldemar, appendix. — Quandt Msc. — To be compared is the name of the German Volzekinus Specht 1255 (see p. 154). — Volze Nopow 1345 at Stendal in the Altmark (Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 17. p. 498).

⁶⁵⁵ Klempin and Kratz, Matrikeln und Verzeichnisse der pommerschen Ritterschaft, p. 65.

that time this land comprised not only the present Belgard district (excluding the bishopric of Cammin territory of Arnhausen, cut off by the Teipel etc.), but also the whole of the present Neustettin district. As witnesses of this donation, and at the same time as vassals or councillors (*ministeriales*) of Pribislaw, are named: “Nicolaus Hakenbeke, Johannes frater suus, Cristoforus Cnuth, Prissebur, Clest fratres, Gerardus Monachus, Johannes Cnetechow, Reinholt Bolte, Hinricus Hekethusen,” and indeed in the original with the punctuation here retained. I can translate the phrase “Prissebur, Clest fratres” only as: “the brothers Prissebur and Clest”⁶⁵⁶, and I unhesitatingly regard the younger brother Clest as the progenitor of the entire Wendish family von Kleist, but his name, like that of his brother Prissebur, as a baptismal name. Like many other Wendish families of that time, the one to which the two brothers belonged likewise still had no proper family name, but identified itself only by the inheritance of long-established baptismal names peculiar to the family. Such a baptismal name is here Prissebur. This name, which the elder brother bears, is so peculiar to the family von Kleist and (for good reasons to be discussed further below) to the family von Woedtke, that one finds it in no other Pomeranian family; and if one considers that the first man who, with documentary certainty, is to be reckoned to the Wendish family von Kleist—namely Prissebur Kleist at Muttrin 1364 [Urk. 83]—bears as baptismal name the name of the one brother of 1283, and as family name the name of the other brother of 1289,

⁶⁵⁶ A highly esteemed scholar, Baron von Ledebur, who otherwise agrees with the result of my researches concerning the German origin of the brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest and the Wendish origin of the family von Kleist (which first appears with a family name in 1364 [Urk. 83]), nevertheless writes with reference to this passage as follows: “With the witnesses listed in Urk. 75 I must adopt a different interpretation. I can in fact recognize in the Clest fratres nothing other than ‘the brothers Kleist.’ To be sure, these cannot be the two known brothers Conrad and Berthold, since the knight Conrad already in 1269 [Urk. 48] names his brother Berthold as deceased; but they could be sons of the one or the other. If, on the other hand, Prissebur and Clest were meant to be designated as brothers by the ‘fratres,’ then another manner of expression would probably have been chosen, namely either, as with the previously named brothers Hakenbeke, the form: Prissebur, Clest frater suus, or at least a conjunction: Prissebur et Clest fratres.” — Against this I remark as follows: If a comma stood after Clest, then even the opponents of my view would hardly hesitate to refer the word fratres to both Prissebur and Clest. The lack of the comma in the original, however, is entirely insignificant, and according to Waitz’s and Lisch’s rules concerning the printing of charters would have to be supplied. Compare, for example, Urk. 50, where the word milites, separated by no comma from “Virchwitz,” belongs not merely to the name Birchwitz (so as to designate several knights of that name), but is to be referred to all the preceding names separated by punctuation. Similar things are observed in Urk. 33, 36, 44, 46, 48, 49, 61, 64, 65, 66, etc., where the matter is still clearer through the pronounced singular before milites. Here the usefulness of retaining the original punctuation between names is shown, since it thereby becomes possible, by reference to corresponding examples, to meet an erroneous interpretation. Although it is conceded that the forms “Prissebur, Clest frater suus” or “Prissebur et Clest fratres” correspond more to the customary charter style than “Prissebur, Clest fratres,” examples of the latter type nevertheless occur not rarely, e.g.: Geuehardus, Wernerus fratres de Louenburg (Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch I. p. 500); Euerhardus, Johannes de Molendino, fratres (ibid. I. p. 581); Reinerus Arnoldus fratres de Hastenbike (Geschlechtshistorie der Herren von Münchhausen, appendix p. 7); Thidericus, Bernardus fratres de Lo (ibid. p. 10 and plate VI); Hermannus, Johannes, fratres de Lippca (Wilmans, Westphälisches Urkundenbuch III. p. 323, No. 610); Fridericus miles, Arnoldus clericus fratres germani (ibid. p. 105, No. 193); Stephanus, Godescalcus Torek fratres (ibid. p. 485, No. 934); Ludewicus de Munechusen, Henricus fratres (Oetter, Wappenbelustigungen, V. 42); Martinus Nozich, Jeroslaus fratres (Haken, continuation of his diplomatic history of the town of Cöslin, p. 24), etc., etc. — In any case it cannot be denied that the form “Clest fratres,” if it is to designate “the brothers Clest,” would in itself be very unusual. One often omits the baptismal name when a single person is listed, but not when several persons of the same family name are named. The expression “Clest fratres” would also in itself give no indication of the number of brothers. Are they two, three, four, or still more? At the very least one would in this case expect a numerical designation, as, for example, duo StulpennageI (Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1. p. 475), ambo Blumenberg (Riedel ibid. p. 476), ambo Conyut (Riedel, loc. cit., p. 451. — Lisch, Urk. zur Gesch. des Geschl. Hahn, Urk. I. p. 153), Helen ambo (Riedel ibid. I. 18. pp. 21. 124), tres fratres milites Poppones nomine (Urkundenbuch des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen, booklet IV, p. 58), etc.—a requirement which, in the listing of witnesses to whom one might later have to recur for the verification of the content of the charter, or at least of its lawful issuance, appears downright necessary. — I therefore believe I must adhere to my interpretation.

one will with good right be permitted to count the brothers Prissebur and Clest, although they still bear



no family name, among the later family called “Kleist.” It lies very near, then, to behold in the younger brother Clest the progenitor of the entire family, that unnamed “Oldervader” of the oldest fief- and joint-hand letter of 1477 [Urk. 125] and of the family tradition, whose three sons founded the three principal lines of the family. The family tradition, upon which the joint-hand letter <175> rested, left him unnamed because he was called simply Clest—perhaps also because later people believed the baptismal name to be lacking, whereas in truth it was precisely the family name that was still lacking. Of the three founders of the lines mentioned in the joint-hand letter of 1477, two—namely Prissebur at Muttrin and Volz at Belgard—are, according to credible statements of the family tradition, named in documents in

the years 1316 and 1320, years which are excellently suited to support the assumption that the Clest of 1289 was their father. Clest’s sons—Prissebur, Volz, and their third brother—first appended their father’s name to their own in patronymic fashion (Prissebur Clest = Prissebur filius Clest), and then, by inheritance of the patronymic upon their descendants, brought the name Kleist into force as a family name. A multitude of Wendish family names arose in this way, thus Borcke (in Polish charters also Borkowicz⁶⁵⁷), Natzmer, Bandemer, Mitzlaff, Paxlaff (from Pacoslaus), Wittke (from Vitico), Suhm (also Sumovitz), Ubeske, Wojan, Schlaweke (also Slawekevitz), Tessen (also Tessentz or Tessenitz, Tessitz), etc. That Prissebur Kleist at Muttrin [Urk. 83], who by his lifetime (1364) must count as a grandson⁶⁵⁸ of Clest, will have been among the first to make use of the name Kleist as a true family name. The peculiarity of the expression Prissebur “de de Kleist het” also seems to speak for the youthful age of the family name.

The progenitor Clest indeed does not appear further in documents, but an excellent supplement is offered by the metal seal-matrix⁶⁵⁹ found in the year 1834 in the wood between Ristow and the old Kleist fief-estate Wutzow south of Belgard (shown beside this, also Appendix Plate IX No. 1), with the Kleist coat of arms (a bar between two foxes) and the inscription: S(igillum) Klest de Densin, which, by its execution, can belong only to the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century (Part I, p. 35). Kleist de Densin, whom the inscription of the seal designates as the former possessor, bears the name in any case from his manorial seat Denzin⁶⁶⁰, which lies half a mile south of Belgard, that is, in the immediate vicinity of Pribislaw’s residence city, Pribislaw being at that time (1280 to c. 1290) lord in the land of Belgard. That he belongs to the family von Kleist is proved by his coat of arms. He is also without doubt one and the same person as the Clest of 1289 [Urk. 75], that Clest who dwells in the land in which the principal seat of the family, Muttrin, already appears in 1364 [Urk. 83], who with his brother Prissebur is witness to a grant of 200 Hufen lying south of Persanzig⁶⁶¹, thus beside the wilderness belonging to Raddatz, and who probably was also an owner there, since the study of the

⁶⁵⁷ Raczynski, Cod. dipl. Dlugosz, T. IX, p. 1115. Niscecki-Bobrowicz, Herbarz Polski I. p. 523. Cf. p. 517.

⁶⁵⁸ According to Quandt, he is a son of Clest and identical with the Prissebur of 1320.

⁶⁵⁹ According to a note in the family newsletter of August 1935, p. 16, the original seal was in the possession of the house of Tschernowitz. Cousin Gisela donated it in 1929 to the family association, which in turn placed it on loan with the Provincial Museum at Stettin. All inquiries as to the whereabouts of the seal after 1945 have thus far been unsuccessful. Casts still exist, one of them in the family archive in Hamm. (2007)

⁶⁶⁰ Similarly to Borco de Vressow, i.e. Fritzow near Colberg (in the appendix, plate XII. 1), Bandemer de Gammin, i.e. Gambin near Stolp (Bagmihl, Pommersches Wappenbuch I. p. 48), Pryscebur de Kelle, i.e. Kelle near Röbel in Mecklenburg [Urk. 77], Borante de Borantenhagen, i.e. Brandshagen near Stralsund (Cod. 412), etc.

⁶⁶¹ Cf. Dreger 426.

charters of the 13th century yields the conviction that, apart from the court officials forming the entourage of the territorial lord, there appear as witnesses almost only those who, as district heads, border neighbours, or otherwise, are in some way involved in the act made known by the charter⁶⁶². The question, however, is:

How did Clest, the younger of the two brothers of 1289, the progenitor of the Wendish family von Kleist, come by his baptismal name, which in so surprising a fashion recalls the family name of two German knights who appear in Pomerania already since 1248 and 1249?

This question may be answered in two ways.

1. The Wendish baptismal name Clest may have arisen quite independently, without any reference to the family name of the brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest. In the principality of Rügen there appears in 1236 a Wend with the baptismal name Clits, identical with Clist⁶⁶³, and it would be quite possible that a Hinterpomeranian family might likewise have taken a liking to the formation of a similar baptismal name for a younger son.

2. Far more probable, however, I hold it that there truly is a connexion between the baptismal name Clest and the identical-sounding family name of the German family; namely that a transfer from the German to the Wendish family has taken place. Everything is explained very simply if one assumes that the mother of the brothers Prissebur and Clest was a daughter of Conrad or Berthold Clest. Then the elder brother would have received the name of the paternal grandfather, the younger son the name of the maternal grandfather—exactly as corresponds most decidedly to the custom of the time⁶⁶⁴. It would appear striking only that the younger brother did not receive the baptismal name of his maternal grandfather (Conrad or Berthold) but rather his family name as a baptismal name—yet only at first glance. The Wendish families, which themselves still bore no family name, generally made no distinction between baptismal name and family name, unless perhaps the latter had manifestly arisen merely from being named after a place. Therefore, to the father of the brothers Prissebur and Clest the name Clest counted just as well as a baptismal name as Conrad and Berthold. Indeed, he may have preferred the name Clest because of its Wendish sound; or he may have regarded the German family name Clest as a patronymic, that is, as a true original baptismal name—for precisely the Wends loved the formation of family names from baptismal names used patronymically (cf. p. 175); perhaps at the same time considerations of piety also worked in, in regard to the German family dying out in the male line, from which the mother of the two brothers sprang. Yet it is not at all necessary to assume a peculiar Wendish view concerning baptismal and family names, for the Germans in essence did the same. The Germans employed foreign family names as baptismal names down into the latest times, when any wavering in the quality of the names as baptismal names, patronymics, or family names no longer occurred at all. As proof, the following examples may serve:

⁶⁶² Cf. the preface to vol. I, p. VI, and Quandt, Msc.

⁶⁶³ Cf. the examples p. 134, and on the transposition of ts and tz into st, p. 133—especially the example: Getz = Geist.

⁶⁶⁴ Archiv für Geschichte und Altertumskunde von Oberfranken, B. V. H. 2. p. 17. — Oetter, Historische Betrachtung über das Hohenlohesche Wappen, p. 82. — Zeitschrift für Westphälische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, IX. p. 50. — Danneil, Das Geschlecht der von der Schulenburg, II. p. 10. — Wohlbrück in: v. Ledebur, Allgem. Archiv f. Geschichtskunde des Preuß. Staats, II. 38. — Klöden, Nachrichten zur Geschichte des Geschlechts der Herren von Kröcher, p. 1. — Lisch, Mecklenburgische Jahrbücher XV. p. 29. — Archiv des histor. Vereins für Niedersachsen, Jahrg. 1850. p. 270.

Schack (Scacke, Scacco) of Rumore 1245–1253; Scacke vamme Rumore 1351⁶⁶⁵; Schacke Rumohr at Röst 1498–1500 and Schack Rumohr at Düttebüle 1585, all in Holstein; further, several persons of the name Schacke Rantzowe from 1400–1469 in Holstein⁶⁶⁶. Alongside this, the family Schack in Brunswick and Lüneburg already in 1281⁶⁶⁷, later also in Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania.

Luchto (de) Kothene 1299, 1300⁶⁶⁸; Luchto called Swan 1307–1325, both in Pomerania. Alongside this, a Pomeranian family Luchte already since 1295⁶⁶⁹.

Bork de Osta 1321 in Pomerania⁶⁷⁰; Borke of Kerkow, or senior Borke Kelkow, 1234–1375; likewise Borke of Kerkow 1407–1416, further 1452 and 1492, in the Mark⁶⁷¹; Borke Heydebreck c. 1440 in Mecklenburg⁶⁷². Alongside these, the old Wendish family Borcke.

Horn Wicboldi 1332 at Colberg⁶⁷³. Alongside this, the Colberg burgher family Horn.

Blyxe de Schinkele 1334 in Holstein⁶⁷⁴; alongside this, the Pomeranian family Blixen (von Blixen), presumably stemming from Holstein⁶⁷⁵.

Kenstel (Kensteel, Koustel) of Güntersberg 1336 and 1338⁶⁷⁶, likewise c. 1404 [Urk. 98] in the Neumark. Alongside this, a dominus Kenstel before 1313 at Callies⁶⁷⁷.

Schele Crakow 1358 in Mecklenburg⁶⁷⁸. Alongside this, a family Schele (Luscus) already since 1252 in Mecklenburg⁶⁷⁹, since 1276 in Pomerania.

Grube Vos, 1376 squire of the dukes of Stettin⁶⁸⁰. Alongside this, the family Grube, already since 1227 in Mecklenburg⁶⁸¹.

⁶⁶⁵ Westphalen, Monumenta inedita, II, p. 38. Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgisches Urkundenbuch, p. 488. — Cod. dipl. Lubecensis, I, p. 178.

⁶⁶⁶ Seals of the Middle Ages from the archives of the city of Lübeck: Holstein and Lauenburg seals; seals of noble families, pp. 5, 23, 24, 25.

⁶⁶⁷ Cod. dipl. Lubecens. I, pp. 383, 407. — Fabricius, Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Fürstent. Rügen, III, p. 155.

⁶⁶⁸ Old copy in the P. P. A.: Stettin Archive P. I, Tit. 29, no. 14.

⁶⁶⁹ Bagmihl, Pommersches Wappenbuch, V, p. 66.

⁶⁷⁰ Cramer, Geschichte der Lande Lauenburg und Bütow, II, p. 11, no. 14.

⁶⁷¹ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 21, pp. 18, 19, 22, 30, 60, 73, 242, 256, 309; I. 13, pp. 54, 69. Fidicin, Kaiser Karl's IV. Landbuch der Mark Brandenburg, pp. 152, 153, 155.

⁶⁷² Original in the P. P. A.: Ducal no. 165 a.

⁶⁷³ Original in the P. P. A.: Colberg, Cathedral Chapter, no. 560.

⁶⁷⁴ Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgisches Urkundenbuch, p. 487.

⁶⁷⁵ Klempin and Kratz, Matrikeln und Verzeichnisse, p. 6.

⁶⁷⁶ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 18, pp. 107, 112. In the year 1421 Henningh von Guntersbergh, otherwise called Kenscel (better: Kenstel), appears at Ravenstein (Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 18, p. 179).

⁶⁷⁷ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 18, p. 102.

⁶⁷⁸ Lisch, Mecklenburgische Jahrbücher XVII, p. 117

⁶⁷⁹ Loc. cit., XX, p. 257.

⁶⁸⁰ Lisch, Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte des Geschlechts von Maltzan, II, p. 298.

⁶⁸¹ Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, pp. 335, 345, 369.

Henning Wulf, resident at Zabowe, with his children Hans and Koldenbeke, called Wulf, 1402⁶⁸². Alongside this, the Pomeranian family von Koldenbeck, already appearing in 1267 with Everardus de Koldenbeke⁶⁸³.

Hardenack von Bibow 1420–1447, 1513–1526, and 1623–1632⁶⁸⁴; Hardenack Wackerbarth 1590 at Katelbagen, all in Mecklenburg. Alongside this, the Mecklenburg family Hardenack, which died out at the beginning of the 15th century, whose fiefs passed to the von Bibow⁶⁸⁵.

Paschedag Hasencop 1466–1498 in Mecklenburg⁶⁸⁶. Alongside this, the Mecklenburg family Paschedag, which stems from the Münsterland, where Bernardus Paschedag already in 1212.

Bade Berwaldt, 1467 burgomaster at Colberg. Alongside this, the Colberg burgher family Bade already in 1438.

Lentz Storm, 1488 hereditary Schultheiß at Seehausen in the Uckermark⁶⁸⁷. Alongside this, the Uckermark family Lenz, of Lenz⁶⁸⁸.

Zutfeld Wardenberg, from a Stralsund family, 1514–1527 dean of the cathedral at Schwerin and archdeacon at Tribsees [Urk. 403. 427. 428. 429. 430]; Zutfeld Hoyer, 1556–1578 councillor at Stralsund; likewise a second Zutfeld Hoyer, 1620–1640 councillor and burgomaster at Stralsund⁶⁸⁹. Alongside this, the Stralsund family Zutfeld or Sutfeld already in 1466⁶⁹⁰.

Stevelin Völschow, 1572–1591 councillor at Stralsund; another Stralsund councillor of the same name 1596–1619, and a third, first councillor then burgomaster at Stralsund 1609 to 1626⁶⁹¹. Alongside this, the Greifswald family Stevelin already in 1436⁶⁹². Schinkel von der Osten 1619 and 1633 at Unrow on Rügen⁶⁹³. Alongside this, the family Schinkel seated near Anklam already in 1496⁶⁹⁴.

Indeed even the family name itself was at the same time used as a baptismal name, e.g. in the family von Wacholtz: Reymarus et Wacholte patroi dicti de Wacholte 1348⁶⁹⁵; Eghardus Wagholt, whose brother Wagholt and his uncles Simon and Reymarus, brothers, called de Wagholt 1368⁶⁹⁶; Reymarus et

⁶⁸² Register of the monastery of Colbatz in the P. P. A., fol. 13, no. 45.

⁶⁸³ Lisch, *Mecklenburger Urkunden*, II, p. 20.

⁶⁸⁴ Lisch, *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Geschlechts Hahn*, I, p. 53.

⁶⁸⁵ Lisch, loc. cit. I, pp. 49, 51, 52; II, charter 135.

⁶⁸⁶ Lisch, *Mecklenburgische Jahrbücher* II, p. 84.

⁶⁸⁷ Riedel, *C. d. Br. I.* 13, p. 501.

⁶⁸⁸ Riedel, *C. d. Br. I.* 13, p. 486.

⁶⁸⁹ Brandenburg, *Geschichte des Magistrats der Stadt Stralsund*, pp. 90, 92.

⁶⁹⁰ v. Bohlen, *Geschichte des Geschlechts von Krassow*, pp. 113, 114, 117, 121.

⁶⁹¹ Brandenburg, *Geschichte des Magistrats der Stadt Stralsund*, p. 91.

⁶⁹² Gesterding, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Greifswald*, 1st continuation, pp. 119, 120. — *Baltische Studien* X. 1, pp. 220, 221.

⁶⁹³ v. Bohlen, *Geschichte des Geschlechts von Krassow*, II, p. 267. — Bagmihl, *Pommersches Wappenbuch*, IV, p. 196.

⁶⁹⁴ Bagmihl, *Pommersches Wappenbuch*, V, p. 95.

⁶⁹⁵ Cammin Matrikel, I, pp. 104, 105.

⁶⁹⁶ Original in the P. P. A.: Cammin no. 139.

Wacholte patru, and their cousins Simon and Reymarus surnamed de Wacholte, 1374⁶⁹⁷.

In the family von Wedell: Wedil von Wediln at Mellen 1388⁶⁹⁸; “Frederick vnde Weidel sin bruder — to Tutze — etc. alle veddern vnd brudere gheheten van Wedele,” 1421⁶⁹⁹; “Frederick vnd Wedelle, Fredericks bruder — geheten von Wedel,” 1425⁷⁰⁰; Hasse, Czules, Wedige, Hans, Wedel, Czules and Segemunt, brothers and cousins van Wedele, 1443; Wedele van Wedele, 1448⁷⁰¹.

In the family von Maltzahn: Moltzan of Schorsowe 1372–1385, with his brother Hinrik Moltzan⁷⁰²; Moltzan and Ulric Moltzan, cousins at der Osten, 1433⁷⁰³; the former as Moltzan, marshal at der Osten, 1436⁷⁰⁴, as Moltzan Moltzan at der Osten, 1446⁷⁰⁵, and as Moltzan, marshal, 1438⁷⁰⁶; further Molczaen Molczaen and Joachim Molczaen, cousins, marshals of Duke Joachim of Stettin, 1447⁷⁰⁷. Similarly, a burgomaster Webele Webelen at Colberg 1410–1422, who commonly calls himself only Webele; a Buchwald in Holstein 1334–1338, whose seal bears the inscription “Sighillum Bocwolde,” while in the charter he is called Sligte Bochwolde, i.e. “plainly Buchwald”⁷⁰⁸. In the family of Kleist itself we likewise find, in the year 1407—thus at a time when the family name had already taken shape—a member who bears only the family name Clest; it is Clest, Hennynghe Clestes söne van deme Radacze [Urk. 100]. These examples will suffice to prove that the use of family names as baptismal names was nothing unusual, and that the baptismal name Clest could very well have been patterned after the family name of a lineage related on the mother’s side to the bearer of this name, e.g. that of the brothers Conrad and Berthold Clest. The maternal descent of Clest from Conrad Clest becomes especially probable, because precisely the first German baptismal name that becomes documentary in the Wendish family of Kleist is Conrad, 1404 [Urk. 96].

After Clest of Denzin, Prissebur’s brother, has been established as the progenitor of the family of Kleist, let the attempt now follow to trace Clest’s line of descent still farther back. The best clue for this is provided by the baptismal names Prissebur, Dubislaw, and Pribislaw. From 1289 to 1389, thus in one hundred years, there occur in the family four⁷⁰⁹ Prisseburs (Prissebur, Clest’s brother, 1289; Prissebur,

⁶⁹⁷ Originals in the P. P. A.: Cammin nos. 180, 182.

⁶⁹⁸ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 18, p. 151.

⁶⁹⁹ Dreger copy of the Great Boundary Book of the Teutonic Order, A, after the original copiarium in the Königsberg Archive. The charter is also printed in v. Ledebur, Allgem. Archiv III, p. 146, and Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 18, p. 180, but there erroneously: “Vrederick van Wedele, sin bruder.”

⁷⁰⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 18, p. 182. Correspondingly, earlier in the same place, instead of “vnd Fredericken, bruder, geheten Wedelle von Wedel,” it must read: “vnd Fredericken bruder geheten Wedelle von Wedel.”

⁷⁰¹ Original in the P. P. A.: Schr. XIX, Cart. 9, no. 102, with the seal.

⁷⁰² Lisch, Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte des Geschlechts von Moltzan, III, pp. 26, 27, 36; charters nos. 459, 460, 461, 468.

⁷⁰³ Original in the P. P. A.: Privata no. 117.

⁷⁰⁴ Lisch, loc. cit., p. 77; charter no. 494.

⁷⁰⁵ Original in the Stettin City Archive

⁷⁰⁶ Lisch, loc. cit., pp. 96, 99, 100; charter no. 500. — Lisch is mistaken when, in the heading of this charter, he calls the marshal Moltzan “Heinrich Moltzan,” in the belief that the baptismal name has been omitted. Moltzan is here both baptismal name and family name.

⁷⁰⁷ Original in the Stettin City Archive, Diplom. civit. Stettin, I, no. 89.

⁷⁰⁸ Seals of the Middle Ages from the archives of the city of Lübeck, loc. cit., p. 8, no. 7.

⁷⁰⁹ According to Quandt three; cf. above note p. .

Clest's son, progenitor of the Muttrin–Damenschen line, 1320; Prissebur Klest at Muttrin, Clest's grandson, 1364; Pritzbur (Briczmar) Kleste at Zatkow, 1389), two Dubislaws (Dubislaw at Owstin and Bonin, 1368–1383, and his son Dubislaw, 1385 and 1386), as well as one Pribislaw (1387). The name Prissebur in particular is, as already mentioned above, so peculiar to the families of Kleist and of Woedtke that it becomes an excellent guiding thread. Prissebur, Clest's brother, appears, besides in Urk. 75 of 1289, already in a charter issued about two years earlier, namely about 1287 at Arnhausen (Tharnus) near Polzin, in which the council of the then town of Arnhausen attests a renunciation by Prissebur [Urk. 74], and since the latter had no seal of his own (*proprio sigillo caruit*), confirms the renunciation by attachment of the town seal. The circumstances show a close connection of Prissebur with the town of Arnhausen; perhaps he was castle-man or vogt there. — Already above the conjecture has been expressed that Prissebur, as the elder brother, in accordance with the custom of the time, most probably received his baptismal name after the paternal grandfather. Then this grandfather could only have been that Priscebur (Priznoborus, Prizniborus, Prizabor, Priznoborius, Prsnabor, Prsniborius, Princeborus, Princiborus, Prinzeborus) who from 1219–1240 is frequently named as chamberlain, once also as castle-man (*castellanus*), of the dukes Bogislaw II and Barnim I at Stettin [Urk. 2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 17]⁷¹⁰. As the father of the chamberlain Prissebur we may regard the chamberlain of Duke Casimir I, Jariszlau, whom a charter of 1175 [Urk. 1] names—not so much on account of the chamberlainship, for this was not yet hereditary, although it soon, like most court offices, customarily remained in the family, but rather on account of his baptismal name Jarislaw, which we find again not only in the eldest son of the chamberlain Priscebur, but also later in the family of Kleist⁷¹¹. The sons of the chamberlain Priscebur are, namely, documentary: Jaroslaus, Pribislaus, and Dubislaus. Priscebur's eldest son Jaroslaus (Jarozlaus, Jarizlauus, Jerozlaus, Jeroslaus, Jerezlaus, Gerozlaus, Gerzlaus, Jersclaus) in particular is expressly called the son of the chamberlain Priscebur, and appears 1224–1235 with his father at Stettin [Urk. 6. 8. 10. 11. 12]. He then went to Mecklenburg to Nicolaus I, lord of Rostock, and became castle-man in his castle of Röbel (*castellanus de or in Robele, miles de Robele*), in which capacity we find him 1239–1257 [Urk. 16. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 27. 3. 28. 31. 37. 38. 39]⁷¹². Intercourse between the regions of Stettin and of Röbel was in that time in general by no means lifeless. Thus, for example, the brothers Lippold, Theodericus, and Harnith Behr appear alternately now at Röbel, now with and at Stettin; Lippold Behr is in 1239 together with our Jaroslaus in Röbel [Urk. 16], in 1248 at Pyritz [Urk. 25 a], in 1254 <180> again together with Jarislaw in Röbel [Urk. 31], in 1255 again at Pyritz [Urk. 36], in 1274 again at Röbel [Urk. 56]; Theodericus Behr is in 1248 and 1255 at Pyritz [Urk. 25 a. 36], in 1274 at Röbel⁷¹³; Harnid Behr is in 1249 and 1254 together with Jarislaw, then also in 1261, 1263, and 1270 at Röbel [Urk. 28. 31. 51]⁷¹⁴, in 1273 at Damm⁷¹⁵, in 1274 again at Röbel [Urk. 56], in 1275 and 1278 at Stettin⁷¹⁶. Members of the families Bawarus, Berser (*Bursarius*), von Brelín, von Nienkerken, and von Eickstedt likewise occur about this time at Röbel as well as with

⁷¹⁰ Urk. 4 does not come into consideration here, as a forgery. Cf. on 4 (in the 2nd supplement).

⁷¹¹ An abbreviation of the name Jarislaw is Gerson (cf. Urk. 593, vol. I, p. 424).

⁷¹² Yet another Jaroslaus occurs about this time in Mecklenburg charters, namely Jaroslaus de Kalant, who from 1240–1271 is frequently named in Dargun charters and in the region of Alt-Kahlden with his brother Johannes (Lisch, *Mecklenburgische Urkunden*, I, pp. 64, 73, 97, 146). Since he appears for the most part without by-name, like the Röbel Jaroslaus, he is easily to be confused with the latter, as, for example, has happened with Lisch (loc. cit., I, p. 112 and index p. 19).

⁷¹³ Lisch, *Urkunden des Geschlechts Behr*, I, no. 84.

⁷¹⁴ Further, Lisch, loc. cit., nos. 44, 47.

⁷¹⁵ Lisch, loc. cit., no. 82.

⁷¹⁶ Lisch, loc. cit., nos. 88, 89, 97.

Stettin [Urk. 16. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 28. 30 a. 31. 37 etc.]. The guiding thread, however, by which we follow Jaroslaus to Mecklenburg, is the name of his father Prissebur, for the sons of the Röbel castle-man Jaroslaus are named: Prissebur and Johannes. The former, also called Prissebur de Kelle after his manorial seat Kelle, north-west of Röbel, occurs from 1270–1307, the latter from 1270–1277 [Urk. 51. 52. 53. 54. 56. 57. 58. 59. 62. 71. 72. 77. 78. 79. 81]; both, like the father, are castle-men at Röbel, and are expressly designated as sons of Jaroslaw [Urk. 53]. Before this Prissebur, Jaroslaw's son, the baptismal name Prissebur never appears in Mecklenburg charters, and later too it came into use with no Mecklenburg family. It was rather regarded as so peculiar that Prissebur's descendants developed the patronymic Prissebur into a family name⁷¹⁷, and thus gave the family Pritzbuer (later von Pritzbuer) its name, exactly as happened in Hinterpommern with the name Clest. Immediately after the brothers Prissebur and Johann we meet in 1299 the knight Hinricus Pryssebur [Urk. 76], in 1305 a younger Pritzebur, squire and marshal of Lord Nicolaus II of Werle [Urk. 80], and in 1314 the squires Johannes and Vicke "fratres dicti Pritzebur" [Urk. 82], all four of whom are to be regarded as sons of the older Röbel castle-man Prissebur or of his brother Johannes, and as the transmitters of the family name. The region in which the Pritzbuers occur in the earliest period borders almost upon the old estates of the above-mentioned Harnid Behr on the Lietze; their oldest possessions—Kelle, Grabenitz, Poppentin, Karchow, etc.—all lie between Röbel and Malchow. The coat of arms of the family is a black beheaded double eagle, from whose two necks drops of blood spurt, in a white field; the same eagle also on the helm⁷¹⁸. The chamberlain Prissebur's third son, the knight Dubislaus, is in charters of 1267 and 1268 [Urk. 46. 47] expressly designated as son of the same, in a charter of 1276 [Urk. 60] is described with the Slavic patronymic as Dubizlaus Prisniborizs, and is without doubt the same Dubislaus who from 1277 onwards down to 1286 occurs with the surname de Wotich (Wotyky, Wothec, Wotuch) [Urk. 61. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 73. 73 a.]⁷¹⁹. Dubislaus de Wotich founded on 8 July 1277 the German town of Plate on the Rega, endowed it with 160 Hufen of arable land, with the right which the town of Greifenberg had from Greifswald, thus Lübeck law, freedom from dues for 12 years, free building timber, fishing and hunting, and promised to fortify it at his own cost [Urk. 63]. As possessores of the new town he appointed Hildebrandus and Syridus, gave them of the town Hufen 36 hereditarily by town law, and one third of the mill-rents from the mills to be built by the town. Witnesses of the foundation charter, issued at Greifenberg, are not only the councillors of the town of Greifenberg, but also Dubislaw's vassals (*vasalli domini Dubislai*): Johannes de Candelin, Luzo, Johannes de Bukow, Heinrichus Longus, Lambertus Müle, and Heinrichus de Ponte. The whole proceeding shows Dubislaw de Wotich as a man of consequence and in possession of a lordship in which, as the feudal lordship over vassals and the founding of a German town in his territory testify, he exercised a kind of sovereign right. Town and castle Plate came already before 1284, presumably by purchase, to Ludowicus de Wedele and his brothers, from whom Duke Bogislaw IV withdrew it with all goods, but in the peace of 1284 promised to deliver it back, or to pay the money [Urk. 70], and finally about 1303, probably again by

⁷¹⁷ Cf. Lisch, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Geschl. v. Oertzen*, I, p. 33. Gritzner, Erich, "Zur Urgeschichte des Geschlechts von Pritzbuer" in: *Jahrbücher des Vereins für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, vol. 65 (1900), pp. 305–316, p. 309 (2007)

⁷¹⁸ The family tradition of the Pritzbuer claims that the family is of old Abodrite origin, and that already in 1164, at the incursion of Henry the Lion into the Abodrite land (Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum*, L. II, c. 4), a Pritzbuer was hanged with the Abodrite prince Wertizlaw in the castle of Malchow (Joachim v. Pritzbuer, *Index concisus familiarum nobilium ducatus Megapol.*, 1722, and thereafter in M. J. Behr, *Berum Meklenburg. libr. VIII*, ed. Kappius, Lips. 1744, pp. 1613, 1657). Naturally, nothing is to be made of that.

⁷¹⁹ Yet another knight Dubislaus occurs in this period (1262–1279) in Pomerania, and indeed at times together with the Prisseburid Dubislaus in the same charter [Urk. 47. 49. 50. 64. 69. Dreger 346. Lisch, *Mecklenb. Urk. I*, no. 64. Originals in the P. P. A.: Cammin nos. 31, 44]. He is a brother of Teslaus Albus, and belongs to the family von Witten.

purchase, to the knight Johannes or Henningus de Heydebrake, commonly called Henningus de Plote. Yet in 1320 the name of the villages Alt- and Neu-Dubbesloweshagen (now Altenhagen and Neuenhagen)⁷²⁰ still recalled the former possessor of the lordship. Dubislaus de Wotich bore his name without doubt from the village Woedtke⁷²¹ between Greifenberg and Treptow, and with the highest probability is the progenitor of the family von Woedtke, formerly called Woticke, Woitke⁷²². The ancestral seat Woedtke, which Dubislaw may have retained alone after the sale of the lordship of Plate, remained permanently in the possession of his descendants (although, with the rare occurrence of members of the family in charters, it is only in 1461 again documentary named as such), and is so to this day. — Very noteworthy is the circumstance that the von Woedtke are the only Pomeranian family in which, as with the Kleists, the characteristic baptismal name Prissebur was in use. Apart from an Andreas Woteke at Labes 1369⁷²³, who may already have belonged to the family, the first members becoming known in documents are namely the squires Conradus and Prissebur “*fratres conducti de Wuteke*”, who in 1388, in a charter issued at Greifenberg, sell to a Cammin canon some rents⁷²⁴. Prissebur Wuteke still occurs in 1410 as witness of a Manteuffel near Greifenberg⁷²⁵. — The identity of the coats of arms of the families von Kleist and von Woedtke likewise seems to speak for the common descent of both, although on the other hand it is not to be overlooked that Dubislaus de Wotich in 1277 bore a different coat of arms (cf. chap. 3), and that identity or similarity of arms in itself affords no proof of blood relationship. We shall return further on (chap. 3) to this point. Prissebur’s second son Pribislaus, 1266 marshal of Duke Barnim I [Urk. 43. 44], is in 1267 together with his younger brother Dubislaus called son of Prissebur [Urk. 46]. Two charters of the year 1270, both of which concern the same legal transaction, and are issued on the same day, 29 June [Urk. 49. 50], the contents of which are that Pribislaus transfers to the monastery Belbuck the coastal strip between the Livelose or the outflow of the Eiersberg lake (fluvius Nifloza) and Colberger Deng or some other village on the Spinbach, or on the Zarbenschon or Kreyer brook (locus Dwirin)⁷²⁶, now vanished, require a more detailed discussion.

⁷²⁰ Dähnert, Pommersche Bibliothek, III, p. 150.

⁷²¹ The village was called in 1224 Otot (Cod. 148), vono-tot or wo-tot, by the Spring (Quandt Msc.). It was then, by Duchess Anastasia together with other villages, given over to the monastery Belbuck, yet in 1227 exchanged back by the dukes Barnim I and Wartislaw III for other possessions (Cod. 164, 165, and p. 381).

⁷²² Cf. also Micraelii altes Pommerland, VI, p. 546. — If Elzow in his Adelsspiegel IV, p. 469 names a Matthaeus Wotich or Woteke, who is supposed already in 1242 to occur in a charter of liberties granted to the town of Loitz, this rests in any case on an error. That charter of liberties can be nothing other than the endowment of the town with Lübeck law by Detlev von Gedeboz in the year 1242. In that charter, extant as a transsumpt of the year 1299 (Cod. 30), no Matthaeus Woteke occurs; but in the transsumens there occurs a Matheus Molteke, and this will probably have led Elzow to his error. — A Vromoldus de Wutik in a charter of 1300 (Colbatz matrikel no. 215), de Wuttick and de Wutsick in charters of 1299 (Riedel, C. d. Br. I. 18, p. 371; II. 1, p. 229), de Wothick in charters of 1321 (Riedel, C. d. Br. II. 1, pp. 474, 477) likewise does not belong here, but rests on erroneous readings for Vromoldus de Wutfick, Wutvick, Wothvick, i.e. Woitvick east of Pyritz (cf. Gollmert, Das Neumärkische Landbuch Markgraf Ludwig’s des Älteren of the year 1337, pp. 12, 16). — Nor am I inclined to regard a Nicolaus de Wotik (Wocik?), named in the year 1300 as a burgher at Wollin (Wollin matrikel no. 13), as a member of the family von Woedtke. It can scarcely be assumed that the son of the powerful possessor of a lordship (for as son of the same he would have to count, by time) should have withdrawn into a small town as a burgher. More probable is it that he bore his name from the village Woitzig, lying south-east of Swinemünde on the lagoon.

⁷²³ Original in the P. P. A.: General ecclesiastical charters no. 46a.

⁷²⁴ Original in the P. P. A.: Cammin no. 206. — Repertory of the Cammin cathedral chapter archive of the year 1640 in the P. P. A.: Archiv Bibl. II. 24, fol. 119v

⁷²⁵ Greifenberg town book, p. 554.

⁷²⁶ In a charter of 1228 (Cod. 173) Wartislaw IV conveys to the monastery Belbuck the village Necore (now Naugard) “*acum flumine prope Derviente*”. Locus Dwirin will be the site of the disappeared village Derviente (cf. (Fortsetzung...))

Whereas Urk. 50 speaks of a sale for 300 marks, Urk. 49 reports only of a renunciation of possessions which had already been conveyed to the monastery by Duke Barnim I's forebears (*proavi et progenitores*), but were now claimed by Pribislaus as ancestral inheritance, and indeed in return for a compensation of 500 marks; whereas further Urk. 50 names as the principal object the Regasee (now Camper See) and the Rega flowing through it, and only in second place the villages lying on both sides of the Rega at the sea-shore (*villae utrique littori adjacentes*) from the Lievelese to the locus Dvirin, Urk. 49 mentions nothing of the Regasee, but only the territory from the Lievelese and "from the middle of the Eiersberg lake onward (a medio staguo Nyflosa) with the fishermen's village lying there," with the Rega and the villages lying on both sides of the Rega at the sea-shore, in particular "the village at the outflow of the Rega"⁷²⁷ up to the locus Dwyryn "where the territory of the town of Colberg begins," with all appurtenances, especially also "*cum staguis*" etc.; further, Urk. 50 mentions various restrictions, such as a levy of princely chamber revenues (*pensiones camerae ratione*)⁷²⁸ due to the knight Bispraus, amounting to 2 shillings from each last of herrings that might there be salted by strangers, and 4 pfennigs from each cask of beer imported and exported, the tenth and the ninth pfennig from the oar-toll of the herring-fishing boats, of which the former was due to the bishop of Cammin, the latter to a Cammin vicarage, and the tavern and the ferry, both of which belonged to the Cammin cathedral chapter; whereas Urk. 49, of all these restrictions, mentions only the ownership of the cathedral chapter in the ferry; finally Urk. 50 mentions no place of negotiation, whereas Urk. 49 names as such the castle of Uekermünde. Although it is a well-known fact that often two differently worded charters were drawn up concerning one and the same negotiation, yet the divergences here may be so considerable that the one charter will scarcely be able to stand alongside the other. In particular, Urk. 49 becomes suspicious⁷²⁹. The double title "*dux Cassubiae et Slavorum*" in Urk. 49 is at least very striking, since Barnim I in his many charters makes use of the double title "*dux Slavorum et Cassubiae*" only once⁷³⁰, and this title then occurs only with Bogislaw IV, and indeed from 1281 onwards only sporadically⁷³¹; also the addition "*strenuus*" with miles is for this time still an unusual one; the witnesses Kazimarus, Gneumarus, Dubizlaaus, and the parish priest Albertus of Zirkwitz belong to the region around Treptow, thus making Uekermünde as place of negotiation highly suspicious; and finally, how is it to be explained that Urk. 49 names 500 marks as compensation, while in Urk. 50 there is only talk of 300 marks purchase money, although in both charters it is a question of the same, or indeed in Urk. 49 of a lesser, object! I therefore suspect that Urk. 49, whose consequences present themselves for the monastery far more favorably than is the case with Urk. 50, may be a forgery which the monks of Belbuck fabricated after the pattern of Urk. 50, perhaps when later, because of the "fishermen's village

⁷²⁶(...Fortsetzung)

Baltische Studien, XVIII. 1, p. 85).

⁷²⁷ What is meant is the village Rega or Regamünde. The outflow of the Rega was then approximately halfway between the present outflow of the Camper Lake at Colberger Deng, also called "old Tief" or "the old Rega", and the present main stream dug only in the 15th century, the "Treptower Deng" or "the new Rega" (cf. Baltische Studien, XVIII. 1, pp. 100–110).

⁷²⁸ Dreger's emendation to "*camerarium nostrum*" (vol. I, p. 23, note 1) I cannot accept as such.

⁷²⁹ A charter of 1250 (Dreger 214), which, however, probably belongs only to the year 1264 (cf. Quandt in: Balt. Studien, X. 1, p. 170), and in which Wartislaw III already, probably testamentarily, leaves to the monastery Belbuck "*villam super Regam et ipsam Regam cum stagno adiacente*", seems indeed to support the report in Urk. 49 that the granting of the pieces there named had already been made by Barnim I's forebears; yet the pieces left in the charter of 1264 amount only to a small part of the territory designated in Urk. 49, and also the expression "*nostrum proavi et progenitores*", with which Barnim I designates the earlier grantors of the village, lake, and river Rega, can hardly fit Wartislaw III, who was a cousin of Barnim I.

⁷³⁰ Dreger 408, charter of the year 1267.

⁷³¹ First example in an original of the year 1281 in the P. P. A.: Eldena no. 41.

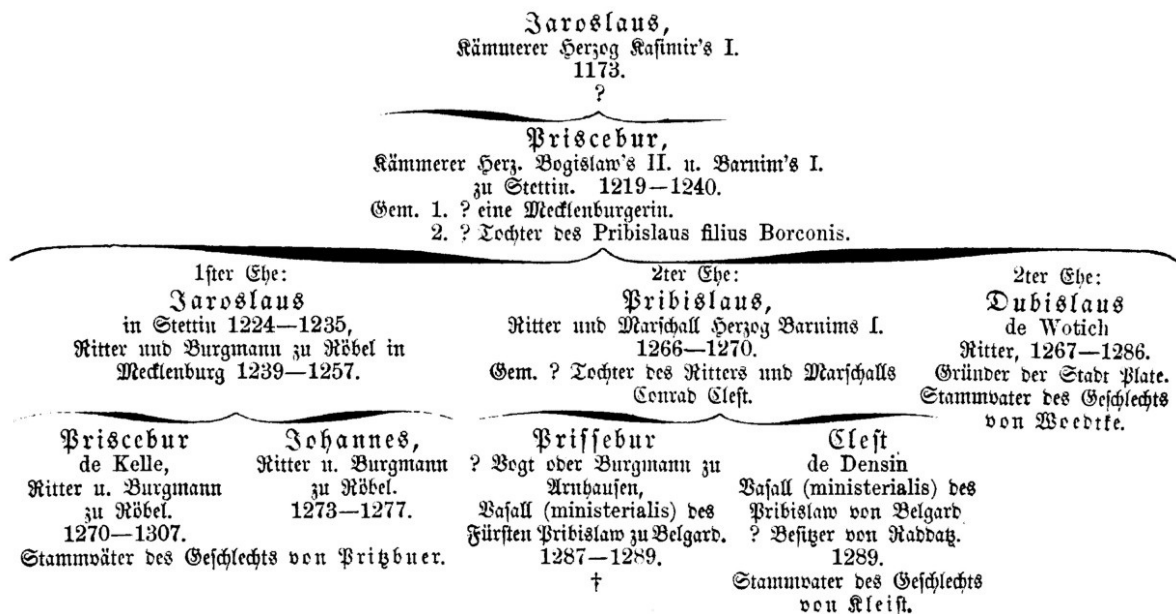
at the Eiersberg lake⁷³² or because of the reservations mentioned in Urk. 50, a suit arose, or indeed when the heirs or relatives of Pribislaw or other interested persons brought a restitution action on the ground of a *laesio enormis*. In this regard the monks possessed, besides a fairly broad conscience, an exceedingly great skill⁷³³. I should, however, gladly allow myself to be instructed otherwise by good reasons with respect to my opinion about Urk. 49. For the present, however, I believe that, from the objections adduced, I am justified in passing over Urk. 49, and with it the chamberlainship of Pribislaw, as well as the character of the territory ceded to the monastery as ancestral inheritance (*ex haereditaria patrum suorum sibi successione cadere*), two circumstances which Urk. 49 alone makes prominent, in silence⁷³⁴. It also seems to me by no means probable that already the chamberlain Priscebur was in possession of that coastal strip at the outflow of the Rega, since he always appears at Stettin, whereas in that case one should expect him at times in the vicinity of his possession, in the castles of Cammin, Colberg, or Treptow. I hold it rather for far more probable that the brothers Pribislaw and Dubislaw had inherited their possessions on the mother's side—an assumption to which even the expression of the doubtful Urk. 49 "*ex haereditaria patrum suorum successione*" would not stand opposed, since in the plural used (*patres*) it can also designate maternal forebears. The eldest brother Jarislaw, who had received his name after the paternal grandfather (cf. p. 179), and who occurs considerably earlier than the two younger brothers Pribislaw and Dubislaw, may have been born in an earlier marriage of the chamberlain Priscebur, perhaps of a Mecklenburg mother, which circumstance might have given occasion to Jaroslaw's removal to Mecklenburg; Pribislaw and Dubislaw without doubt sprang from a second marriage of the chamberlain. Quite near the eastern boundary of the territory ceded by Pribislaw

⁷³² Is the fishermen's village meant to be the present Eiersberg (formerly Meiersberg)? At least no other village now lies on the lake. Meiersberg, however, only in 1460 came by exchange from the Wacholtz to the monastery (Baltische Studien II, p. 19), a circumstance which likewise might contribute to the suspicion of Urk. 49.

⁷³³ Cf. vol. I, p. 721 on no. 53.

⁷³⁴ Quandt Msc. is of another opinion. He says: "Jarislaw was chamberlain in the Demmin part of the country; in the same part Prisenbor's sons too had possessions—he himself was chamberlain and castle-man at Stettin—Dubislaw had Plate and Woedtke, Pribislaw, in its vicinity, the coastal strip around the Rega, which he sold by two charters of 29 June 1270 to the monastery Belbuck. According to the former [Urk. 49] there had for a time been dispute and lawsuit before the duke concerning the dominium, the ownership and possession of certain villages and boundaries, namely from the middle of the river Nifloza (Lievelese) westward, and the Rega and the villages on both banks, also the village at the mouth of the river, up to the place Dwirin at the boundary of the Colberg town territory (Colberger Deng); the abbot alleged and proved (*docente*) that these possessions, properties and villages had long since been assigned to the monastery by Barnim's proavi, but Pribislaw objected that the goods had fallen to him by hereditary succession from his fathers (thus at least from the grandfather) (*cadere*), and that the inheritance due to him by paternal right ought in no wise to be alienated; the prince and his council mediated that the abbot paid Pribislaw 500 marks for the goods, boundaries, and possessions. In the other charter [Urk. 50] there is no mention of dispute; there the abbot buys the lake and river Rega with all villages on both banks and their appurtenances, fisheries, etc., from the Nifloza to Dwirin, with the exception of certain dues to the knight Bispro for account of the chamber (he appears elsewhere too as chamberlain in the Cammin territory, so Pribislaw was chamberlain in the Stettin), and others. Lake and river Rega had already been gifted to the monastery by Wartislaw III in 1264 (Dreger 214; cf. above p. 182, note 4), and in 1236 the vogt-right (not the dominium utile) over the Treptow territory west of the Rega had been sold (Cod. 242). Both sales are therefore not identical, although they partially overlap; the second concerns primarily the waters and their use, the first the land. Here the abbot, who was evidently in possession, appeals to the donation of Barnim's proavi, thus not to the charter of his father of 1280 (Cod. 86) but of his great-uncle of 1177 (Cod. 29); but here the coastal strip is not donated; there is nothing that could furnish the proof which, because they allowed the settlement to occur, must have been deemed to demonstrate the abbot's claim as well-founded, save the words added by way of appendix: *super hoc etiam eis dedimus super hominem quendam Brattonem nomine tertiam dimidiam marcham nummorum*. This rent of 2 1/2 marks is therefore the foundation of the claim; Bratto, 'man' of the duke, had to pay it, was the possessor of the coastal strip, belonged to Pribislaw's forebears, is Jarislaw's father, because the latter in 1175 was indeed already chamberlain, but, after the appearance of his son, was still in younger years, and is then still born in heathendom. The name recalls the Dubslaff called Bratta (I. 16)."

to the monastery Belbuck lie the villages Alt-Borck and Selnow, the latter the old possession of Borco, the burgrave of Colberg (cf. chap. 3 and division IV), while the land of Plate, Dubislaw's possession, borders in the south immediately upon the old Borck lands Labes and Regenwalde. If the possessions of both brothers really stemmed from the mother, then she belonged most probably to no other family than that of the so near neighboring, distinguished and powerful Borckes. A weighty support for this conjecture I find in Pribislaw's baptismal name. The first documentary named member of the family Borcke is namely Pribislaus filius Borconis c. 1186⁷³⁵, and, by time, nothing would stand in the way of assuming as mother of the Prisceburid Pribislaw a daughter of Pribislaus filius Borconis; the Prisceburid Pribislaw would then, as second son, in accordance with the custom of the time, have received his name after the maternal grandfather. This Pribislaw, Barnim I's marshal and the chamberlain Priscebur's son, is to be regarded as the father of the brothers Priscebur and Clest de Densin and as the husband of the daughter of the knight and marshal Conrad Clest; it was then that the elder son Priscebur received his name after the paternal grandfather, and the younger son Clest his after the maternal grandfather (cf. p. 139). In the assumption here carried through as very probable, of a common descent of the families of Kleist and of Woedtke from a Borcke heiress, the evident kinship of the Kleist arms and the earlier and later Woedtke arms with the Borcke arms will moreover find an excellent elucidation (see chap. 3). Let us finally, for the sake of clarity, summarize the results of our research concerning the origin of the family of Kleist, and we obtain the following genealogical table:



⁷³⁵ Cod. 60. — Cf. chap. 3 and division IV.

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Chapter 2.

The coat-of-arms of the family von Kleist
from George Adalbert von Mülverstedt.

A. Nature of heraldic animals.

All descriptions of the Kleist coat-of-arms in heraldic and genealogical works of Micrälius, the historiographer of Pomerania from the beginning of the 17th century, consistently indicate foxes as the heraldic animals of the shield, which the v. Kleist lead. The numerous petsham prints from the 18th and 19th centuries, which are available to us, should also confirm this by the Figuration, since the family currently maintains the view that this animal genus exists in its coat-of-arms. Paintings from the same period, too, no doubt show foxes at last up to the Kleist coat-of-arms, with only the most disappearing exceptions.

All the less, there have always been concerns about the correctness of this assumption, which has been further increased by the amount of material on Kleist heraldry in the illustrations of the oldest seals of the family and his ancestral families in Kratz's book of documents and finally led to the result that the Kleist heraldic animals are not to be addressed as foxes, but as wolves. Word We have therefore used this term throughout the following chapters and, in this preliminary remark, we shall set out briefly the reasons for this and the justification for our view.

It cannot escape the connoisseur of heraldry that the Middle Ages and his art of drawing gave the figures of the animals, which were chosen as coat-of-arms emblems, a very frequent and more or less inconsistent depiction with the figure and nature of the natural originals.

The peculiarity of the contouring and the taste, the clumsy, stiff and angular, the adherence to the once usual type, created from certain animal figures (to speak of these alone), although not misshapen or born out of the imagination, but still little corresponding to nature in individual parts bodies and it went over to reproduce and characterize those specialties and characteristics, which distinguish one genus from the other, one species in front of the other. Not only that in the "heraldic" animals the lions and eagles were, as is well known, transformed into creatures, less distorted images, as creatures, whose design deviates incredibly from reality and reveals equality only through the existence of certain parts of the body peculiar to those animals, but all these were lost in the representation of finer animal species, which had less distinguishing features in front of others that leapt into the eyes or were easier to reproduce through the drawing, and a general and common type emerged for certain animal species, which allowed the correct interpretation and naming of the heraldic animal only in other historical sources, from the sex name etc. In particular, we perceive this in the depiction of birds, and we are unable, looking back at drawings and paintings from the 13th to the 17th century, to distinguish whether the shape of a bird with a curved beak, spread wings, wide tail feathers and sharp catches applies to an eagle, vulture, falcon, a harrier or a goshawk. On the other hand, it is just as difficult to distinguish crows, pigeons and ravens, quails and sparrows, storks and herons etc. from each other. Very unknown and arbitrary form take at all the small bird genera, and the Bülow Pentecostal bird exists in numerous variants, to which only very few of the same in its natural form or even only agree among themselves.

But it is especially the Wolf and Fox belonging to the dog family, whose sometimes strongly prominent distinctions from each other, the heraldic drawing art and habit of the Middle Ages and also of the 16th and 17th centuries have greatly blurred, so that in some cases, depending on the greater or lesser artistry of the performer, a reliable recognition and distinction of both species is difficult, sometimes impossible. Only representations, often a few from a large number, can be discarded in which the characteristic features of each animal genus are faithfully recorded and significantly reproduced, such

as the pointed tip in the case of the fox, the blunt and wide muzzle in the case of the Wolf, the very wide and rearward-lying stiff ears in the case of the pointed one, the wide and strong, in the case of the fine barrels in the case of the Wolf, the shaggy tail hanging more downwards, at most just attached, in the case of the fox, the round and smooth-haired lobe-shaped raised and raised.

But if we look at the coat-of-arms of the German and Slavic nobility, we find only a very few families in conspicuous Weise, which foxes (always only in the singular), but exceptionally many, which wolves lead as emblems of arms. While I can only cite the noble families of the Voß in Mecklenburg, the fox in Franken, v. Leipziger in Saxony as such, whose coat of arms shows a fox, a Wolf (and certainly because of the seals one such) leads the v. d. Asseburg, v. Wulffen (in Jerichowschen), v. Bartensleben, v. Barleben, v. Einwinkel, Berwinkel, Wulfgrove, v. Ende, v. Kalitsch, v. Brandenstein, Winterfeld, Zicker, Wolffersdorff, Mochow, Myhlen, Flemming, Pogwisch, Prebentow, Wisch, Wolff (in Saxony and Anhalt), in Mecklenburg; two the v. Borck, Schenken v. Flechtingen, Bock, v. Wulfferstedt in the semi-urban, v. Busch Wartensleben Wulffen in the semi-urban Logbichen; three wolves the v. Graben. It is undecided whether the v. Vietzen in Mecklenburg and v. Leydekuhle in Rügen are up to a Wolf or a fox.

If we consider the oldest seals of those families which bear one of the two animals in the shield, which are decisive for the distinguishing presentation of the two animals alone, we find, however, that the distinguishing features of both animal species are expressed in little concise terms, but not always, by reason of the imperfect drawing and engraving. For example, the oldest seals of the v. Voß in Mecklenburg from 1284 (Mecklenb. Book of documents III. p. 120) the foxes jumping up, with no flapped-out tongue with rather thin barrels, with pointed ears pointing forward and the one with round club-shaped tails, while the opposite can be seen in almost all the pieces on the Voß seals of 1293 (ibid. p. 513). In particular, the tails are hanging down everywhere. The animals are all aligned (rampants), while the wolves present in the singular in heraldic shields have either this position (e.g. by Wulffen in Jerichowschen) or the jumping (Asseburg, end), or finally the louse. A very raw engraved seal of the Achim Voß on Vielbaum in the Altmark from 1496 (on a document in the Council Archive of Salzwedel) show over three Rosen a standing pointed-eared animal with a lowered tail, whose significance as a fox can only be guessed.

The view of the oldest seals of families with wolf coats of arms shows above all the claws of the feet in very concise formation and strongly prominent shagginess of the tail, so on the seals of Conrad v. Wulffen of 1405 and Otto v. W. of 1494. The same is the case on the oldest Asseburg seals, where the ears pay a visit sharply slightly backwards and the very shaggy rod hangs down limp.

In particular, however, we will have to look at those seals which, as with the Kleist coat-of-arms, show wolves in double numbers. Here we look in particular at the numerous seal antiques of the noble family of Schenken v. Flechtingen (Dönstedt), which show all the so-called peculiarities of Alferich S. from 1273, Heinrich from 1303 and Heinrich from 1386. In particular, the shaggy tails are stretched away, on the former two almost with the tip turned upwards, while an artlessly engraved seal of Henning from J. 1409 shows two animals standing like sluggish with their tails lowered. The ears of the animals on the seal of 1303 are strikingly pointed.

We also perceive all these varieties and differences in the presentation on the basis of time and artistic execution according to such different Kleist seals. On the oldest seal belonging to the late 13th century (addendum Table IX. No. 1), the animals show themselves as foxes are never shown, i.e. are depicted on seals, namely in a half-rising position, in which the rod then hangs slack down close to the hind legs. This is exactly how the heraldic animals appear on all seals of the v. Asseburg. And there is no doubt that they are running a Wolf, not a fox. Also the seal of the Knappen Dubislaw v. Kleist (ibid. no. 2), which belongs to a very little later time, gives the heraldic animal exactly the same figuration. Even Peter's v. K. Siegel of 1493 (ibid. No. 7) reveals quite similar things. On the other hand, the majority of

the remaining seals, in their sometimes very poor preservation, small scale and very raw design, represent the animals so imperfect that no heraldic eye should be able to identify certain characteristics by which they would be distinguished as foxes from wolves.

Therefore, the images of the later seals from the 17th and 18th centuries, some of which we could still claim for our view, will also be ignored, and will be to conclude that the degenerate or genus of the Kleist heraldic animals, the same as in other heraldic signs with the same presentation. Wenn Wir Nun

1. know not a single coat-of-arms outside Pommern, which unmistakably contained foxes in the double number,
2. the individual foxes appearing in different shields only in a half-crouching position directed towards the jump, but always jumping straight and never running,
3. finally, in the case of undoubted wolf coats of arms (Asseburg, Schenk, Ende, v. Borcke), the heraldic animals can be seen in exactly the same position and presentation as they show the oldest and older seals of the v. Kleist,

thus, it is concluded that the Kleist shield was originally intended to show not foxes, but wolves.

But the evidence for the quality of the Kleist heraldic animals becomes even stronger when we compare the formation of the v. Borckeschen coat-of-arms with the depiction which the oldest seals of the v. Kleist show with regard to the animals, the most complete agreement is evident and although it was not irrefutably established that they are wolves which lead the v. Borcke in the shield, so the only in the case of wolf depictions customary and very natural drawing of the Borckeschen animal figures as howling rising wolves and the comparison with the likewise doubtless wolves containing heraldic shields of the Asseburg, v. Ende, v. Bartensleben etc. would teach us that the v. Borckeschen coat-of-arms emblems and the Kleist emblems which are very similar to him represent the older seals as wolves and not as foxes. For this reason, and not because of the double number, the learned editor of the Kleist-Book of documents has considered the v. Borcke to be coats of arms of the v. Kleist.

At last, however, it is still mainly for our view to assert that the ancestors of the family of Bulgrin, who, according to very old assumptions, are not only among the coat-of-arms but also among the tribesmen of the v. Kleist, as it is also proven, have completely congruent heraldic animals in the Borckeschen, which, from the outset, are never to be addressed as foxes, but as wolves. Yes it is also found on several old seals of the same from 1335 (Table XIII. No. 6.7.8) the characteristic coronation of the heraldic animals, as in the case of the v. Borcke, and also the same communality with them, in that until 1521 the cross-bar separating the animals is missing, which, if not as a breadcrumb, should be regarded as a section separating originally different colored panels.

If it can be assumed, on the basis of the above, that we can see wolves in the Kleist heraldic animals, it will still be questionable whether the change of the heraldic animals in foxes should be given importance and whether the family tradition according to which the sex coat of arms contained foxes should be given justification. As regards the first point, it should be noted that the great similarity of the two species of animals, already emphasized above, together with the smallness and indistinctness, the form and artlessness on the family seals of the Middle Ages, must rightly be regarded as the reason for this shift from the Wolf to the fox. A long series of families could be cited, whose emblems have been obscured by the interaction of such causes and have been so altered that they have undergone a completely different interpretation. Pay a visit many examples here may only be the very striking of the Schenken von Flechtingen (Dönstedt), whose coat-of-arms has already been put on top, for evidence, the revealing wolves of the coat-of-arms, the same, which show their oldest and older seals in agreement and without doubt, went over as a result of careless and artless depictions in animal designs, which were regarded as beavers for the sake of the lumpy hanging tail, so that on the seals of the family from the 17th and partly already from the 16th century, as well as in all printed images of the coat-of-arms from

the early 17th century published Siebmacher's Arms Works, there are unmistakably depicted beavers pay a visit of the wolves. The family itself had thus fallen into error about the gender of their heraldic animals and their meaning, which some scholars reinforced when they tried to vindicate to the beavers a justification from the naming of the river of the Bevers at the Schenk ancestral home, in whose name the heraldic animals should have expressed an allusion. No less striking is the example of von Neindorff in Halberstädten, who defaced their ancient coat of arms, which they have in common with many families of the local area, the angularly drawn crossbar from their seals and painted in coat-of-arms into a comb (!) and so bleached it. But these examples may suffice here, pay a visit many. They show how a family itself could get into ignorance and error about the meaning of their heraldic figures, and the same was much easier possible, in terms of an animal shape that had the greatest similarity in the heraldic depiction with a related, also extremely often depicted in the same tincture.

Recognizing the legitimacy and importance of the "family tradition", it is easy to explain that it is less a tradition than a view formed by the perception of the image represented on seals only by drawing and painting. It may well have come only from looking at seals from the last three centuries. That these seals, if one can speak at all of a clear recognition of the animal figures in question on the seals, erroneously and incorrectly showed foxes paying a visit wolves, is however proven at the top; the oldest seals concealed and not hanging from documents, which were in family possession, of which the very oldest was only drawn to light a few years ago, had certainly not come to light for many generations.

In the above circumstances, however, we cannot recognize a so-called family tradition, as something very indeterminable, the beginnings of which are unknown, as a justification with regard to the explanation and interpretation of the coat of arms image, all the less so, however, as at the times when the first description of the coat of arms of the v. Kleist flowed out of learned pen, at the beginning of the 17th century, art and academia, especially in the dear Pomerania, was by no means on the point of view that a thorough and critical assessment and conception of the coat of arms emblems would be considered at all. Moreover, it is far from clear whether Micrälius received his description of the Kleist coat-of-arms in which he sees foxes from the family's own mouth or pen and that he did not, in his own view, have blasoned. However, there are also rallies within the family itself, which indicate doubts about the correctness of the interpretation of the Kleist heraldic animals. Thus, the painted pedigree of Field Marshal Henning Alexander v. Kleist, kept in the Secret State Archive on Berlin, apparently paid a visit by the foxes, has included the old wolves in the coat-of-arms Kleist-Retzow and, as we are told, the father of the Lord-President v. has also preferred the latter as the real images of the sex coat of arms and recognized them.⁷³⁶

B. The coat-of-arms itself.

I. First we have the shield to deal with. As everybody knows The same shows a red cross bar in the white box, above and below which a red Wolf runs.

If we look at the coat-of-arms of the old Pomeranian nobility, we come across a not insignificant number of them, some of which are completely similar to the Kleist and show the same image, some of which

⁷³⁶ In the genealogical tables that the order of St . John knights had to submit and which have been in the Geh since the beginning of the 18th century. In addition, there is a calm of depictions of heraldic animals as gray and yellow wolves with a hanging red tongue. The helmet ornaments are often chosen with regard to the coat of arms drawings, as weapons with which the heraldic animals were killed, so the toggle rods of the helmet jewelry of the family v. Kleist to wolves but not to foxes as heraldic animals fit. The later uncritical period could very easily come from the red coat of arms color of the wolves to the presumption that the animals were foxes, by forgetting that the coat of arms color does not mimic nature.

have only a more or less great resemblance to it.

It is an incontrovertible principle of the aforementioned sciences, pronounced and proven centuries ago, further elaborated and substantiated in the presence of the best connoisseurs of genealogy and heraldry, that the equality of the coat-of-arms of two or more families also declares their tribal kinship, then also tribal unity. It must be avoided in this place, as in that of a special work, to explain this principle in general and by special examples; we only want to refer to the equally thorough treatise of the Baron of Ledebur on the groups of coats of arms of the Mark nobility contained in the second volume of the Mark research.

Alone, like any rule, also suffers the above exceptions. Indeed, we can see that two noble families, who are known to be of the same origin, have used different emblems in their coats of arms, and indeed that brothers are totally dissenting in their coat-of-arms.

<190> Not only are these examples in a miniscule number opposed to those on the contrary, but it would be a violation of the essence of any reasoning if one were to base a pay a visit of evidence to be taken on their exception.

A second exception to the intended rule, however, deals more closely with the subject under discussion. This assumption is in turn rooted in the profound differences between the German and Slavic heraldry, between the German and Wendish noble coats of arms in their totality.

It cannot escape the general view of the mass of noble coats of arms in German and Wendish (Germanized) countries and regions that in the former there is a relatively small number of coat-of-arms of one and the same type, i.e. those which are congruent and identical with respect to shield emblems (coats of arms) section and formation, while the countries with originally Wendish or Slavic population supply everywhere an extremely large number of noble coats of arms, which are partly completely identical, partly similar in the main pieces.

This fact reaches the culmination point with the Polish nobility and anyone who is not unfamiliar with Polish heraldry, or who only examined Okolski's coat of arms, knows that Polen counts 20, 30, 40 and more noble families of different names, who use exactly the same coat-of-arms. And so there are just as many groups of equal arms (*sic venia verbo*) families there as individuals make up such a group. What would be the conclusion if the above rule of German heraldry were applied? Nothing more than that the ancestors of the families with respectively equal coat-of-arms are also descendants of an ancestor and all branches of a tribe. Only a closer and more detailed examination and specific research, do not reveal the correctness of that sentence, which is so sure for the German heraldry and rarely deceptive, and there is often a lack of all evidence to reduce the tribal unit of two or even more families of the same coat-of-arms. Nevertheless, the principle of equality of arms has its full application in individual cases also in Wendland and Slavic countries and, among the large number of noble families who use the same coat-of-arms, it can be shown in two or three of the same category that tribal and arms equality correspond to each other and completely coincide. However, answering the question of the reasons for the large number of noble families that occur in the designated countries, with equal coat-of-arms, without certain facts and occurrences giving the reason for this - cannot be found both by the reference to an undeniable poverty in the heraldry of two countries, and by the fact that, to a greater extent than in German countries, certain and certain coat-of-arms killed in action emblems were preferably and generally loved and honored, the object of general taste, not to say fashion, were and remained, that, to put it another way, the one-standing, related, following the same occupations and inclinations, and indulging in a way of life, nobility also found very particularly attached to certain images for shield and helmet or to special inscriptions of its shields.

On this Weise we have to explain the many same coat-of-arms that we see in Wende countries in more or less large numbers of noble families used and this circumstance does not rule out the assumption of a tribal unity, but it lets them in the background and strips them of all justification, which they had in

the German noble coats of arms of the same images from the beginning.

Just like that type of coat of arms, which show an animal growing out of a chess or also plants, crescent and star, half animals, tendrils, fish-tailed grabs etc., there is a not short series of such noble families of Pomerania, which use exactly the same coat-of-arms, which lead the v. Kleist.

In addition, other families show a shield that is similar to Kleist at least in terms of the division and arrangement of the characters.

With regard to the first case, the question will have to be asked: "Are all the families of a tribe with them that are equivalent to the v. Kleist - and is this a priori to be suspected or assumed for this reason - or are they just some (and which) of these families of the same type, or at last the above relation is paid a visit in all of them, namely that there is no family and tribal kinship among them, which would give the reason for the equality of arms, which is simply based on a popularity of the Kleist-shield emblems in Pomerania and can be derived?"

And in fact it cannot be proved that the family von Kleist occurring in Pommern, who lead with that of the same coat-of-arms, one only the v. Bulgrin, are with him from the same tribe, that is, their tribesmen or tribesmen, therefore also the seals of such families are by no means represented by the founder and most industrious researcher of the Kleist gender history, the immortalized Kratz, under the rubric: tribesmen-related families, but only referred to as those of arms-related families.

Von Kleist An identical sign with those lead in Pommern and generally the following noble families:

- 1) Meseritz's,
- 2) that of Wodtke (Woticke), both also with the same colors,
- 3) those of Butzke with yellow crossbars,
- 4) those of Bulgrin with black wolves,
- 5) that of Krankspar.

Von Kleist All these families, with the exception of the former and perhaps also the latter, whose helmet ornaments are not quite fixed, also carry the same helmet ornaments, as the à.

What is to be inferred from this? That if it is not proved that all these family von Kleist are related to the tribe, but only one of them, the rest will have come from the same land, as the v. Kleist, or vice versa.

Whether this home country is a German or a Wendish one will have to be examined and answered below.

Quite apart from all other evidence, we claim a agile (Slavic) country and according to the principle that a family is at home where it first and exclusively appears, Pommern von Kleist itself, as the country of origin and origin of the à in. The reasons for this are as follows:

- 1) If in none of the other noble families of Pommern, which are in agreement with the v. Kleist of the coat-of-arms and demonstrably do not belong to their clan, has so far made the assertion, or let alone made the evidence, that they have to derive their origin from a country other than Pommern, the country in which the first of their name and coat-of-arms appeared in a document: thus, the assumption and assertion that the comrades of arms of these families, the v. Kleist, are derived from a country other than Pommern itself will not be allowed to take place.
- 2) If we find the ancestors of the v. Kleist and the first bearers of this name exclusively named in Pommern and living and nourished there, the sentence will assert itself that the cradle of the family stood where the first also lived. This sentence is so unmistakable and correct that it allows almost no objections and only the objection of the change of name in the new country can be asserted against him.

3) It is very important to note and to reinforce the evidence of the Wendish descent of the Kleist family when we find a number of families in Pommern, which are partly counted from time immemorial to the indigenous noble families of the same, partly by no means accompanied by those, in which one would have made an attempt to prove a German descent, which, although not an identical to the Kleist-, but nevertheless a similarly formed or respectively the same heraldic animals in the same number, position etc. lead coat-of-arms. The editor of the Kleist Book of documents has already pointed out this himself by including the seals of such families in the coat of arms.

We have to distinguish two categories of such noble families of Pommern according to the last remark and turn first to those who have the Kleist-like shaped coat of arms, i.e. a beam dividing the shield transversely, accompanied by two figures, one at the top and one at the bottom, or a transversely divided shield, in the two halves of which an animal walks or jumps up. These are the kinds of families we see:

- 1) living from Damitz, near the Kleist, above and below the cross beam of the shield, leading a boar's head,
- 2) that of Falck, in both sections of the transversely divided shield with one grip each, also a Pomeranian family,
- 3) those of Brockhusen in Hinterpommern, below the crossbar a running Wolf, above the former three stars in the shield.

None of these families has been or can be said to be of German origin. We will therefore rightly have to think about the same origin of families with similar coat-of-arms.

Taking the second category of Kleist-like coat-of-arms as its subject, the editor has claimed a number of undoubtedly indigenous noble families of Pommern as such and described them in more detail on the seal boards.

According to the evidence of the long series of older seals of the Kleist family, several of them did not carry the shield in its present form and drawing, which was customary during the two previous centuries, but, with the omission of the crossbar, the two wolves alone among themselves, just as they still carry today the first family of Pomerania, the v. Borcke, against whose indigenous nature and undoubted descent from the most noble Slavic nobles has not yet raised their voices.

Those lords of Kleist whose seals show only the two wolves and not the crossbar are as follows:

- 1) Bispraus v. Kleist the Elder (olde), 1402, see addendum Table IX. No 3,
- 2) Bispraus v. Kleist, 1500, see *ibid.* No 2, and
- 3) Ewald Joachim v. Kleist, 1699, see *ibid.* Table XV. No. 12.

Even more family members use a mere dividing line pay a visit of the crossbar (see *ibid.* Table IX. X. XI. XV.), so that, if this is true, the coat-of-arms is conceivable only in such a way that the tinctures of the two areas separated by a simple line differ and the animals in them were of the opposite color, i.e. a red Wolf on top of Weiß and a white Wolf on bottom of red.

On the other hand, we perceive the designated coat-of-arms variant, namely the mere wolves without the crossbar on the older seals of those families, which in later formation consistently lead a coat-of-arms identical to the Kleist and of which the v. Bulgrin certainly, the v. Woedtke at least afterwards view several genealogists and historians, to whom v. Kleist are ancestral (i.e. have to lead the same coat-of-arms with them), much more frequently.

I refer to the seals

- 1) of Henning v. Bulgrin, 1409, see addendum Table XIII. No 9,
- 2) Henning v. Bulgrin at Tunow, 1494, see *ibid.* op. cit. no. 10,

3) of Christoph v. Bulgrin at Wusszecken, 1521, see *ibid.* op. cit. no. 11.

4) of Hanß v. Butzke on Butzke, 1510, see *ibid.* Table XIV. No. 11.

5) of Alexius v. Woedtke, 1536, see *ibid.* Table XV. No. 17.

There are no old seals of those of the v. Meseritz, and the well-known seals of the v. Krankspar from the beginning of the 16th century both show the crossbar.

It should also be noted that in the case of the above-mentioned noble families not only the crossbar is later found in the shield between the wolves, but that also almost all of them have the same variation as in those of Kleist: dividing line pay a visit of the crossbar etc.; so that we are decidedly dealing with a single special coat of arms, which is common to several families.

If, however, we consider the oldest seals of the Kleist family, i.e. those of circa 1290 and of Dubislaf v. Kleist of 1377 and 1385, the vast majority of Kleist seals from later times will see the crossbar contained, then it is probably to be rejected that the two wolves alone had constituted the initial coat-of-arms and that the crossbar was only a later ingredient, although in some of the other families and in the family Bulgrin of the v. Kleist de Densin of the crossbar, which is indisputably related to the v. Kleist, is only found later. However, the seal of this and the other families from the oldest and older period under consideration here are only a few or none at all preserved, so that conclusions are certainly not possible and it also seems possible and acceptable that arbitrariness, lack of care, negligence and the like should bear the blame for the variant of the coat of arms of those of Kleist and their comrades of arms, namely in omission of the crossbar or transformation thereof into a mere stroke. The rawness and imperfection of the drawing and the engraving of the Kleist and Pomeranian seals of nobility in the 14th and 15th centuries in general speaks the word of this declaration.

Therefore, if the shield with the crossbar separating the two wolves is the genuine coat-of-arms, we are able to enter the coat-of-arms of the v. Borcke and other Old Pomeranian nobles, as their ancient seals, all showing two soon uncrowned soon crowned wolves in the shield, bring the panels XII and XIII in the addendum numerous, the v. Kleist-like coat-of-arms or the emblems of coats of arms of related families not to see, even less we can see the v. Böhn with the three dogs or even the v. Glasenapp, v. Rekow and v. Kamecke, as it is the scratch view (see panel XII. 11 and XIV. No. 17-20), because they have a similar helmet decoration, count in this category. But we will soon come back to the Kleist Helmzier and its significance.

However, the similar formation of the coat-of-arms of the v. Borcke and other Pomeranian families with the Kleist, consisting in the leadership of two wolves in the same position, must be taken into account and is evidence for our purpose. And it is precisely characteristic that wolves, foxes, dogs are not just so mean in the coat-of-arms of the Pomeranian nobility, but that they only appear here most in such, so to speak, clusters and connections with each other or other heraldic figures.

For this reason, the similarity of the Kleist, Bulgrin, etc. coat-of-arms (yes, as far as individual older seals are concerned, the correspondence) with the Borckian is of no small importance for the investigation of the homeland and the homeland of those of Kleist. For, admittedly, if no other family of Pommern, but the v. Borcke have their cradle here, it will be necessary to conclude that also the families related to the coat of arms, the noble families with similarly designated coat of arms shields in the same country as the v. Borcke must have originated.

In view of the striking similarity (albeit not a relationship, as stated in the book of documents p. 746⁷³⁷) of the Borckeschen coat-of-arms with the Kleist and its significance for an investigation into the same, it is necessary to approve a presentation of the seals in question on Tables XII and XIII (addendum), without it being necessary to go into a more detailed description and enumeration of those seals. And it

⁷³⁷ See addendum See

is also noteworthy that other families of Pommern, for whom a German descent has not yet been proven, have in their coat of arms two animals running among themselves, the v. Borske dogs⁷³⁸, who have set v. Falck Greife, the latter even more similar to the Kleistsche wolves are separated by a dividing line.

II. A second consideration is to be devoted in the following to the helmet ornaments or the helmet ornaments of the Kleist coat-of-arms.

It will also prove or reinforce that we are dealing with a true Pomeranian coat-of-arms, with the coat-of-arms of a native family of Pommern.

The helmet decoration of the Kleist coat-of-arms consists of three hunting or gag skewers, which are turned downwards with the tips of three Rosen - we leave out the designation of the respective paints as temporarily irrelevant with intent.

This helmet jewelry is a highly characteristic and peculiar. It is found exclusively in Pomerania and is not found in any family of German descent in Deutschland.

The helmet decorations, which heraldists and genealogists have so far paid even less attention to than the emblems and figurations of the shields, deserve in fact a thorough consideration and often provide surprising information in a variety of directions, but most of all for the cultural history of the countries to which the respective noble families belong.

Who wouldn't have noticed, who regards a heraldic book differently from a colorful work of images, which color specialty characterizes the noble coats of arms of Westphalen - yellow and red? And what repetitive uniformity in the formation of the helmet decorations, the winging of the helmets and the repetition of the shield figures on the individual wings or the repetition of the tapered coat of arms shield between them? And so it can be said that every German country inhabited by a certain tribe of nations has not only declared the Stempel of peculiarity to the coat of arms of its nobility, but also that such peculiarity characterizes the helmet ornaments to no lesser extent. The coat-of-arms of the indigenous low nobility in Prussia, the Margraviate Brandenburg, in Schlesien, on the Harz, in Lower Saxony, Franken and Rhein have several categories of such peculiar degenerates helmet ornament rates.

<195> Let's take a look at what Pommern is doing in this regard. As in no other country, we find very specific degenerates of helmet jewelry in Pommern. We may at least highlight some of the many things that can be said in this respect.

Especially the most ordinary and most natural seeming in modern times with new noble and citizen coats of arms, especially since ingenious countless occurring helmet ornaments, namely the padding of the helmet and specifically with ostrich feathers shows, although not exclusively, but nowhere more than in Pommern. We abstain from the examples of this, which would only be impressive and proven by their mass, and refer to the Bagmihl coat of arms of Pommern or, which is already completely sufficient, to the Pomeranian noble coats of arms in the third volume of the Siebmacher coat of arms.

A second helmet jewelry peculiar to Pomerania are natural Lilien, which also decorate many of the Pomeranian noble helmets in the triple number. This degenerate of the helmet ornament is also found in Pommern, while the coat-of-arms of German families rarely have it. We mention here, for example, the coat-of-arms of v. Wittken, v. Tesmar, v. Tauenzin, v. Dargusch, v. Versen, v. Janitz, (v. Tribbesees heraldische Lilien), v. Wobeser, v. Paris, v. Chmelentz, v. Zarbske (Sarbski), v. Lodes and others.

A side piece to the Lilien are Rosen, also in the triple on the helmet of old Pomeranian families, and this species of Helmzier belongs to the extreme rarity in the coat-of-arms of old German noble families. We only mention - apart from the v. Vangerow with one, v. Saenz and v. Schinburen with two, v.

⁷³⁸ Dogs are also found elsewhere in the Pomeranian heraldry, also in the two-digit, but in a different position, namely jumping against each other, in the coat-of-arms of the von Koß and von Boehn.

Rotermund with six and v. Meseritz with six or seven Rosen - the v. Powalski, v. Paris, v. Born, v. Ketel, v. Kowalck, v. Zozenow and others.

Again, a peculiarity of the Pomeranian heraldry we perceive in the occupation of the helmet with a weapon (whose use was also especially widespread in the Slavic countries) also in the triple number, namely with arrows and gag or hunting skewers. In the Slavic marrow of Brandenburg we also encounter these two types of helmet jewelry in indigenous Wendengescheuchen, namely the arrows, such as those of Retzow and Brietz or Brietzke. In Pommern we see three upright arrows, also sometimes turned downwards (very often arrows occur individually and twice on the helmets of the Pomeranian nobility) in the coat-of-arms of the v. Lissow, v. Herzberg, v. Wittken, v. Thadden, v. Velstow, v. Zarnow and others exactly in the same figuration as the hunting skewers on the helmets of those of Kleist. This fact will also help in its part to support the arguments that bear witness to the indignation of the Kleist family in Pommern.

Of those families who are part of a shield with the v. Kleist, all, except for the v. Meseritz, whose helmet ornaments vary greatly according to the imprint given in the seal board, also as it was carried in the Middle Ages could not be ascertained, also carry the same helmet ornaments as the v. Kleist, namely the three supported hunting skewers. The fact that this degenerate of helmet jewelry is also a favorite in Pommern, among its old native nobility (completely unknown in Deutschland), is shown by an overview of the Pomeranian coat-of-arms. In addition to the v. Kleist, v. Butzke, v. Bulgrin, v. Woedtke and v. Kranksparn, the v. Tesmar (one of the two families of this name), v. Reckow, v. Peselin and v. Kamecke, all four, if any, still lead him to the native body of knights and to the descendants of noble Wenden, and also the v. Lodes, as from the seal of the Richard v. Lodes of 1600 (see addendum Table XV. No. 15).

Kratz wrongly names the last two families - the first he passes over - families related to the coat of arms of the v. Kleist; the circumstance of the same helmet ornaments does not in the least justify that designation. It should be noted that all the families mentioned so far, which lead hunting spikes to the helmet ornament, have as a coat of arms emblem - only in the case of the v. Bonin it could be doubtful - huntable, by hunting spikes to be killed and in Pommern at the time wildly occurring as a shield emblem.

In this, too, Kratz is wrong to place the v. Glasenapp in the same category of the families related to the v. Kleist coat of arms because it bears the seal of a single Mr. v. Glasenapp, Peter v. Glasenapp v. J. 1505 (see addendum Table XIV. No. 17), i.e. from a relatively late period, and shows, in addition, a helmet ornament only similar to the Kleist, not even the same, namely five bundles of upwardly directed Lanzen or skewers⁷³⁹. In general, by the way, the v. Glasenapp have always and still now led a completely different helmet decoration. However, there are seals of the v. Kleist and some of their coats of arms, whose helmet ornaments resemble the aforementioned Glasenappschen, which is also inherent in the matter (see the seals of Andreas v. Kleist 1536 Table IX. No. 10). The helmet decoration in the Glasenappschen- and her coats of arms Siegel, which is usually attached to the shield just like on the Kleist Siegel without helmet, shows the hunting skewers with iron turned downwards.

Another specialty of the Kleist coat-of-arms, which is also evident in a number of other Pomeranian families, but only such, is the casting of the helmet with (heraldic) Rosen, on which the tips of the hunting or gag skewers rest. The first depiction of this is shown on the seal of Martin v. Kleist on Dargen from 1579 (addendum Table X No. 7), if not already the crossbar occupied by three Rosen in the coat of arms of the Camminer dean Pribislaw v. Kleist on its seal of 1538 (addendum Tab. IX No 12) contains an indication of this. Since then, we have found the Rosen soon to be appropriate, soon to be

⁷³⁹ Otherwise, Kratz would also have had to count the v. Gousch, whose helmet shows a bundle of skewers, among the arms-related families of the v. Kleist.

left out, but the latter is less common, and for 150 years they have consistently been found to be part of the Kleist coat-of-arms. Of the families of the v. Kleist who are related to the arms or tribes, only the coat-of-arms of the v. Butzke and v. Meseritz appear in later times, but they often lead a number of highly prized Rosen on their helmets, without the helmet roses; the v. Bulgrin and v. Woedtke lead them; of the v. Krankspar only a single older seal is known, on which they are missing.

In order to vindicate the character and type of a true Pomeranian in this piece as well to the Kleist coat-of-arms, we emphasize that we find, as noted, in a whole series of coat-of-arms of Old Pomeranian and as we believe indigenous families the same herald piece, the helmet roses or in their pay a visit other but similar characters, such as diamonds, clovers and the like. Thus, the helmet feathers of the Rügische v. Plates rest on Rosen, respectively they are wrapped with a rosary at the bottom, similar to the peacock tail on the helmet of the v. Varchmin. One of the two v. Steinwehr families has each of the three ostrich feathers stuck on its helmet on a Rose; likewise the v. Knuth with the trophy, while the v. Schwerin shows shamrocks or a shamrock wreath, the v. Billerbeck three (heraldic) diamonds and the v. Borsky stars instead of the Rosen. - -

After we have subjected all the plays of the v. Kleist coat-of-arms in the preceding sections to a detailed discussion, heraldic critique and comparative consideration, the coat-of-arms is continuously and in all plays as such, which does not bear a German, but a Wende or Slavic type and character. We have the evidence, on the one hand, of the formation of the shield and its images and the helmet ornaments, on the other hand, of the quality of the images themselves. We have found the same heraldic figure, the same formation and composition, the same degenerate of the Helmzier among a sometimes considerable number of noble families, which are native to the Pomeranian region from their first appearance and of which no one has been able to make the claim of a foreign in specifically German origin.

It is obvious that in such circumstances the coat-of-arms of the v. Kleist and its nature constitute a significant point in the chain of evidence in favor of the family's indigenous nature. For if the non-German type of coat-of-arms is admitted, those who wanted to adhere to the view of the German provenance of the family and the immigration of their ancestor in Pommern would only be able to counter that fact by doing so and could only attempt to explain it by

- 1) a filing of the German (ancestor) coat-of-arms,
- 2) the acceptance of a turning or
- 3) the conversion of the German to Wendish type,
- 4) or at last would have to claim acceptance of the name of a German family without simultaneous acceptance of his coat-of-arms of pages of a family of Wends.

If, according to the exposition given in this chapter, the Kleist coat-of-arms presents Wendisches entirely alone as bearing the type of the Wenden coat-of-arms and thus as evidence for the origin of the family from Pommern itself, then a few words are still devoted here to some objections which could be raised against this view.

They will be able to rely on the fact that in other German countries outside Pommern there are coat-of-arms whose shields - because no one shows the same helmet jewelry - show a similar figuration with the Kleist, so that the evidence of the non-German origin of the family from the coat-of-arms at least loses its footing.

If we go back to the Kratzsche view, according to which it seems from the lack of the cross bar on some - extremely few - older Kleist seals to the occurrence of the cross bar on the oldest sex seals that the bar is a later ingredient and the two wolves alone represented the actual coat of arms, which is why also on the coat-of-arms of those v. Borcke and some old Pomeranian nobles is recurrent, we find, however, but in surprisingly small numbers, coat-of-arms of German families, which lead two crossing animals in the shield, namely, apart from the illustrious Hohenlohe family, the Schenken v. Dönstedt (Flechtingen),

Bock v. Wülffingen, v. Ilten and v. Auerswald. More than these four I have not been able to discover under the whole nobility of the Upper and Lower Saxon district, which counts many thousands of families. This circumstance alone, which is explained by the infinite possibility of combinations of different heraldic figures, is already because of the extremely small number of cases in question, but even more so because of no significance or our evidence shocking, because it is clear that the v. Borcke Wenden blooms are and often such a heraldic image could also occur in such families and was brought here. It is therefore not worth the trouble to recall the likelihood that the v. Auerswald will only have to derive their origin from the native inhabitants of a turning country (Meißen) from time immemorial and originally appearing.

Almost with the same ease, the second objection will be overcome, which refers to the figuration of the Kleist coat of arms shield, which we also address as specifically Pomeranian and which rejects that also outside Pommern several noble families can be detected, whose coat of arms shield shows a crossbar accompanied at the top and bottom by certain emblems. Thus, the Hopkorf v. lead over and under the crossbar two and one star, as do the Scheplitz v., the Keyn v. two and a buckle or the like, the Barsewisch v. two and one leaf, the Kahlenberg v. two and one Rose, the Bronsart v. and Kassau v. four and three diamonds. All of these families occur exclusively only in Wends and Slave countries, the Jerichowschen, the Margraviate of Brandenburg and Prussia, and are, as can be shown, all of Wendish origin, but then these examples are less suitable for the reason that they all show not two but three figures as companions of the crossbar and not animals, but lifeless objects.

Much more apt is therefore the example of v. Rüllicke, a native Neumärker, who later settled in Meißen, and two dogs, running on top of each other, lead in the transversely divided shield in mixed tinctures. However, if we also quite apart from the differences in the shield section, this can only be on our page, as the v. Rüllicke also occur exclusively in a Wenden country and, as their name already shows, are undoubtedly native to the country.

Only the only coat-of-arms of the Schenken v. Stauffenberg (see Siebmacher I. p. 115), which belongs to the Swabian body of knights, is the one of which a similarity in the formation of the shield emblem can be claimed. It shows above a crossbar a lion walking along. In its isolation, it alone has no significance for answering the question of whether the Kleistsche coat-of-arms is of German or Wendish type, apart from the fact that it is not wolves but lions that we see in the South German coat-of-arms. The wolves of the Kleist above and below the beam we find just nowhere again and in Deutschland shows and shines the Kleist shield only in the country, from which the ancestor of the whole family has sprouted.

C. Description of the family coat of arms and the individual branches of the family attached coat-of-arms.

1. The original coat of arms of the family v.. Kleist, which has been known and certified by seals for almost 600 years, presents itself in the unthinkable time as regards the position and combination of the coat of arms images and the colors and in the correct and normative form today for the sexual limbs entitled to the sole leadership of the simple coat-of-arms, as shown in the illustration next to the title page of the Book of documents, namely:

A white (silver) shield, in which a red crossbar, above and below which a red Wolf with a flared red red tongue shows itself running.

The helmet has three red, yellow (gold)-studded (yellow-studded) Rosen next to it, each with a yellow (brownish) hunting or gag skewer (with natural-colored iron) standing down on it.

Helmets: red and white (silver).

There must be no debate in this place as to why we pay a visit the fashion pay a visit, which has been introduced in heraldic blasons for several hundred years, and perhaps here and there for some time now, to name the two colors white and yellow the corresponding metals that used and restored the old and proper way of designating them. We consider the other degenerate to be an expression of heraldic braid style and a pedantry, but above all a mistake, since no painter, especially in prehistoric times, completely tinges yellow and white heraldic shields and figurines with gold or silver colors (metal), but only in places where the "lights" had to be attached, along with individual protruding points that reflect the light.

Nor is it the place to spread the word about why the position of wolves has not been specified. It is a completely indifferent matter. The coat-of-arms remains the Kleist coat-of-arms and everyone will see it for the same, even if the wolves are shown paying a visit to the left (heraldic right, because one should think of the hand of the one holding the coat-of-arms in front of him) page to the right (heraldic left). This is confirmed not only by the seals of the Kleist, but also by the seals and older coat of arms of all noble families. The position of the heraldic figure, whether right or left, was a matter of pure arbitrariness and nothing would be more ridiculous than to talk of a false coat-of-arms if the wolves were constantly pointing to the right.

However, an important voice in crest representations and paintings has the aesthetic feeling or aesthetic taste. This has decided, especially from the point of view of convenience for the draftsman (not engraver) for the (natural) leftist page, according to which crest figures, especially since animals are to be turned, and indeed with full right, but only in the subject of individual coat-of-arms to be represented. In fact, the opposite is paid a visit - and with even more right and according to unquestionable aesthetic principles - both in the alliance of complete coat-of-arms (as a result of the alliance (marriage) of their wearers) and in the ecarterization and unification of heraldic figures in general, in which the former case all heraldic figures turned to the left have to turn in the opposite page - to the right - so that the whole coat-of-arms in the first place (that of the husband), as far as possible, also turns with the helmet to the second coat-of-arms next to it (that of the wife). In the other case, a squared shield containing four lions would therefore contain the right-hand side in boxes 1 and 3, which have to be turned left in boxes 2 and 4, so that the animals are not only facing each other in boxes 1 and 2, but also in boxes 1 and 4 and in boxes 2 and 3. A countless number of examples from all ages confirm this practice, which is based on a commendable sense of beauty.

In the present case, therefore, the Kleist heraldic animals, in the case of the union of the coat-of-arms with another, so that it is first (as the coat-of-arms of the husband) to turn to the right (heraldic left) page, as we also know a number of seals of the previous century, in which this is the case, as with

countless other coat-of-arms.

The lack of sound heraldic knowledge and aesthetics in the first half of this century and during most of the last century, in the design of the increased Kleist coat-of-arms, has made violations of such principles everywhere, since if the original coat of arms in the squared shield had been repeated, the heraldic animals should have turned towards each other.

In such cases, however, the diploma and its specification must be strictly adhered to and an amendment is not permitted.

As far as the helmet decoration of the Kleist coat-of-arms is concerned, it is only to be remembered in the case of the adjoining, taken from the Book of documents, normal depiction that the depiction in the beautiful taste and style from the middle of the 15th century caused the right-hand turn of the helmet and thus also the change of the position of the skewers, which are otherwise fan-like, the middle perpendicular, the others at an acute angle directed downwards towards it. Again, this was based on heraldic aesthetics and will have to be maintained when the helmet is turned forward. Other positions of the skewers, incidentally, show several seals.

<200> Finally, it is also noticeable, in consideration of the colors of individual parts of the coat-of-arms, that old paintings in pedigrees and family records depict the wolves in natural colors, i.e. dirty yellow or pale yellow and gray yellow, without altering the tincture of the helmet ceilings corresponding to the colors of the shield figures. But it is also the completely red color of the animals (vermilion) quite right, since it is the principle to depict the tincture of heraldic figures usually in certain colors, which often do not conform with the natural ones, which is why the heraldry has blue and black lions, black deer, blue Rosen, etc.

The Courland branch soon carries the original coat of arms after conventional manner with a crowned, soon with an uncrowned helmet.



2. Kleist v. Bornstedt. By means of the Most High Cabinet command of the Berlin of 11 April 1803 (see book of documents p. 652, 653), the Premier Lieutenant Franz Otto of Kleist and the future holders of the Fideikommissbesitzer of the manor of Hohen-Nauen received permission to combine the names of Kleist and Bornstedt and to call themselves Kleist v Bornstedt.

The coat-of-arms painted in the above Cabinets command and therefore still managed by this industry today is squared. Boxes 1 and 4 show the above-described original coat of arms, 2 and 3 that of those of Bornstedt (namely the Neumärkisch-Pomeranian family of this name), a red and Weiß-nested wall with three red battlements, above which on blue a brown, somewhat obliquely inclined floating tree trunk, at the top with two below occupied with a brown acorn.

Of the two helmets, the first (left) is the Kleist stem helmet, the second crowned one of the Bornstadt coat-of-arms, wears three ostrich feathers, one red between two blue ones.

The helmet covers are white and red on both sides.

(Illustration from the Book of documents Tafel II to p. 653).

As for the v. Bornstedtic coat-of-arms, it is here, at least in part, decidedly inaccurate. Coming into a detailed critique is not the place here, especially since the presentation is an unchangeable fait accompli. The slotted wall, which is said to have three red battlements, is absurd. As with many of the Neumark and Pomeranian families, the Bornstedt Shield (e.g. also with the v. Rüchel) consisted of half a chess, but it is not a wall and must have no battlements. If, however, a wall emerged from chess in completely erroneous Weise and through negligence and already after a few seals in the 17th century, it could only be depicted in one color, at most with joints marked red. There are also various concerns about the correctness of the calibration load. The v. Bornstedtic coat-of-arms shows itself on old seals and almost more on new ones in countless variations, the branch above the chess soon shows leaves of various shapes, soon fruits, soon gnards pay a visit of leaves, often it passes into a wall breaker (Sturmbock). Two main lines of the family differ by the helmet decoration, as the other industry led a growing image of women. Most often, the coat of arms also vary in color and the helmet is usually not crowned. See Bagmihl, Pomeranian Coat of Arms.

Region of Magdeburg A completely different tribe and different home than the above is the original family of Bornstedt, which keeps a hat in the coat-of-arms and also still blooms.



Rüchel-Kleist 3. v. or actually and originally v. Rüchel, otherwise v. Kleist. In 1809 at the latest (not 1810), the major, later Major General Jacob Friedrich v. Kleist, received the Highest Authorization to accept the name and coat-of-arms of those v. Rüchel for himself and his descendants, following his adoption by the then Lieutenant General Ernst Wilh. Ferdinand Friedrich Philipp v. Rüchel, the last of his family, who had always been affluent in the district of Dramburg-Schievelbein. See the details in the deed. 656 and 657. The coat-of-arms, which is only conducted according to the practice, not the diploma or cabinet order, which can no longer be found, consists of a squared shield, the 1st and 4th. Field the Kleist's original coat of arms, the 2nd and 3rd that shows the v. Rüchel, namely a blue (heraldic) lily in Weiß over a chess of blue and Weiß. Of the two helmets, the first (left) is the Kleist stem helmet, the second crowned is that of the Rüchel coat-of-arms and is covered with three green cloverleaves stuck on long green stems. The helmet covers are red and white on the left, blue and white on the right.

(Illustration from the Book of documents-Tafel III to p. 656.)

About the v. Rüchel, also belonging to the indigenous nobility of the Pomeranian country, especially on Semerow for centuries, compare Bagmihl a. o.



4. Count Kleist of Nollendorff. The coat-of-arms attached to the middle diploma of Paris 3 June 1814 under the name of Count Kleist v. Nollendorff raised to the Prussian county rank General of Infantry (later General Field Marshal) Friedrich Ferdinand Emil Heinrich v. Kleist - we would follow the words of the diploma here, if the same could not be printed in the deed book pp. 658 - 661 - in a squared shield with a middle shield containing the Kleist original coat of arms. Boxes 1 and 4 show on Weiß the Prussian golden eagle with a crown and clover angels (but without the name on the breast and without scepter and sword), boxes 2 and 3 yellow with an upright sword with a golden handle, surrounded by a laurel wreath consisting of two green laurel branches tied together in red below.

Three helmets also covered with count's crown rest on the count's crown covering the shield, the middle of which bears the Kleist trunk helmet, three from as much Rosen, one red between two yellow, toppled yellow (tournament) Lanzen; the second helmet (the first left) shows the eagle of the 1st and 4th, the third the figure of the 2nd and 3rd. field. The helmet covers are left: black, white and red, right: red and yellow, in the middle: red and white.

(Illustration from the Book of documents-Tafel IV to p. 660.)

The helmet decoration of the main coat of arms has been incorrectly stated with the above coat of arms propagation both with regard to the tincture of the Rosen, as well as the depiction of Lanzen (and indeed in the drawing as complete tournament lances) pay a visit of the short pressed hunting or gag skewers, whose figuration shows the drawing of the main coat of arms.

All generals of the Prussian army, who had been awarded an increase in their rank, received similar increases in their coats of arms from the war of 1813-14.



5. Count Kleist of Loß. The most medial diploma of that Berlin, 21 January 1823 in the Prussian county under the name of Count Kleist of Loß raised Prussian Major Wilhelm Bogislav v. Kleist received the following coat-of-arms, whose diplomatic description in the in the document b. 669 - 671 printed count's diploma is located: A twice split and once transversely divided shield, in the upper second field of which the Kleist'sche, the lower fourth field the Loß'sche original coat of arms, namely on red a green frog in the middle of a green leaf wreath. The 1st and 6th white field shows the black Prussian crowned, gold-reinforced eagle, but without clover angel, name, sword and scepter. Box 3 and 4 a white lion on blue.

The count's crown, which covers the shield, wears four helmets, which are also decorated with count's crown, the first of which shows the eagle described above growing, the second the Kleist helmet decoration in the usual representation, the third the Loß helmet, repeating the shield figure, the fourth the white lion growing.

The helmet covers are white and red in the middle, black, white and red on the left, blue, white and red on the right.⁷⁴⁰ - Illustration from the Book of documents Tafel V. at page 670.

The coat-of-arms of the ancient Meissen niches by several high-ranking men distinguished family v. Loß see at Sinapius, Schlesien Curiosite. 611 ff., Siebmacher I. p. 152.



⁷⁴⁰ A seal of the Earl of Kleist (Loß) in 1860, on the other hand, shows the shield, covered with a crown of counts, on which the simple helmet decoration: two wolves, see certificates. Tab. XI No. 20.

6. Barons von Kleist. The K. Prussian Premier Leutnant Heinrich Werner Eduard v. Kleist zu Tippielsgrün in retired obtained by diploma d. d. Böhmen 6 May 1831 the elevation to the Prussian baronial rank for himself and his Berlin Nachkommen.

The coat-of-arms given to him, which is described in detail in the diploma printed in the deed book pp. 671 - 673, has retained the master shield unchanged, but which is covered with a baron's crown in French pattern (!), which wears a crowned helmet with the helmet decoration of the master coat of arms; however, of the three Rosen only the middle red, the other two white, all yellow-seeded.

The helmet blankets are red and white.

(Illustration from the Book of documents Tablet VI to page 672.)



7. Kleist-Retzow. District councillor The K. Johann George v. Kleist in Kieckow received by Berlin on 13 February 1839 the highest diploma, which allowed to carry the name and coat-of-arms of the extinct Mark family v. Retzow Kleist-Retzow and to call itself v.

The diploma can be found in the Book of documents p. 673-675 printed.

According to the diploma, the coat-of-arms consists of a squared shield, the 1st and 4th. Field the Kleist original coat of arms, which contains 2nd and 3rd the v. Retzow coat-of-arms; namely on red two blue half-moons, which face each other with their spines, above and below which there is a blue star. The two helmets are on the left of the Kleist'sche with ordinary representation, on the right of the Retzow'sche, three blue upward sweeping arrows next to each other.

The helmet covers are blue, white and red on the left, blue, white and red on the right.⁷⁴¹

(Illustration from Book of documents on Table VII at page 674.)



⁷⁴¹ Kleist-Retzow Count v., Prussian Graf linked to the ownership of Fideikommisse Möthlow (817 ha), Kr. Groß-Tychow Westhavelland and à (3335 ha), with Alt-Bukow (1281 ha), Kr. Bublitz, Pommern., and hereditary to the male descendants of the male tribe who will be owned by the two estates in trust, i.e. Berlin June 16, 1913. Gotha, belongin to an earl houses, 1914 (2007)

8. Counts von Kleist. Under October 20, 1840, the retired major and majorate owner of Kleist was raised to the Prussian county on Zützen in the Niederlausitz under the restriction of the transfer of the earldom only to the first-born son or the eldest-living son. The diploma in question is not in the deed book, but only the relevant cabinet command on page 675. According to the figure given below (Table VIII from the Book of documents p. 676), the belongin to an earl coat-of-arms consists of the unchanged original coat of arms, only that the helmet rests on a count's crown.⁷⁴²



⁷⁴² Heinrich Erdmann Bogislav Ewald von Kleist Wendisch-Tychow, Prussian Chamberlain, was s. d. 27. August 1869 by Sr. Maj. König Wilhelm I. was elevated to the status of Count by Prussia after the right of the primogeniture Wendisch-Tychow (the title of Count is linked to the sole possession of à). The coat-of-arms contains the following special feature: Shield holders: the Pomeranian handles, which are on an arabesque decoration. (These shield holders were lent to the old Kleist coat-of-arms at the elevation to the rank, as a reminder that the same occurred when Sr. Maj. of the König of Prussia was present in Pommern.) Gotha, belongin to an earl houses, 1874 (2007)

The count's diploma for the second Counts of Zützen and Gersdorf Heinrich Leopold, dated 1 June 1863, has been in the family archives in von Kleist since 2004 as an inheritance of his great-nephew, the last Fideikommissherrn of Zützen and Gersdorf, Count Hans Joachim Hamm. Therefore, the coat-of-arms belonging to the count's diploma can be shown here.



On 17 August 1869 Heinrich Erdmann Bogislav Ewald von Kleist became Wendisch Tychow, royal Prussian chamberlain, by Sr. Maj. König Wilhelm I was elevated to the rank of Count by Prussia under the law of primogeniture. The title of Count was associated with the sole ownership of Wendisch Tychow.

Coat-of-arms: in silver, a red crossbar, accompanied at the top and bottom by a fox of natural color running to the right. Count's crown. The crowned helmet with red-silver Decken wears three Rosen next to each other, one silver, one red and one silver, each with a toppled golden gag skewer. Shield holder: the Pomeranian red handles, which stand on a golden arabesque ornament. These shield holders were awarded to the ancient Cleist coat-of-arms at the elevation to the county, as a reminder that the same occurred when Sr. Maj. of König was present in the Pommern area.⁷⁴³



⁷⁴³ *Genealogisches Taschenbuch der gräflichen Häuser*, 1874, pp. 435

The coat-of-arms comes from: Wappenalbum der gräflichen Familien Deutschland und Österreich-Ungarns, Maximilian Gritzner; Adolf Matthias Hildebrandt [ed.], Part 2, 1887. The black and white copy was colored for the second edition of this book. (2007)

9. According to one on Table XV. No. 19 in the addendum is the seal depicted on 8 October 1860 in the Prussian Adelstand raised Mr. v. Kleist the original coat of arms was permitted to carry, but with a, in any case according to the remark above, very meaningless brooch, namely a mere right (heraldic left) turn of the heraldic animals. Instead of the skewers, the seal print shows upwardly turned swords, which also, especially on subtly stung seals completely resemble hunting skewers and are to be confused with them.

D. Shield holder.

A glance at the large amount of Kleist seals from 6 centuries, as the best source for the trueness of the coat of arms, reveals the coat-of-arms as described and depicted on page 164, in the most correct and original form, at least in the form that has been used for centuries and generally recognized by the family.

As far as the helmet is concerned, it is uncrowned to lead, a coronation occurs only very rarely (only abusive in recent times), e.g. on the seal of Richard Christian v. Kleist on Raddatz 1714, which also first adopted the Rosen on the beam, shows (Table XI. No. 9).

Shield holders, which are quite uncommon in Pommern, with low nobility in the Middle Ages with vanishing exceptions, hardly ever appear on seals, but now and since the last century have become a fashion thing, we find on the Kleist seals extremely rarely. The first to lead such is Peter Christian v. Kleist on Gross Tychow, 1740 (Table XI, 11). Next the shield holders appear on the seal of Christian Ewald v. Kleist on Kerklingen 1805 (Table XI, 13), namely Hirsch and Leo; then on the seal of the wife Marie Charlotte v. Kleist, born v. Retzow, 1769 (Table XI. 16) two wolves, perhaps as the most suitable figures, if one wants to step at all to such a coat of arms. The shield holders awarded by diploma to Count Kleist v. Loß can be passed over here, namely Wolf and Leo. Nowadays, all kinds of sign holders are also attached to seals of the family members here and there.

Chapter 3.

The Kleist Heraldic Kindred

by Kratz.

A. Heraldic Relationship and Kinship by Descent

In *Märkische Forschungen*, vol. III, pp. 96 ff. and 304 ff., and vol. IV, pp. 174 ff., there is an essay by Baron Leopold von Ledebur entitled “The Nobility of the Mark of Brandenburg, Grouped According to Heraldic Devices and Traced Back to Common Descent,” which begins with the following words:

“Genealogical research has hitherto generally proceeded from the name. Wherever the same name appeared, common descent was assumed, without sufficient regard being paid to differences in coats of arms. The cases in which a change of arms had taken place, which do indeed occur but are extremely rare, were accorded such general significance that a difference in arms scarcely appeared to constitute an obstacle. Topographical names, from which the majority of noble families derive their names, recur so frequently; yet neither this circumstance nor the fact that the many names borrowed from the animal kingdom, from a personal characteristic, or from an office must likewise recur deterred scholars from associating identity of name with common descent. They persisted in this, although innumerable examples showed that families bearing entirely different names had nevertheless sprung from one and the same stock. That which alone can guide us here was almost always overlooked: the common heraldic device, which, through every change of name, remained the same as evidence of common origin—that is, the same in its essential character and fundamental conception, although frequently altered by inessential additions. It would, of course, be a serious error, in view of the simplicity of the older heraldic figures, to associate the same origin everywhere with the same device. But where families of different names display the same, though perhaps varied, heraldic device in one and the same homeland, or even in more distant regions which stand in a historical relationship with that homeland and were connected with it by migration, a common root of those families may be assumed with great probability.”

Ten such heraldic groups are then established—the griffin’s claw, the wheel, the vertical pointed division, the zigzag bar and stag, the wolf and sheaf, the unicorn, the scaling hook, the wagon-board, the three caps, and the three swords—each comprising several families of different names, in some cases as many as sixteen, to which a common origin and agnatic kinship are attributed according to their heraldic device. Conversely, a name which occurs in association with different coats of arms is divided into as many separate stocks as there are different coats of arms. Thus a von dem Knesebeck family of the stock bearing the griffin’s claw is distinguished from a von dem Knesebeck family of the stock bearing the unicorn; a von Möllendorff family of the stock with the vertical pointed division from a von Möllendorff family of the stock with the branched candlestick; a von Glöden family of the stock with the wheel from a von Glöden family of the stock with the goat’s horn; a von Blankenburg family of the stock with the zigzag bar from a von Blankenburg family of the stock with the goat’s head; and a von Eickstedt family of the stock with the three swords from a von Eickstedt family of the stock with the horizontal bars and roses, etc. These families of identical name are denied common descent, although it is conceded that from the earliest times they not infrequently lived beside and among one another, and may even have taken their names from the same place.⁷⁴³

The learned argument of this acknowledged authority on the heraldry and history of his native country, and the conclusion thereby reached, did not fail to attract attention in the relevant circles; and it would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that Baron von Ledebur’s essay marked an epoch in genealogical research. Ledebur’s theory, which was simultaneously and independently advocated by Lisch in his

⁷⁴³ *Märkische Forschungen*, IV, pp. 116–117.

collection of charters concerning the history of the Hahn family, met with almost universal acceptance in the scholarly world. Although doubts were occasionally expressed when these principles were applied in practice,⁷⁴⁴ no serious attempt was made to oppose them.

It was the Pomeranian Provincial Archivist Dr. Klempin who first denied the foundation of the theories advocated by Ledebur and, at the same time, by Archives Councillor Dr. Lisch in Schwerin, and arrived at conclusions directly opposed to those of Ledebur and Lisch.⁷⁴⁵ Whereas Baron von Ledebur emphasizes the variability of the family name and the stability of the coat of arms as the principal rule to be observed in genealogical research, Klempin, conversely, claims stability as the rule for family names and instability for coats of arms. In other words, as a rule he traces persons with the same family name but different coats of arms to the same stock, whereas he assigns persons with identical coats of arms but different family names to as many different stocks as there are family names. He regards not agnatic kinship, but various other circumstances, such as neighbourhood, marriage relationships, or joint participation in the same fief, as the reasons why families bearing different names possessed identical arms.

After mature consideration and much deliberation, I too have abandoned Ledebur's theory, among whose adherents I counted myself for a considerable time, and have accepted, in the main though not entirely, the principles established by Klempin. When I say that I cannot accept Klempin's principles without qualification, this applies particularly to the evidentiary force which, in my opinion, he attributes far too categorically to identity of family name as proof of unity of stock. Just as Baron von Ledebur's theory goes to an extreme in one direction, Klempin's does so in the other. I therefore cannot accept as valid most of the evidence which Klempin adduces in support of the correctness of his principles. Proceeding from the principle that identity of name signifies identity of stock, he combines relationships and constructs entire genealogical tables whose structure is based for the greater part—although this is not stated—upon mere conjecture and upon a new, artificial theory of generational connections,⁷⁴⁶ and then uses them to refute Ledebur's theory of the unity of arms and stock. This emerges in a truly astonishing manner in some of his examples, such as the numerous von Hagen families,⁷⁴⁷ all of which he undertakes "with great certainty" to trace back to one common stock. Thus, although I agree in the main with Klempin's principles, I do so only in part as regards his method of proof, in which Klempin, moreover, avoids critical assessment by failing to state his sources. Furthermore, the publication promised by Klempin of a work on the value of coats of arms for determining descent⁷⁴⁸ appears to have been considerably delayed. The underlying historical reasons for the striking phenomenon of changes of arms within one and the same family, and of common arms among families of different descent, are mentioned by him only very briefly and generally as being based upon neighbourhood, marriage relationships, or joint participation in the same fief. I therefore feel called upon to develop independently my own view of this subject and the reasons for it. Since, however, the resolution of this question is only of secondary interest to the particular history of the von Kleist family, and since my argument is intended more to reject the inclusion of various other families which bear the same arms as the Kleists than to draw them into the scope of this account, I consider it

⁷⁴⁴ See von dem Knesebeck, *Documents and Regesta concerning the History of the Lords von dem Knesebeck*, p. 13; von Winterfeldt, *History of the von Winterfeld Family*, vol. I, p. 288; von Eickstedt, *Family Book of the von Eickstedt Family*, p. 17, etc.

⁷⁴⁵ Klempin and Kratz, *Registers and Lists of the Pomeranian Knighthood from the Fourteenth to the Nineteenth Century. I. Contributions to the Knowledge of the Rügen Knighthood*.

⁷⁴⁶ Loc. cit., p. IV.

⁷⁴⁷ Loc. cit., p. 113, under 75.

⁷⁴⁸ Loc. cit., p. IV.

advisable to restrict to a minimum the number of examples adduced in support of my view.

Although Baron von Ledebur warns against regarding the family name as the sole indication of common descent, I believe that my opposition to the assertions of the von Kleist family itself, which seeks to recognize the name alone as evidence of membership of its family, has already shown that I fully appreciate the danger of that particular pitfall. On the other hand, I cannot concede that the coat of arms alone proves agnatic kinship between families bearing different names, even when their joint appearance in charters, the proximity of their residences, and other social and topographical relationships reveal a particular connection between those families. It is not to be denied that families, particularly those of the higher nobility, frequently separated off branches which adopted and transmitted a distinct family name while nevertheless retaining the arms of the original stock. But the opposite occurred just as frequently, or even more frequently, and the arms were changed. Ledebur's assertion that cases of a change of arms were extremely rare applies only to the later period, when coats of arms had already become established together with family names, but not to the earliest period, when the heraldic system was still developing. It is well known that the higher nobility did not adopt coats of arms until the second half of the thirteenth century, from about 1180, and the lower nobility not until the first third of the thirteenth century, from about 1220,⁷⁴⁹ whereas hereditary family names had already emerged among the higher nobility at the beginning of the eleventh century and among the lower nobility in the second half of the twelfth century.⁷⁵⁰ Family names had therefore already become stable while coats of arms were still subject to change. In the thirteenth century, the figures on the shield had not yet become permanently attached to families; in the fourteenth century, the same uncertainty still affected the crests; and the components of coats of arms became invariable in northern Germany only fifty to one hundred years later than in southern Germany.⁷⁵¹ It was therefore not until the fourteenth century that this development was actually completed in northern Germany, and individual examples of changes of arms—though for the most part no longer hereditary changes—continued into the fifteenth century.

It is accordingly a well-known fact that father and son very frequently bore different arms, that one brother used arms different from those of another, and even that one and the same person in later years used arms entirely different from those which he had borne previously. Only a few examples which lie particularly close at hand will be given here.

The Princes of Rügen bore a demi-lion above a stone gable, and sometimes also a griffin. The Lords of Putbus, who descended from them, however, bore a demi-eagle above a chequered field, while the Lords of Gristow, who were likewise related to them by descent, bore a stag's head.⁷⁵²

Duke Sambor of Eastern Pomerania bore a griffin in 1260. His brother's son Mestwin II still bore the griffin on his equestrian seal in 1274, but from 1277 onward bore an eagle on his standing seal.⁷⁵³

Heinrich, or Borwin I, the ancestor of the princely house of Mecklenburg, bore a griffin. Of his sons, however, only the elder, Heinrich or Borwin II of Rostock or Werle, bore the griffin; the younger, Nicolaus of Gadebusch or Mecklenburg, who died before his elder brother, bore a bull's head. The sons

⁷⁴⁹ Von Hefner, *Handbook of Theoretical and Practical Heraldry*, vol. I, pp. 9–10; Homeyer, *On the Homeland under German Law*, p. 76; *On the Origin and Meaning of Coats of Arms*, Zurich, 184?, p. 8; Kopp, *On the Origin of Coats of Arms*, p. 108; Stälin, *History of Württemberg*, vol. II, pp. 659 ff.; Grote, *History of the Royal Prussian Coat of Arms*, p. 111.

⁷⁵⁰ Von Hefner, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 10; Homeyer, loc. cit., p. 68; von Schlieffen, *Information concerning Several Houses of the von Schlieffen Family*, p. 157; Riedel, *History of the Prussian Royal House*, vol. I, p. 17.

⁷⁵¹ Grote, *Numismatic Studies*, vol. III, pp. 338–339.

⁷⁵² Fabricius, *Charters concerning the History of the Principality of Rügen*.

⁷⁵³ Voßberg, *Coins and Seals of the Prussian Cities of Danzig, Elbing, and Thorn*, plate I F and plate II E.

of Borwin II initially bore the griffin like their father. After they had divided their entire grandfather's inheritance in 1229, however, only the third son, Heinrich or Borwin III of Rostock, retained the griffin. The other three—Johann of Mecklenburg, Nicolaus of Werle or Güstrow, and Pribislaw of Parchim and Richenberg—adopted the bull's head and transmitted it to their descendants.⁷⁵⁴

The Welfs bore a lion, as did Henry the Lion, the ancestor of the Dukes of Brunswick, as early as 1180, and his uncle Welf VI in 1185. Around 1197, Henry the Lion's sons Heinrich, Otto, and Wilhelm adopted new arms, namely two golden lions in a red field. When the grandsons of the latter, Albrecht the Great and Johann, founded two lines through a territorial partition around 1252—the Elder Brunswick and the Elder Lüneburg lines—only the elder line retained the two golden leopards. The younger line adopted distinct arms: a blue lion in a golden field strewn with red hearts. Nevertheless, the old Welf lion continued to be used as a secondary emblem by both lines.⁷⁵⁵

The Counts of Schwerin bore two lindworms beside a tree. When the brothers Helmold II, Gunzelin IV, and Nicolaus I divided their paternal inheritance around 1274, so that the first received Boitzenburg, the second Schwerin, and the third Wittenberg, Nicolaus adopted a divided shield as his arms and Gunzelin a horse; only Nicolaus retained the paternal arms.⁷⁵⁶

The Counts of Gützkow bore a saltire accompanied by four roses. After the male line of the counts became extinct in 1357 with her uncle Johann, the unmarried Countess Elisabeth of Gützkow bore an eagle in 1379.⁷⁵⁷

The von Schöning family bore a demi-stag,⁷⁵⁸ but Achim von Schöning of Lübtow, although in 1500 he used a demi-stag springing from a chequered field, sealed in 1493 with a lion having a fish's tail.⁷⁵⁹

In 1505 Henninck Glazenapp of Manow bore a chevron on his seal, whereas his brother Pawel Glazenapp bore a vessel—a glass bowl?—containing three flowers.⁷⁶⁰

The von Winterfeld family bore in all its lines, including the Prignitz line, a wolf leaping over a sheaf. Volmer Wintervelt of Blüthen in the Prignitz, who descended from this family, however, bore in 1329 a bend charged with three fleurs-de-lis.⁷⁶¹

The Mecklenburg squire Johann Ummereyseke, bailiff at Ribnitz, bore in 1335 a plant with three leaves, but in 1348 a shield divided per pale, with a wing on the right and nine roundels on the left.⁷⁶²

A remarkable example of the evident transition from one coat of arms to another is offered by the von Platen family. In 1316 it bore three different coats of arms. The first consisted of three wreaths of roses; the second was a shield divided per pale, the left half displaying one and a half wreaths of roses and the right half a wing with an animal's head; in the third, the wreaths of roses had disappeared entirely and the shield displayed two wings with animal heads beside one another. The last of these became the arms subsequently customary in the family, although the wreath of roses continued to be used upon the helmet. Henninck Platen of Churretitz, who belonged to the same family, again departed entirely from

⁷⁵⁴ Lisch, *Mecklenburg Yearbooks*, vol. X, pp. 1–22.

⁷⁵⁵ Grote, *Numismatic Studies*, vol. III, pp. 302, 304, 312, 315, 320, 332, 333, and 341.

⁷⁵⁶ Lisch, *Mecklenburg Yearbooks*, vol. XV, p. 23.

⁷⁵⁷ Schwarz, *Diplomatic History of the Pomeranian-Rügen Towns*, pp. 846–851.

⁷⁵⁸ Bagmihl, *Pomeranian Book of Coats of Arms*, vol. I, plate 51 (41), no. 1.

⁷⁵⁹ Seal attached to Charter 266.

⁷⁶⁰ Original charter in the P. P. A.: Schr. IV, Chat. 6, no. 619.

⁷⁶¹ Von Winterfeld, *History of the von Winterfeld Family*, vol. I, p. 288.

⁷⁶² Lisch, *Book of Charters concerning the History of the von Maltzahn Family*, vol. III, preface, p. XXVIII.

these arms and bore an eagle on his shield in 1498.⁷⁶³

Similarly, the Loden bore two wings in 1338 and 1342, a head between the two wings in 1528, and later, after omitting the wings, three heads—lions' heads.⁷⁶⁴

In the earliest period, a change of arms when separate lines were formed through a partition of the inheritance appears even to have been the rule, and retention of the arms merely the exception. Thus, after the death of their father in 1230, the brothers Gottfried and Conrad von Hohenlohe agreed upon the inheritance in such a manner that Gottfried was to receive Hohenlohe and Conrad Brauneck, and further: *quod uterque fratrum ducere debeat in perpetuum clypeum patris sui et baneriam novam*.⁷⁶⁵ The descendants of both brothers, the Lords of Hohenlohe and the Lords of Brauneck, did in fact both bear the old Hohenlohe arms of two leopards, known since 1207. Had the second brother, who received Brauneck, automatically possessed the right to use his father's arms after the partition of the inheritance, such a clause in the agreement would have been superfluous. But the very fact that the retention of the paternal arms by both branches is expressly emphasized confirms the proposition that, in such cases, retention was not the rule. It may be presumed that the examples mentioned above of changes of arms in the houses of the Princes of Rügen, Mecklenburg, and Brunswick, and in that of the Counts of Schwerin, are likewise to be explained by the customary practice followed in partitions of inheritances.

For this reason, after the extinction of the younger Lüneburg line of the House of Brunswick with Wilhelm, who died in 1369, the princes of the elder line did not, as agnates, advance any claims to the possessions of the younger line. Instead, they held that the Principality of Lüneburg passed indisputably and lawfully to the daughters of the last male member of the line.⁷⁶⁶

The fact that examples of changes of arms can be demonstrated primarily, and in large numbers, among families of the higher nobility is due partly to the fact that their genealogies are more securely established than those of the lower nobility, and partly to the fact that members of the higher nobility issued and sealed charters earlier and more frequently than persons belonging to ministerial families. The knightly and ministerial families, however, very soon imitated almost all the characteristic customs of the higher nobility. They claimed family names, coats of arms, and finally even "noble" status itself, and, as the "lower nobility," also elevated themselves to the styles of birth—"Well-born" and "High-born"—and the titles—count and baron—of the higher nobility. It cannot therefore be assumed that, in their use of coats of arms, they proceeded from a fundamentally different principle from that of the higher nobility. Rather, the development of heraldry among both estates, and indeed in general, must be assumed to have followed the same course.

By contrast, the custom of adopting a new family name while retaining the old coat of arms is by no means as frequent as one might be inclined to suppose. Particularly among the lower nobility, it must be regarded as being confined to isolated exceptional cases. Errors frequently arise here because the temporary byname adopted by individual members or lines of a family from a possession or a personal characteristic is taken to be a new family name, and is then regarded as evidence that the coat of arms was retained after the family name had been changed. Thus, although Johannes or Henningus de

⁷⁶³ Von Bohlen, *History of the von Krassow Family*, vol. II, plate I, nos. 3a and 4a; plate V, no. 22a; plate VI, nos. 26c and 26d; plate XII, no. 27; and p. 144.

⁷⁶⁴ Seals in the P. P. A.; Bagmihl, *Pomeranian Book of Coats of Arms*. See also Appendix, plate XV, nos. 15 and 16.

⁷⁶⁵ Oetter, *Historical Description of the Hohenlohe Coat of Arms*, pp. 18 and 26; Estor, *Practical Guide to the Proof of Ancestry*, p. 498; von Schlieffen, *Information concerning Several Houses of the von Schlieffen Family*, p. 155.

⁷⁶⁶ Grote, *Numismatic Studies*, vol. III, pp. 340–341.

Heydebrake dictus de Plote, 1308–1325, usually called himself simply Henningus de Plote;⁷⁶⁷ Hasso von Wedel usually called himself Hasso van Kremptzow;⁷⁶⁸ Henricus Vos de Wolde, 1287–1292, usually called himself Henricus de Wolde or Henricus dictus de Silva;⁷⁶⁹ Clawes Kak, in 1316, usually called himself Clawes Datzowe;⁷⁷⁰ Prydbor van Pudbuzk, 1278–1316, usually called himself Prydbor van der Vilmenitz;⁷⁷¹ Barnes Pasewalk, 1326–1365, usually called himself Barnes de Zatz; ⁷⁷² Peter Pasewalk, 1316–1325, usually called himself Peter Lubbin;⁷⁷³ Nicolaus van Uznem, in 1316, usually called himself Clawes van Brene;⁷⁷⁴ and Hinrik Kameke, otherwise called Sligh, 1409–1427, usually called himself Hinrik Sligh or Slyg;⁷⁷⁵ although a brother of Hinricus de Schening was called Hermannus de Carow in 1286 [Charter 73]; and although in the von Schwerin family names such as “otherwise called Mūs, Bone, Grawetop, Brummer, Hagen, Steenkopp, Distel, Burvygend, Clathar, Wulvekrogh,” etc., were used not only by individual persons but by entire lines, and persons occur who, omitting the family name von Schwerin, call themselves simply “Jasper Bone” and “Hans Bone to Spantkow,”⁷⁷⁶ it must be borne in mind that these persons did not establish new families named von Plote, von Kremptzow, von Wolde, Datzow, von der Vilmenitz, de Zatz, Lubbin, von Brene, Sligh, von Carow, Mūs, Bone, etc. Instead, they themselves, or at least their descendants, invariably returned to the long-established and already stable family name. These temporary personal bynames must therefore be excluded from the number of allegedly altered family names.⁷⁷⁷

Yet another category of apparent alterations of the family name while the coat of arms was retained must likewise be excluded. It has been demonstrated, for example, that the knights Gottschalk von Dechow and Eckhard Hahn are called brothers in a charter of 1238 (Godescalcus de Degowe et frater suus Eckehardus Gallus),⁷⁷⁸ or that the Blixen call the Schmeling patrui;⁷⁷⁹ and the identity of the arms of the von Dechow and Hahn families—a cock—and of the Blixen and Schmeling families—a sun with three arrows—has then been taken as proof that heraldically related families bearing different names had a common ancestor. Medieval terms of kinship, however, must be treated with the utmost caution.⁷⁸⁰

Fratres may mean full brothers or half-brothers, either sons of the same father and different mothers (fratres patruales), or sons of the same mother and different fathers (fratres uterini or germani,

⁷⁶⁷ Original of 1308 in the P. P. A.; Dähnert, Pomm. Bibl., vol. III, p. 150; Cramer, History of the Lands of Lauenburg and Bütow, vol. II, pp. 11–12.

⁷⁶⁸ Original bearing the seal, dated 1387, in the P. P. A.; in the charter: Hasso van Kremptzow; on the seal: Hasso von Wedel

⁷⁶⁹ Lisch, Mecklenburg Charters, vol. I, pp. 179, 188, and 194.

⁷⁷⁰ Klempin and Kratz, Registers and Lists, pp. 41 and 57.

⁷⁷¹ Klempin and Kratz, loc. cit., pp. 40 and 42.

⁷⁷² Klempin and Kratz, loc. cit., p. 62.

⁷⁷³ Klempin and Kratz, loc. cit., p. 62.

⁷⁷⁴ Klempin and Kratz, loc. cit., pp. 41 and 61.

⁷⁷⁵ Bagmihl, Pomeranian Book of Coats of Arms, vol. I, plate XXIX.

⁷⁷⁶ Original of 1475 in the P. P. A.: Schr. XV, Chat. 2, no. 38. The seals of these persons display the name “Swerin.”

⁷⁷⁷ See Klempin and Kratz, loc. cit., p. 62.

⁷⁷⁸ Lisch, Charters concerning the History of the Hahn Family, vol. I, charter, p. 25; Lisch, Mecklenburg Yearbooks, vol. XIII, p. 97.

⁷⁷⁹ Bagmihl, Pomeranian Book of Coats of Arms.

⁷⁸⁰ See Haken, Continuation of His Diplomatic History of the Town of Cöslin, p. 27, note 7, concerning the various meanings of pater and fratruelis.

bolebrodere, bolen van der moder weghe),⁷⁸¹ even cousins and other close relatives are called *fratres*.⁷⁸² *Patruus*, in turn, means not only a father's brother or the son of a father's brother; the sons of a brother and a sister also call one another *patrui*.⁷⁸³ The agnatic kinship of the Hahn and Dechow families and of the Mixen and Schmeling families is therefore by no means proved by these terms of relationship. Since the stability of family names far exceeds that of coats of arms, in such cases the name, and not the coat of arms, must serve as the guide. Gottschalk von Dechow and Eckhard Hahn must therefore be regarded as sons of the same mother by different fathers, and the Mixen and Schmeling not as agnates, but merely as cognates or relatives through female descent.

Most similar cases may be resolved in one of these two ways, and the fact emerges, both generally and specifically for Pomerania, that coats of arms were frequently changed, whereas a hereditary family name, once adopted, was changed only extremely rarely.⁷⁸⁴

It will now be considered what motives caused the frequent changes of arms in ancient times, and an attempt will be made to discover the rules according to which these changes occurred. I find the pivotal point of this phenomenon in the fact that, before the coat of arms became the hereditary property of a particular family, it was generally associated with a possession and was transferred from the possession to the person, and finally from the person to a family.

The origin of coats of arms must indeed be sought in warfare. The very name "Wappen," synonymous with weapons, and the fact that coats of arms first appeared upon articles of military equipment—upon the lance-banner, shield, and helmet—and were even transferred to seals only through the medium of the shield and helmet, leave no doubt about this. The dynast around whom his vassals and ministerials gathered bore a banner, a shield, and a helmet with a particular emblem. He had to bear such an emblem so that his company could recognize the man encased in iron and, amid the turmoil of battle, find a rallying point in the device visible from afar. The coat of arms was therefore originally a personal battle emblem and was at first changed according to individual choice and inclination. This different origin distinguishes the coat of arms from the much older so-called house mark, a rectilinear sign easily carved or written by hand, with which a free man marked his property, particularly his house. The use of the coat of arms was founded upon warfare, the use of the house mark upon the condition of peace. Coats of arms were used by members of the warrior class; house marks by the fully free and by free men eligible to serve as lay judges, who thereby demonstrated their "Hantgemal," that is, their homeland in

⁷⁸¹ Diefenbach, *Glossarium latino-germanicum*, p. 246.

⁷⁸² Thus, in a charter of 1285, Duke Mestwin II of Eastern Pomerania calls his cousin—the son of his father's sister—Duke Boleslaus the Pious of Poland *frater noster* (Dreger's copy of the great boundary book of the Teutonic Order, A, p. 238). Wartislaw, son of Bartholomaeus, likewise calls his cousin Swantibor, son of Casimir, *frater noster* (*Baltische Studien*, p. 140; Cod., p. 460, note 7 to no. 206).

⁷⁸³ In 1295 King Primislaus II of Poland calls Duke Mestwin II of Pomerania "*patruus noster*" (Bukow register), although he was related to him only through his grandmother, who was a sister of Mestwin II's father.—Duke Wartislaw IV of Pomerania, a son of Duke Bogislaw IV, and Nicolaus, Count of Gützkow, a son of Count Johannes von Gützkow and a sister of Duke Bogislaw IV, call one another "*patrui*" in charters (Klempin and Kratz, loc. cit., p. 94).—The brothers Nicolaus and Lippoldus von Oertzen and the brothers Sabellus, Hermannus, Lippoldus, Nicolaus, and Andreas von Oertzen call Heyno and Henning Behr "*patrui*" in 1358, probably because the mother of the former was a Behr (Lisch, *Documentary History of the von Oertzen Family*, vol. I, p. 89; charter, p. 142). See also Lentz, *On the Various Meanings of Latin Terms of Kinship among Medieval Writers*, pp. 7–12, and von Ledebur, *General Archive for the Historical Study of the Prussian State*, vol. XIII, p. 127.

⁷⁸⁴ One of the very rare exceptions to this rule is provided by the von Berg family (de Monte), which before 1287 changed its family name to von Rammin (see Dreger, nos. 399 and 400; Bagmihl, *Pomeranian Book of Coats of Arms*, vol. I, plate XLII, nos. 1 and 2; and Klempin and Kratz, loc. cit., p. 98). Another is the von Platen family, from which a new von Bevernest family separated while retaining the Platen arms (see Lisch, *Mecklenburg Yearbooks*, and Klempin and Kratz, loc. cit.).

a particular free property, and consequently their eligibility to serve as lay judges.

With regard to the “Hantgemal” of the *Sachsenspiegel*, I refer to G. Homeyer’s highly readable essay, “On the Homeland under Old German Law, Particularly the Hantgemal.” It demonstrates with exceptional acuteness that the Hantgemal was “the free property of a fully free man, furnished with a residence which might be defensible, which, as the principal and ancestral estate of the family, descended undivided to the eldest member of the male line,” but to which the other members of the family continued to stand in a particular legal relationship, so that it was regarded by all members of the family as their homeland and as the legal foundation of their status as free men eligible to serve as lay judges.⁷⁸⁵ It further states:⁷⁸⁶ “Among the various other definitions given for Hantgemal, ‘hand-sign’ is the one from which the meaning of a landed property was first derived,”⁷⁸⁷ because the identifying mark of the property, the house sign, was at the same time the chirigraphum of its owner. With the same sign which the free landowner placed above the door of his house and with which he marked his immovable and movable property, he also authenticated the charters which he issued. Let Homeyer himself speak:

“The marking of landed properties and of individual objects belonging to them with runic-like figures must be imagined as having been much more widespread in ancient times than has been demonstrated above, particularly also in central and southern Germany, and not merely within the region governed by the *Sachsenspiegel*. I place it in the period of the first settlement. It proceeded from the owner, whether he had previously used the sign for himself, his weapons, and his other movable possessions, or whether he first selected it upon acquiring a permanent hearth upon an ‘allodial property.’ But even if the sign had passed from the person to the residence, in the course of the generations it nevertheless came to share in the nature of the landed property, by virtue of which the property outlived the person and, according to the Germanic conception, determined his legal status. As a house sign it remained the same through every change of owner and of movable appurtenances. It was carved into the beam of the house and can be traced over centuries. In this way the owner in turn received his sign from the possession.—Apart from the house, the sign was applied particularly to those objects whose possession was connected with ownership of the land. If the family increased, or even divided into branches, the sign of the house from which it had sprung might nevertheless remain with the individual members and branches.⁷⁸⁸ This is suggested by a custom relating to armorial seals, and thus to those signs which took the place of the Hantgemal, whereby it frequently occurs that branches separating from the house, although adopting different new names from new possessions, nevertheless retain the same coat of arms. If, on the other hand, several farms came into one person’s hands, that person derived his sign from the oldest, freest, and most distinguished—in brief, from the *locus principalis*—and such a farm, as the bearer of the Hantgemal, retained or itself acquired that name.—From the thirteenth century onward, thus at precisely the time when the heraldic system began to spread, not only did the living and conscious use of the word Hantgemal in that sense disappear, but only individual remnants of the institution itself survived under other names and expressions. The entire great transformation of legal conditions which took place approximately from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, under the

⁷⁸⁵ Homeyer, *On the Homeland under Old German Law, Particularly the Hantgemal*, pp. 43 ff.

⁷⁸⁶ Homeyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 69 and 74.

⁷⁸⁷ *Cyrogaphum, quod teutonica lingua hantgemalchen vocatur—illud est nobilis viri mansus—predium libertatis sue, etc.* Homeyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 19.

⁷⁸⁸ Homeyer’s later research confirmed this. On the island of Hiddensee, the eldest son, as heir to the holding, still retains the house mark unchanged; if the other sons acquire possessions of their own, they add a stroke to their father’s mark (*Yearbooks for the Regional History of the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg*, vol. IV, part 1, p. 4, note 1). Correspondingly, Nitzsch states (*loc. cit.*, vol. III, p. 97): “When the mark became an emblem of the family, this was based upon the idea that the family was merely an extended household, and therefore originated from the same allodial property and was entitled to the same property.”

substantial influence of the Crusades, also had an effect here, as it caused the old *mansus nobilis viri*—the *Hantgemal*—to yield to the *castrum*, the allodial property to the fief, those eligible to serve as lay judges to those born to knighthood, and the simple house sign to the heraldic device.—The entire estate of those eligible to serve as lay judges in the sense of the *Sachsenspiegel* dissolved. When, during this period, Germany became covered with castles belonging to the nobles and those born to knighthood, the old *curtis principalis* was not always conveniently situated for such a building. The principal residence, however, was regularly transferred to the protecting fortress; and because the erection of castles coincided with the development of the *ordo militaris* ‘born to bear arms,’ the old identifying mark of the ancestral residence was very readily displaced by the new distinguishing mark of knightly birth, and the gate of the castle was adorned with the owner’s heraldic device instead of the crude and simple house mark. In other respects, the significance of the *Hantgemal* as an indication of freedom was greatly diminished. A free allodial property, a *praedium libertatis*, was no longer required in order to belong even to the more distinguished of the estates which developed from the thirteenth century onward.”⁷⁸⁹

In the foregoing, Homeyer has traced the path by which coats of arms developed from personal and changeable battle emblems into emblems of the ancestral residence, or, as he very correctly observes, took the place of house marks. Barthold similarly states:⁷⁹⁰ “The military nobility borrowed the devices for shield and helmet from the house marks and rural identifying marks of their farms or from arbitrary symbols”; and Michelsen states:⁷⁹¹ “Coats of arms must be regarded as heraldic house marks; according to their original meaning, they are to be judged not as decorations for feats of arms, but as emblems of the ancestral residence.” In the course of time many house marks were placed within shields and thus themselves converted into coats of arms;⁷⁹² many were displayed upon heraldic shields beside the actual heraldic device;⁷⁹³ others, finally, were transformed into true heraldic devices by being given a more pleasing and pictorial form and by the addition of colours,⁷⁹⁴ and in the case of some figures one may doubt whether they should still be regarded as house marks or already as heraldic devices. Lisch, Selle, and others have demonstrated how, for example, in Mecklenburg, on the island of Fehmarn, and elsewhere, the linear house marks of rural properties were transformed into pictorial marks, such as horseshoes, hourglasses, windows, lozenges, crow’s or chicken’s feet, pot-hooks, ploughshares, reels, dung forks, hayforks, plough-wheels, table legs, fir trees, milking stools, tar tubs, stars, angle irons, axes, ladders, ships, hammers, mills, crossbows, hunting horns, etc.⁷⁹⁵

The fact that these pictorial house marks, whose development into family emblems is also attested by Selle, do not appear here within shields and with helmets is explained by the fact that their owners were

⁷⁸⁹ Homeyer, loc. cit., pp. 78–83.

⁷⁹⁰ Barthold, *History of the von Lepel Family* (Fragment), p. 23.

⁷⁹¹ Michelsen, *The Ordinaries and the Chaplet of Rue*, p. 6; Michelsen, *The House Marks*. See *Correspondence Journal of the General Association of German Historical and Antiquarian Societies*, year III, p. 56.

⁷⁹² Examples in *Codex diplomaticus Lubecensis*, vol. II, p. 1193 and plate I, no. 10, plate 3, no. 3; Michelsen, *Book of Charters concerning the History of the Land of Dithmarschen*, seal plate, nos. 7 and 8; von Hefner, *Siebmacher’s Large and General Book of Coats of Arms*, vol. V, part 1, plate 8, no. 12, plate 12, no. 6, plate 19, no. 23, plate 26, no. 12, plate 35, no. 13, plate 38, no. 10, plate 42, no. 15, plate 43, no. 14, plate 51, nos. 2 and 16, etc.

⁷⁹³ Examples in *Codex diplomaticus Lubecensis*, vol. I, plate I, no. 11; vol. II, plate 3, no. 1; von Hefner, loc. cit., plate 9, no. 2, plate 12, no. 14, plate 19, no. 9, plate 27, no. 17, plate 35, no. 5, plate 44, no. 5, etc.

⁷⁹⁴ Examples in von Hefner, loc. cit., plate 25, no. 4, plate 47, no. 3, plate 52, no. 13, etc.

⁷⁹⁵ Lisch, *Mecklenburg Yearbooks*, vol. XX, p. 132; *Yearbooks for the Regional History of the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg*, vol. IV, pp. 4 ff., and vol. III, p. 98, following Neocorus, vol. I, p. 235.

not born to shield and helmet, and that their ancestors had not belonged to the knightly estate. The urban patrician, by contrast, used both the heraldic shield and the house mark, as Lisch very correctly observes.⁷⁹⁶ This was due to his dual capacity as one born to knighthood and as a citizen and householder. When acting in the former capacity, he primarily used the heraldic shield as an emblem of his estate; otherwise he used the house mark, which was more convenient in trade and commerce, or, for all purposes, a combination of the two. The heraldic device and the house mark might very well both be based upon the same possession or the same house. It was formerly a general custom in towns, and one which has in part survived to the present day, to provide a house with a particular image from which it took its name. Thus, in Cologne there were houses called “At the Peacock,” “At the Vulture,” “At the Golden Head,” “At the Bell,” “At the Grinning Head” (ad grinonem), etc., from which patrician families derived both their arms and their names.⁷⁹⁷

The origin of coats of arms as emblems of the knightly estate and of knightly birth explains why they were principally associated with and inherited through the male line, the sword side. By taking the place of house marks, however, coats of arms acquired a much broader significance, for they now became simultaneously emblems of knightly birth, emblems of possession, and, as we shall see, emblems of the kindred group (*parentela*, *vruntschaft*), that is, of an association based not only upon agnatic but also upon cognatic blood relationship, and often also upon a fictitious relationship created by local conditions of possession and contract, in which the individual members regarded one another as friends, relatives, and cousins (*vrunt*, *amici*, *proximi*, *patrui*, *vedderen*, *ganerben*).

The doctrine of the military equipment known as *Heergerede* or *Heergewäte* is highly instructive concerning the connection believed to exist between the possession and the coat of arms. I shall let Schaumann speak:⁷⁹⁸ “Since Charlemagne regulated the obligation to perform military service not according to the number of persons, but according to the size of the landed properties, as a burden attached to those properties and imposed upon every owner, it follows that a complex of landed properties was always accompanied by corresponding military equipment, with which every owner had to appear in the army. Herein lies the reason for the inseparability of the articles of military equipment from the landed property. Men took precedence over women in inheriting the property, and consequently also in inheriting this equipment; women inherited it as well, however, when they inherited the property itself. Women were therefore not absolutely excluded from the right of inheritance to the *Heergerede*. If an only daughter inherited her father’s farm together with the *Heergerede*, she also possessed the latter and brought it to her husband upon marriage. Children of such marriages inherited in the customary manner, so that only sons inherited the *Heergerede* which the mother had brought into the marriage and possessed. It must therefore not always be imagined as descending from the father.” The *Heergerede* was subsequently inherited only among those born to knighthood,⁷⁹⁹ and thus within the estate to which coats of arms properly belonged. In view of the close connection—indeed, I might say identity—in which weapons and coats of arms were conceived in the earliest period, so that only the single word “*wapen*” was used for both, it is entirely natural that the coat of arms was inherited together with the weapons, the landed property always being regarded as the bearer of both. For a better explanation of the foregoing, several examples will now be given to demonstrate the manner in which the coat of arms was associated with the possession and was transferred together with it.

⁷⁹⁶ Lisch, *Mecklenburg Yearbooks*, vol. XX, p. 136, and vol. XVIII, p. 299. See also *Codex diplomaticus Lubecensis*, vol. II, p. 1194.

⁷⁹⁷ Fahne, *History of the Cologne, Jülich, and Berg Families*, vol. I, pp. 122, 32, 110, 124, and 226.

⁷⁹⁸ Schaumann, *History of the Lower Saxon People*, p. 484.

⁷⁹⁹ *Sachsenspiegel*, I. 27, § 2.

The Counts of Zollern bore a shield chequered black and white. After an heiress of the Counts of Hohenberg, who bore a shield divided horizontally in white and red, had brought the possession of Hohenberg to the House of Zollern, Count Bernhard IV von Zollern of the elder branch adopted the name Count von Hohenberg, abandoned the Zollern arms, and adopted those of Hohenberg, which he also transmitted to his descendants.⁸⁰⁰

Count Friedrich III von Zollern of the younger line married an heiress of the noble Lords of Raabs or Rätz (Razaza, Ragze), whose family became extinct in 1190 and who had possessed, in addition to substantial allodial estates in Franconia, the Burgraviate of Nuremberg as an imperial fief; he was then also enfeoffed with the latter. His sons by the heiress, Conrad and Friedrich IV, Burgraves of Nuremberg and Counts of Zollern, now abandoned the black-and-white chequered shield of Zollern, and both adopted a shield bearing a lion within a bordure compony, undoubtedly the inherited arms of Raabs. They retained these arms even after dividing the paternal inheritance around 1227, when Conrad received the burgraviat possessions of Nuremberg and the old Raabs allodial estates in Franconia, while Friedrich IV received the old Zollern possessions in Swabia. In the partition, the brothers had reserved to themselves the right of joint enfeoffment, that is, succession to the other's possessions in the event that he died without descendants capable of holding a fief. In order to indicate this joint right in the Franconian estates, Friedrich IV retained the shield bearing the lion within the bordure compony, although in fact he possessed none of those estates. Since both lines subsequently had heirs, however, the joint right came to an end and a complete final partition took place between the two lines. For that reason, the sons of Friedrich IV once again adopted the Zollern shield, which belonged to their possessions.⁸⁰¹

The Lords of Breuberg bore a shield divided per pale, with a lion on the right and a chequered field on the left. Everhardus de Bruberg appears with these arms on charters of 1258 and 1274. Attached to the same charter of 1274 is the seal of his son Gerlach, bearing entirely different arms, namely two horizontal bars, which subsequently became the customary Breuberg arms. Gerlach's mother was Mechtilde, daughter of Gerlach, the last Lord of Büdingen, and thus an heiress who brought her son a substantial portion of the Büdingen inheritance.⁸⁰² The new arms adopted by Gerlach von Breuberg during his father's lifetime may therefore safely be regarded as those of the lordship of Büdingen.

Around 1174, the Lords of Hagen and Arnsberg built Münzenberg Castle, selected it as their residence, took their name from it, and, from at least 1220 until the extinction of their family, bore one or three flowers—mint, mentha—upon leafy stems on three hills.⁸⁰³ In the meantime, through the marriage of Enno I von Münzenberg to an heiress of the Counts of Nuringen, whose family had become extinct in 1170 and who had borne a shield divided horizontally, the family had acquired rich possessions. Before the Münzenberg family became extinct in 1255, Philipp I, Lord of Falkenstein, of the house of the Lords of Bolanden, had married Isengard von Münzenberg, an heiress.⁸⁰⁴ While Philipp I was still using his paternal arms, a wheel, in 1261, his son by the Münzenberg heiress, Philipp II, already used different arms in that same year, namely the horizontally divided shield of Nuringen, together with the leafy

⁸⁰⁰ Baron von Stillfried and Märker, *Hohenzollern Researches*, vol. I, pp. 95–96; Riedel, *History of the Prussian Royal House*, pp. 24 ff.

⁸⁰¹ Riedel, *History of the Prussian Royal House*, vol. I, pp. 48, 51, 52, 82, and 84; Grote, *History of the Royal Prussian Coat of Arms*, p. 36.

⁸⁰² Steiner, *Archive for Hessian History and Antiquities*, vol. I, p. 411 with plate, p. 484 with plate, and p. 486.

⁸⁰³ Steiner, *loc. cit.*, vol. V, part 2, figs. 1–6.

⁸⁰⁴ Steiner, *loc. cit.*, vol. I, p. 10.

Münzenberg stem in one corner of the seal.⁸⁰⁵ The Nuringen arms, which also passed to Philipp's descendants, thus reappear here as the principal arms, probably because the most substantial part of the Münzenberg inheritance was of Nuringen origin, or because Nuringen Castle, which now also received the name Falkenstein, was selected as the principal residence.

After inheriting the County of Kyburg through his mother, the sister of the last Count of Kyburg, Count Rudolf von Habsburg exchanged the Habsburg crest for that of Kyburg. His son Albrecht, after being enfeoffed with the conquered Duchy of Austria, exchanged the Habsburg shield for that of the Babenbergs, the former possessors of Austria, whose family had become extinct in 1246. The Habsburgs consequently bore the Babenberg shield with the Kyburg crest.⁸⁰⁶

In 1242 Duke Otto of Bavaria exchanged the ancestral Wittelsbach arms for those of his half-brother, the Count of Bogen, whose heir he had become, namely the lozengy shield.⁸⁰⁷ Through his wife Agnes, the sister and heiress of Heinrich, the last Count Palatine of the Welf house, who died in 1214, the Welf lion, as the heraldic device of the County Palatine of the Rhine, also entered the arms of his descendants.⁸⁰⁸

Count Hermann II von Orlamünde married Beatrix, sister of Otto II, the last Duke of Merania of the family of the Counts of Andechs and Diessen, who died in 1248. Beatrix brought to her sons, Counts Hermann III and Otto V von Orlamünde, a portion of the Andechs inheritance, namely Blassenberg Castle in Franconia with its appurtenances. The Counts of Orlamünde descended from a son of Albrecht the Bear, Count of Ballenstädt, but unlike the latter they bore not a shield with a horizontal bar, but a lion.⁸⁰⁹ Count Otto V von Orlamünde, who received the Andechs possessions in Franconia in the division of the inheritance, adopted the arms of the Counts of Andechs, namely a lion above an eagle.⁸¹⁰ The descendants of Hermann III von Orlamünde also customarily bore the Andechs arms beside the Orlamünde lion in order to indicate their contingent inheritance claims.⁸¹¹

Johannes senior de Gatersleve bore a latticed horizontal bar in 1262. His son E. de Gatersleve, however, bore a chequered bend on a charter of 1268, while his guarantor on the same charter, Johannes de novo Gatersleve—de Gatersleve on the seal—bore a rose. That the latter had adopted these different arms from his possession of Neu-Gatersleben is shown by the fact that, after the city of Magdeburg purchased Neu-Gatersleben in 1350, it added the rose to the city arms.⁸¹² The rose was therefore regarded here as an emblem of the possession, not of the family, for the city had no reason to incorporate into its arms those of a family otherwise entirely unconnected with it.

The Cologne and Jülich family of Stommel bore as its coat of arms a cross composed of six or five roses. Around 1370 Conrad Stommel married a daughter of Johann von Löhnberg, the last of his line,

⁸⁰⁵ Steiner, loc. cit., vol. V, part 2, figs. 7 and 8.

⁸⁰⁶ Grote, *History of the Royal Prussian Coat of Arms*, pp. 43–44; Grote, *Numismatic Studies*, vol. I, p. 125.

⁸⁰⁷ Grote, *History of the Royal Prussian Coat of Arms*, p. 43

⁸⁰⁸ Grote, *Numismatic Studies*, vol. III, p. 30.

⁸⁰⁹ *Archive for the History and Antiquities of Upper Franconia*, vol. I, part 1, title illustration; vol. II, part 2, title illustration; Schannat, *Clientela Fuldensis*, p. 240.

⁸¹⁰ Michelsen, *The Ordinaries and the Chaplet of Rue*, p. 21; *Archive for the History and Antiquities of Upper Franconia*, vol. I, part 2, title illustration; Siebmacher's *Book of Coats of Arms*, vol. II, p. 8; Count von Brandis, *The Ever-Green Garland of Honour of the Tyrolean Eagle*, illustration to p. 13, no. 9.

⁸¹¹ Michelsen, loc. cit.

⁸¹² Wiggert in *New Communications from the Field of Historical and Antiquarian Research*, vol. VI, part 2, pp. 129–130, plate IX, nos. 1, 3, and 5.

and through her became Lord of Lindhain and Gelenhausen in Hesse and a member of the immediate imperial knighthood in Hesse. Although retaining his family name, he now adopted his wife's coat of arms, a triangle, instead of his ancestral arms, adding a star as a mark of difference, and founded a line of the von Stommel family which bore those arms. It is peculiar, yet highly characteristic, that he and his descendants proved their noble ancestry before the Hessian knighthood only with the triangle, whereas in proofs of ancestry before the Westphalian and Rhenish knighthoods they invariably used the cross of roses.⁸¹³

These few examples alone, to which an even greater number could easily be added, demonstrate sufficiently that the coat of arms was attached no less to the possession than to the family, and passed with that possession from one family to another, or to several others, by inheritance through both the male and the female lines, by marriage, purchase, gift, etc.⁸¹⁴ If the newly acquired possession was insignificant in comparison with the ancestral property, the paternal name and the paternal arms remained unchanged. If it was important, however, the paternal arms were abandoned and the name and arms of the newly acquired possession were adopted; or the paternal name was retained and only the new arms of possession were adopted; or, conversely, the arms were retained and only the name was changed in accordance with the new possession, depending upon whether greater value was attached to one possession or the other, or whether the residence was changed. The variability of names and coats of arms, however, by no means proceeded at the same pace. The family name was early detached from its connection with land and property, and remained the hereditary possession of the family even after those connections had been severed, or developed entirely independently of them from a characteristic, an office, or the like, whereas local influences continued to predominate in the case of the coat of arms. This explains why members of a family which already possessed a permanent family name could still change their arms and in this manner establish lines bearing different coats of arms.⁸¹⁵ If two possessions, and consequently two coats of arms, were united in one hand, in the earliest period there remained, as with the name, only the choice between one or the other, because the combination of two coats of arms was either unknown or at least not favoured. As long as the heraldic device was still used in practice as an emblem upon the shield, overloading it was impractical and did not accord with the intention of making oneself quickly, easily, and unmistakably recognizable from a distance. People soon became more inventive, however, so that when the arms were changed the previous arms were at least not entirely abandoned. For example, a reminder of the old arms was placed in one corner of the seal outside the shield;⁸¹⁶ an attempt was made to combine the two heraldic figures into one;⁸¹⁷ the

⁸¹³ Fahne, *History of the Cologne, Jülich, and Berg Families*, vol. I, p. 417; Fahne, *History of the von Stommel Family*, p. 23.

⁸¹⁴ The transmission of a coat of arms from one family to another by inheritance to descendants in the female line was admittedly the more usual form. It must, however, be described as an entirely one-sided view when, as Grote does—*History of the Royal Prussian Coat of Arms*, pp. 39, 40, and 43–47; *Numismatic Studies*, vol. I, pp. 120, 125, and 131, and vol. III, pp. 307, 364, and 391—one allows only this form of transmission and declares every other form to be “not based upon genuinely heraldic grounds” or “contrary to the principles of heraldry strictly observed in the Middle Ages.” In addition to the examples cited above, those given below should also be compared.

⁸¹⁵ See p. 217. (In the original)

⁸¹⁶ An example is provided by the seal of Philipp I von Falkenstein mentioned above on p. 215, which, beside the newly adopted Nuringen shield divided horizontally, displays in one corner the leafy mint stem of Münzenberg. The seal of his son Philipp II likewise displays the Nuringen shield, but in one corner the Bolanden-Falkenstein wheel. Steiner, *loc. cit.*, vol. V, part 2, figs. 11 and 12.

⁸¹⁷ Landgrave Hermann I of Thuringia, who had borne a lion since 1209, subsequently charged it with the ten bars which his deceased brother Ludwig III, † 1190, had borne upon his shield. Michelsen, *The Ordinaries and* (Fortsetzung...)

previously used crest was placed upon the newly adopted shield;⁸¹⁸ the old shield device was transferred to the crest;⁸¹⁹ or the previously used shield was retained and combined with the crest of the new arms.⁸²⁰ The combination of two coats of arms by dividing the shield vertically or horizontally also became customary. Either each shield was divided vertically and the right half of one was combined with the left half of the other; or both shields were divided horizontally and the upper half of one was placed above the lower half of the other; or the figures from both shields were combined in some other manner, in which imagination was allowed wide scope. Examples also occur in which a new coat of arms was adopted but a mark of difference was added, or a so-called brisure was used to recall the change. We have already mentioned such an example above in the case of a line of the Stommel family which adopted foreign arms as an emblem of possession and, in order to indicate this process, added a star as a mark of difference. In the Brunswick, Lüneburg, and Orlamünde arms, derivation from the English and Danish arms was likewise indicated by a brisure, namely by reducing the original number of heraldic animals.⁸²¹ One must therefore not insist upon attributing marks of difference and brisures—which include, in addition to stars, rings, labels, roses, shells, birds, small shields, etc., the doubling and multiplication, division and mutilation of a heraldic device, the reduction in the number of heraldic devices, and changes of colour—solely to agnatic branches separating from the main stock, or even solely to younger sons. The combination of arms by quartering did not arise until the latest period, in the fourteenth century. It had the advantage, however, that both coats of arms being combined were preserved in their entirety, and it became so popular and was extended to such a degree that the multiplication of fields produced shields such as the royal Prussian armorial shield, containing no fewer than fifty-two arms of possession and pretension. It also occurred that branches of a family which had separated with new arms, or individual members of such branches, returned to the original coat of arms;⁸²² or that, after the introduction of quartering, two lines of a family bearing different arms

⁸¹⁷(...Fortsetzung)
the Chaplet of Rue, p. 9.

⁸¹⁸ The Margraves of Brandenburg of the House of Luxembourg placed the Bohemian crest upon the Brandenburg eagle shield. Grote, *History of the Royal Prussian Coat of Arms*, p. 33.—After becoming heirs of the Lords of Sulzburg in the fourteenth century, the Lords of Wolfstein adopted their shield bearing two lions, but retained their old crest with the wolf's torso. Köhler, *Historia genealogica dominorum et comitum de Wolfstein*, p. 291.—According to a charter of 1292, two lines of the Reitenpucher family adopted two different shields through a division of the inheritance but continued to use the crest in common. Hund, *Bavarian Family Book*, vol. II, p. 264.

⁸¹⁹ After adopting the two heads with wings, the Pomeranian von Platen family retained one of the wreaths of roses from the old shield upon the helmet; see above, p. 211.—The line of the Pomeranian von Plötz family which adopted the swan as its arms retained upon the helmet one of the fish from the old Plötz shield; see below.—A line of the von dem Knesebeck family which adopted a unicorn as its new shield device placed two griffin's claws, previously borne upon the shield, upon the helmet.

⁸²⁰ See Grote, *Numismatic Studies*, vol. III, p. 339.—The Elder Brunswick line of the Welfs, which had borne two golden leopards in a red field since about 1197, adopted at the beginning of the fourteenth century the Danish crest, two serpents or hunting horns. Grote, *Numismatic Studies*, vol. III, pp. 312, 332, and 334. The Counts of Habsburg, who descended on their mother's side from the sister and heiress of the last Count of Kyburg, combined the Kyburg crest with the Habsburg shield. Grote, *History of the Royal Prussian Coat of Arms*, p. 44. The Gützkow-Stargard line of the Behr family, which adopted three swans' necks upon the shield as new arms in place of the traditional bear, subsequently adopted the bear again and retained only the crest of the newer arms with the two swans' necks. Lisch, *Charters and Research concerning the History of the Behr Family*, part I, p. 55, plates II–V, VII, and I.2.

⁸²¹ See below.

⁸²² The Gützkow-Stargard line of the Behr family, which had adopted three swans' necks, returned in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the bear of the older arms; see note 1. The von Salza family bore a fleur-de-lis in its Upper Lausitz line, whereas the line at Brücken bore a chequered bend, as did Hermann von Salza at Brücken (Fortsetzung...)

combined their coats of arms, especially when they wished to give outward expression to their right of joint enfeoffment in one another's feudal estates.⁸²³

From the nature of the connection in which the coat of arms was regarded as standing, on the one hand, to the possession and, on the other, to the family, it naturally follows that nothing was more suitable for symbolically displaying certain legal relationships of a person or family to a possession than the public display of the corresponding coat of arms, whether the intention was to indicate full ownership, co-ownership, co-enfeoffment, joint enfeoffment, expectancy, a hereditary claim, or the like. Even around 1500 the view prevailed that disputes concerning lands and subjects were above all disputes concerning the coat of arms.⁸²⁴ Only by bearing in mind that certain coats of arms were intended as symbolic reminders of such rights or legal claims can it be explained that coats of arms could be *res commercii*: that they could be sold, assigned, or given away; that arms which had fallen vacant could be granted elsewhere; and that they could become the subject of lawsuits and armed conflicts. Several examples may serve as illustrations.

On 10 April 1317 Burgrave Friedrich IV of Nuremberg, of the House of Zollern, purchased “*daz klynod dez prackenhauts*,” that is, the crest of a hound's head, from Lutold von Regensberg, a member of the Swiss nobility, as lawful property for thirty-six marks of silver. From that time onward the Zollerns bore upon their helmet a golden hound's head with a red ear, while the von Regensberg family adopted a different crest, namely a bishop's mitre. This new crest soon brought the burgraves into conflict with the Counts of Oettingen in the Ries, who likewise bore a hound's head in the same colours as the Zollerns. The Counts of Oettingen had probably also purchased this crest from the Regensberg family, for previously they had borne a different crest, a screen-board. After a lengthy dispute, the two families reached an agreement through the mediation of three Dukes of Bavaria and a Landgrave of Leuchtenberg: both were to be permitted to bear the crest without interference, but the Counts of Oettingen were to add a mark of difference, namely a white saltire upon the red ear of the hound's head.⁸²⁵

In 1368 Johann Tragauner in Austria sold his coat of arms, shield, helmet, and seal to the knight Pilgram

⁸²²(...Fortsetzung)

in 1385. Before 1662, however, Hans Georg von Salza at Brücken used a shield bearing three fleurs-de-lis, which had thus been brought closer to the arms of the Upper Lausitz line. Von Mülverstedt, *The Saxon Chaplet of Rue*, p. 7, note 3.

⁸²³ In 1582 the two lines of the von Trotha family, one bearing the chequered chevron and the other the raven, acknowledged that they had sprung from the same stock. With the consent of the Elector of Saxony they granted one another the right of joint enfeoffment in their feudal estates, and in 1586 obtained from Emperor Rudolf II confirmation of the union of their respective coats of arms. Von Trotha, *Preliminary Studies for the History of the von Trotha Family*, p. 237.—In 1631 the two lines of the von dem Knesebeck family—the so-called White Line bearing the griffin's claw and the Black Line bearing the unicorn—which, according to family tradition, had separated in the middle of the thirteenth century, acknowledged that they had sprung from a common root. They obtained from the Brandenburg and Brunswick-Lüneburg feudal courts the right of joint enfeoffment in one another's feudal estates, and from 1644 onward combined the arms of the two lines by quartering. Pfeffinger, *Brunswick-Lüneburg History*, vol. I, p. 793; von dem Knesebeck, *Charters and Regesta concerning the History of the Lords von dem Knesebeck*, p. 7. See also Siebmacher's *Book of Coats of Arms*, vol. I, p. 186, where the arms of the line bearing the unicorn display upon the helmet the griffin's claw of the other line.

⁸²⁴ Grote, *Numismatic Studies*, vol. III, p. 326.

⁸²⁵ Information concerning Several Houses of the von Schlieffen Family; von Hefner, *Handbook of Theoretical and Practical Heraldry*, vol. I, p. 120; Grote, *History of the Royal Prussian Coat of Arms*, p. 37.

von Wolfsthal.⁸²⁶

In 1306 the knights Johannes, Heidenricus, and Bertramus de Bentze reached an agreement with Duke Otto of Stettin “concerning their helmet crest, that henceforth they and their heirs shall not and will not adorn the helmet in that manner.”⁸²⁷

In 1377 Duke Heinrich of Holstein granted the knight Berchtolt von Frankenrode “the arms divided equally yellow and black, which have fallen vacant in our lordship through the extinction of their bearers.”⁸²⁸

On 18 August 1408 King Rupert granted Ulrich, son of the knight Lenhart von Jungingen, the extinct arms of the late knight Burkard von Hohenfels, and on 21 August 1408 he granted Caspar von Clingenberg the extinct arms of the late Albrecht von Bürglin.⁸²⁹

In 1417 Duke Albrecht of Austria granted Symon Schwab a coat of arms bearing a Moor’s head, “which had fallen vacant through the death of the late Petrein des Staindlein.” In 1430, after those arms had once again fallen vacant through the death of Symon Schwab, the Duke granted them to his chamber clerk Erhart Grießer.⁸³⁰

On 15 August 1401 King Rupert granted Jost Lauwer of Memmingen the arms of the extinct Swabelsberg family, who were his nearest relatives on his mother’s side, namely two black ibex horns in a white field.⁸³¹

At the end of the thirteenth century, an elderly Schrenk of Munich had married his two daughters to a Ridler and a Ligsalz and had permitted them to bear his arms: in a red field, a white bend charged with a black arrow. When, contrary to expectation, Schrenk subsequently had a son, the Ligsalz and Ridler families reached an agreement with him that their arms should be distinguished by the use of different crests.⁸³²

In 1353 Counts Johann and Adolf of Nassau acknowledged that Count Palatine Rupert had granted them “as a lawful fief” the right to bear upon the helmet two horns from the arms of Nassau, with a golden lion between them, and that the two eldest sons of that stock were always to bear such a helmet “on behalf of the Palatinate.”⁸³³

In 1351 Heinrich and Johann Geyller permitted their uncles Johann and Wilfing the Hagers to bear the Geyller arms. The latter thereupon abandoned their demi-white wolf in a black field and adopted instead the Geyller shield quartered gold and red.⁸³⁴

In 1364 Erchinger Relch relinquished his coat of arms—a red crescent in a white field—in favour of

⁸²⁶ Kauz, *Austrian Armorial Shield*, vol. I, p. 94, from Wurmbrand, *Collect. geneal. hist.*, p. 75; Grote, *History of the Royal Prussian Coat of Arms*, p. 37.

⁸²⁷ Klemptzen’s *Inventory of Charters of 1538* in the library of the Society for Pomeranian History and Antiquities.

⁸²⁸ Oetter, *Weekly Heraldic Entertainment*, first issue, preface, p. 46.

⁸²⁹ Ohmel, *Regesta Ruperti regis Romanorum*, p. 163; Berndt, *General Palaeography of the Entire Science of Heraldry*, vol. IV, pp. 50–51, no. 2172 n and o.

⁸³⁰ Oetter, *loc. cit.*, pp. 47–48.

⁸³¹ Ohmel, *loc. cit.*, p. 44; Berndt, *loc. cit.*, no. 2172 c.

⁸³² Von Hefner, *loc. cit.*, vol. I, p. 135.

⁸³³ Spener, *Opus heraldicum*, vol. II, p. 668.

⁸³⁴ Baron von Hoheneck, *The Estates of the Archduchy of Austria above the Enns*, vol. I, preface and p. 249.

Georg von Wellenwart.⁸³⁵

In 1384 Hans von den Brüdern of Schwäbisch Hall, “out of good friendship, and also by reason of kinship, freely and willingly,” transferred to Endres Funckh, a citizen of Gemünd, and to all his children and descendants, his shield and helmet as they had descended to him from his father.⁸³⁶

In 1328 Eberhard von Widersperch gave his dear uncle, Lord Otto von Greiffenberg, and his heirs his shield, helmet, and crest fully and completely, “because he and his heirs, by right of kinship and inheritance, may properly bear my shield and helmet.”⁸³⁷

In 1337 the cousins Ludewic, Heinrich, and Dizel von Frankenstein enfeoffed the “honourable squires” Ditzel von Pherdestorf, Volkenand, and Cutzen von Buttiler with the coat of arms which they had inherited from the von Sternberg family, a red star in a white field, in the following words: “We have lent and granted, in return for their willing service, as a lawful fief to them and all their heirs, our rightful hereditary shield, which has fallen to us by death from the von Sternberg family, since we are also its nearest joint heirs.”⁸³⁸

All these sales, relinquishments, gifts, enfeoffments, agreements, lawsuits, and conflicts whose object was a coat of arms would be ridiculous if coats of arms were not to be regarded as symbols of certain rights or claims of ownership and possession. Although this does not emerge as clearly in some of the examples cited as in others, these examples and those given above sufficiently demonstrate that the view that coats of arms were attached solely to the male line of a family and had no connection with property⁸³⁹ is unjustified. At the very least, conclusions such as those so frequently encountered in the works of Baron von Ledebur, Lisch, Fahne, and others:

“Two families bearing the same name and occurring beside one another cannot be of the same stock because they bear different coats of arms,”

or:

“Two families bearing different names and occurring beside one another must be related by descent because they bear identical coats of arms, or arms which at least agree in their fundamental conception,” are entirely inadmissible. The error, as already stated, lies in transferring the later practice of heraldry to the period of its origin and earliest development, and in generalizing for the earlier period isolated cases of earlier practice which agree with later practice, notwithstanding the frequently occurring phenomena of the opposite kind.

I shall now examine more closely how “friendship”—that is, blood relationship—and “kinship,” which appear so prominently in some of the examples mentioned above as motives for the exchange and common use of coats of arms, could influence the fate of landed property, and to what extent reciprocal interaction existed between these three factors: blood relationship, coat of arms, and landed property.

Originally, no form of inheritance existed in Germany other than intestate succession, and this was founded upon blood relationship, kinship, consanguinitas. By virtue of this blood relationship, both the male relatives (Magen) on the father’s side—the sword-kindred—and the women and those connected with the deceased through the female side—the spindle-kindred—possessed rights of inheritance.

⁸³⁵ Von Hefner, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 29.

⁸³⁶ Von Stetten, *History of the Noble Families of the Free Imperial City of Augsburg*, p. 396, no. XLIX.

⁸³⁷ Hund, *Bavarian Family Book*, vol. II, p. 336.

⁸³⁸ *Correspondence Journal of the General Association of German Historical and Antiquarian Societies*, eighth year, 1859, p. 63. Compare the arms of Volknant von Buttler from 1347, *ibid.*, p. 47.

⁸³⁹ See Lisch, *Mecklenburg Yearbooks*, vol. XX, p. 35.

According to the *Sachsenspiegel*, within the first parentela⁸⁴⁰ the male sex enjoyed a certain preference over the female, particularly with regard to landed property, and such a preference also continued for a long time within the second parentela. Within the more remote parentelae, the third through the seventh, beyond which kinship ceased altogether, that preference did not apply. The gloss upon the *Sachsenspiegel* and the expanded *Sachsenspiegel* already placed women and men on an almost completely equal footing with regard to inheritance. The formerly prevailing view that under German law women had never possessed any right of inheritance at all, or at least no right to inherit landed property, has proved erroneous and was refuted long ago. The history of more than one dynastic house whose territories subsequently passed to the Welf princes demonstrates that relationship by marriage conferred claims to an inheritance.⁸⁴¹ In alienations of landed property, consent was given not only by the sons but also by the daughters, sons-in-law, sisters, brothers-in-law, and sisters' sons.⁸⁴² Even when sons existed and daughters had already received landed property as their marriage portion, the daughters and their husbands, before an heir had been born, formally renounced their claims to the paternal hereditary estates.⁸⁴³

It may readily be observed that in the Middle Ages families frequently became extinct with striking rapidity, even when the final generation was still represented by a fairly large number of members. The reason for this phenomenon is to be found partly in the frequent private feuds and partly in the fact that so many men entered the clergy. The more frequently such extinction of families occurred, the more favourable, generally speaking, became the prospects of inheritance for the remoter parentelae of the kinship group. More often than is generally assumed, the inheritance will have "passed through sisters" and "passed through brothers," as the *Sachsenspiegel* expresses it; that is, it passed in equal shares to equally close members of a more remote parentela, and thus to men and women belonging to a number of families which were entirely unrelated to one another in the male line. When these co-heirs, whom the *Sachsenspiegel* calls *Ganerben*,⁸⁴⁴ divided the properties of the estate, those who had previously possessed no property, or only insignificant property, adopted the coat of arms together with the parcel which they had acquired, or devised a combination of their own arms and the inherited arms. Other co-heirs who were already more substantially endowed considered the inherited parcel too insignificant to justify changing their arms on its account. The same coat of arms could thus pass to different families, which sometimes distinguished the arms shared among them by means of marks of difference, the multiplication or reduction of heraldic devices, mutilation, changes of colour, the adoption of different crests, etc. Such a customary transmission of coats of arms to female lines is expressly attested, for example, in the *Schigt-bok der stad Brunswyk* of about 1513,⁸⁴⁵ which states: "Here follow the coats of arms of the citizens here from the city of Brunswick and of the families. Many of them have become

⁸⁴⁰ A parentela is the totality of persons descended from a common ancestor. The closer or more remote this ancestor stands to the decedent determines the superior entitlement of the parentela, so that the first parentela excludes the second, the second excludes the third, etc.

⁸⁴¹ Eichhorn, *Introduction to German Private Law*, p. 768; Beseler, *The Doctrine of Contracts of Inheritance*, vol. III, p. 264; Hillebrandt, *Textbook of German Private Law*, pp. 570, 573, 575, and 577; Schaumann, *History of the Lower Saxon People*, pp. 166 and 491; *Archive of the Historical Association for Lower Saxony*, 1843, p. 132.

⁸⁴² *Book of Charters of the Historical Association for Lower Saxony*, part 2, nos. 20, 39, 64, 166, 188, 200, 250, 282, 301, 346, 372, and 500.

⁸⁴³ *Loc. cit.*, no. 153.

⁸⁴⁴ *Sachsenspiegel*, I.17: "When an inheritance passes through sisters or brothers, all those who are equally close in degree of kinship shall receive equal shares in it, whether man or woman; these are called *Ganerben* by the Saxons." The Latin version states: *et cum in his sexum non discernamus, hos heredes accelerantes appellamus.*

⁸⁴⁵ Edited by K. F. A. Scheller, 1829, p. 276.

extinct, so that their arms have been laid aside and then taken up again as the arms of unrelated families, or sometimes by relatives on the distaff side.” In the same manner as occasionally occurred with names—for example, the name Saxony—a displacement could also occur with coats of arms, through which the arms were transferred over time from their original place of origin to an entirely different one. I believe there is also good reason to assume that the mere prospect of an inheritance within the kinship group may have provided an occasion, perhaps with the consent of the prospective decedent, to adopt in advance the coat of arms of the possession expected to fall vacant, so that the claim might later be proved more effectively.

The examples given above of the arms of the Schrenk, von den Brüdern, and Widersperch families already point in this direction. The reason why, around 1197, the sons of Henry the Lion and Matilda of England adopted arms derived from the English arms—three golden leopards in a red field—namely two golden leopards in a red field; why, after the territorial partition among the great-grandsons of Henry the Lion around 1252, the founder of the younger Lüneburg line, who as a result of the final partition was entitled to choose new arms, fashioned them after the arms of his grandmother Helena of Denmark—three blue lions in a golden field strewn with red hearts—by adopting one blue lion in a golden field strewn with red hearts; and why, furthermore, around 1204 Count Albrecht II of Orlamünde, the son of Sophia of Denmark, sister of the aforementioned Helena and wife of Count Siegfried III of Orlamünde, adopted arms very similar to the Danish arms, namely two blue lions in a golden field strewn with red hearts,⁸⁴⁶ is undoubtedly to be found in the desire to express and preserve for future times, through the newly adopted arms, the memory of descent from the English and Danish royal houses, and particularly the contingent rights of inheritance resulting from that descent. After Duke Wilhelm, the last male scion of the elder House of Lüneburg, who died in 1369, had during his lifetime designated Duke Ludwig of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, the husband of his eldest daughter Mathilde, as heir to the Duchy of Lüneburg, Ludwig had already, from 1355 onward, combined the arms of his father-in-law—the blue lion of Lüneburg—with his own inherited arms, the two golden leopards of Brunswick. He died two years before his father-in-law, whereupon Duke Albrecht I of Saxony-Wittenberg, the son of Elisabeth, Duke Wilhelm’s second daughter, advanced hereditary claims to the Duchy of Lüneburg, took possession of the territory after Wilhelm’s death, and adopted its title and arms. Duke Ludwig of Wolfenbüttel’s brother, Duke Magnus Torquatus, and, after Magnus’s death in 1373, his four sons opposed this and likewise adopted the title and arms of Lüneburg—Duke Magnus doing so immediately after Ludwig’s death, from 1367 onward—and also succeeded in securing possession of it.⁸⁴⁷ Around 1284 Prince Wizlaw II of Rügen, because of the hereditary claims which, as the son of a sister of Mestwin II, the last Duke of Eastern Pomerania, who died in 1295, he intended to assert to the Duchy of Eastern Pomerania upon Mestwin’s death, placed the Eastern Pomeranian griffin shield upon his counterseal as his own coat of arms (*clipeus Wizslavi Rujanorum principis*). His eldest son Wizlaw III likewise bore the Eastern Pomeranian griffin from as early as 1288, even upon his principal seal, while his counterseal displayed only the Rügen crest.⁸⁴⁸ Margrave Albrecht III of Brandenburg, a son of Beatrix, sister of King Przemislaus III Ottocar of Bohemia, bore the Bohemian

⁸⁴⁶ Grote, *Numismatic Studies*, vol. III, pp. 297, 315–320, 332, and 333. See above, p. 215. — Lappenberg, *Hamburg Book of Charters*, plate III, no. 11; Michelsen, *The Ordinaries and the Chaplet of Rue*, p. 22; von Kobbe, *History of the Duchy of Lauenburg*, vol. I, p. 260, no. 10; Lisch, *Mecklenburg Yearbooks*, vol. XXV, pp. 193 and 195.

⁸⁴⁷ Grote, *Numismatic Studies*, vol. III, pp. 333 and 358.

⁸⁴⁸ Fabricius, *Charters concerning the History of the Principality of Rügen*, vol. III, p. 215, seals, plates 1 and 2.

lion to indicate his contingent hereditary claims to Bohemia.⁸⁴⁹ Duke Albrecht of Austria married the heiress of the Count of Pfirt and around 1335 added the Pfirt arms to his own.⁸⁵⁰ The important role played by the Pomeranian griffin arms in the inheritance disputes between Brandenburg and Pomerania is also well known, as is the importance which the Elector of Brandenburg attached to his right to the “red griffin,” which, from the Treaty of Soldin of 1466 onward, was permanently incorporated into the Brandenburg arms—be it noted, not for genealogical reasons.⁸⁵¹ Even the present royal Prussian coat of arms contains all the Mecklenburg shields as arms of pretension on the basis of the inheritance treaty concluded with Mecklenburg.

Let us now cast a glance at a country in which, as Dahlmann⁸⁵² very correctly observes, “many fundamental German institutions appear in a clearer context than they do almost anywhere else, and much remained alive in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which elsewhere can be laboriously discerned and reconstructed only in the half-light of earlier times,” namely Ditmarschen, and let us consider in particular its distinctive organization of kindred groups. The Ditmarschen “vrunt” or “magen und swogere” (amici, proximi), who collectively formed a kindred group or “slachte, slahte” (parentela) bearing a common coat of arms, clearly stand in connection with the Ganerben of the *Sachsenspiegel*. In contrast, however, to the kinship relationship of the Ganerben, which took practical effect only in individual cases, such as inheritances, and was subject to constant change as the generations progressed, the Ditmarschen “Schlacht” had assumed a permanent and more extensive character, while the basis of the temporary community of heirs increasingly receded behind other common interests and purposes. The “Schlacht” had essentially become an association for conducting feuds and blood vengeance, but also for common economic and agricultural purposes, the construction of dikes, the use of common fields and rights, etc. Such an association is entirely conceivable without blood relationship; and indeed this original factor soon ceased to be decisive and was replaced by considerations of expediency. Nevertheless, the sense of blood relationship was preserved, and where such a relationship was absent it was fictitiously assumed, so that all members of a “Schlacht” regarded one another as cousins. It occurred that a kindred group surrendered its independence and entered another kindred group, or even formally purchased admission to it. This new subdivision or “Kluft” of the kindred group then also adopted the arms of the receiving “Schlacht,” although it frequently retained its old name as the name of the Kluft. The various “Klüfte” of a Schlacht bore distinct names and usually added a distinguishing mark to the common arms. It could also occur that a kindred group adopted the arms of one of its Klüfte, or that a Kluft constituted itself as a separate kindred group and, after discarding the old arms of the kindred group, adopted new ones.⁸⁵³ Traces of such kindred associations are also still found on the island of Fehmarn, for example in the Mackeprang-Witte-Stück-Ehlers cousinship, which bore a common coat of arms.⁸⁵⁴ To all appearances, the three families von Pogwisch, Wolf, and von der Wisch in Holstein, also called “dat slechte der Pogwischen, Wulven vnd van der Wischen,” which bore the

⁸⁴⁹ Gercken, *Codex diplomaticus Brandenburgensis*, vol. III, no. 1; von Herzberg, *Dissertation sur les anciens sceaux*, etc., plate I, fig. 2; *Transactions of the Bohemian Society of Sciences*, 1785, p. 96.

⁸⁵⁰ Grote, *Numismatic Studies*, vol. III, p. 307, note 12.

⁸⁵¹ Barthold, *History of Pomerania*, vol. IV, pp. 292–293; von Raumer, *Codex diplomaticus Brandenburgensis continuatus*, vol. I, pp. 269–270; Grote, *History of the Royal Prussian Coat of Arms*, p. 52.

⁸⁵² Preliminary Report to Neocorus, *Chronicle of the Land of Ditmarschen*, Kiel, 1827.

⁸⁵³ Nitzsch, “The History of the Ditmarschen Organization of Kindred Groups,” in *Yearbooks for the Regional History of the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg*, vol. III, pp. 83–150.

⁸⁵⁴ Selle, “The House Marks on the Island of Fehmarn,” in *Yearbooks for the Regional History of the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg*, vol. IV, p. 6.

wolf as their common arms but, as Klempin⁸⁵⁵ has demonstrated, were not related by descent, likewise constituted a kindred association similar to the Ditmarschen “slachte.” In any event, as Niebuhr⁸⁵⁶ already observed, the kindred association “is not an institution belonging to the law of one particular territory, but one common to our entire nation; it merely became extinct several centuries earlier in those places where the tribes lived as conquerors.” For our purposes, however, the ancient German kindred association, with its partly fictitious blood relationship, provides a welcome starting point for explaining the many cases in which families of different descent and different names bore identical or similar coats of arms, while families of the same name and the same stock bore different arms.

The Ganerben of the Sachsenspiegel must be distinguished from the Ganerben of later German law, although here too, as in the case of the Ditmarschen “Schlacht,” an original connection cannot be denied, and the Ganerben of the Sachsenspiegel may not infrequently have constituted themselves as Ganerben in the later meaning of the word. The later Ganerben association was a contractual relationship, an inheritance compact intended to counteract the fragmentation of the ancestral estates and the resulting decline in the standing and prosperity of families. Families of the higher nobility concluded inheritance compacts and established statutes concerning the character of possessions as ancestral estates and the exclusion of daughters from the succession. The lower nobility was threatened by this decline to an even greater degree. Various lines of the same stock, and also members of friendly families which were not related by descent, therefore entered into a closer association and concluded inheritance contracts under which the estates were to descend strictly among them and freedom of disposition was restricted, particularly to the disadvantage of daughters. At the same time they undertook to defend one another, not merely as co-heirs but as members of an association. In most cases daughters inherited when there were no sons, and the husbands of heiresses then entered the association with them. The complex of estates encompassed by such a contract, which usually had its centre in a castle, thereby became jointly held property, and the entitled persons who formed the association called themselves Ganerben and stood toward one another in a Ganerben association.⁸⁵⁷ Since, as mentioned, the centre of the association was usually a jointly held castle, the coat of arms belonging to the jointly held property necessarily possessed a common significance for all those jointly entitled, and they must have been entitled to bear it. The contractual Ganerben association must therefore also be counted among the factors which brought a common coat of arms to different families not related by descent. Bodmann⁸⁵⁸ already observes this when he says: “To anyone who might doubt that an exceedingly large number of Ganerben houses possessed their own house arms, which the members of the house adopted, sometimes in their entirety and sometimes in part, as the emblem of their family, transmitted as such to their descendants, and just as frequently retained even after those castle-based associations had long since been dissolved, our Rhine alone can offer a whole dozen examples as proof.” Baron von Ledebur himself⁸⁵⁹ cites as one example the “Gemeiner von Suotern,” that is, the Ganerben of Sötern, who in the fourteenth century bore three bends with a label as the common arms of their Ganerben association. These arms were also borne in 1328 by Wilhelm the Tall von Sötern, while his cousin Berthold the Thin von Sötern bore different arms, namely a double hook. A charter of 1276 names all the Ganerben of Rödelheim Castle near Frankfurt am Main: Winther von Breungesheim, Wernher Schelm, Eberwin von Breungesheim, Heinrich, Schultheiss of Frankfurt, Dietrich Schelm, and Conrad von Sachsenhausen,

⁸⁵⁵ Klempin and Kratz, *Registers and Lists*, pp. 83–97.

⁸⁵⁶ *Roman History*, vol. I, 2nd ed., p. 329.

⁸⁵⁷ Wigand, *Wetzlar Contributions*, vol. II, pp. 137–152, and vol. I, p. 360; Grimm, *German Legal Antiquities*, p. 481.

⁸⁵⁸ *Antiquities of the Rheingau*, p. 369.

⁸⁵⁹ *Archive for the History of the German Nobility*, p. 44.

who offered their castle to King Rudolf as a fief.⁸⁶⁰ All these Rödelheim Ganerben families bore as their common arms two upright bows placed back to back: the von Sachsenhausen family probably as early as 1226 and certainly in 1264,⁸⁶¹ the von Breungesheim family as early as 1304,⁸⁶² and the Schelme von Bergen from an undetermined date.⁸⁶³ The von Praunheim family, as descendants of Heinrich, Schultheiss of Frankfurt, usually bore different arms—a burdock plant above a horizontal bar—but Heitmann von Praunheim, who died in 1472, also appears with the Ganerben arms of the two bows, together with a mark of difference.⁸⁶⁴ From the fourteenth century onward, the von Bommersheim family, the Vögte von Bonames, the von Rödelheim family, and the von Wyssel family also joined the group bearing the two bows, adding sometimes roundels, sometimes stars, and sometimes roses to their arms as marks of difference.⁸⁶⁵

In the examples given thus far of identical and similar arms borne by families not related through a common agnatic stock, the bearer of the arms generally stands toward the landed property which mediates the identity or similarity of the arms as a legal subject toward a legal object. There is, however, another class of coats of arms in which a landed property, a castle, or a territory likewise mediates the identity or similarity of the arms, but in which those bearing the arms must be regarded, as it were, as appurtenances of that property. This status as an appurtenance mediates not only the identity or similarity of the arms borne by the persons and families belonging to the property among themselves, but also their identity or similarity with the arms of the legal subject to whom the landed property, castle, or territory stood as a legal object, with every thought of genealogical reasons being excluded. I refer to certain coats of arms of castle retainers, vassals, ministerials, and officials and of their families. These persons cannot, it is true, be regarded in the full legal sense of the word as appurtenances of a landed property, castle, or territory, for their services were rendered to the person whose lordship extended over those properties, castles, and territories; but the latter in a certain manner mediated those services. The vassals of a district belonged to a particular castle and at least frequently had their competent feudal court at such a castle. Castle retainers and ministerials took their names from the castle at which they resided or performed their services, and for this reason they frequently bore the same names as noble families, although they were neither related to them by descent nor members of the same estate.⁸⁶⁶ The similarity, though not identity, between the fortunes of coats of arms and names which we have thus far had occasion to observe already suggests that vassals and castle retainers, as well as ministerials and officials, may not infrequently have used the arms of their lords or the arms of one of their lords' castles, either unchanged or altered only in secondary details, and that these arms then became hereditary in their families. This supposition is generally confirmed.⁸⁶⁷ The correctness of

⁸⁶⁰ Euler, *Village and Castle of Rödelheim*, p. 11.

⁸⁶¹ Euler, loc. cit., p. 40; *Archive for the History and Art of Frankfurt*, vol. V, p. 150, illustration, plate 3, no. 33, and vol. VI, pp. 45 and 54, illustration 2.

⁸⁶² Euler, loc. cit., p. 41, fig. 8.

⁸⁶³ Euler, loc. cit., p. 40; *Siebmacher's Book of Coats of Arms*, vol. I, p. 122.

⁸⁶⁴ Euler, loc. cit., pp. 14 and 41.

⁸⁶⁵ Euler, loc. cit., pp. 40–41, figs. 1–6.

⁸⁶⁶ Thus there were, for example, counts and ministerials named von Blankenburg, von Hohenstein, von Eberstein, von Osterburg, von Hoya, von Klettenberg, von Hallermunt, von Schwalenberg, von Tecklenburg, von Waldeck, etc.; noble lords and ministerials named von Büren, von Veltheim, von Eickstedt, von Bornstedt, von der Lippe, etc. See *Märkische Forschungen*, vol. III, p. 341; *Wohlbrück, Information concerning the von Alvensleben Family*, vol. I, p. 7; *von Ledebur, General Archive for the Historical Study of the Prussian State*, vol. V, p. 160.

⁸⁶⁷ See *von Ledebur in Märkische Forschungen*, loc. cit., and in the *General Archive*, loc. cit.; *Mooyer in Westphalian Provincial Papers*, vol. II, part 4, p. 208; and *Oetter, Historical Consideration of the Hohenlohe Coat* (Fortsetzung...)

this fact has recently also been acknowledged by the Provincial Archivist Eltester at Coblenz. He writes: “Sometimes twenty or thirty knightly stocks occur in the same region bearing the same principal heraldic device and differing only slightly in marks of difference, colours, and crests. It is clearly insufficient to cite kinship by descent alone as the motive for bearing the same heraldic emblem. Even more frequently, a relationship of vassalage or ministerial service to some principal family appears to have led to this practice, so that the heraldic emblem also served as a field emblem, virtually as a uniform. Thus, for example, the group bearing the lattice is gathered around the powerful dynastic family of Daun; the group bearing the chequered field around the Counts of Spanhelm; the group bearing the eagle around the Counts of Are, Neuenare, and Nurberg; the group bearing the lozenges around the Counts of Virneburg in the Eifel; and the group bearing the timber beam around the Counts of Berg.”⁸⁶⁸

With regard to castle retainers, the possession of common arms independently of genealogical considerations was already noted by Bodmann. After communicating his observations concerning common arms among Ganerben—who, incidentally, must not be confused with castle retainers, although Ganerben associations not infrequently developed from groups of castle retainers⁸⁶⁹—he adds, “The same applies to the seals of castles and the family seals of hereditary castle retainers.” Even Baron von Ledebur cannot close his mind to the truth of this fact and concedes that “associations of families of different stocks using common castle seals appear to have occurred repeatedly in the Rhineland.”⁸⁷⁰ He himself gives examples of this, namely the families of castle retainers at Hammerstein Castle on the Rhine, including the Kolf von Vettelhofen or von Ahrweiler, the von Duffenbach called Kolbe, the Blankhard von Ahrweiler, the Print von Horcheim, the von Belle zu Bell, the von Meyen, the von Schmidtheim, and persons bearing the names Bottele, Mul von der Neuerburg, Scheppe zu Meyen, Hole von Wyß, von Hammerstein, von Ludendorf, Stolz von Beckelheim, Buck von Bekelnheim, von Blankenberg called von Hammerstein, and von Hunf. Like the Burgraves of Hammerstein, all of them bore the arms of Hammerstein Castle—three hammers—although they differed among themselves sometimes in the number of hammers and sometimes in the colours.⁸⁷¹ According to Ledebur, another example is provided by the castle retainers at Junkerath near Hillesheim in the Eifel: Dietrich von Junkeroid, Henneke von Wysme, Hermann Raubesack, Henneke Schurpot, and Henneke Dürre von Smidehem, all of whom in 1363 bore a silver lion with a red label in a blue field strewn with golden fleurs-de-lis. Johann, Lord of Junkeroide and Schönenberg, bore the same arms in 1432, but without the fleurs-de-lis.⁸⁷² Furthermore, according to Ledebur, the embattled horizontal bar which Count Adolf von Berg bore upon his seal in 1210 had been adopted by him from the ancestral seat of Burg; a large number of knightly families from the surrounding territory bore the same arms, in a manner similar to the association of castle retainers at Hammerstein.⁸⁷³

Apart from the castle retainers, I shall cite only the following additional examples relating to vassals and ministerials. The Counts of Diepholz bore a shield divided horizontally, with a lion above and three cornerstones below, the former presumably because they were vassals of Lüneburg. They later also

⁸⁶⁷(...Fortsetzung)
of Arms, p. 40.

⁸⁶⁸ Prince of Hohenlohe-Waldenburg, *The Saxon Chaplet of Rue*, p. 23.

⁸⁶⁹ See Wigand, *Wetzlar Contributions*, vol. II, p. 146.

⁸⁷⁰ Baron von Ledebur, *Archive for the History of the German Nobility*, pp. 200 and 202.

⁸⁷¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 202–204.

⁸⁷² Baron von Ledebur, *Archive for the History of the German Nobility*, p. 35.

⁸⁷³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 235.

became vassals of Brandenburg and then exchanged the cornerstones for an eagle.⁸⁷⁴ A line settled west of the Elbe belonging to the knightly von Schwerin family, which stood in feudal obligation to the Counts of Schwerin, bore a horse in its arms, as did the counts.⁸⁷⁵ The Burgraves of Wettin bore one lion, while the ministerial and castle-retainer family von Wettin bore three lions.⁸⁷⁶ The noble Lords of Arnstein-Barby bore a hound's head upon their crest. A branch of the Mosigkau family, which belonged to the foremost ministerial and castle-retainer families of those lords, incorporated this heraldic device into its shield.⁸⁷⁷ As Saxon vassals, the von Wegeleben family bore the arms of their feudal lords, the green chaplet of rue.⁸⁷⁸ The von der Hoya family in Minden bore the same arms as the Counts of Hoya, namely two bears' claws.⁸⁷⁹ The Wölffe von Spanheim, the Lauderer von Spanheim, the Meusewin von Spanheim, the Vlener von Spanheim, the Wyssen von Spanheim, and the Zynler von Spanheim all bore the chequered field of their feudal lords, the Counts of Spanheim, together with a mark of difference.⁸⁸⁰ The Counts of Osterburg and Altenhausen, of the stock of the noble Lords of Veltheim, bore a horizontal bar with three cornerstones beneath it. Parts of these arms, either the cornerstones or the bar, were also borne by their ministerials von Osterburg, von Altenhausen, von Wanzleben, and von Veltheim.⁸⁸¹ The Swabian Barons von Tanne bore a fir tree with five cones, and later a single fir cone. Those branches, however, which entered ministerial service under the Hohenstaufen dynasty—the Truchsess von Waldburg and the Schenken von Winterstetten—adopted the three Hohenstaufen lions as their arms. The former in particular bore the three lions as early as 1222, although they continued to use the Tanne arms beside them until at least 1331.⁸⁸² As hereditary marshals of Lüneburg, the von Meding family bore the Lüneburg lion; likewise, the hereditary cupbearers of Lüneburg, the von Berge family, bore the Lüneburg lion above their otherwise customary zigzag bar.⁸⁸³ When the noble Ulrich von Liechtenstein attended the tournament at Neuburg near Vienna, his entire knightly retinue bore his arms: two black bends in a white field. In his work *Von dem Vrowen Dienst*, completed in 1255, he himself reports the following: “Then the horse of the cathedral advocate was led behind; its caparison was of red sendal, with many of my shields strewn upon it, and my heart rejoiced that he was to bear my shield; his helmet was handsomely adorned. The horses of all those who bore my shield were led behind my banner, all caparisoned like the horse of the cathedral advocate; each knight, however, bore his own distinctive helmet, but surcoat, shield, and caparison were alike.”⁸⁸⁴ In the case of ministerials, it is readily understandable that they bore the arms of their lord or a part of them. The lord clothed them, and

⁸⁷⁴ Von Ledebur in *Märkische Forschungen*, vol. III, pp. 336 ff.

⁸⁷⁵ Lisch, *Documentary History of the von Oertzen Family*, vol. I, p. 18.

⁸⁷⁶ Von Mülverstedt, *The Saxon Chaplet of Rue*, p. 7, note 1.

⁸⁷⁷ Von Mülverstedt, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁷⁸ Prince of Hohenlohe-Waldenburg, *The Saxon Chaplet of Rue*, p. 6.

⁸⁷⁹ *Westphalian Provincial Papers*, vol. II, part 4, p. 208.

⁸⁸⁰ *Journal of Patriotic (Westphalian) History and Antiquity*, vol. II, pp. 222 ff.; Siebmacher's *Book of Coats of Arms*, vol. I, p. 129.

⁸⁸¹ Von Ledebur in *Märkische Forschungen*, vol. III, pp. 369 ff.

⁸⁸² *Correspondence Journal of the General Association of German Historical and Antiquarian Societies*, year IV, 1856, p. 74; Stälin, *History of Württemberg*, vol. II, p. 616.

⁸⁸³ Von Ledebur in *Märkische Forschungen*, vol. III, p. 318, note ***, and p. 323.

⁸⁸⁴ Tieck's *Complete Works*, vol. VIII, Vienna, 1818, p. 173; Baron von Ledebur, *Archive for the History of the German Nobility*, vol. I, p. 357.

they wore his livery colours,⁸⁸⁵ why should they not also have borne his court arms or the arms of one of his castles? How closely the ministerial was attached to such a castle is also shown by the fact that, when the lord sold or gave away a castle to which ministerials and their court fiefs belonged, the hereditary estates of those ministerials likewise passed under the superior ownership of the new lord.⁸⁸⁶ If no natural and lawful heirs to the ministerials' allodial estates existed, the lord, as superior owner, possessed the right to appropriate those allodial estates.⁸⁸⁷

If a ministerial entered the service of another lord without his own lord's permission, he forfeited his right of inheritance in his homeland. In the earliest period, this provided good reason to abandon his previous coat of arms and adopt a new one representing his new legal relationships. He was not permitted to alienate his allodial estates to free men or to ministerials of another lord,⁸⁸⁸ because this would have diminished his lord's superior ownership; for the same reason, they could not be inherited by free men or by ministerials of another lord. This made it necessary for the retainers to marry only female ministerials of their own lords, since the children followed the mother with regard to servile status.⁸⁸⁹ By the time a freer status had developed for the ministerials, and court fiefs and castle fiefs had become hereditary and even descended to daughters and their descendants,⁸⁹⁰ the exclusiveness of the ministerial associations, if I may call them that, had already led to such thorough intermarriage among the families that the use of coats of arms to designate the kindred group found particularly fertile ground here (see p. 192). On the other hand, agreements had already been concluded between individual lords at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries permitting their respective ministerials to marry one another. Usually, part of the children then entered the ministerial service of one lord and part that of the other; furthermore, some of the children inherited from the father and others from the mother.⁸⁹¹ These arrangements caused the male stock to divide into several separate lines, which, in the circumstances described, must have found ample reason and opportunity to change their traditional arms and to adopt new arms based upon new considerations.

Finally, I shall give several examples of hereditary arms of office belonging to the category last discussed on p. 224. The Horst family on Rügen, whose nearest known ancestor was bailiff to the Lords of Putbus in 1310, bore their arms—an eagle rising from a chequered field—initially, in 1316, in a somewhat different form—a chequered field and an eagle's wing—but later, in 1378, in precisely the same form.⁸⁹² The von Maschwitz family, which held the office of Schultheiss at Halle, still bore a bull's head upon the shield in 1456 and 1473, but subsequently adopted the arms of office, namely the ducal Saxon shield of bars with the chaplet of rue, as its hereditary family arms, retaining the bull's head only upon the helmet.⁸⁹³ The eagles borne by various hereditary imperial officials likewise belong particularly to this category, for example those of the Margraves of Brandenburg, the Counts Palatine

⁸⁸⁵ Märkische Forschungen, vol. III, p. 20.

⁸⁸⁶ Loc. cit., vol. III, p. 44.

⁸⁸⁷ Loc. cit., vol. III, p. 45.

⁸⁸⁸ Lisch, Mecklenburg Yearbooks, vol. XXV, p. 169; Wohlbrück and von Ledebur, History of the Altmark, p. 99.

⁸⁸⁹ Wohlbrück and von Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 100; Märkische Forschungen, vol. III, p. 48.

⁸⁹⁰ Riedel, The Mark of Brandenburg in the Year 1250, vol. II, pp. 146–147, note 1; Wohlbrück and von Ledebur, loc. cit., p. 95.

⁸⁹¹ Wohlbrück and von Ledebur, loc. cit., pp. 101–105.

⁸⁹² Klempin and Kratz, Registers and Lists, p. 61; von Bohlen, History of the von Krassow Family, vol. II, plate V, no. 21b; original bearing the seal, dated 1378, in the P. P. A.

⁸⁹³ Von Mülverstädt, The Saxon Chaplet of Rue, p. 17; Prince of Hohenlohe-Waldenburg, The Saxon Chaplet of Rue, p. 22.

of Saxony, the hereditary advocates of the Halberstadt foundation and their descendants, etc.

There are also a number of identical or similar coats of arms in which it is at least clear that the identity or similarity must be attributed not to a genealogical connection but to local relationships. The arms of Herford Abbey, for example, are a red horizontal bar in a white field, and precisely the same arms were borne not only by the town of Herford, but also by the Herford ministerial family von Quernheim and by the von Oldenhervorde and Gogreve families resident at Herford. The arms had apparently been transferred from the abbey to those families and from them to the town.⁸⁹⁴

The influence exerted by landed property, inheritance, expectancy, pretension, marriage, kinship, family association, joint inheritance, neighbourhood, service as castle retainers, ministerial status, feudal dependence, the holding of office, etc., upon complete or partial changes in family arms ceased entirely in later times. In accordance with the usual course of events, whereby a distinction or privilege which was in itself personal generally became hereditary, coats of arms, like family names before them and now closely connected with them, became the exclusive hereditary property of particular families, within which they were regularly transmitted through the male line. Only in cases of adoption or the extinction of the male line could both name and arms be transferred to another family with the sovereign's permission. In such a case, the latter family now generally retained its ancestral family name and ancestral arms alongside the newly adopted name and arms. Although, as we have seen above in the case of the Kleist seals, variations in more or less essential parts of a coat of arms continued to occur down to the most recent period, these arbitrary alterations were no longer based upon a legal intention, as formerly, but upon the personal taste of the moment, which was often highly misguided.

The foregoing discussion has primarily considered only German conditions. It will now be demonstrated, however, that even among entirely Slavic peoples, for example in neighbouring Poland, the development of heraldry followed a course which, although not entirely the same, was strikingly similar to that in Germany. Slavic institutions are encountered which vividly recall the ancient German kindred associations observed in Ditmarschen. Let us first allow Röpell⁸⁹⁵ to speak:

“Although it cannot be demonstrated that among the Poles, as some believe to have been the case among the Russians, Bohemians, and Serbs, the family formed a whole to such an extent that in ancient times all landed property was held undivided by the entire family and administered for common use by elders elected by its members, nevertheless the conception of such an original common ownership by the family appears to underlie many provisions of later Polish law. The rights of sons, brothers, nephews, and relatives in general in an hereditary estate, whereby the owner's freedom to dispose of it by sale, exchange, gift, and the like was restricted; the right of inheritance of all members of the family and even of the wider kindred down to the most remote degrees of relationship; the preferential right of members of the kindred when hereditary estates were sold or pledged; and finally the later legally recognized view that all noble families which bear one and the same coat of arms, however great their number and however impossible it may be to prove their relationship, constitute a single kindred—all this points to an originally firm, extensive, and long-preserved family and kindred association which may safely be regarded as the foundation of all private and public legal relationships. It may be stated with certainty that an individual possessed a particular legal position in relation to the whole only insofar as he was a member of the family. The individual families, or rather the kindred which had grown through the multiplication of families, confronted one another as collective entities.”

These kindred associations, which were connected with an originally common hereditary estate, arose not only from agnatic but also from cognatic blood relationship. Throughout Poland, daughters were

⁸⁹⁴ Journal of Patriotic (Westphalian) History and Antiquity.

⁸⁹⁵ History of Poland, vol. I, p. 83.

formerly not excluded from acquiring hereditary estates (*dziedzictwa*); the concept that these could be acquired only by agnates did not arise until later and entered Polish law from foreign systems of law. In Lesser Poland in particular, as the Statute of Casimir the Great states, daughters had from ancient times inherited movable and immovable property together with sons; in Pomerania only the sons initially received the hereditary estate, but later the daughters did so as well. Although in Greater Poland sons were generally preferred to daughters, the Statute of Wislica in the middle of the fourteenth century merged the laws of Greater and Lesser Poland in such a way that daughters throughout Poland now received the right to inherit hereditary estates whenever there were no sons.⁸⁹⁶ If there were neither sons nor daughters, the uncles inherited, followed by every member of the same heraldic stock according to the closeness of his relationship to the deceased (*quilibet de eisdem armis et signis, consanguinitate saltem proximior*).⁸⁹⁷ The members of a heraldic stock must therefore have welcomed it when the husband or son of an heiress of their stock, if he belonged to another heraldic stock, abandoned his own arms and, by adopting theirs, preserved for their stock any subsequent right of inheritance in the estate. He, for his part, might well have been inclined to do so if there were prospects of further inheritances, or if the heraldic stock which he wished to join exercised a certain political influence through distinguished members. In such a case, a formal reception into the other heraldic stock took place; the newcomer was, as it were, adopted by the entire heraldic association. It is not asserted that only a process such as that just described provided grounds for admission into a foreign heraldic stock. The reasons for such admission were apparently very diverse, and the power and political importance of a particular heraldic stock undoubtedly exerted a strong influence. It is certain, however, that the admission into a foreign heraldic association of unrelated families which were by no means agnatically, and often not even cognatically, related was a traditional Polish custom (*vetus est inde a majoribus usitata consuetudo*).⁸⁹⁸ Such receptions of entirely foreign families into Polish heraldic stocks occurred on a large scale, for example, at the union of Lithuania with Poland in 1413, and again after the cession of West Prussia to Poland in 1466. In the latter case, German families abandoned their arms and entered Polish heraldic associations in order to be able to possess Polish hereditary estates.⁸⁹⁹ Thus, for example, one branch of the von Lehwald family abandoned its ancestral arms—an arm holding a ring—and, under the byname *Jezcerski*, was received into the Polish heraldic association *Rogala*—a stag’s antler and a buffalo horn. Likewise, a branch of the Pomeranian von Manteuffel family—arms: a red horizontal bar—under the byname *Kielpinski*, derived from its ancestral seat of *Kölpin* in Pomerania, entered the same heraldic stock *Rogala*; the von Rautenberg family, under the byname *Klinski*, entered the heraldic stock *Junosza*—a ram—etc. etc.⁹⁰⁰ Down to the most recent period, elevation to the nobility generally took place with the arms of one of the Polish heraldic stocks, usually the one to which the member who

⁸⁹⁶ Maciejowski’s *Slavic Legal History*, translated by Buß and Nawrocki, vol. II, pp. 260 and 263; Lelewel, *Początkowe prawo państwa polskie* (*Origin of Polish Law*), p. 80.

⁸⁹⁷ *Statut. Vislicien. ap.* Bandtke, p. 106; Röpell, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 604.

⁸⁹⁸ Maciejowski, loc. cit., p. 85; Okolski, *Orbis Polonus*, vol. II, p. 137; Paprocki, *w herbazu rycerstawa Polskiego*, p. 391.

⁸⁹⁹ *Notices sur les familles illustres et titrées de la Pologne*, 1862, p. 236.

⁹⁰⁰ When foreign families were received into Polish heraldic stocks, the similarity between their ancestral arms and those of a Polish heraldic stock frequently appears to have been the sole determining factor. Thus the old Prussian von Kalkstein family, which bore three white horizontal bars in a red field, was received under the name *Oslowski* into the Polish heraldic stock *Korczak*—three shortened white horizontal bars in red. Likewise, a branch of the Pomeranian von Puttkamer family, which bears a red griffin with a white fish’s tail in a blue field, was received under the name *Kleszczynski*, derived from its ancestral seat of *Kleschinz* near *Stolp*, into the Polish heraldic stock *Gryf*—a white griffin in red. Mathias, or Maszko Borkowicz, of the Pomeranian *Borcken* family, which bore two wolves upon the shield and a demi-stag upon the helmet, belonged to the Polish heraldic stock *Napiwowye*—a stag’s head with a wolf between the antlers (*Długosz*, vol. IX, p. 1115), etc.

had taken a particular interest in securing the ennoblement belonged.

Polish coats of arms are therefore not the property of individual families demonstrably related through the male line. On the one hand, many families—sometimes more than one hundred—of different names and stocks, and even of different nationalities, bear precisely the same arms; on the other hand, families bearing the same name also bear different arms. The very large number of families bearing the same arms—the heraldic stock *Nalecz*, for example, comprises 152 families of different stocks—when considered together with the fact that coats of arms were adopted in Poland no earlier than about the middle of the fourteenth century, while family names did not begin to become stable until the middle of the sixteenth century, demonstrates that it is impossible for all these heraldically related families to have descended, within this period of approximately two hundred years, from a common ancestor who first adopted the arms around the middle of the fourteenth century.⁹⁰¹

Finally, it should be noted that many of these Polish heraldic devices bear an unmistakable resemblance to German house marks,⁹⁰² and that the designation *domus* is particularly common here for a heraldic association. Thus one says: *de domo Gryforum*; *de domo Nalencz* (headband); *de domo Grzymalitarum tres turres deferentium*; *de domo Korczbog, quae tres carpiones defect pro insigni*; *de domo et familia Pierzchala, quae marschalcum skakalem defect pro insigni, alias rochum*; *de domo porcaria, quae apud Polonos Swinka, idest sus vocatur*; *de cancrorum domo*; *de domo bipennium*; *de domo, quae solum pro insigni defect*; *de domo, quae duos vomeres aretrales defect pro insigni, etc.*⁹⁰³

I have had to include these Polish conditions in this discussion in order to demonstrate that the development of heraldry among a neighbouring Slavic people followed the same, or at least a very similar, course as in Germany. Consequently, even in Pomerania, where Slavic and German characteristics came into contact and mutually modified one another, no specifically national Slavic factor contrary to this general development of heraldry is to be assumed. I therefore adopt the conclusions reached above in their entirety for Pomerania as well, and arrive at the following conclusion:

Pomeranian noble families which bear the same family name, although they bear different coats of arms,⁹⁰⁴ are as a rule of one stock. Those which bear different family names, although they bear the same or similar arms,⁹⁰⁵ are not, merely on account of the identity or similarity of their arms, to be regarded as agnatically related by descent, even when their origin or earliest

⁹⁰¹ Röpell, loc. cit., vol. II, p. 613 and p. 28, note 10. Lelewel, the most learned Polish historical scholar of modern times, deserves the credit for having first thoroughly clarified these Polish family associations and heraldic associations. The distinguished Polish nobility, however, is far from satisfied with this. Listen to what a more recent work already cited above, *Notices sur les familles nobles et titrées de la Pologne*, p. 291, says on the subject: "It is the learned but democratic Lelewel who invented this new heraldic system, which is nothing but a product of his republican imagination, against which the entire nobility must protest unanimously, on pain of ceasing to exist.—It should be noted that it is unnecessary to refute the opinion here at length, etc., etc. It is, after all, merely a democratic theory, ingeniously deduced, but born of the liberal preoccupations of this century." The mind of this fine heraldist and politician must be a curious place indeed!

⁹⁰² See von Hefner, *Handbook of Theoretical and Practical Heraldry*, vol. I, p. 107.

⁹⁰³ Dlugosz, vol. VII, p. 832; vol. IX, pp. 1030, 1062, and 1115; vol. XI, pp. 226, 229, and 253; vol. XIII, pp. 268 and 279; *Märkische Forschungen*, vol. IV, pp. 214, 215 ff.; *Statut. minor Polon. ap. Bandtke*, p. 137.

⁹⁰⁴ For example, the von Plötz, von Steinwehr, von Owstin, von Flemming, von Borcke, von dem Borne, von Barnelow, von Weiher, von Wussow, von Below, and von Kamecke families, each with two different coats of arms; the von der Lancken and von Keding families, etc., each with three.

⁹⁰⁵ For example, the von Podewils, von Stojentin, von Schwetzkow, von Gutzmerow, von Herzberg, von Pomeiske, von Wopersnow, von Carnitz, Schrock, Dumrese, Cayan, Gantzel, and Glinden families, and sometimes also the von Schöning family, all of which bear a stag springing from a chequered field.

residences can be traced to neighbouring places. Rather, the difference in family names gives rise to the presumption of different descent.

As appears from the foregoing discussion, the relationships which influenced changes and similarities in coats of arms could be of such diverse kinds that it will often be difficult to determine precisely which influence was decisive. It will frequently be necessary to limit oneself to demonstrating that unmistakably close genealogical or local relationships existed between family and family, and between coat of arms and coat of arms.

In conclusion, an attempt will now be made to demonstrate briefly the correctness of our observations concerning identical and different coats of arms by reference to several Pomeranian and Mecklenburg families.

The example mentioned above on p. 179 of Hennink Plate of Churretitz, who in 1498, like Hans Holste, bore an eagle, both departing from their customary family arms—the Platen family otherwise bore two monkey heads with wings, while the Holsten family bore, upon a shield divided per pale, a wing in the left half and one and a half roses in the right—is already connected by von Bohlen⁹⁰⁶ with an inheritance from the von dem Buge family, who bore the eagle.

The von Plötz family has two lines bearing different coats of arms: the Stuchow line bears three roach, while the Sabow line bears a swan. Elzow⁹⁰⁷ explains the reason for the change of arms:

“Although the Stuchow and Sabow lines formerly bore the same coat of arms, a difference is now found between them, which came about in the following manner. Many years ago, a member of the Sabow line married in the Neumark a von Wartenberg who was the last of her family and an heiress. Because the young lady’s father strongly insisted that he should adopt his coat of arms so that it would not become extinct, he consented to do so, notwithstanding the great displeasure of his cousins, whether moved by love or by desire for the estates. In his shield, instead of the three fish borne by the Stuchow Plötzes, he adopted a swan from the Wartenberg arms, but upon the helmet retained the three plumes through the middle of which a fish passes, as used by the Stuchow Plötzes. The two lines thus became separated from one another in the course of time.”

Elzow’s account is entirely consistent with the observations made above, and we have all the less reason to doubt it because Hans, Domes, and Bernd the Plötzes of Wartenberg are mentioned in a charter of 1444, and because in 1618, at the homage paid to Duke Franz of Pomerania, old Hans Plötz of Sabow consented to the grant to his cousins at Stuchow of the right of joint enfeoffment in his fiefs.⁹⁰⁸

In the von Owstin family, we find two lines bearing different coats of arms jointly possessing the village of Owstin near Anklam as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century. One line, probably the elder, bore three boars’ heads, usually accompanied by a wing, while the other bore a chevron.⁹⁰⁹ If we seek a heraldically related family for the latter line, we find that in Pomerania only the von Glasenapp family also bore a chevron. It is highly remarkable that near Manow by Cöslin, the ancestral seat of the Glasenapps, there is a village called Owstin, now Augustin (Charters 85, 106, and 116). When the elder line of the Owstins became extinct around 1520, the line bearing the chevron took possession of the former line’s feudal estates and remained in possession of them. Although the Pomeranian feudal court subsequently asserted that the line bearing the chevron had falsely represented itself as cousins of the

⁹⁰⁶ Von Bohlen, *History of the von Krassow Family*, vol. II, p. 144.

⁹⁰⁷ Elzow’s *Mirror of the Nobility*, manuscript, vol. III, p. 426.

⁹⁰⁸ Klempin and Kratz, *Registers and Lists*, p. 54.

⁹⁰⁹ Diderik, or Tideke Owstin, squire at Owstin, with the heads and the wing in 1418 and 1423 (Bagmihl, *Pomeranian Book of Coats of Arms*, vol. I, plate LIV, no. 2); Hans Owstin at Owstin with the chevron in 1425 (original in the P. P. A.: Schr. XIV, Chat. 2, no. 47).

other line,⁹¹⁰ this assertion was based upon nothing more than the later practice of feudal law, introduced primarily for the benefit of the feudal lord, which required agnates seeking the right of joint enfeoffment to possess not only the same family name and the same birth—that is, descent from a marriage of equal social rank—but also the same shield, and later even the same crest.⁹¹¹

In the von Glasenapp family, closer relations with the von Münchow family—whose arms bore three monks' or Moors' heads—through their joint enfeoffment with the Copriebe woodlands and the Pieleburg heath, which also resulted in a common entitlement in the newly founded town of Bärwalde, led to reciprocal alterations of their coats of arms. Thus, in 1493, Peter Monnechow bore the Glasenapp chevron and beneath it the three Münchow Moors' heads (Charter 266), while in 1511 Pawel Glasenapp of Zuchen bore the Glasenapp chevron and beneath it one of the Münchow Moors' heads. The Moor's head became a permanent feature of the Glasenapp arms, although its position within the shield underwent numerous changes.

According to seals of 1349, 1362, and 1383, the von Schacht family on Rügen bore three stars in its coat of arms and possessed the estate of Unrow until near the end of the fourteenth century. Yet a Schacht seal of 1316 already reveals relationships of kinship or joint enfeoffment with the von der Osten family, for between the three stars this seal displays the Osten shield with the key and the three streams. It is therefore highly remarkable that, after the extinction of the Schacht family, the von der Osten family appears in possession of Unrow from about 1500 onward, and that in Courland there also appear the von Sacken called von der Osten, or von der Osten-Sacken, who bear the Osten and Sacken arms quartered.⁹¹²

Of the brothers Fredericus de Moltzan and Ludolfus de Moltzan, the former bore in 1293 a plant with three vine or oak leaves, while the latter already bore the arms subsequently customary in the family: a shield divided per pale, with two hares' heads on the right and half the plant on the left.⁹¹³ The hares' heads were taken from the arms of the Hasenkop family, which bore three of them.⁹¹⁴ That this alteration of the arms was based upon a relationship of kinship, joint enfeoffment, or something similar is shown by the fact that, conversely, in 1290 Friedrich Hasenkop bore a leaf from the Maltzan plant in place of the third hare's head.⁹¹⁵ Furthermore, around 1400 the Hasenkop family bore precisely the same arms as

⁹¹⁰ Bagmihl, *Pomeranian Book of Coats of Arms*, vol. I, p. 143.

⁹¹¹ Duke Erich II's privilege for the knighthood of Further Pomerania of 16 June 1459 (original in the P. A.; von Gerdes, *Selected Collection of Various Charters and Accounts*, vol. I, p. 14) states: "If cousins of one name, shield, and birth request their joint enfeoffment, they shall be enfeoffed in the manner prescribed above." Duke Bogislaw X's privilege for the same knighthood of 25 November 1474 (Codex Bogislai X, no. 76; Gerdes, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 19) likewise states: "If there are cousins of one name, shield, and birth, we shall grant them the joint enfeoffment when they request it in due form." Finally, the privilege granted by Dukes Barnim X and Philipp I to the Pomeranian estates on 9 February 1560 (Gerdes, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 26; vol. II, p. 270) states: "Where cousins are of one name, shield, helmet, and birth, we shall, at their humble request, enfeoff and renew them in their old fiefs acquired by one stock, or regarded as old ancestral fiefs by virtue of special grants of our forefathers or according to the provisions of feudal law, and also in the fiefs in which the right of joint enfeoffment had previously been acquired, etc."

⁹¹² Von Bohlen, **History of the von Krassow Family**, vol. II, pp. 11, 41, 49, 71, and 72, plate VII, fig. 27d.

⁹¹³ Lisch, **Collection of Charters concerning the History of the von Maltzan Family**, vol. I, p. 93, plate I, figs. 1 and 2.

⁹¹⁴ Loc. cit., vol. III, plate VIII, fig. 2.

⁹¹⁵ Lisch, **Collection of Charters concerning the History of the von Maltzan Family**, vol. III, plate VIII, fig. 1.

the von Maltzan family—two hares' heads on the right and half the plant on the left⁹¹⁶—and yet the two families were not related by descent, as Lisch, himself an adherent of Ledebur's theory, acknowledges.⁹¹⁷

Two lines of the von Lewetzow family flourished in Mecklenburg, one of which bore a demi-stag, while the other bore a lattice. In 1372 the hereditary marshalship of the land of Werle-Güstrow was granted to Knight Heinrich von Lewetzow of the line bearing the lattice and, in trust, to Knight Günther and the squires Clawes and Jacob, his brothers, to Knight Clawes and his brothers Heine, Günther, and Arnd Lewetzow, and to "all Lewetzows who now exist or may yet be born."⁹¹⁸ All the Lewetzows were therefore expressly enfeoffed, without the grant being restricted to the line bearing the lattice. Indeed, in a charter of 1437 sealed by Dietrich Lewetzow with the stag, he is expressly called a marshal. The words of the charter read: "sealed by the marshals Dietrich Lewetzow and Ulrich Moltzan."⁹¹⁹ The word **marschalke** is clearly plural and therefore cannot, as Lisch assumes in order to preserve his heraldic theory, refer solely to Ulrich Moltzan.⁹²⁰ It is therefore not at all surprising that, as Lisch mentions,⁹²¹ the Lewetzows bearing the lattice possessed rights in the estates of the Lewetzows bearing the demi-stag during the fourteenth century. The arms with the stag are clearly the older arms. The arms with the lattice were presumably adopted by the other line because of relationships of kinship or similar connections with the von Bernefür family, which had immigrated from Westphalia and with which it maintained close relations. It is all the more likely that the arms originated with the latter family because they are actually a corruption of the canting arms of the Bernefür family — **Brennfeuer**, "burning fire"—which consisted of a stand bearing five or six burning torches, as von Gamm already correctly describes them.⁹²²

When obligations to perform half a horse-service (**1/2 servitium**), or even half of one quarter of a horse-service (**1/2 quartale servitii vasallionatus**), are mentioned,⁹²³ the question naturally arises as to whose coat of arms was borne by the horseman who personally performed several shares of vassal service at the same time. It is very likely that he bore neither the arms of one family nor those of the other, but rather the arms of the feudal estate for which the services were performed and in which the interests of both vassals converged. Alternatively, the holder of the smaller share may on such occasions have permanently used the arms of the holder of the larger share, or the holders of the shares may have agreed to bear common arms. In earlier times the von Rohr family possessed half of almost all the estates of the von Kerkberg family in the Prignitz; both families bore identical arms, a vertical pointed division.⁹²⁴ Moreover, in Pomerania as elsewhere, it was very frequently the holders of shares in an estate who possessed rights of joint enfeoffment in their respective shares. Indeed, it appears that joint residence upon one feudal estate in itself conferred a kind of expectant right to shares which became vacant, or at least that the joint enfeoffment of persons living together could readily be lost if they

⁹¹⁶ Loc. cit., vol. III, plate VIII, figs. 3 and 4.

⁹¹⁷ Loc. cit., vol. III, preface, p. XIX.

⁹¹⁸ Loc. cit., vol. II, p. 240, no. CCXCII.

⁹¹⁹ Lisch, **Mecklenburg Yearbooks**, vol. XI, pp. 477 and 479.

⁹²⁰ See Klempin and Kratz, **Registers and Lists**, p. 123.

⁹²¹ Lisch, loc. cit., p. 478.

⁹²² Lisch, loc. cit., p. 429: Barnefür. Compare the seal of Wolder Bernevür of 1405, loc. cit., plate I, no. 4.

⁹²³ Klempin and Kratz, **Registers and Lists**, pp. 4 and 98; Riedel, **The Mark of Brandenburg in 1250**, vol. II, p. 173.

⁹²⁴ Lisch, **Mecklenburg Yearbooks**, vol. XII, pp. 54–55.

established separate residences.⁹²⁵ This was a further reason for expressing through common arms the shared interests which converged in one or more feudal estates. Lisch therefore correctly observes⁹²⁶ that the von Bibow family succeeded to the fiefs of the Hardenacke family because they bore the same shield—a cock—although they did not bear the same name, and that in matters of succession less regard was paid to identity of name than to identity of shield. His addition, however, that this occurred “in the consciousness of a common origin” cannot be regarded as substantiated. Even the common origin of two lines of one family bearing the same name and the same arms did not in itself confer any right of succession, least of all to estates which were not ancient ancestral fiefs, unless the supreme feudal lord had also granted the right of joint enfeoffment.⁹²⁷ In 1452 the Wittorp family succeeded to the estates of Anton von Thun, after both families had occupied Thun Castle in Lüneburg together since 1291 and had borne identical arms—streams containing fish. From that time onward Thomas Wittorp also appears as “otherwise called von Thune.”⁹²⁸ The two lines of the Behr family had abandoned their older ancestral arms, the bear. The Gützkow line, presumably as a result of newly acquired possessions or newly established family connections, had gradually adopted three demi-swans, while the Rügen line had adopted a pointed division with three roses. Toward the end of the fourteenth century, both lines returned to the ancestral bear.⁹²⁹ Once the interests associated with the adoption of the new arms had been secured, the need may again have come to the fore to demonstrate their relationship by means of the bear. This was particularly so after Rügen passed to Pomerania in 1325, giving both branches the same supreme feudal lord, and after the princes of the territory, as already mentioned above, had early adopted the principle of granting joint enfeoffment only to cousins of the same family who bore not only the same name but also the same shield. The two lines of the Behr family did not receive the right of joint enfeoffment in one another’s feudal estates until 1491.⁹³⁰

In addition to their common arms, the close connections and intermarriage of individual families manifested themselves in another remarkable manner. Members of one family frequently possessed estates bearing the name of another heraldically related family, or newly founded villages were named after friendly and related families or after their possessions. Among the heraldic group bearing the wheel, for example, to which the von Wedell, von Jagow, von Uchtenhagen, von Wreech, and other families belonged, we find members of the von Wedell family at Uchtenhagen in Pomerania; members of the von Uchtenhagen family at Wedell in the Neumark; members of the von Jagow family at Uchtenhagen in the Altmark and at Wreech in the Neumark; members of the von Uchtenhagen family

⁹²⁵ When Margrave Johann of Brandenburg enfeoffed the brothers and cousins von Waldow at Königswalde with the right of joint enfeoffment in their estates in 1477, he expressly stated: “We have also granted them the favour that their maintaining separate hearths and tables”—in the confirmation of 1565: “separate hearths and kitchens”—“shall not be prejudicial to such joint enfeoffment.” Riedel, **C. de Br.**, I.18, pp. 88 and 96.

⁹²⁶ **History and Charters of the Hahn Family**, vol. I, pp. 16 and 52; vol. II, charters, p. 135; Lisch, **Documentary History of the von Oertzen Family**, vol. II, charters, p. 219, no. CCLV; Lisch, **Collection of Charters concerning the History of the von Maltzan Family**, vol. III, p. 345, no. DCV.

⁹²⁷ In Pomerania it was not until the fifteenth century that the knighthood succeeded in obtaining a formal promise from the sovereign that he would not refuse the right of joint enfeoffment to cousins bearing the same name and shield when they applied for it: “If there are cousins of one name, shield, and birth, we shall enfeoff them with their fiefs when they request this in due form.” See the territorial privileges of Duke Otto III of 1464, Duke Bogislaw X of 1474, and Dukes Johann Friedrich, Bogislaw XIII, Ernst Ludwig, Barnim X, and Casimir of 1560, etc. Gerdes, **Collection of Various Charters**, vol. I, *Ausfertig.*, pp. 17, 19, and 26.

⁹²⁸ Lisch, **History and Charters of the Hahn Family**, vol. I, p. 39; Bagmihl, **Pomeranian Book of Coats of Arms**, vol. II, p. 93; Gercken, **Miscellaneous Essays**, vol. III, p. 28.

⁹²⁹ Lisch, **Charters of the Behr Family**, vol. I, pp. 55 and 57.

⁹³⁰ Lisch, **Charters and Research concerning the History of the Behr Family**, vol. I, pp. 37–39.

at Freienwalde in the Mark; and members of the von Wedell family at Neu-Freienwalde in Pomerania.⁹³¹ The Mecklenburg Hardenacke family, which bore the same arms as the von Bibow family—a cock—was seated at Bibow, etc.

After these lengthy but necessary explanations, we now turn to the Pomeranian heraldic stock bearing a horizontal bar between two foxes, or the Kleist heraldic kindred, to which we believe ourselves fully entitled to apply the conclusions reached here.

B. The Kleist Heraldic Kindred in Particular.

The ancestral source of all the coats of arms of the kindred bearing a horizontal bar between two foxes appears to be the Borcke coat of arms, whose principal figures are two red wolves or foxes. We shall consider in succession the origins of the families belonging to this heraldic association and the changes which their coats of arms underwent.

I. The von Borcke Family.

The Borckes are one of the oldest, most powerful, and most renowned of the ancient Slavic families of Pomerania. Their antiquity is proverbial: “That is as old as the Borckes and the Devil!”⁹³² The progenitor of the family was already living around the middle of the twelfth century; an undated charter of Duke Bogislaw I, dating from about 1186, already names his son: Pribislaus filius Borconis.⁹³³ A brother of Pribislaus was probably that “der Borc” who, together with “her Kazemer” and many Wends, met his death around 1218 or 1219 in Duke Bogislaw II’s wars against Margrave Otto II of Brandenburg.⁹³⁴ Knight Borko, who appears in a large number of Pomeranian charters from the period 1251–1295, is to be regarded as a grandson of Pribislaw or of Lord Borc.⁹³⁵ This Borko and Kazimar, the latter a grandson of Kasimar, Castellan of Colberg, were both castellans of Colberg: the former probably in Wartislaw III’s share, since until 1263 he appears almost exclusively in that duke’s charters

⁹³¹ Riedel, *C. d. Br.*, I.18, p. 126; *Märkische Forschungen*, vol. III, pp. 112 and 114.

⁹³² Schwartz, *De princip. vet. et de baronibus Pomeraniae Rugiaeque*, p. 45.

⁹³³ Cod., no. 60. The printed edition, however, incorrectly has “fili” instead of “filius,” for the latter is the reading in the Cammin register upon which it is based. It is therefore incorrect when Cod., p. 124, also regards the witnesses Jenik and Jarogneus, who precede Pribislaus, as sons of Borco.

⁹³⁴ Reppow Chronicle, ed. Maßmann, p. 439; ed. Schöne, p. 74. Although the relevant passage of the chronicle was assigned by Barthold, *History of Pomerania*, vol. II, p. 260, and after him by Hasselbach and Kosegarten, Cod., p. 123, to the year 1182 and to Duke Casimir I, Adolf Cohn has recently demonstrated, *On Two Events of the Year 1180*, separate printing, pp. 341 ff., that this interpretation is inadmissible and that the event reported must with great probability instead be assigned to the year 1218 or 1219. He then relates the passage concerning the death of “hern Kazemer” not to Duke Casimir I but to Duke Casimir II. Instead of Duke Casimir II, however, “hern Kazemer” might also mean that Kazimer, Castellan of Colberg, from a collateral line of the Pomeranian princely house, who was already dead by 1220; see Codex, p. 383. Quandt, Cod., p. 990, under no. 48, seeks to identify “hern Kazemer” as the Kazimar, who was the father of Odolanus de Liuticia, the latter being mentioned in a charter of about 1188, Cod., no. 65, and regards “hern Borc” as the same person as Buric, a witness of Bogislaw I in a charter of 1182, Cod., no. 50. In that case, however, Quandt cannot identify Borc or Buric with Borco, the father of Pribislaus, for the Buric of 1182 is identical with the Boriz of 1176, Cod., no. 41, and Borts in a charter dating from about 1202–1219, Cod., no. 92. The c in Buric must therefore, as in numerous Slavic names, be read and pronounced as z. I prefer Cohn’s supposition, but, as already mentioned above, regard “hern Kazemer” as Kazimer, Castellan of Colberg.

⁹³⁵ The first charter in which he is named is Cod., no. 455, from 1251. The charters Cod., nos. 272 and 334, allegedly dating from 1239 and 1244, are forgeries and are not relevant here.

and only from 1264 onward in those of Barnim I; the latter, by contrast, in Barnim I's share.⁹³⁶ In 1271 Borko calls himself *dominus de Lobis* (Labes), and in 1280 *nobilis de Lobese*. He is the undoubted ancestor of the family, as is shown by his seal attached to a charter of 1282, which already displays the two wolves still borne by the family today, with the inscription: *Secretum Borconis de Vressow* (Appendix, plate XII, no. 1). In addition to Labes and the aforementioned Vressow—undoubtedly Fritzow near Colberg—Borko possessed several other estates near Colberg, including Selnow, in the vicinity of which lies the village of Alt-Borck, probably founded by him. His sons were Johannes filius Borke in 1282, Jacobus Borko—Jacobus filius Borke, Jacobus dominus in Lobese—from 1282 to 1295, and Nicolaus Borko—Nicolaus dictus Borko, Nicolaus dominus in Lobese—from 1295 to 1311. They in turn had a cousin, *patruelis*, named Boro, who appears from 1295 to 1306 and, from 1319 onward, is called Borko senior to distinguish him from a younger Borko. The third brother, Nicolaus Borko *domicellus in Lobese*, sealed in 1297 with a seal which he had probably inherited from his father. It displays two wolves and the inscription: *Sigillum Borconis in Wlvesberg* (Appendix, plate XII, no. 2). This Wulfsberg, probably founded by the father and named after the device in his coat of arms, and subsequently also granted municipal rights by the Borckes, is Stramehl.⁹³⁷ In seals of Knight Borko senior, already mentioned above, from 1338 (plate XII, no. 4), and of the brothers Nicolaus Borko (plate XII, no. 3) and Borko (plate XII, no. 5) from 1337 and 1338, the two wolves appear crowned for the first time. The seal of Nicolaus Borko also already displays a crest, apparently a peacock's tail. The wolves' crowns became a permanent feature; the peacock plume, however, which still occurs in 1376 (plate XII, no. 8), was transformed into a demi-stag wearing a collar, which appears for the first time in a seal of Borante Borke of Labes from 1436 (plate XII, no. 9).⁹³⁸

The seal of Hennynghus Borke de Wanghern from 1355 (plate XII, no. 6) is highly interesting because of the six-pointed star standing between the wolves. The star is undoubtedly a mark of difference for a separate line. Just as I regard this star as a mark of difference, I also regard the bar in the Kleist coat of arms as such a mark, which the Kleists added to their arms for distinction after adopting the Borcke coat of arms—not as a line of the Borckes, but as a family related to them by kinship. From the fact that the wolves' crowns had not yet passed into the Kleist coat of arms, we may conclude that the arms were adopted at a very early date. I have already attempted above, on p. 147, to substantiate the supposition that Priscebur, Chamberlain of Stettin from 1219 to 1240, may have married a Borcke, perhaps a daughter of the Pribislaus of 1186, and may through her have acquired, in particular, the possessions at the mouth of the Rega and near Plate. In that case their eldest son Pribislaus, the father of Clest, would have adopted the Borcke coat of arms with the bar as a mark of difference, whereas Dubislaus de Wotuch, as we shall see below, adopted one wolf from the Borcke arms together with another mark of difference. These, of course, remain mere suppositions. Nevertheless, the omission of the bar from the

⁹³⁶ The alleged Casimir Bork of the time of Barnim I, seized upon by the chroniclers—Micraelius, *Altes Pommerland*, vol. VI, pp. 471–472—arose from overlooking the full stop between Casimir and Borko. As a rule Casimir stands before Borko, though frequently also after him; they are invariably separated by a full stop. That each name denotes a separate person is evident from Charter 60, which states: *quando Cazimarus et Borko burggravii erant*. In a similar manner, the charter printed by Dreger, no. 376, from 1265 produced a comes Hinricus Bork, again through omission of the full stop between Hinricus and Bork. The error was already exposed by Oelrichs—Dreger, C. P. d., 2nd ed., 1768, appendix, p. 4. This Count Hinricus was Hinricus comes de Kerkberg, who appears repeatedly in charters from 1255 to 1270 and sometimes simply as comes Hinricus, as in Dreger, no. 444, and Cod., p. 780.

⁹³⁷ Schöttgen, *Altes und neues Pommerland*, p. 44; Brüggemann, *Beschreibung von Pommern*, vol. II, p. 355.

⁹³⁸ The seals in the appendix, plate XII, nos. 3, 4, 5, and 8, were already illustrated by Bagmihl, *Pommersches Wappenbuch*, vol. IV, plate XLVI, nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, but in part with incorrect identifications, particularly our no. 5 as the seal of a Nicolaus Borko and our no. 8 as the seal of an Arend von Borck, who never existed.

Kleist seals of 1402 and 1500 (plate IX, no. 3; plate XV, nos. 1 and 2) may support my assumption that the bar was regarded merely as an inessential part of the arms, as a mark of difference.

The fact that the Borckes bear wolves whereas the Kleists bear foxes presents no obstacle. In seals it is difficult—I might well say impossible—to distinguish the wolf from the fox. Nor do the colours help us here, for the Borckes bear red wolves and the Kleists red foxes. What difference can there be between a red wolf and a red fox in a drawing executed on a small scale?⁹³⁹ The deficiencies of older drawings and the customary ornamental transformation of heraldic animal figures certainly do not make this distinction any easier. Moreover, evidence is not lacking that the Borckes themselves sometimes regarded the animals in their arms as foxes. Thus Elzow, *Adelsspiegel*, manuscript, vol. I, p. 101, who generally obtained his information from the families themselves, says of the Borckes: “They bear in a yellow shield two red crowned foxes, or, as Micraelius would have it, wolves, with golden collars.” Siebmacher had already stated in the “Declaration” accompanying the first edition of his book of coats of arms in 1605, p. 171: “von Borchk. The shield yellow, the foxes red with yellow crowns and collars, etc.,” while conversely he calls the Kleists’ foxes wolves, *ibid.*, p. 169. Thus the distinguishing alteration of the Borcke arms adopted by the Kleists would essentially have consisted only in the addition of the red bar and the transformation of the yellow colour of the shield into white.⁹⁴⁰

II. The von Bulgrin Family.⁹⁴¹

The reliably established progenitor of this ancient Slavic family is Knight Bartus dictus niger, 1286–1288, usually listed in later genealogies as “schwarte Bartus.” In 1287 he sealed with two wolves, exactly like Borko (plate XIII, no. 1),⁹⁴² and possessed the village of Bulgrin, probably the one situated northeast of Belgard,⁹⁴³ from which in 1286 he made gifts to Bukow Monastery near Rügenwalde. By 1295 he was apparently already dead. His wife was named Ermegardis; his sons Andreas, Paulus, Bartholomeus, Pribislaus, and Matheus are already mentioned in 1286, and the name of the fourth, Pribislaus, in particular recalls the heraldically related Borckes. Of the brothers named, Andreas, Paulus, and Matheus, “milites filii honesti militis pie recordationis Bartus nigri dicti de Bulgeryn,”⁹⁴⁴ reached an agreement with Bukow Monastery in 1309 concerning the boundaries between the villages of Repkow and Eventin. The seals of the latter two attached to the agreement (plate XIII, nos. 2 and 3) display their father’s two wolves; on the seal of Paulus, bearing the inscription S. domini Pauli Bartuseviz, the upper wolf already wears a crown. No family name is yet apparent among the brothers; they are generally designated patronymically. Thus the second brother is called Paulus filius Bartus in 1289 and Paulus miles dictus Barthcewitz in 1335, while the fifth brother appears as Matteus Barteuitz,

⁹³⁹ French heraldry requires the fox to extend its tail horizontally, but the wolf to let it hang. This is an absurdity to which German heraldry pays no attention. Berndt, *Die Hauptstücke der Wappenwissenschaft*, p. 209.

⁹⁴⁰ See von Mülverstädt’s essay in Chapter 2.

⁹⁴¹ According to von Mülverstädt’s assumption, p. 193***, the von Bulgrin family is certainly related by descent to the von Kleist family; Quandt’s argument—see Section IV—leaves this merely as a supposition.

⁹⁴² The Bulgrin seals in the appendix, plate XIII, nos. 1, 2, 8, 5, and 12, were already reproduced by Bagmihl, *Pommersches Wappenbuch*, vol. IV, plate XLII, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6, but he interchanged the captions of his nos. 2 and 3. Our no. 12, reproduced by Bagmihl as no. 6 from a seal of 1528, is not accurately represented there.

⁹⁴³ Another Bulgrin lies between Polzin and Tempelburg near Claushagen, but appears to have been founded only from the latter place, after which one line of the Bulgrin family named itself

⁹⁴⁴ It is not entirely clear whether “dicti de Bulgeryn” refers to the father or to the sons.

famulus, in a charter issued at Treptow an der Rega in 1302.⁹⁴⁵ Paulus's sons were Henning, who in charters and upon his seal usually calls himself Henningus filius Pauli or Henningus Pauli, though in 1338 also Henninghus Bulgheryn, and Bartus Bartzeuitze. In 1335 Paulus Barthcewitz, together with his son Henning and the latter's sons Paulus, Ulricus, and Vicko, confirmed a gift made by their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather respectively, Bartus niger, in a charter to which their five seals are attached. In contrast to his earlier seal, Paulus here bears both wolves crowned, with the inscription S. dominii Pauli filius Bartis (plate XIII, no. 4); his son Henning again has two uncrowned wolves, with the inscription S. Henningi filii Pauli (plate XIII, no. 5). Of the grandsons, Paulus bears two crowned wolves with the inscription Sigillum Pauli Bartzevitzen⁹⁴⁶ (plate XIII, no. 6); Ulricus and Vicko likewise bear them, although both display the crowned wolves facing to the left, the former with the inscription S. Vlrici Bartsevitse, the latter S. Vickonis Bartsevitse (plate XIII, nos. 7 and 8). That these animals were actually intended to represent wolves and not foxes is shown by a description of these seals dating from as early as 1377 and contained in transumpt of the charters of 1287 and 1335 and another charter of 1338. The seal of 1287 is described as "in quo ymagines duorum luporum apparebant"; the five seals of 1335 as "quilibet continens in se duorum luporum ymagines"; and the seals of Henninghus Bulgheryn—who, however, uses his father's seal bearing the inscription Sigillum Pauli Bartzeuitzen—and of his brother Barthus Bartzeuitzen from 1338 as "quodlibet ymagines duorum luporum coronatorum in se continens."⁹⁴⁷ Baruss Bartzeuitze is probably the same person who in 1359 appears as Bartusch de Woseken—Wusseken on Lake Jormund—with his wife Sophia, his sons Andreas, Paulus, and Roleke, and his daughters Sophia, Bertha, and Ermegart. Another grandson or great-grandson of Bartus niger, perhaps descended from his son Pribeslaus, appears to have been Knight Preslav van Bartowitz, who probably took his name from the village of Barzwitz northeast of Rügenwalde, founded by him, and who in 1350 received from the dukes the expectancy to the estates which would fall to them through his wife.⁹⁴⁸ Thus, around the middle of the fourteenth century this important Wendish family still possessed no permanent family name, while the patronymic Bartzevitz persisted not only among the sons, but even among grandsons and great-grandsons. In 1409 Hennynk Bulgrin sealed with two uncrowned wolves facing left (plate XIII, no. 9); in 1494 Hennynck Bulgrin of Tunow sealed in the same manner, except that the wolves face right (plate XIII, no. 10); in 1521 Cristoffer Bulgrin of Wusseken bears uncrowned wolves facing left and, for the first time, three inverted spears standing upon the upper edge of the shield (plate XIII, no. 11); in the same year Henningk Bulgrin of Wusseken bears uncrowned wolves facing right, with a horizontal bar between them, and the three spears above the shield, here appearing almost like nails (plate XIII, no. 12). The horizontal bar and the spears, to which the roses were subsequently added, here show for the first time an approximation to the Kleist arms, whereas until then the Borcke and Bulgrin seals could not be distinguished. At about the same time, in 1518, a Drewes Bulgrin of Kleist also appears, a highly remarkable fact.⁹⁴⁹ The village of Kleist lies a short distance south of Wusseken and Repkow and is not mentioned earlier, although Repkow occurs as a Bulgrin possession as early as 1309 and Wusseken at least as early as 1359. The supposition readily suggests itself that the village was founded only at this time, or at least not until the fifteenth century, and was named Kleist for reasons similar to those which caused the arms to be altered after the model of the Kleist arms, whether through marriage, joint

⁹⁴⁵ Lisch, *Mecklenburg Charters*, vol. I, p. 187; Lisch, *History and Charters of the Hahn Family*, vol. I, p. 146; *Belbuck Register*, no. 39.

⁹⁴⁶ We give the inscription here according to the description of this seal in a transumpt from 1377.

⁹⁴⁷ Original transumpt in the P. P. A.: *Schr. VI, Chat. 3*, nos. 34, 35, and 49.

⁹⁴⁸ *Belbuck Register*, no. 74.

⁹⁴⁹ *Stettin Archive*, P. III, Tit. 4, no. 6, vol. I.

enfeoffment, inheritance, or the like.⁹⁵⁰

The horizontal bar now became a permanent feature of the Bulgrin arms; Andreas Bulgrin of Thunow used it on his seal in 1549 (plate XIV, no. 2), and all later seals display it. The Lubin map of Pomerania of 1618 also already shows beneath the points of the spears the three Kleist roses, and upon the shaft of each spear, near the point, a loop. Micraelius, *Altes Pommerland*, vol. VI, p. 473, states in 1639: “They bear two crowned black foxes, with a red bar between them, and upon the helmet three spears, their points resting upon three red roses.” Micraelius is therefore the first to call the black animals foxes. The illustration in Siebmacher, vol. III, p. 158, from 1656, corresponds to Micraelius’s description; the field is white, and the mantling is red and white. Elzow, *Adelsspiegel*, manuscript, vol. I, p. 325, from 1699, agrees entirely with Micraelius. A painted armorial in the von der Osten-Platen library displays the arms just described, and also a second version in which the foxes are uncrowned, the horizontal bar and the shafts of the spears are golden, and the mantling is gold and silver. The latter is perhaps a confusion with the arms of the von Butzke family, to be mentioned below. More recent descriptions and illustrations of the arms are found in Baron von Zedlitz’s *Neues Preußisches Adelslexikon*, vol. I, p. 332—following Siebmacher, but completely misunderstood—and in Bagmihl’s *Pommersches Wappenbuch*, vol. IV, p. 113, plate XL.

One line of this family settled in Colberg. It already included Henning Bulgrin, provost of the Altstadt Monastery outside Colberg and dean of the Colberg cathedral chapter from 1475 to 1501, together with his brothers Johannes Bulgrin, vicar at Colberg, and Benedictus Bulgrin, mayor of Colberg from 1506 to 1509, as well as Johannes Bulgrin, a citizen of Colberg in 1509. This line altered its arms in a different manner. Of the two wolves, it retained only one, depicting it as leaping upon the shield and as a demi-wolf upon the helmet. The earliest known seal of this line is that of Albertus Bulgrin, Chancellor of the Bishopric of Cammin, from 1540 (plate XIV, no. 1). Elzow, who seeks to regard this line as a separate family distinct from the preceding one, probably because of the difference in arms, states: “They bear both upon the shield and upon the helmet a little squirrel standing upright upon its hind legs.” He must have had a very poor impression of the seal before him; the same applies to Baron von Ledebur, *Preußisches Adelslexikon*, vol. I, p. 117.

The line bearing the two wolves and the horizontal bar became extinct on 7 August 1727 with Hans Ulrich von Bulgrin of Wusseken, Kleist, Lase, and Repkow; the line bearing the leaping wolf had already become extinct on 31 December 1658 with Andreas Franz von Bulgrin of Pustar and Klein-Streitz.

III. The von Butzke Family.⁹⁵¹

The first known member of this probably Wendish family is Mathyas Buzeke, a witness to a charter of 1353 in which the Barthusewitz family—see above under II—namely Paulus with his sons Barthus and Henning, and his brothers Ulrich and Vicko, together with Andreas, the son of the former, ceded their share of Lake Wusseken or Lake Jamund to the town of Cöslin.⁹⁵² He or one of his ancestors was presumably the founder of the village of Butzke, situated northeast of Belgard and southeast near Bulgrin. The next person whom I find is Hans Butzke or Buszke of Butzke—Buszke, Butzick—from

⁹⁵⁰ In Quandt’s view—see Section IV—the village of Kleist has no connection whatsoever with the von Kleist or Bulgrin family, but rather means underwood, from the Bohemian *klest*, “branch, brushwood”; see also p. 134. St.

⁹⁵¹ In Quandt’s view—see Section IV—they were Bulgrins who adopted their name from their estate of Butzke.

⁹⁵² Haken, *Continuation of His Diplomatic History of the Town of Cöslin*, p. 89; Benno, *History of the Town of Cöslin*, p. 306.

1508 to 1534. In 1510 he sealed with two wolves, above the upper one of which stands an indistinct figure, probably a mark of difference; above the shield, within the ring of the inscription, are three inverted spears (plate XIV, no. 11).⁹⁵³ Since the bar is absent here, the arms more closely resemble the old Bulgrin arms than those of the Kleists; and since the family also first appears in a Bulgrin charter, it may be presumed that the Butzkes received their arms from the Bulgrins and added the aforementioned indistinct mark of difference. An entry made by Jochim Butzke in an album amicorum in 1577, now in the possession of Mr Voßberg in Berlin, displays two brown wolves separated by a horizontal bar, with three spears upon the helmet.

His seal of 1587 (plate XIV, no. 12) corresponds to this, as does the illustration on the Lubin map of 1618. Micraelius, vol. VI, p. 474, states in 1639: "They bear two brown foxes, with a yellow bar between them, and upon the helmet three spears." Since brown is not a heraldic but a natural colour, animals represented in their natural brown colour cannot be foxes, but only wolves. Siebmacher has two illustrations. One, vol. III, p. 158, from 1656, corresponds to Micraelius's description; the field is white, the mantling red and white, but the spears upon the helmet are arranged so that two cross in front of the third, undoubtedly a product of imagination. The other illustration, vol. V, p. 73,⁹⁵⁴ from 1657, displays a red bar; the wolves are marked with the letter b., which according to Siebmacher's method of notation would mean blue, but should probably be understood here as brown. The helmet is crowned; upon the crown are three red roses, upon each of which stands an inverted spear with a yellow shaft and a loop near the point; the mantling is red and white. Elzow, vol. I, p. 345, in 1699, states: "They bear the same arms as the Kleists, namely a red horizontal bar between two running foxes, and upon the helmet three roses, and upon these three cross-barred spears, so that their points rest upon the roses." The arms are greatly mutilated in the more recent seal of a Major von Butzke of the Lichnowski Regiment (plate XIV, no. 13). The shield is divided; below are the two wolves or foxes in a blue field, and above are two crossed swords, undoubtedly derived from the spears of the crest; above the unadorned helmet is a floating crown accompanied on either side by a post horn.

The family became extinct in the male line shortly before 1763 with Colonel Friedrich Wilhelm von Butzke of Butzke.

IV. The von Böhn Family.

The first member of this probably German, and more particularly Westphalian, family is Knight Johannes de Bone, who appears in Pomerania in 1279 [Charter 68] and on the Brandenburg side at the conclusion of the Peace of Vierraden in 1284 [Charter 70]. In 1282 we find a Heino de Bönen with Margraves Otto and Conrad at Rathenow.⁹⁵⁵ Pomeranian charters subsequently name the brothers and cupbearers Knight Otto de Bone—de Boene, de Bonis, van dem Bone—from 1302 to 1326, and Knight Arnoldus Monachus dictus de Bone—dictus Monych de Bone—from 1299 to 1319. The latter is also called simply Arnoldus Monachus, Monachus de Boene, or Monachus pincerna. The name Monachus may have remained with him from an earlier period when he was a monk, or it may have descended through his mother's family. As early as 1289 a Gerardus Monachus occurs among the witnesses of Pribislaw, Lord of Belgard [Charter 75], and in 1299 he was a citizen of Colberg. The earliest known

⁹⁵³ Originals from 1510, 1521, and 1528 in the P. P. A. Bagmihl, *Pommersches Wappenbuch*, vol. IV, plate XLIII, reproduces this seal twice: once as no. 2 with the correct name Hans Butzke, and then as no. 1 with the invented name Hans Wusseken, from which he constructs a separate Wusseken family bearing the Kleist arms. In the charter of 1528 [Charter 434] to which the latter seal is attached, however, the wording is perfectly clear: Hans Buszke to Buszke.

⁹⁵⁴ The first three coats of arms in Siebmacher, vol. V, p. 73, and all twelve arms on p. 72 are incorrectly designated there as "Silesian"; they belong to Pomeranian families.

⁹⁵⁵ Riedel, C. d. Br., I.8, p. 173.

seal of this family is that of Arnd van dem Bone, hereditary landholder at Crone,⁹⁵⁶ from 1426; it displays two wolves or foxes like the Borcke arms, but without crowns (plate XII, no. 10).

The precise date at which these arms were changed is not known. Nevertheless, the arms of a Dorthé Bhönen from 1581 in a stained-glass window in the church at Dünnow near Stolpmünde already display three white hunting dogs with yellow collars in a red field, and upon the helmet a demi-hunting dog; the seal of Michel Böhn of Culsow from 1593 (plate XII, no. 11) and all later seals display the same. In heraldry, the dog can always be distinguished from the wolf or fox by its raised tail, curved inward. A form of arms very similar to those of the Böhn family will be encountered below in the von Woedtke family. The von Böhn family still flourishes today.

V. The von Woedtke Family.

We have already encountered as the progenitor of the von Woedtke family that Dubislaus de Wotich, 1277–1286, the founder of the town of Plate and third son of Priscebur, Chamberlain of Stettin; see p. 147. His seal, with which he sealed Plate's foundation charter in 1277, is described in an old copy—see Part I, p. 29—as follows: *sigillum triangulare et magnum, cui super impressa est stella cum lupo prosiliente*, thus a star with a leaping wolf. The relative position of the two heraldic devices is not clear from the description, particularly whether the star stood above or below the wolf and whether the wolf was depicted as a whole or a demi-wolf. Nevertheless, these arms of Dubislaus de Wotich also appear to confirm the supposition expressed above, p. 147, that the mother of the brothers Pribislaus and Dubislaus de Wotich may have been a Borcke, for they consist of one wolf from the Borcke arms with a star as a mark of difference. We have already encountered the star as a mark of difference upon Borcke arms in the seal in Appendix, plate XII, no. 6. Furthermore, as a corresponding example of the removal of one wolf from the Borcke shield, one may cite the arms of the town of Labes, founded by the Borckes around 1290, which likewise display only one wolf; and in the Bulgrin family too we have encountered the reduction of the two wolves to one. It is quite possible that Dubislaw's descendants, perhaps even he himself in later years, abandoned the wolf with the star and adopted the Kleist arms in remembrance of their common stock. Apart from the agnatic kinship, however, a cognatic relationship may subsequently have been added, or some other close connection which gave occasion for the assimilation of the two coats of arms. Just as the common Christian name Priscebur was inherited among the Kleists and Woedtkes as evidence of their agnatic connection, the name Conrad—Conradus und Pryssebur, *fratres conducti de Wuteke*, 1388—might have passed to them through a later marriage connection with the Kleists, in the same manner as the Christian name Conrad was adopted among the Kleists as a result of their cognatic connection with the German Clest family. I do not, however, place particular emphasis upon this conjecture, since the Christian name Conrad was also used by many other families and need not necessarily have been transferred from the Kleists to the Woedtkes. The earliest known seal of the family after that of Dubislaus de Wotich is that of Syman Wuteke from 1460; it already displays the Kleist foxes with the horizontal bar between them, the latter remarkably narrow (plate XIV, no. 3). Although the seal of Alexius Woitke from 1536 (plate XV, no. 17) omits the bar, as also still occurred among the Kleists in 1500, in the seal of Lex⁹⁵⁷ Wotke of Zirkwitz from 1548—probably the same person as the aforementioned Alexius—we find not only the horizontal bar once again, but also the Kleist crest with the three inverted spears (plate XIV, no. 4). The seal of Joachim Woedtke of Woedtke from 1573 appears in the same form (plate XIV, no. 5).

By contrast, the horizontal bar is again absent from the seal of Joachim Woedtke of Zirkwitz from 1586 (plate XIV, no. 6). A seal of Daniel Woedtke from 1615 (plate XIV, no. 7) differs substantially. Here the

⁹⁵⁶ Crone is Deutsch-Crone, as is shown by a charter from about 1419—Riedel, C. d. Br., I.18, p. 173—in which Arnold von dem Bone of the Teutonic Order is called “houbtman czur Crone.”

⁹⁵⁷ Lex is an abbreviation of Alexius.

horizontal bar is not only absent, but is actually replaced by a third animal, and the animals themselves are not foxes or wolves, but are characterized as dogs by their upward and inward-curving tails. The shield thus corresponds exactly to the later Böhn arms—see p. 211 and plate XII, no. 11—while the three inverted spears stand upon the helmet. The illustration of the arms on the Lubin map of 1618 displays the foxes with the bar and the spears upon the helmet. Micraelius, vol. VI, p. 546, states in 1639: “They bear a red bar between two running foxes, and upon the helmet three spears.” The illustration in Siebmacher, vol. V, p. 168, from 1657, agrees with this description; the field is white and the mantling red and white. Elzow, vol. IV, p. 469, in 1699, states: “They bear a red bar across the middle of the shield between two running foxes, and upon the helmet three cross-barred spears whose points rest upon three red roses, which arms are also borne by the Kleists.” Here, therefore, the three roses appear for the first time; in later illustrations—for example Hasse and Dienemann, *Nachrichten vom Johanniterorden*, 1767, p. 253, no. 19, and p. 335, no. 17—only the middle rose is sometimes coloured red, while the other two are white. On a seal of F. L. von Woedtke from the seventeenth or eighteenth century (plate XIV, no. 8), the roses are absent and the spears have been transformed into inverted swords. More recent descriptions of the arms are found in Brüggemann, *Beschreibung von Pommern*, vol. I, p. CLXXXI; Pauli, *Leben großer Helden*, vol. V, p. 267; Dähnert, *Pommersche Bibliothek*, vol. III, p. 140; von Meding, *Nachrichten von adeligen Wappen*, vol. III, p. 757, no. 958; Baron von Zedlitz, *Neues Preußisches Adelslexikon*, vol. IV, p. 348; and Bagmihl, *Pommersches Wappenbuch*, vol. IV, p. 119.

VI. The von Kranksporn or Klanksporn Family.⁹⁵⁸

The homeland of this family was probably the Prignitz; Ebel and Hermen Clinkespore or Klinkspar were councillors at Perleberg in 1408 and 1419 respectively.⁹⁵⁹ As early as 1321, however, Clingspore is listed among the Pomeranian knighthood in the account of the expenses incurred by the Pomeranian dukes in the war against Brandenburg.⁹⁶⁰ Henning Crankspore⁹⁶¹ subsequently appears in Pomerania in 1373, when he sold to Bishop Philipp of Cammin the fortified house of Nassow, together with the villages of Bitzicker, Crazig, Neuenfeld, Nassow, and Scheterow, all situated northwest near Bulgrin, for 5,000 marks in Finkenaugen. Paul Krancksporn or Krankspore, named in 1389 among the noblemen who had attacked Duke Wilhelm of Guelders [Charter 92], sold his shares in Lantow and Suckow near Schlawe to Duke Bogislaw VIII in 1411. In 1456 Bishop Henning of Cammin pledged one half of Bevenhusen Castle—situated near the present-day Schloßkämpen near Bublitz—for 1,000 marks in Finkenaugen to Henning Kranckspare of Bulgrin and Henning Heckthusen of Setthun. Pawel Klanckspar—Klanckespar, Kranckspare, Kranchspar—of Bulgrin, who from 1485 to 1523 is frequently

⁹⁵⁸ Derived from a “ringing” spur. The family is not of Wendish origin, as von Mülverstädt believes on p. ..., but clearly of German origin. As Quandt—Section IV—probably correctly assumes, it adopted its arms from the von Bulgrin family upon being enfeoffed with the estate of Bulgrin. The von Falck family, p. ..., is likewise not of Wendish origin, but came from Westphalia; see the registers of Klempin and Kratz, vol. III. St.

⁹⁵⁹ Riedel, C. d. Br., I.1, pp. 74, 172, and 176. The family may ultimately have come from the region of Aschaffenburg. A Conrad Klingilsporre appears there in 1318 and a Heinrich Klingilsporr in 1330, with possessions at Stockstadt. Steiner, *Seligenstadt*, p. 179, no. 20; Scriba, *Regesta of the Previously Printed Charters of the Grand Duchy of Hesse*, Section I, p. 77, regesta no. 836, and p. 85, regesta no. 926.

⁹⁶⁰ Riedel, C. d. Br., II.1, p. 476.

⁹⁶¹ I consider inadmissible Quandt’s interpretation—Cod., p. 999, under no. 134—of the name Kranksporn as Kranichsporn, “crane’s spur,” and his linking of the family with the Pomeranian knight Fredericus Kronesben. The liquids l, n, and r are frequently interchanged, as Quandt himself observes—Cod., p. 980; Clucemanshagen, now Kreutzmannshagen; Klempin and Kratz, *Registers and Lists*, p. 10—and thus the form Kranksporn also developed from Klanksporn. Moreover, in the Low German dialect the form Krank is not used for “crane”; only Krane, Kraen, Krone, and Kron occur. See Diefenbach, *Glossarium latino-germanicum*, p. 270; also Part I, p. 300, Charter 493. Quandt subsequently changed his opinion.

named in bonds together with his guarantors Henning Bulgrin of Bulgrin and Henning Bulgrin of Thunow, sealed in 1510 with a bar between two wolves or foxes and three inverted spears standing upon the upper edge of the shield (plate XIV, no. 9). Pawel Kranckspare of Schwessin sealed in an almost identical manner in 1523 (plate XIV, no. 10); from 1492 to 1523 he appears together with his guarantors Peter Bulgrin of Thunow and Hans Bußke of Butzke.⁹⁶² It therefore appears that the Krancksporn family acquired its arms bearing the foxes and the bar through a rapprochement with the Bulgrin family, which is also documented by their joint possession of the feudal estate of Bulgrin. The form Klancksporn still occurs in 1509 and 1513 in the case of the brothers Jacob and Thomas Klancksporn of Egsow, Franzen, Schlönwitz, Dubberzin, and Kummerzin [Charters 371 and 361]. Although Klanksporn and Krankspare were the forms more commonly used in writing and speech by the family, the old form Klingspore is still encountered toward the end of the sixteenth century.⁹⁶³

After the family became extinct in Farther Pomerania⁹⁶⁴ with Henning Kranksporn, his fiefs of Bulgrin and his share in Pumlow were granted to the von Rahmel family in 1606.

VII. The von Meseritz Family.

The ancestral seat of this family appears to have been Meseritz, northeast of Regenwalde in the Schievelbein district.⁹⁶⁵ Because of a share in Rützenhagen and Natzmersdorf, they were sub-vassals of the Borckes of Stramehl,⁹⁶⁶ but terminated this relationship with respect to Rützenhagen by an agreement with the Borckes in 1628, and with respect to Natzmersdorf by selling the estate in 1650.

I find no members of the family earlier than about 1485 and 1488, when the estate of Hinricus Mezeritz at Natzmersdorf was devastated by an army from Colberg, for which reason his sons Martin, Georg, Paul, Joachim, Peter, and Augustin brought an action for compensation against the town of Colberg in 1524 [Charter 421]. Schir Clest, Mayor of Falkenburg, who was examined on that occasion, already mentions a relationship by kinship with the Meseritz family—*est consanguineus Martini [de Meseritz] et suorum fratrum in tertio aut quarto gradu consanguinitatis*. Nevertheless, I do not venture to assert that this particular relationship was the one which influenced the similarity between the Kleist and Meseritz arms. The earliest known Meseritz seal, that of David Meseritz from 1619 (plate XIV, no. 14), still displays arms entirely different from those of the Kleists, namely two crossed arrows, accompanied on the right and left by a star, and three ostrich feathers upon the crowned helmet.⁹⁶⁷ It appears, however, to have been the arms of only one particular line, for the Meseritz arms on the Lubin map of 1618 already display the bar between the two foxes and, upon the helmet, three roses, above which, between six stalks or feathers, grows a rosebush with two roses. Micraelius, vol. VI, p. 504, states of them in 1639: "They bear a red bar between two running foxes, and upon the helmet eleven red flowers like little roses." Following Micraelius's description, Siebmacher, vol. V, p. 166, displays upon the helmet a bush with thirteen red flowers and leaves. Elzow, vol. II, p. 573, follows Micraelius.

⁹⁶² Originals in the P. P. A.

⁹⁶³ Thus in the old family account written by Chancellor Jacob Kleist around 1576; see p. ... ff.

⁹⁶⁴ Herman Clingesporen, canon at Fürstenwalde in 1486—Riedel, C. d. Br., I.20, p. 307—and Matthias Klinckspare, a citizen of Anklam in 1542—Anklam municipal property register in the P. P. A.—may have belonged to a branch which had separated in the Mark at an earlier date. The same may apply to the Klingsporre or von Klingsporre family, which was admitted to the Swedish House of Nobility in 1638 with a different coat of arms, was established in East Prussia in the middle of the seventeenth century, and was elevated to the rank of Prussian count in 1788

⁹⁶⁵ Elzow, vol. II, p. 573, gives Silesia as their homeland without justification.

⁹⁶⁶ See also Riedel, C. d. Br., I.18, p. 209, no. 153.

⁹⁶⁷ According to Quandt, the arms of David Meseritz belong to a Magister Meseritz who had no connection with the Pomeranian Meseritz family. St.

Two seals from the eighteenth century display the Kleist shield. One bears upon the helmet a bush with eleven roses (plate XIV, no. 15); the other bears a crowned helmet with the left half of a fleur-de-lis (plate XIV, no. 16), perhaps taken from the arms of the von Rüchel family, together with whom the Meseritz family possessed estates at Berkenow and Semerow. More recent descriptions of the arms are found in von Meding, vol. III, p. 431, no. 525; von Zedlitz, vol. III, p. 400; and Bagmihl, vol. V, p. 122, plate LVIII. The family appears to have become extinct in the male line on 8 September 1791 with Cavalry Captain Joachim Ernst von Meseritz of Meseritz.

VIII. The von Kameke, von Reckow, von Glasenapp, von Lode, and von Tesmar Families.

We have seen above that the crest was subject to change to a much greater degree and for a much longer period than the shield. We also know that identical crests were particularly favoured as indications of close friendship and kinship, and that different coats of arms were combined by placing the crest of one upon the shield of another. This phenomenon can also be demonstrated in the inverted spears of the Kleist crest, which recur upon the crests of several families of Farther Pomerania, although this particular crest is otherwise fairly uncommon.

A seal of Jasper Kameke of Strachmin from 1521 (plate XIV, no. 18) already displays the inverted spears standing, as in Kleist seals, upon the upper edge of the shield; in the seal of Lasarus Kameke of Strachmin from 1540 they are even incorporated into the shield itself (plate XIV, no. 19). They became a permanent feature of the von Kameke family's arms and are still borne today. An early connection between the von Kameke and von Kleist families is also recalled by the Christian name Bispro, which was common to both families and occurs among the Kamekes from a very early date.

In 1536 Hans Reckow of Gambin bore a highly unusual seal. It displays upon the shield a walking animal—a bear?—upon whose back stand three inverted spears, their shafts extending far beyond the shield, accompanied above by three stars (plate XIV, no. 20). Later, and still today, the von Reckow family bears the spears upon the helmet, with their points resting upon the three stars.⁹⁶⁸

The von Glasenapp family usually bears upon the helmet the chevron of the shield adorned with peacock or ostrich feathers. Departing from this form, however, Peter Glasenapp of Manow bore in 1505 five upright spears standing upon the upper edge of the shield (plate XIV, no. 17).

The Lode family initially bore two wings upon the shield, later a head between those wings, and finally, after omitting the wings, three lions' heads; with these they bore upon the helmet three fleurs-de-lis upon stems.⁹⁶⁹ By contrast, Reichard and Peter Lode of Zuchen bore three inverted spears upon the helmet in 1600 (plate XV, nos. 15 and 16), which is not surprising in view of the neighbouring relationship in which they stood to the Kleists in the Neustettin district.

According to the Lubin map, Micraelius, vol. VI, p. 533, and Siebmacher, vol. V, p. 171, the von Tesmar family is said to have borne a horizontal wavy band upon the shield and three inverted spears upon the helmet. I was unable, however, to find any such seal. The arms now in use by the family display upon the shield a heart pierced by three arrows and upon the helmet three inverted arrows; Georg Thesmar of Kamissow already bore them in this form in 1591. The arms with the horizontal wavy band and the spears may have belonged to a collateral line, perhaps the Colberg line.

⁹⁶⁸ Lubin map; Micraelius, vol. VI, p. 521; Siebmacher, vol. V, p. 162; Elzow, vol. II; Bagmihl, vol. I, p. 138, plate 51; Brüggemann, vol. I.2, p. CLXX.

⁹⁶⁹ Lubin map; Micraelius, vol. VI, p. 501; Siebmacher, vol. V, p. 170; Bagmihl, vol. V, p. 33, plate 16.

IV. Section:

Genealogy and History of the Kleist Family from 1289 to 1477

by L. Quandt

1. The task to be addressed in this section is the genealogy and history of the Kleist family, along with simultaneous documentation of land ownership from 1289 to 1477, i.e., for the period identified above as the second epoch of family history. From what Kratz has most thoroughly and comprehensively presented in the previous section regarding the origins of the Kleist lineage, I must recap some points because I need them as arguments, and others because I aim to justify a differing interpretation.

At the forefront must be placed the content of Document 75: Pribislav of Wenden [of the Mecklenburg princely house], lord of the land of Daber and the land of Belgard in Cassubia, granted in 1289 the Abbey of Bukow 200 hides of land in his territory of Belgard, Cassubia, which are adjacent to the boundary of the 100 hides that Knight Johann Kule had previously given to the Abbey near the village of Persantike; [this occurred in 1268, and these hides extended generously measured from the village's boundaries upwards towards Poland. Duke Barnim then added the lake Ceresseke (Streizig); around 1280, Lord Kasemer also donated the village of Persanzig with its 120 hides and parish.] Witnesses to this grant were his ministeriales Nicolaus hakenbeke, Johannes frater suus, Cristoforus cnueth, prissebur, clest fratres, Gerardus monachus, Johannes cnetechowe, Reinholt bolte, Hinricus hekethusen. Around 1287, Priscebur appeared as the head of the councilmen of Arnhausen [Doc. 74], thereby serving as castellan there.

2. This Clest, settled in the land of Belgard and obligated to the castle of Belgard as a ministerialis, undoubtedly and universally acknowledged, owned the seal that was discovered in 1834. Based on the form of the shield, the engraving, and the script, it was crafted around 1300. It features the Kleist coat of arms and the inscription: S(igillum) Klest de Densin. The name "Klest" for the lineage is found until the 16th century, pronounced with a long "e" (as Cleest, see Docs. 85, 88–90, 96, 102, 106). Later, in the 14th and 15th centuries, it appears more outwardly as "Kliest," although it continued to be used in Pomerania and in Dubberow in handwritten signatures until the early 17th century. The name "Kleist" appears in original documents for the first time around 1480. From Denzin near Belgard, where Klest had his seat (though not necessarily the entire village), a portion of the estate remained in the family until 1596 and was still considered a fief in 1663. From the adjacent Roggow, the family owned property until 1487, and from the neighboring Boissin, property remains in family possession to this day. Along the road connecting these three locations to Muttrin—which around 1320 was a seat of a branch of the family—namely along a forest path between Ristow and Wutzow, the seal ring of Klest was discovered. If what I have explained elsewhere, with the agreement of Klempin and Kratz, is correct—that witnesses, especially in cases of land grants and boundary determinations, were somehow involved, even as neighbors—then Klest already owned the later extensive estate near Lake Raddatz by 1289. This estate included the land granted to Bukow, which extended from Persanzig upwards toward Poland, i.e., southward—Pomerelia only later came under Polish rule—and was bordered by Lake Streizig to the west. Thus, Klest is the definite progenitor of the lineage by name, coat of arms, residence, and estate.

3. In "Klest de Densin," the first name can only be a baptismal name, as it appears again in 1407 with a member of the Raddatz branch of the family [Doc. 100]. It should be understood as "a resident of Denzin of the Kleist lineage," similar to how "v. Kleist-Denzin" would be a completely modern designation retroactively applied to the 13th century. Therefore, the name in the document of 1289 is

also a baptismal name. "Prissebur, Clest fratres" identifies both as brothers, perhaps also including Cristoforus Knuth as a half-brother.

The rules of punctuation have been brought into question here, meaning that modern conventions have been anachronistically imposed on the Middle Ages, where they do not apply. Some documents contain almost no punctuation marks, while others use far more than we do today, but only where separation was deemed necessary. Here, a mark would have been required between the names to designate them as two persons, but after "Clest," such a mark was unnecessary.

The interpretation adopted by those holding the opposing view—"Prissebur [and] the brothers Clest"—is inadmissible, as it would have been expressed as "fratres Clest" or more analogously as "fratres dicti Clest." If the name "Clest" is a baptismal name, then it was passed on to descendants, as were so many others. It should properly be understood in the genitive form as "Klesten" or "Klestes," much like the descendants of Bork are called "Borken" or, in Latin, "Borconis." In Polish, this is equivalent to "Borkowicz" (son of Bork). Similarly, a Mitzlaff was still referred to in 1389 as "filius Meslaf" (Doc. 92).

The family is of Slavic origin, as evidenced by its baptismal names. In the Middle Ages, Pomeranian noble families of clearly German origin predominantly bore German names, less commonly general Christian names (derived from saints), and rarely, and only later, Slavic names. Among families of unmistakable Slavic descent, Christian names among men became more frequent over time than Slavic names, but the latter continued to dominate over German names until after 1500. Thus, among the Kleist family members known to have been born before 1500, 42 had general Christian names, excluding the two Clests. Of the remaining 30, or actually 33 (as Bartes and Bartus are the Wendish abbreviations of Bartolomaeus, like Bartel and Mewes in German), Slavic names predominated, with only 15 German baptismal names recorded. It cannot be argued that the Wendish language was suppressed only late in the Belgard region, as evidenced by the nickname "Brata" of Dubislaw from 1477 and various names of localities. The predominance of Wendish names cannot be explained in this way, as the neighboring families of the Kleists in this region rarely or never show such names. These neighboring families include the Loden (Lode = unfurled cloth, the first Sifrid recorded in 1232 at Loitz, the name remained prevalent until around 1500), the Glasenapps (Glasnapf, as their earliest seal shows, the first Lutbert, his sons Peter and Berthold, with Peter later dominating), the von Hechthausens (from the parish village in the Bremen region, Heinrich 1289 [see above 1], two Heinrichs in 1389, and several "Heine" later), and their relatives, the Versens. The von Mönchows (to whom I attribute the Gerardus monachus mentioned in the 1289 document, see Doc. 84) frequently appear, as do the van dem Woldes, whose origins trace to Thuringia. In contrast, families like the von Kamekes, the von Bonins, and the Bartuswitzes of Bulgrin, which are undoubtedly Slavic, exhibit a pattern similar to that of the Kleists.

5. The genealogical charts of the high nobility in the Middle Ages teach us that families at that time limited themselves to a few recurring names, that some names were exclusively associated with specific families as predominant, and that several families (as still seen with the Reuß family today) used only a single name (e.g., all members of the Swabian Hohenzollern family from 1200 to 1460 were named Friedrich). Furthermore, a man's name often passed to his eldest grandson and a nephew. These principles, used as tools by genealogists, are also applicable to the noble families of Pomerania. Based on them, Kratz established the ancestors of the brothers Prissebur and Klest, with inferred elements placed in square brackets: "Jarislav, 1175 chamberlain of Duke Kasemar I, [father of] Prizno-, Prisni-, Priza-bor, Prissebur, who is encountered between 1219 and 1240, always in Stettin, and in 1219 and 1236 as chamberlain of Stettin and thus as a castle steward there. With him, his son Jaroslaw, Jeroslaw, appears from 1224 to 1235, [who is identical to] Jarislav, Jereslaw, encountered between 1239 and 1257 as a knight and castle steward in Röbel, southern Mecklenburg, and is the father of Prison- (Price-, Pricze-) bur and Johannes 'called von Röbel,' who appear between 1270 and 1285. Their sons are Hinrich Prissebur, knight in 1299, Prissebur von Kelle, knight and marshal between 1300 and 1307, and

the brothers Johannes and Vicke 'called Pritzbur,' squires. In the following generation, Priscebur von Kelle, squire in 1347; Johann Priscebur von Poppentin; Priscebur and Hinrich Priscebur, Vicke's sons from Grabenitz (1345–1347), became the progenitors of the Mecklenburg family von Pritzbur. Furthermore, the sons of [the aforementioned chamberlain] Prisnibor [from another marriage, as they appear much later than the first son], the knights Pribeslaw and Dubeslaw, also appear in Stettin in 1267. The former, Pribeslaw, served as Barnim's marshal in 1265 and 1266 and his chamberlain in 1270. The latter, Dubeslaw, son of Prisnibor, is recorded as R. Dobislaw or Dubeslaw von Wotyk, Wotuch, Wotich, Wothec, or Woticc, from 1276 to 1286. As this latter figure is undoubtedly the progenitor of the von Woticke, Woitke, or Woedtke families, so too must the former be regarded as the father of the brothers Priscebur and Klest of 1289. I fully agree with this. The coat of arms borne by Klest and his descendants is also carried by the Wotickes, and in 1576 both families considered themselves cousins for this reason. Pribislaw and Dubeslaw are the most common Slavic names among the Kleists, with 18 and 16 occurrences, respectively, including five sets of brothers. Before 1270, no other Prisnibor, Prizabor, or Priscebur appears besides the aforementioned chamberlain. The name does not repeat in any other Pomeranian family besides the Kleists, as Priszbur, Prissebur, Priczbor, or shortened to Prisse in a spurious record from 1580, and among the Wotickes as Prissebur and Pritz. Among the Wotickes, this name occurs only twice out of 13 men recorded before 1524 and is their only Slavic name. The sons of Johannes von Röbel are also 'called Pritzbur,' so their father, Jaroslaw, must be identified in Mecklenburg as Prisnibor, even though he does not appear there by that name. The identification with the similarly named son Prisnibor from Pomerania is entirely plausible, especially considering the timeframes. By analogy, this points to a Jarislaw—six Kleists also bear this name—as the father of Prisnibor. Prisnibor is described as a "vir nobilis" (Doc. 11), a designation rare at the time. He appears as the first lay witness in 1220 (Doc. 3) and is listed among witnesses from the noble estate, the Zupanen, in Doc. 5. His father must therefore have held a prominent position. This is reflected in the chamberlain Jaroslaw of 1175, and Prisnibor, as his eldest son, who first appears as a witness in 1224, cannot have been born much later than 1175. Chamberlain (Camerarius) was not a court office (chamberlain in the sense of a personal servant) but an administrative role, comparable to the later chamber director. It was the second-ranking position among officials (the first being the castellan), through which the large administrative districts (castellaniae) in Pomerania were governed, and the office was undoubtedly filled from among the most distinguished men of the castellany.

6. Jarislaw is the only chamberlain of Kasemar I mentioned, so he must have held the office either in the castellany of Demmin or that of Cammin. In the latter, specifically in the district of Treptow, was located in 1224 the village of Otoc, which is Dubislaw's titular seat, Wothec 2c [otok, wotek = at or near a spring]. By 1523 it was written as Woitke, in 1614 as Woetke, and today as Woedtke. This area included Zirkwitz and Zapplin, later possessions of the Woedtke family. Within the castellany was the castle and territory of Plate, which Dubislaw owned in 1277—likely as a new fief, since he did not take his name from it but rather from Wotuch. However, he had lost it before 1284 (see Doc. 70). The Treptow district also included the inherited estate that his brother Pribislaw sold in 1270 (Docs. 49, 50).

This sale concluded a lengthy legal dispute that Pribislaw had waged against the Abbot of Belbuk before Duke Barnim (who had been the ruler of the area since June 1264). The case concerned "dominion, ownership, and possession of the villages and boundaries from the middle of the Nifloza River [Lievelese] in the west and the middle of the Nifloza [Eyersberger] Lake, the villages on both sides of the Rega River, and the village at the mouth of the Rega into the Salt Sea, including the lake and river Rega and extending to the location of Dwirin, the boundary point of the Kolberg municipal area [= Kolberger Deep, according to another document]." The abbot argued and demonstrated ("allegante et docente") that the mentioned possessions, villages, and properties had long ago been donated to his monastery by Barnim's ancestors ("proavi et progenitores principes"). Pribislaw countered that the goods and possessions fell to him as an inheritance from his fathers, and that the inheritance due to him

under local law ("patrio jure") could not in any way be taken from him. Through the favor of the duke and upon the advice of his nobles, a settlement was reached: the abbot paid either 500 marks for the mentioned lands, including the river Rega and the associated fisheries, lakes, and all appurtenances, while retaining the ferry (as per Doc. 49), or 300 marks, allowing the chapter to keep the tavern, the princely Cammin chamber to maintain its levy on herring fishing and beer sales to foreigners, and the bishop to collect a tithe from the herring ships, while a vicariate in Cammin retained the ninth penny (as per Doc. 50). Pribislaw fully renounced his claim. Pribislaw did not claim the land as something he already possessed but rather as an inheritance from his father's side that had fallen to him, land that had been held by a paternal uncle or great-uncle and his descendants. He was their nearest heir, and this was acknowledged when the abbot agreed to the payment, buying out Pribislaw's rights, as advised by the duke's councilors. This establishes that Pribislaw's paternal lineage originated in the Cammin castellany, in the vicinity of Woticke and Regemünde, even though he and his father only appear in records as officials in Stettin. It is worth noting that when the castle of Stettin was recaptured by Boguslaw II from the margraves in 1212, it was garrisoned with castellans from various regions. Cammin also remained under his control, as it was only divided with his brother Kasemar II, who later controlled it, in 1214 or 1216.

The legal dispute seems to reveal further details. The "village on the Rega" (thus the disputed "village at the mouth of the Rega," later called Regemünde near Deep) and the Rega itself, along with the adjacent lake, were given to Belbuk by Wartislaw III on his deathbed in 1264. Barnim confirmed this donation in 1269, including the Rega with all its usages on both sides and the fisheries in Reszko. Fishing rights in the lake had been granted by Wartislaw in 1242 and confirmed in 1240; these fisheries in Lake Reszko (later called "Camper" in German) derive their name from "Recha" or "Rega." The Rega in this context refers to the Old Rega, which flows into the Regesche Lake and stretches to Dwirin. The disputed villages on both sides of the river were Robe, Camp, and Wustrow, all with Wendish names. The abbot did not base his claim on Wartislaw's donations, as these were clearly contested by Pribislaw, given that the legal dispute had been ongoing since long before 1270. Instead, the abbot relied on a document from Barnim's ancestors—not the one issued by his father in 1208, but the only earlier one, the foundation charter of the great-uncle from 1177, which Anastasia also referenced in 1235. This document granted half a share in a fishery on the Rega and half of Niflose Lake with an adjacent fishing village [Eyersberg], which were confirmed in 1208 and not disputed. However, the document also stated: "Moreover, we grant the monks 'super hominem Brattonem nomine tertiam dimidiam marcam' [evidently, the 2 ½ marks that a certain Bratto had annually paid to the prince] 'et totam insulam in qua manent'" (and the entire island on which they reside). The addition in the transcript by Rango reads "excepta villa Tribuse, Tribus," which was not gifted until 1224 by Anastasia. This "entire island," undoubtedly significant in size, can only be the land surrounded by the Rega, the Old Rega, the Zarbensch Brook, and the drainage ditches stretching northward from Treptow to the Rega. Barnim's confirmation of 1269 also includes the ancient Wendish villages of Zarben and Zamow as part of the original donation of 1177. This area's connection to the first donation of 1177 is evident, regardless of whether the additional restriction in the sole surviving matricular transcript is omitted due to Anastasia's donation lifting it—which I prefer—or whether Rango merely used a copy that included the addition. Either way, it shows how "totam insulam" was understood. Barnim did not confirm the entire "insula" in 1269, only specific locations within it, excluding those along the Old Rega that had already been claimed by Pribislaw. For this "totam insulam," the abbot relied on a foundation, but for the area north of the Old Rega, he could only substantiate his claim through the tribute paid by Bratto. This Bratto may well have been the owner of the land strip contested by Pribislaw. The closely connected words "et totam insulam" should be understood as "and indeed the entire island"—or, more precisely, "the rest of the island." Bratto might have been the father of Jarislaw, who, as previously mentioned, was likely around 30 years old in 1175 (see Section 5). Bratto could have been a younger son or the great-uncle of

Pribislaw, inheriting this property, or perhaps, more likely, Bratto himself was the great-uncle. His descendants may have died out by May 1264, when Wartislaw granted the land strip. Perhaps they were the founders of the vicariate in Cammin. In any case, Jarislaw's father would have been born during pagan times.

7. The Kleist family already considered themselves, by 1576 and "according to old accounts," as cousins of the Wotike, Bulgrin, Buzke, and Kranksparn families, basing this on the similarity of their coats of arms and, in the case of the Bulgrin family, on their possession of the village of Kleist (near Köslin). The latter claim is unfounded, as the Wendish name of the village, likely signifying "low shrubbery" (supported by its location), has nothing to do with the family's name, which first appears as a baptismal name [see above, Section 3]. The matter of the coats of arms has been discussed extensively. In summary: From around the beginning of the 16th century, the families Kleist, von Woedtke, von Bulgrin, von Butzke, Kranksparn, and von Meseritz used two running foxes divided by a horizontal bar, which in very small seals was occasionally omitted. However, in the oldest seals of the Kleist family from 1289 onward, the animals were leaping wolves. Moreover, as I add, the LR von Kleist (*1844), who was unfamiliar with these old seals, claimed that they depicted wolves, a memory that persisted. The same wolves, oriented in the same way but without the horizontal bar, are also used by the Borken family from 1282, the von Bulgrin family from 1287, the von Woedtke family from 1460, and the von Butzke family from 1510. However, from 1337, the Borken wolves are crowned, as are the Bulgrin wolves from 1309, and by 1620, the Bulgrin foxes were also crowned, according to Micraelius. When the aforementioned families adopted their coats of arms around 1500, modeled after those of the Kleist family, they began to view themselves as relatives of the Kleists.

Kratz has demonstrated that identical coats of arms do not necessarily prove identical lineage. This is evident from the above-mentioned heraldic grouping. The Borken family traces its origins to Prince Mistislaw of Gützkow in 1127 (as already suggested by A.G. Schwartz), who in turn descended from the kings of the Wilzi, ultimately tracing back to Dragowit in 789. The Kling=, Klangsporen, and Kranksparn families, unlike the others, are of undoubtedly German origin, not Wendish. They adopted their coat of arms from the von Bulgrin family, from whom they acquired the estate of Bulgrin. The Kranksparns first appear as owners there in 1456, although Pavel may have already owned it in 1389 (according to Doc. 92). This acquisition likely occurred through marriage, as the name Paul seems to dominate among them, as it does among the Bulgrins. Henning, who sold the castle of Nassow with its appurtenances (Bitzicker, Cratzke, Nienveld, and Schetterow) to the bishop in 1372, also bore a name prevalent among the Bulgrins. Barthus Bulgrin, in 1287, donated a forest near Nassow that bordered the Bulgrin territory. Kratz also assumed that the progenitors of the Bulgrin and Kleist families married daughters from the Borken family, thereby acquiring property and adopting their coat of arms. The Kleist family modified it immediately by adding the horizontal bar, while the others made changes later. Knight Dubislaw von Wotuch, who used "a star with a leaping wolf" as his coat of arms in the city privilege of Plate in 1277 (Doc. 63), may have modified the Borken coat of arms by omitting one wolf. However, since Henning Bork's 1335 seal featured a star between two wolves, it is likely that Plate was acquired from the Borken family. The star appears only once among the Borkens and at a later date. It is certain that Dubislaw, who only recently owned Plate [see above, Section 6], used the coat of arms of its former owner as the lord of the land. However, the identity of the previous owner is unclear.

Knight Barthus (-tus, -tis), the Black, known as von Bulgrin, in 1286, together with his wife Ermegardis and his sons Andreas, Paulus, Bartholomeus, Pribislaw, and Matheus, donated several hides and the church tithe in Bulgrin to the Abbey of Bukow. In 1287, with the seal featuring two wolves, he donated land to the Köslin nunnery of Moker and a heath near Nassow along with meadows at the Radüe River. He last appeared in records in 1288. His sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons were sometimes called Bartuswitz, sometimes referred to as von Bulgrin in later records. Of his sons, Andreas, Paulus (noted as lord in his seal), and Matheus, were in 1309 owners of Repkow and Wusseken [neighboring Bukow],

and witnesses in Köslin in 1313. Lord Paul appears again in 1335 with his sons Johannes or Henning and Bartus, as well as the grandsons of the first Paul, Ulrich, and Vicko. Of these, Paul and Vicko were granted 500 hides of uninhabited land in the Bublitz region by 1342, extending from the town to beyond what would later become Baldenburg. All three—along with Bartus and Henning, sons of the first, and Andreas, son of the second—sold their share of the Nest River and the Jamund Lake to Köslin in 1353. The same Bartus and Henning relinquished further rights in 1356, with Henning recorded as residing in Claushagen [= Hagen near Nest]. In 1359, Bartus of Wusseken appeared with his sons Andreas, Paul, and Ruleke. Ruleke was Vogt in Zanow in 1387, and Drews, Henning, and Junge Paul [the younger Paul, presumably the son of the elder Paul] appeared in 1389. Of later members of the family, Pawel of Wusseken, who killed his brother Bartes and, according to the well-known story, in 1415 made a pilgrimage "400 miles" to Santiago de Compostela for atonement, should be mentioned. He was directed by his confessor to the chapel on Gollenberg. Pawel of Wusseken appears again in 1446, and the brothers Henning and Hans in 1450 (see Docs. 109, 111, 116). Pawel of Repkow and Henning of Wusseken are noted in 1522 (Docs. 411, 413). Henning of Tunow is recorded in 1494, and Henning, who dictated his family's genealogy to Bolduan in 1619, is also notable. All these members belonged to the ecclesiastical line. Only the three younger sons of Barthus the Black donated hides in Bulgrin in 1300 and 1303. One of their descendants may have been Henning, who lived around 1500 in Bulgrin alongside the Kranksparn family. As a grandson of one of these three, possibly Matheus (also known as Mathias), I consider Mathias Buzeke, the first documented member of this family. In addition to the similarity of their coats of arms, Mathias was a witness in 1353 during the aforementioned sale by the Bartuswitzes. Butzke is located near Bulgrin, and both places, though situated in the Belgard region, were not obligated to the Belgard castle, indicating that Knight Barthus in 1286 was either not subject to, or only loosely affiliated with, Lord Pribislaw of Belgard.

The twin village of Gardis [Garz], where Sabic and Rozsuar lived, along with Karsibor [Caseburg] and its appurtenances [later the Caseburg estate on Usedom], was granted by Duke Barnim to the Abbey of Dargun in 1242 and reaffirmed in 1246 and 1256. Sabic sold the territory to the abbey [so Rozsuar was likely his brother] without the consent of his sons (who must have been at least 20 years old at the time). Thus, in 1282, Barthis and Johannes, brothers and sons of Sabic, received compensation and fully relinquished their rights with the consent of their sons Johannes and Paulus, Barthis and Bartolomeus, Johannes and Zawist. None of them used a seal. Three of these names, including the two that appear twice, are prevalent among the Bartuswitz family. The fourth, Bartholomeus, appears in 1286 alongside Barthus among these individuals. The Sabekewiz and their sons are contemporaries of Barthus von Bulgrin and his sons. The epithet "the Black," which this Barthus bore on his seal and in documents concerning his sons, differentiates him from another Barthis, who was no less prominent and resided nearby. The Sabekewiz family provided as guarantors Lord Bork, who, according to his seal, resided in Fritzow [near Kolberg] at the time, and Lord Vidant [of Regenwalde, whose son resided in Pribislaw, near Schivelbein]. Witnesses included their sons, Count Otto of Everstein [then already lord of Naugard but also still active near Köslin on what later became the Schmeling estates], and Conrad of Nymer = Nehmer, indicating that the Sabekewiz family had acquired property near the Bulgrin holdings, possibly Nassow. As they sold land to Dargun, Paulus, the son of Barthus the Black, appears as a witness in Köslin in 1289 regarding the acquisition of the Bast estate by Dargun. The Abbey of Bukow, endowed by the father and sons, was a filial monastery of Dargun.

At the very time Sabic must have sold Caseburg and other properties—since the princely grant is dated June 20, 1242, which must have followed the sale—Bartus, a nobleman (*nobilis*) of Cammin, appears on March 29, 1242, as a witness in nearby Lebbin in matters concerning the monastery of Usedom. Bartos is also mentioned in 1240 as a castellan there, identified with Bartolomeus (1228, 1241), and alongside him appears a Paulus (1228, 1235, 1240) and a Zawist (1244), all of whom were contemporaries of the younger years of Barthus the Black. Adding to this, the area sold by Sabic

includes the village of Caminke, i.e., Klein-Cammin, located near Garz, thus being one of the two Gardis villages that received its later differentiating name after the main castle. Decisively, the name Zawist, apart from this castellan and the grandson of Sabic, appears elsewhere only once more, also in Cammin, where Zawist (once spelled Zawiz) is the first mentioned castellan. He is recorded in 1175 and 1176, succeeded by Unima in 1181, and referred to in 1176 alongside Wartislaw (II) of Stettin (from a ducal sideline) as "*principes viri*." Thus, Paul, Bartos, and Zawist can be considered his grandsons. The intermediate generation is unclear, but Paul can be regarded as the father of Barthus the Black, who in 1264 likely held the title of "nobleman of Cammin" and, from 1286 to 1288, appears as the owner of Bulgrin and the ecclesiastical territory near Köslin. He may have exchanged the latter property with the bishop for Fritzow c.p. (near Cammin) or Pribbernow c.p., whose acquisition by the bishop is undocumented. Bulgrin c.p. could have been acquired from the duke when, in 1274, he elevated Cammin to the status of a German town and endowed it with the hides of local Slavic noblemen, who must therefore have been compensated. The derivation of the Bulgrin family from Zawist would also explain the crowning of the wolves in their coat of arms. The names Sabic and Roszuar do not otherwise appear within the family but are found elsewhere; this suggests a marital connection, with Sabic possibly having married a sister of Zawist's three grandsons.

At the top of the established genealogical chart of the Borken family is Knight Borke, the last burggrave (castellan) of Kolberg, recorded from 1251 to 1282. By 1282, his seal identifies him as being "of Fritzow"—it is likely that the nearby Borkenhagen, east of Kolberg, also derived its name from him. By this time, he had probably already passed the Labes territory, part of the Cammin castellany, to his grown sons. They described it as their inheritance from their ancestors, indicating that Borke's father had owned it. While the name of Borke's father is not recorded, it is reasonable to consider Borke a grandson of Lord Bork, who, according to the Reppow Chronicle, fell in the war of Margrave Otto against Lord Boguslaw in September or October 1219, during which Duke Kasemar II also perished, likely near the Oder River. Lord Bork, titled in the same manner as the dukes, was of princely origin, and his father is likely Pribe, who appeared as castellan (burggrave, zupan) of Gützkow from 1175 to 1187. Pribe was an envoy to the emperor in 1184, identified by Saxo with the full name Pribislaw, as in one charter. Pribe is listed as the son of Borco, and this Borco is likely the son of Mistislaw, who resided at Gützkow in 1127, was described as "*dux et princeps*," and was in the prime of his life at the time. Mistislaw's documented son, Panten Mistizlawi, who appeared from 1153 to 1182, held lands south of the lower Peene River, including Ukermünde, with his closest descendants. One of Pribo's sons was Tessimer, who in 1212 donated Clebow to Colbatz and was described by the duke as "*dilectissimus noster*" and as participating in the grant, which was typically reserved for zupans. The charter was issued in Cammin, and Pribislaw appears last among the witnesses, all of whom were demonstrably involved in some capacity. Pribislaw, identified as "*de Kamin*" in 1215, was ranked among the most distinguished individuals and titled "*nobilis*" in 1220. He appears in Cammin in 1228, 1235, and 1240 alongside and among the grandsons of Zawist. Pribislaw, bearing the same name as his father, can thus be considered his son and also Tessimer's nephew, involved in the events of 1212. Pribislaw is the father of Borke, recorded from 1251 onward.

The Gützkow burgward (including Meziretsch) was lost to the Princes of Rügen around 1190 and, when it returned to the control of the dukes in 1212, it was exchanged with the Colbatz ducal line. This required compensation for the former lords, who evidently first established themselves in Clebow and Cammin and later received the Labes territory from the duke, initially as castellans of Cammin, to whose castellany it belonged. Knight Sanda, recorded in Cammin in 1242 and 1244 (alongside Zawist in the latter), appears as a castellan there in 1254, but in 1249, 1251, and 1255, he is documented in Kolberg. He owned the village of Carow "on the Rega in the Cammin district" and relinquished it in 1255 to the Abbey of Belbuk, likely upon his death, as he is not mentioned thereafter. It is more likely, however, that he was an older brother of Borke (recorded from 1251 onward), given that they are

mentioned together, sometimes with Sanda preceding and sometimes following Borke. Sanda appears in Cammin just as Pribislaw disappears and owned Carow, with its 100 hides and seven lakes, encompassing the territories of Carnitz, Schowanz, and Stramehl. These territories bordered the Labes region and likely belonged to it, later becoming Bork family holdings, with Stramehl noted as a seat in 1288.

Thus, in 1175, Cammin was home to Jarislaw, the chamberlain well-established as the progenitor of the Kleist and von Woedtke families, alongside Zawist, the castellan more strongly established as the progenitor of the von Bulgrin and von Butzke families, as well as the first members of the Borken family to settle in Pomerania proper, having migrated from the then-Pomeranian portion of Liutizia. All these were ancestors of the heraldic group bearing the two wolves. The oldest heraldic seal of any noble family in Pomerania also originates from Cammin. Attached to a document from around 1240 concerning the transfer of the local St. Giles Church to the Dominicans by the Zetrslawitz family, specifically the castellan Stoislav, is his relatively well-preserved seal depicting an *Agnus Dei*. Stoislav served as castellan of Cammin from 1234 to 1244, as *tribunus* in 1228, and first appeared in 1220 with his father Zetzlaw in 1227. Zetzlaw, identified as Zetislaw Unimiz, served as castellan of Cammin from 1181 to 1208, alongside Cetzlaw, the first recorded nobleman of Cammin (1176–1194), who was likely his brother. The family, referred to as Sarnoslawitz, is thus of very noble origin. I have claimed them as a branch of the princely sideline of Stargard that relocated to Cammin through an exchange with Kasemar I. Equally noble, however, are the Borken family, as shown by our derivation. Therefore, it can be confidently assumed that they also bore their coat of arms around 1240. This coat of arms is not to be interpreted as a common insignia of the Cammin castellans, as the ancestors of the Kleists ceased being part of that group after 1212, and the castellan Stoislav bore a different seal. Thus, it must have been a family coat of arms. This requires a marital connection between the Borken family and the descendants of Zawist—the Lord Bork who fell in 1219 may have married Zawist's daughter—so that both families regarded themselves as one and adopted the same coat of arms. Kleist's coat of arms incorporates the horizontal bar, marked as an addition by its occasional omission and later inclusion in the Bulgrin coat of arms. The bar indicates a branch of the family, as was common in house marks, which later evolved into coats of arms, where a son branching off added a distinguishing element to his paternal insignia. There is no evidence of marital connections with the Borken family or the descendants of Zawist, nor of inheritance succession. Thus, the only conclusion is that Kleist's ancestors—Pribislaw already bore a coat of arms as a knight—were related by blood to the Bartus family. While prominent researchers like von Ledebur consider coat-of-arms similarity as proof of shared ancestry, it should be seen as supportive but not definitive evidence. In our case, this is reinforced by the shared status as castellans in Cammin before 1200 and the belief in kinship, traceable to at least 1500 in both families. Finally, if the kinship is as close as possible, then Chamberlain Jarislaw would be a nephew or cousin of Castellan Zawist. The offices would not preclude this, as demonstrated by the two Nankowitz noblemen of Cammin: Jacob, who served as Drost (*dapifer*) of Cammin and count from 1223 to 1242, and Johann or Janik, who was Drost of Demmin from 1214 to 1239. Similarly, the brothers Andreas and Unislaw served as castellan and chamberlain of Danzig.

8. If the Kleist family adopted the name of Kleist from 1289 in the sense of "Klestenson," then his brother Prissebur was either childless or his descendants assumed a different name. This brings into consideration the remaining family that shares the Kleist coat of arms: the von Meseritz. They owned the villages of Meseritz, Semerow, Barkenow, and Rützenhagen, i.e., the western edge of the northern part of the Schivelbein district, cut off by the Rega River. Additionally, they held the nearby village of Nazmersdorf in Pomerania as vassals of the Borken family from around 1450 to 1650. That northern section remained under episcopal ownership in 1320 and 1356 but came into the possession of the Teutonic Order before 1410, likely in 1387, and was incorporated into Schivelbein. Likewise,

Arnhausen, where Prissebur served as castellan around 1287, remained under the bishop's control until 1436. This provides a plausible path by which he or his lineage could have acquired the Meseritz estates. The western neighbors of these estates, the von Zozenow family, and the eastern neighbors, the von Wopersnow family, also owned lands in the Arnhausen region—specifically, Zwirnitz for the former and Standemin for the latter.

9. Returning to the Kleist family and their progenitor, Klest. The Slavic first names among the Kleist family during the Middle Ages are names that either appear among princes or could be understood based on their meanings. Jaroslaw, found in both the Rügen and Russian princely houses, means "glorious fame" (comparable to the German names Bertmar and Hruodperaht = Ruprecht, Robert). Prisnibor translates to "fierce fighter" (= Hartwig). Pribeslaw, also a name among Mecklenburg princes, means "growing fame" (possibly akin to Oghard or Oger; compare with the name Wasmod = Wachsmuth). Du-, Dobeslaw derives from dobialles (to strike down) and slawa (fame). Schir is a shortened form of Siroslaw, as seen in both forms in the name of a Polish voivode and governor around 1150 and as the father-in-law of Pomeranian Prince Skambor of Danzig. The name means "far-reaching fame." Bispro, attested as Bezprawe in 1250, means "without law, unrestricted by law," reflecting the Slavic concept of freedom. Tessen is a shortened form of Tesislaw or Tetzlaff (the name of the oldest prince of Rügen, common among his descendants in Putbus) or Tessimir or Tesmar. The former means "joyful fame," the latter "peaceful joy." Bratto, if part of the family, derives from Old Slavonic brati sia (to fight).

The name Klest, however, stands apart. It has not appeared in my research as a Slavic name. A Clits is mentioned in Rügen in 1233, but any transpositional connection is speculative. The name (Bohemian kljc, pronounced "klitsch") may be an abbreviation of klitschar (keeper, warden), as evidenced in Rügen by clerics such as Janik (clitceruiz, 1207) and Martinus (cliceruiz or cliszaryuicz), whose seal shows klitsarevius. This could denote an office, possibly steward or chamberlain. Even among the multitude of free farmers listed in the Gnesen charter of 1136, no comparable name appears. The closest, Chelsta, might derive from chelst- (to rattle) or the Bohemian chljsa (freedman). Etymology offers no definitive solution. Thus, Kratz's hypothesis remains plausible and is likely correct: Klest's mother was a daughter of the brothers Berthold and Conrad Clest, who gave their younger son the family name of his maternal lineage as a first name. Kratz supports this with numerous examples, the most recent being Otto Rudolf Reder von Kleist, who fell in the Seven Years' War and received his third name from his mother, a von Reder—a practice still common in England today.

Berthold and Conrad Clest, brothers, appear in 1249 as witnesses in Colbatz when Barnim took the Damm estate as a fief from the abbey (Doc. 27). Conrad, as the younger of the two, first appears in 1248 during the donation of the Salwey mills near Garz (Doc. 26) and is documented from November 2, 1248, to 1254 as Barnim's marshal. In 1248 and 1249, he is listed after the knights, indicating his status as a squire at the time, but from 1249 onward, he is consistently referred to as a knight. In 1254, the brothers relinquished the village of Lucowe Zedeliz (= Kerkow near Soldin; this later name means "church place") to the duke, who granted it to Colbatz Abbey (Doc. 32). The property was likely sold rather than gifted, as no donation is mentioned in the document. Conrad is listed first, indicating that he was the owner, while his brother was a co-grantee. Knight Berthold Clest is last mentioned in 1255 in Pyritz (Doc. 36) and had passed away by 1269 (Doc. 48). The estate in the valley north of the castle in Stettin (near the Marienkirchplatz), which Knight Conrad Cleist had previously held—likely in his capacity as marshal—was retained by Barnim when he consecrated the castle as the Marian chapter and donated it to the chapter. In 1264, Conrad Clest was one of the arbitrators in the dispute between the duke and the bishop over tithe rights in the Fiddichow territory. On April 7, 1269, in Schellin (a village belonging to the bishop), and in the bishop's presence, he renounced any claims to the village of Belitz, the settlement of Brode (Paßmühle), 4 hides in Groß Schönfeld, and 4 hides in Sabes. These properties, which he held from Colbatz for life with all rights but not hereditarily, were to pass to the monastery upon his death. His heirs were not to have any claim to these lands, which had been granted to the

monastery around 1180 and confirmed by Prince Swantibor in 1235. Knight Conrad Cleist appears as a witness in 1261 near Greifenberg (in the Uckermark, Doc. 41), in 1265 defining the boundaries of the village of Liepen near Oderberg (Doc. 45), in 1273 at Dragebrück with the Margraves (Doc. 55), and in 1284 among the knights of Margraves Otto and Conrad, who were provided as guarantors to the Pomeranian duke (Doc. 70). By this time, he was a subject of the margraves.

The brothers Berthold and Conrad Clest undoubtedly belong, based on their first names, to the group of German immigrants. While I have come across an essay claiming they were native Wendish Pomeranians and members of the later Kleist lineage, the argument states they received German first names because Heinrich Plochimeris (1173), Heinrich Ranniwez (1194) of noble Liutizian descent, and Heinrich, castellan of Usedom (1208), whose son was Pribislaw, were similarly named. It also argues that Polish princes of the time were named Conrad, and Conrad I, bishop of Cammin (†1186), was the brother of Jaczo or Johannes, a Wendish noble. However, these three Heinrichs lived in Liutizia, where they were baptized during the rule of Heinrich the Lion, who oversaw deeper Christianization. This mirrors the situation of the first Mecklenburg princes with the name Conrad, who were not Pomeranians. Moreover, the essay ignores the fact that two brothers bore German names, one of which—Berthold—was not even common among German immigrants. No proof is provided. In contrast, based on Conrad's documented appearances, he could not have been born after 1218, meaning his brother was born no later than 1216. By this time, laypersons with German first names had not yet appeared in the original Pomerania where the brothers are documented. The only exceptions are Beringer of Stettin in 1187, who is explicitly described as having been born in Bamberg, and Berner, a Lübeck merchant present at a land assembly.

The regions where the two Clest brothers appear were still largely deserted after the Margraves' devastations in 1211 and 1212, according to records from 1240. German court officials began appearing in Barnim's service in 1234, German noble landowners in the Randow district in 1238, around Pyritz in 1240, and in the Bahn territory in 1234. Therefore, the Clest brothers' immigration cannot be placed earlier than 1240. Certainly, they did not arrive with wives and children but rather as unmarried men seeking court and military service and pursuing "adventure." Thus, Conrad, who appears as a Margravian vassal and knight from 1261 to 1284, cannot be anyone other than the Conrad documented in Pomerania. The Lucowe Zedeliz estate, which he received as a fief, was likely deserted or nearly so. After selling it and relinquishing the marshal's office, he appears only as a vassal of the Margraves and the Abbey of Colbatz (which had fully aligned with the Margraves in his later years), and perhaps also of the bishop. Conrad had heirs in 1269, while his brother did not—this would have been mentioned in the 1269 document. Thus, the mother of Kleist of 1289 was likely a daughter of Conrad.

Both brothers resided near Pyritz, with Berthold possibly in Megow. The farmer Klyst, recorded among Germans in Megow in 1372 (Doc. 84), is likely an illegitimate descendant.

10. If Kleist of 1289 bears as his first name the family name of Conrad, documented from 1248 to 1284, then this name cannot have been derived from a location, as Kratz prefers and from which he deduces Conrad's origin from the Altmark. At that time, family names were too young for such a derivation; by analogy, the name Clest as a surname must have been first adopted by Conrad's father or, at most, his grandfather and only became a family name with their respective sons. Furthermore, in Pomerania, families not named after locations only began using "von" after 1650, while those named after locations initially used it consistently, later omitting it increasingly in the 15th and 16th centuries, and reintroducing it in more recent times. In Rügen and Pomerania (within its boundaries as of 1215), between 1216 and 1269, approximately 550 individuals of noble status (excluding townspeople, mayors, millers, and farmers) are documented with names derived from locations in the printed and available

charters. Of these, only 19 instances lack the "de," and in no case is it entirely absent from other instances of the same name, which are typically much more numerous. Of these 19 cases, 13 are from later copies, where the "de" may have been omitted due to contemporary usage, and in the six remaining originals, one is written in Wismar regarding Joh. Apeldorn, and another concerns Joh. Treptow, who was simultaneously a townsman, and four instances include the "de." Thus, it is impossible to consider the 21 instances where Berthold and Conrad Clest appear, always without "de," as instances where the "de" was simply omitted. Rather, their name belongs to the class of appellative names, which were strongly represented during that time and often quite peculiar, e.g., Dowat (do what), Halup (pick up). Compare similar examples outside Pomerania, such as Schalk zu Berge (near Minden), Schelme von Bergen (near Frankfurt a. M.), Hundsbiß in Swabia, Nothast and Rindsmaul in East Franconia, and Schack (originally in Holstein and Lauenburg) = robber, synonymous with Schacher. Among the possible meanings for the name Klest, Klist, or Kleist as an appellative—none of which are found in Middle High German dictionaries—the only fitting one is "Lanzenschaft" (lance shaft) from Frisch's dictionary. This would characterize the original bearer as a tall, slender man and parallels noble family names such as Stange (1234) and Speet (Doc. 85) = spear. The term appears to be a Meissen provincialism. Therefore, the brothers Klest likely originated from Meissen, as evidenced by the knight Bartold Misner, who appears only once, in 1253, during the donation of the Burgacker in Pyritz. He is likely identical to Knight Bartold Klist, who resided there at the same time. Thus, as with the Lettow family (Lettow = Lithuanians), whose family tradition identifies them as originally von Vorbeck, and the ecclesiastical Zart family of Sassenburg, who are likely descendants of Ulrich Sasse (Saxo), residing in the bishopric around 1280, the Kleist family name likely reflects a similar origin.

11. The brothers Prissebur and Klest appear in 1289 as ministeriales of the then-lord of Belgard. The main seat of the Kleist family has always been within the territory of Belgard as it was defined at the time. It is necessary to explore the conditions there because Kratz interprets ministeriales simply as knights, a definition I do not agree with. Belgard (i.e., Weißenburg) was, around 1100, a fortified, wealthy, and populous capital and residence of the Pomeranian duke, according to the testimony of the oldest Pomeranian chronicler. The Icelandic sagas also depict it as such, referring to the Pomeranian coastal land as Bialagard-Sida (Belgard side). Bishop Otto, the Christianizer of Pomerania, visited the city twice, in 1124 and early 1125, and built a church there. During the division of the land between the first Christian dukes, Wartislaw I and Ratibor I, Ratibor received Belgard, Schlawe, and Stolp. When Ratibor died around 1155, his eldest son, Boleslaw, inherited Schlawe and Stolp, while the younger son, Swantipolk, received Belgard. Swantipolk died childless in 1185—his daughter Damroka was married to Prince Subislaw II of Danzig—so Duke Boguslaw I became the lord of Belgard and ceded it in 1186 to Wartislaw, the son of Boleslaw of Schlawe. Wartislaw's son was likely Ratibor II, who last appears in 1262 and died in 1265 without heirs. Consequently, Duke Barnim I became the lord of Belgard. Barnim's son, Boguslaw IV, granted Belgard as a fief to Pribislaw or Pribeko from the Mecklenburg princely house, with the rights of nobiles barones. Pribislaw first appears as lord on April 12, 1280, but by the first half of 1291, Belgard had been reclaimed. After the division of the land in 1295, Belgard passed to the Wolgast line and, in 1372, to the eastern Swine branch.

In 1321, the dukes found it necessary to inspect and establish the borders between their domain and the episcopal lands for future reference. The delineations were as follows: a) between the lands of Belgard and Cussalin from the mouth of the Radduje River into the Persante, following the Radduje upstream to the Cotle River (Kautel), continuing upstream to its source, then to the Wendish graves [near Gräberhof east of Schmenzin], to the source of the Lubank stream [a tributary of the Tribgust, likely near Lubenhof, now Grünhof], then directly to the Lositze Lake, which was under episcopal ownership [Lotzen Lake]. From there, along the border between the ducal Wochow Lake (Wurchow) and the episcopal Virchow Lake, then through the same path between the ducal lakes Schmoltzigk and Sparse and the episcopal lakes Plottiz and Kitan [modern Schmaunsch, Sparsen, Plötschen, Küter]. The

boundary continued along the middle of the Dolgen River, then to the village of Sadick, and further to the Sarne River [Zahn River], and finally descending along the Kuddow River. b) between Belgard and Tarnhusen: from the confluence of the Tepele River into the Persante [modern Krumme Wasser and then Teipel], following the Persante to its origin in Rorbrugk, between the villages of Ganskow and Navin. From there, the boundary ascended through the wetlands to the Mughellize River (Müglitz) and across it, continuing through Ballenberg and east of Zwirnitz and Retzin to the Lype Lake [likely the lake southeast of Retzin]. From there, the border passed to the Diesberg (Dewsberg) and through the middle of the Loine Forest to Cemine [Zemmin], then across to the point where a river emerged, leading to a stone mound. From there, it ran between the two villages of Wrow [Alt- and Neu-Wurow] to Repekow [Reppow] and finally to the Drawe River. At the Drawe River, it intersected the Polish, later Margravial, Commandery, which became the Dragheim and Tempelburg Starostei under Polish rule in 1368. From there to the Kuddow River, the boundary was left indeterminate, crossing through vast wilderness, which was only settled and defined by cultivation on both sides toward the end of the 16th century, establishing the modern boundary.

Around 1333, Neustettin was established. The Vogtei (bailiwick) existed in 1364 and at that time was the paragon of Duke Wartislaw V. The border with Belgard was likely the same as in the 16th and 17th centuries: Naseband and Vilnow belonged to Belgard, while the rest remained as it is today.

Within the Vogtei Belgard, as it had existed since 1364, the villages Reddelin, Silesen, Pummelow, the mill at Butzke, Darkow, Klempin, Vorwerk, Lentzen, Schintzke [likely a diminutive for the small area east of the boundary river Teipel, as the western area, called Schinz, belonged to Arnhausen], Laatzke, Grüssow, Zarnefan, Naffin, Denzin, Roggow, Boissin, Ristow, Barga, Schlennin, Groß- and Klein-Dubberow [both until 1487, Doc. 194], Wussow, Vitzow, Zatkow, Muttrin, Döbel, Kikow, [Klein] Crossine, Burblaff, and [Groß] Tichow were obligated to pay to the castle (later the Amt) Belgard a levy known as "Ripengeld" (a monetary tribute) and "Ripenkorn" (grain, specifically rye and oats). This was a form of tax, called *bede* or *precaria*, as described by Achatius Kleist in 1624, and Ripenkorn was also referred to elsewhere as *Bedekorn*. In Western Pomerania, it was often called "Hundekorn" (dog grain), as it was used to feed the dogs guarding the castles. This levy was introduced in Pomerania around 1250 and likely in Belgard around 1264 when the area came under the control of Barnim. It can be assumed that the obligated villages existed at that time. The list, due to the form "Wussow" (instead of the newer "Wutzow"), predates 1700 and, based on the forms "Crossine" and "Burblaff," likely dates to around 1500, though it was clearly derived from older records. In addition to the tax obligation, the villages were generally required to provide wagon service, i.e., *Burgdienst* (castle service) for the construction and repair of Belgard Castle, which they were also obliged to defend in emergencies. I consider the noble-born individuals obligated to these duties to be the *ministeriales* mentioned in the 1289 document (see above, Section 1). They were thus distinguished from other vassals of Lord Pribeko, and the term *ministeriales* still retained much of its older meaning. Among those mentioned in the document, Kleist had Denzin, and likely already Dubberow and Muttrin; the Knuth family held Laatzke and other locations until around 1580; the Hekethusen family held Naffin, Zarnefan, and Grüssow until more recent times; and Gerhard Monachus, if he was an ancestor of the Mönnichow family, likely had Schlennin as his descendants did. For the Hakenbeke, Cnetechowe, and Bolte families, I have no further information, though there are enough locations among the above for them.

The *bede* and wagon service were soon after their introduction granted to noble-born individuals, particularly those residing at castles, as they were intended to support the defense of the castles and the maintenance of their garrisons. Consequently, the above list excludes villages belonging to Polzin Castle, which was first mentioned as "Poncyn" in 1331. In 1337, Henning von Wedel placed it under the protection of Margrave Ludwig, who in 1341 granted 1/4 of the land to the sons of Hasso (who had been lord there in 1340). This quarter likely included Poppelow and Bruzen, which became part of the

Tempelburg territory and, with it, passed to Poland until 1772, joining Pomerania and the Belgard district only in 1816. Even Heinrich resided there in 1375, but by 1389, Michel Manduvel and Zciczik [von Zozenow] were in residence, alongside whose descendants a Glasenapp also appears in 1524, all as castle residents. Furthermore, all villages of the von Wolde family are missing from the list, as well as Sietkow, which is surrounded by obligated villages. Their main seat, Wusterbart, had a castle hill and a castle estate. At Bolkow and Bukow, the Teutonic Knights destroyed their "crow's nest, which they call a castle" in 1389. This likely included Damen, whereas Vilnow and Naseband, along with Drenow and Zarnekow (which belonged to them until around 1380), were probably exempted from obligations. Mandelatz, unless it was a later settlement, originally belonged to castrum Bukow, as it also did to the parish. The situation differs for the remaining villages missing from the list above. Rostin, Lüllfitz, and the part of Camissow east of the boundary river Teipel were transferred to the town of Belgard and have been listed in its privilege confirmations since 1454. Groß- and Klein-Pankenin, Kösternitz, and Pustchow were certainly only established after 1299 and on the Schetterow land. The latter (of which part belonged to Nassow) is listed in 1299 as the Belgard boundary between Lüllfitz and Pumlow, not the villages. The first village belonged to a prebend of the Colberg chapter until 1541, while the second was endowed by the von Zabow family as a vicariate in the Belgard church, whose patronage passed to the town council before 1540. The last two appear only as domains belonging to the castle. Pustchow is equivalent to Pustkowie, meaning "settlement in a wasteland." The tithe from Lüllfitz (together with that of the adjacent Zimines) and from Bulgrin (Balgurino) was assigned to the Colberg chapter at the beginning of the 13th century, which otherwise collected tithes only from the Colberg region, where the first village was incorporated around 1318. Furthermore, Bulgrin and its owner, Knight Bartus, were not subject to Pribeko but directly to Duke Boguslaw, who confirmed his donations in 1288. Thus, an expansion of the land is evident here. In the border description of 1321, Dukes Otto, Wartislaw IV, and Barnim III acknowledged that they held the land of Belgard as a fief from the bishop, just as their progenitores (thus already Barnim I) had. This was reaffirmed by Wartislaw's sons in 1356. Therefore, it can be concluded that the bishop ceded the land expansion as a fief and, in return, also gained nominal overlordship over the original Belgard land, which was solely granted to Pribeko. The added territory includes Nassow, which reverted to the bishop in 1372, as well as the non-obligated villages Bulgrin and Butzke, Rottow (belonging to the castrum and parish of Bukow of the von Mönichow family), Tiezow, both Voldekows (Peter von Voldekow was a witness for the Bartuswitz family in 1353), Warnin, Kowalk, and Schmenzin. All these villages had previously belonged to the collegiate church in Schwellin, and their owners, at least since the late 15th century, also held estates on the ecclesiastical side of the boundary determined in 1321.

12. Transitioning to the determination of the genealogy of Klest's descendants, I first present the data:

a) In 1289, Klest and his brother are listed among the ministeriales of the Lord of Belgard, with Klest of Denzin mentioned (see above, Section 1).

b) Voltze Kliestes is mentioned in a letter dated to Belgard in 1316 (Family Genealogy of 1576, reference "i").

c) In 1364, Duke Wartislaw (V.) of Neustettin enfeoffed several named Wends with the surrounding area of Ratzebuhr, including a share of 25 hides in "the Glyne," where Prißebur holds the other half in joint possession. This Prißebur "who is called Klest of Muttrin" appears among the witnesses as Priszbur Klest (Doc. 83). His holdings include half of Glinike, which belonged to the Raddatz family in 1493. This became the Kleist village of Nassen Glieneke, while the other half, Trocken Glieneke, went to the Vangerow family and other descendants of those enfeoffed in 1364. The joint possession was claimed by the Kleist family into the 16th and 17th centuries. The Family Genealogy of 1558 places this Prißebur around 1320.

d) "An old letter confirms that Jarßlaff and Hennig were the sons of Prißebur, as Prißebur obtained a

letter in 1325 [or 1315] for Glineke in his own name and in the name of his two sons, Jarßlaff and Hennig" (Family Genealogy of 1576, reference "i"). This letter likely records the event when Prißebur acquired joint possession of the other half of Glineke, which had previously belonged to the Glasenapp family, presumably at the same time as his own half. The date is likely incorrect, as Prißebur, who was alive in 1364, could not have had sons who were legally competent and eligible for fiefs 40 [or 50] years earlier. Furthermore, the 1364 enfeoffment (c) notes that the enfeoffed lands, stretching northward to include Trabehn, were only being prepared for settlement. The neighboring Lottin estates were only settled around 1500, the Wulflatzker estates around 1550, and the area south of Persanzig and Raddatz was not cultivated or populated until 1570. It was essential for Neustettin to exist as a protective fortress before villages along the Kuddow near Ratzebuhr could be established. Neustettin first appears as extant in 1356, is not mentioned in the papal enfeoffment of Barnim III. in 1331 (which lists all Pomeranian fortresses, including the new Polzin), and was likely founded when the Stettin dukes Otto and Barnim III. served as regents of the Wolgast division, which included all lands east of the Ihna, i.e., before 1336. It is clear that the date xxv (or xv) was misread instead of lxv, and 1365 fits perfectly.

e) Dubbeslaus Clist, squire, appears as a witness in Köslin in 1368 (Doc. 84). In 1377, Dubbeslaff Cleest, squire, and Cunrad Scheeraf, a citizen of Köslin, sell a rent from properties acquired from Squire Hintze Speet in Oustyn [Augustin] to the local nunnery (Doc. 85). In 1379, Dubbeslaff Clist of Bonnin sells the Bruchmühle (marsh mill) at a hereditary lease, stipulating that the village of Bonnin must continue to mill there, even if it is sold or reclaimed (Doc. 86). In 1383, Dubslaus Cleest, a vassal of the bishop, is a witness in Köslin (Doc. 87). On October 15, 1385, Dubslaf Cleest acts in Körlin on his own behalf and that of his brothers regarding the sale price of 800 marks VO. for the village of Bonyn, which their late father Dubslaf Cleest had purchased from Hintze Heydebreck and sold to the Köslin nunnery (Doc. 88). In 1386, the nunnery pays 150 marks to Kurd Kameke, who had won a lawsuit against Dubbeslaff Cleest over Bonyn (Docs. 89, 90).

f) In 1387, the Cammin cathedral chapter, with the approval of the cathedral estates and the dukes, elects Duke Boguslaw (VIII.) as provost of the chapter. Among the witnesses (from ducal and episcopal territories) are, listed as the sixth and seventh witnesses, Pribbeslaf and Bispro, called the Cleste cousins (Doc. 91).

g) In 1388, Tessin Cleest appears in Dubberow (Docs. 91a, b, p. 5).

h) In 1389, the Pomesanian bishop, acting as a judge delegated by the pope, summons several Pomeranian nobles who had captured Duke Wilhelm of Geldern during his pilgrimage to Prussia. Among them are Briczmar Kleste, a half-priest from Sattikow [Zatkow], and Bisbra Kleste, son of Vulczen of Belgard (Doc. 92).

i) Among the 14 vassals, along with three cities, who serve as arbitrators in 1402 to divide the ducal territories of Stolpe, Rügenwalde, Schlawe, Belgard, and Neustettin among the three dukes, the fifth and thirteenth listed are Olde Bispraw Klest and Junge Bispraw Klest (Docs. 93, 94). The latter also serves as a witness in the simultaneous confirmation of the territorial privileges (Doc. 95).

k) [In 1403] Conrad Cleest and Czybille committed acts of feudal robbery against Heinrich Güntersberg of Waltersdorf and Balster, and against the von Wedel family of [Neu-]Wedel. Similarly, Heinrich Cleest, residing in Radacz, intercepted two farmers from the first party. The Teutonic Order master [as lord of the Neumark since 1402] demanded reparations on February 5, 1404 (Doc. 96, indicating that the feud occurred in 1403). On Mid-Lent Sunday [1404], the Neumark governor reported to the Teutonic master that the Güntersbergs had retaliated by invading the duchy, killing Hennyng Clest, capturing his son, and burning down his house and the village of Radatz (Doc. 97). [On May 5, 1404], Hannos Klist and other Clyste plundered Groß- and Klein-Sabin, belonging to Hans von Güntersberg (Docs. 98, 99). According to Doc. 99, this occurred before May 8, 1405, but based on Doc. 98, it happened three days before Ascension Day, meaning 1404, as Ascension fell on May 28 in 1405. Thus, Doc. 98 belongs to

1404.

l) On February 2, 1407, Olde Bispraw Clest, Hennyng Clest of Bruskow, Hennyng Clest of Raddatz, Hennyng Clest of Mutteryn, Kurt Klest of Damen, Pribbeslaf Clest of Kresyn, Pribbeslaf Clest, Henningh Clest's son of Raddatz, pledge themselves to Duke Bogislaw and the council of Neustettin for their kinsman [= family member] Clest, Henningh Clest's son of Raddatz, who was imprisoned in Neustettin. They guarantee that Clest, Henningh Clest's son of Raddatz, will cause no harm in the duke's lands and will not reside in Stettin without the permission of the duke, the council, and the inhabitants (Doc. 100). The guarantors of this declaration of fealty are listed in alphabetical order.

m) In 1411, during the peace [i.e., after the Treaty of Thorn on February 2, 1411, in which Duke Bogislaw participated as an ally of Poland], damages were inflicted in the Neumark from the duke's duchy by the Kleists and others. They plundered Dolgenow and Clötzin [north of Schivelbein], took 16 horses from the Born family of Grasse, and made three raids into Falkenburg. Heinrich Klest's peasants from Zanow stole cattle from Schivelbein citizens; the Kleists of Kresyn looted in Wurow and Clebow in the Falkenburg region and even in front of Falkenburg Castle itself (Doc. 101).

n) In a document from 1430, Thilo found George Kleist listed as a witness (von der Osten).

o) During the peace, "Polans" and "Kashubians" invaded the Schlochow district. Claus Kameke and Pribbeslaf Cleste, with their company, plundered the villages of Domslaw, Lasen, Hensfelde, and Falkenwalde [all southeast of Hammerstein] on the day before Michaelmas, nearly a year prior. On St. Martin's Day, the [Poles] from [Polish] Crone plundered Christfelde (Doc. 103). Kratz dates this to 1435, rightly so, as Voigt reports similar plundering in Schlochow by Pomeranians and from Crone in 1435. The peace in question is the supplemental peace of Brzesc concluded in November 1433. To the same period—and not around 1414–1416 as Kratz assumes—also belongs the following: "After the peace, from the Duchy of Stolp, damages were inflicted by two Zastrow, Adam Podewils, etc., as well as Przybeslaff Cleest and the Kameke's retainers, Jurge Cleest and Wolf Gumptow, etc., and others from Cuprivin and elsewhere" (Doc. 102). The association of Przybeslaff (Przyb. is a Polish diminutive) with the Kamekes is unlikely to be twofold. Adam Podewils and Jurge Kleist also appear in 1439, and the latter also in 1430 and 1445 (see n., q., r.). The Duchy of Stolp encompasses all lands governed by the duke, who primarily resided in Stolp and was titled as ruler of the Teutonic Order lands from Stolp—essentially all of Hinterpommern. Kashubians here still (as in a.) refer to the Belgard and Neustettin region.

p) Duke Bogislaw complained to the Grand Master Paul von Rußdorf [who reigned 1420–1440] that the peace between the Order on one side and the King of Poland and himself on the other was not being upheld. The Danzig Komtur had imposed taxes on the duke's men from Polzin and others. The Vogt of the Neumark, within the same peace, had also taxed "our man, Henningh Klyste's son of Mutteryn," as well as "our citizens of Stargard, Arnswalde, and Belgard," despite Bogislaw having written repeatedly to the Vogt about these matters (Doc. 104). "This also seems to belong to around 1435," Kratz suggests. The time is determined by the expedition of the Danzig Komtur with a mercenary force from Dramburg through Polzin and Polnow in the summer of 1433, as well as Pomerania's possession of the Neumark town of Arnswalde. Bogislaw took Arnswalde as an ally of Poland in June 1433 and retained it in the supplemental peace of Brzesc in November 1433 until it was ceded in the perpetual peace on December 31, 1435, and handed over in 1436. Thus, the taxation occurred in 1433, and the letter, preceded by several others, dates to 1435.

q) In a dispute between Adam Podewils and the Ramel family over Altschlage, the Neumark forest master, along with Hermen and Jurjen Klest, supported the Ramel family. On August 18, 1439, a settlement was reached (Doc. 105).

r) For the meeting scheduled by the Grand Master for the Feast of St. James in 1445 with the duke at the border near Bütow, the Neumark representatives were instructed to register their claims against Pomeranian subjects. Among those summoned (cited) were olde Marqwart Sanitze calling Jurge Cleiste of Damen and Hans Zosenow of Polzin, a citizen of Arnswalde calling Lüdeke Cleyste residing in Vitzow, and Reymer Podewelsch (Doc. 105b in the second supplement).

s) Gertrud served as prioress from 1454 to 1456, and Gese (=Gertrud) as abbess of the Köslin nunnery from 1458 to 1465 (Docs. 106–110).

t) Ewald of Belgard acted as guarantor for Reimer Versen of Voldekow in 1472 (Doc. 117).

u) According to the 1474 land register, Pribschlaff, along with his brothers Bisprow, Dubschlaff, and Jacob, received enfeoffment. He also sought and obtained joint possession of their Damen estates alongside Bisprow (Family Genealogy of 1576, reference "r."). Voltze, their brother, is likely mentioned in the register as Henning's fifth son (*ibid.*, reference "i.") since he is otherwise counted as the seventh.

v) Knight Jacob or Jakusch [a Polish diminutive of Jacob] was around 1450 a landowner in the Dirschau region of Pomerelia.

w) Finally, the contents of the letter of enfeoffment of April 13, 1477, are to be reiterated: all Kleist enfeoffed at that time testified that they descended from a common ancestor who had three sons. One son's lineage includes Bisprow of Muttrin with his sons Henning, Peter, and Hans; Dubbeschlaff of Damen with his sons Drewes, Curd, Bisprow, Peter, and Pribbeslaw; and Pribbeslaw of Muttrin with his sons. Another lineage includes the brothers Reymer and Bartes of Tichow, Jurgen and Peter, brothers of Dubberow. The third son's descendants include Voltze of Vilnow and Curt and his brothers of Raddatz (Doc. 125).

13. The following observations must be prefaced for the further investigation: after 1477, marriages of Kleist men before the age of thirty are exceedingly rare and should therefore not be presumed; in contrast, women often married at a very young age. The average duration of a generation (from death to death, and thus also from birth to birth) among the descendants of Bisprow of Muttrin—specifically, the lineage of his firstborn son Henning, where all successors are firstborns—is 37 years. Among the descendants of Peter (the Borntiner line) and Curt of Damen, it is 38 and 39 years; among those of Curt's brother Bisprow, 43 and 44 years; for his brother Peter, 40 to 43 years; and among the Raddatz line, from the death of Schir (1541) to their extinction, it is 36 years. Some individual cases show even longer durations, such as the line of Bisprow of Damen, whose youngest son from his second marriage, Jürgen, was followed by Carsten (Jürgen's third-youngest son) and Joachim (Carsten's second-youngest son), with generational spans of 35, 44, 60, and 59 years, respectively (averaging 49.5 years). Paul of Damen approved a parish appointment in 1493 and received enfeoffment in 1501, but his sons were minors in 1556, meaning the eldest could not have been born before Paul was at least 55 years old. Similar conditions often apply to sons from second and third marriages. An average generational span of 30 years, as Kratz applied, is therefore inadmissible. - Another remark is that, until 1600, sons received their father's name only five times: four times it was given to the youngest son (in the respective fifth, sixth, seventh, and sixth positions) and once to the fourth son, who was not the youngest. Only later does this practice appear sporadically for sole sons, although sons with different names may have died young.

14. Looking solely at the 1289 document concerning Klest, one could ascribe him any age.

However, if Prisnibor and Conrad Clest are accepted as his grandfathers, he could not have been born before 1260–1262. Conrad was active from 1248 to 1284, and Pribislaw, Klest's father, from Prisnibor's

second marriage, first appears in 1265 and is mentioned as a knight on June 13, 1267, but not on February 12, 1266 (Docs. 43, 46). Thus, Klest would not have been older than 55 in 1316 when Voltze appears as a witness [see 12b], making Voltze his son, recently of age, as young men of this sort were often chosen as witnesses for their vigor. This would be confirmed if the 1316 document explicitly referred to “Voltze Kliestes.” Voltze, if applicable, would have been the Vulcze referred to as the father of Bispraw [b]. Bispraw was involved in a major state event in 1387 [see f], implying he was of full legal age. By 1402 and 1407, he is distinguished as “the elder” [see i, l]. In 1402, among the 14 vassals who served as arbitrators between the dukes, he is listed as the fifth and the third among the knights, Bispraw is listed as the 13th (or 11th) arbitrator. However, the younger Bispraw must have reached manhood by 1389, as it was necessary to distinguish the elder explicitly as “Vulcze’s son.” Therefore, the elder Bispraw could not have been born after 1347 and may have been born as early as 1340, at which time Voltze, as Klest’s son, must have been between 42 and 50 years old. Thus, Voltze is the Vulcze referred to, and there is no need to assume a second marriage for him. Of the two lines of the third branch, as outlined in [w], the Vilnowers are always listed before the Raddatzers, even in the Family Genealogy, where they are derived from the elder brother. The location of the two estates also suggests that Vilnow was the seat of the common ancestor. The Raddatz line consisted of multiple members in 1403 and 1407 [see k, l], so the Vilnower line must have been similarly established. Among the guarantors for the Raddatz Clest in 1407 [see l], one would expect the then-current Vilnower, as the closest relative and neighbor, to be included; however, he is notably absent. Instead, only Olde Bispraw is listed without a specified residence, making him the Vilnower. The Family Genealogy of 1576, which speculated and later confirmed that Voltze was the ancestor of the Vilnow-Raddatz branch, is thus correct. The reasoning they provided—namely, the recurrence of the name within this branch (Volz of Vilnow in 1477, Volz of Raddatz, †1469, his grandson Volz in 1541 and onward, and his great-grandson Völz Joachim, all heads of their respective lines)—completes the proof. This also identifies Klest as the Oldervater referred to in the 1477 letter of enfeoffment [see w] and as Bolduan’s Kleistius.

The Henning of Raddatz who acted as guarantor in 1407 is clearly the same Henning later named as the father of Pribbeslaf and Clest of Raddatz [see l]. His sons were already of age, as one served as guarantor while the other was able to choose his residence, having previously lived in Neustettin but conducted himself in a manner that led to his imprisonment and expulsion from the city. This Henning must therefore be the father of the Henning who was still combat-ready in 1404 [see k]. He is described as “geslagen” (struck down), meaning wounded and left lying, rather than killed outright; his son was captured, indicating he was also capable of combat. The age of the sons places Henning as a contemporary of Bispraw, making him the ancestor of the Raddatz line, just as Bispraw is the ancestor of the Vilnower line, and thus Henning is Bispraw’s younger brother. Consequently, the Heinrich who was already living in Raddatz and engaged in feuds in 1403 [see k] must be Henning’s eldest son. There is no need to assume Heinrich was a scribal error for Henning, as this is unsupported and unnecessary. It is notable, however, that the Heinrich who held Zanow in 1411 [see m] was likely the duke’s pledge-holder (Pfandvogt) for this estate. Zanow, originally an episcopal castle since around 1345, was acquired by the duke in 1387 and hosted Vogts there in 1387, 1457, and 1480. Pribbeslaf, a young man in 1407, is the only candidate to be the Pribbeslaff plundering near Hammerstein in 1435 [see o]. The location of the estates suggests he belonged to the nearest Kleist family, the feud-loving border keepers at Raddatz and Dallentin. The Kamekes, to whom his companion belonged, still owned the area around Carzenburg and Wesenborg at the time.

15. The Family Genealogy (FG) of 1558 and 1576 places a Pribschlaff at the head of the confirmed genealogy of the Raddatz line as the father of Voltze, who fell as a leader in the Schivelbein War [1469]. Voltze’s eldest son, Curt, who was enfeoffed in 1477 [w.], was a minor in 1480 and reclaimed property in 1486 that had been sold during his minority. The second son, Pribbeslaw, became a notary of the principal officialate in Stettin in 1488 [indicating he was of age by then] and died only in 1541 as

cathedral dean, having accepted a coadjutor in 1537 due to old age. These facts suggest they were born around 1460 and 1462, respectively, meaning their father must have been born before 1430. According to documents and the FG of 1700, Pribschlaff's elder brother was Bisprow, who spelled his name "Bisprau" and was considered over 80 years old in 1496. Their sister was married in 1458, suggesting she was born between 1433 and 1442. Bisprow's stepmother had died a few years earlier in 1486 [but before 1477]. Thus, Pribschlaff married his first wife no later than 1415 and was still alive in 1435, making him the same Pribbeslaf, son of Henning, who appeared in 1407 and 1435. This securely connects the genealogical line of the Raddatz family to Klest.

The eldest son of Voltze of Vilnow [1477, w.], Schir, stated that he was born in 1464 or 1465 to a Smelingk (Doc. 421), placing his father's birth before 1435. According to the FG, his brother was Prissebur, who must have died before 1477. The FG of 1558 and 1576 identifies their father as Dubschlaff, whom it also describes as a brother of Pribschlaff of Raddatz because both are placed at the heads of two lines that supposedly descend from two brothers. However, Dubschlaff was more likely a descendant of the elder Bisprow, specifically his grandson, as suggested by the inclusion of an additional intermediate generation, Voltze. The Voltze of 1477 is younger than the Voltze of Raddatz, who was the third son of a younger son of Henning, Bisprow's younger brother. In contrast, the Vilnow line consists exclusively of firstborns, implying an additional generation in their lineage. Dubschlaff would have been roughly contemporary with Dubschlaff of Damen, who is distinguished as "Brata" (brother), with no third individual of the same name appearing at that time. - If Dubschlaff of Vilnow and Pribschlaff of Raddatz were not brothers, the FG's reference to their brother Jarislaff, mentioned as childless and last in line, must belong to one of them. Given the known brothers of Pribschlaff of Raddatz (through k. and l.), Jarislaff should be assigned to the Vilnow line.

16. In the Muttrin-Damen branch, Bisprow, Dubslaw (Brata), and Pribslaw were enfeoffed in 1477, in that order of age according to the sequence in [w.] and the relationship of their sons. The FG, however, places Pribslaw first and second, grouping the two Muttrin lines together. They are identified as brothers according to [u.] and the FG of 1558. Their younger brothers were Jacob, Schir, David, and Voltze, all of whom were alive in 1477; the latter two were deceased by 1474, as Voltze is listed as the fifth son [u.]. Their father was Henning, according to the FG, presumably mentioned in the 1474 letter of enfeoffment [u.].

Bisprow is not mentioned after 1477. His eldest son Henning appears until 1498, and the second son Peter died in 1501. Dubslaw lived until December 11, 1479, but was already deceased by December 28, 1485, as his sons were then enfeoffed with what they inherited and purchased. His two eldest sons, Drewes and Curt, were already deceased by 1493; Drewes' son Bartes was of age, and Curt's second son, Paul, was of military age. Drewes must therefore have been born by 1438, placing Dubslaw's birth around 1408. Dubslaw's father was the Henning of Muttrin who, in 1407, was the last (youngest) of the three Hennings acting as guarantors [l.] and was still alive in 1435 [p.]. His son, Bisprow, was taxed in 1433 and already managing the estate. Thus, Henning could not be the Henning who was enfeoffed with half of Glienicke in 1365, alongside his father Prissebur and elder brother Jarßlaff [d.], as suggested by the FG. Moreover, the FG's connection—where Jarßlaff, who first acquired Damen, is said to have sons named Herman and Georg, with the former dying unmarried by accident and the latter slain childless during a dispute—cannot be correct. These are instead the Hermen and Jurjen who appear together in 1439 [q.]; Jurjen is the Jurge mentioned in 1430, 1435, and 1445 as residing in Damen [n., o., r.]. This aligns with the FG's assertion that Dubslaw partially inherited Damen through pledges. Therefore, the Conrad or Curt residing in Damen in 1403 and 1407 [k., l.] must have been Jarßlaff's son, who originally acquired Damen, and the father of those two brothers. Their unusual deaths and Jarßlaff's acquisition of Damen are the only memories preserved by later owners. Consequently, the Henning residing in Muttrin in 1407 and 1435, who must have been born before 1376 based on the ages of his two eldest sons, must be distinguished from, but linked as a son to, Henning, the younger brother of

Jarßlaff who remained in Muttrin. The FG's mention of Henning's marriage to a von Wedelstett likely refers to the younger Henning. She was a descendant, not a daughter, of the individual who owned one-third of Gülzow, as its sale to the bishop by the Schmeling and von Wedelstett families occurred in 1303, with final payment confirmed in 1331. The second Henning must be the younger son of the first due to their shared name [13]. The elder is likely the younger Bispraw, who was an arbitrator between the dukes in 1402. Based on the above [14], he was notably younger than the elder Bispraw but was of age by 1389 and still alive in 1407, when the elder was still differentiated. If this younger Bispraw was the son of Voltze, who was the youngest son of the Oldervater based on his children's ages, then the younger Bispraw was the grandson of one of the two older sons, specifically the Muttriner, as the name recurs only among his descendants. Born before 1365, he could only have been the son of the first Henning, as Jarßlaff had other sons [16, para. 2 and 17]. His father, Prissebur, as stated by the FG, was old by 1364 and an independent owner of Muttrin by 1320, making him the son of Klest.

Bispraw's brother resided in Muttrin, while Bispraw likely lived elsewhere. Bispraw's son is probably Lūdeke, who resided in Vitzow in 1445 [r.]. Lūdeke's son is likely Ewald, who lived in Belgard in 1472 [t.], as the estate later became the exclusive possession and primary seat of the Muttrin branch, specifically the descendants of Peter, enfeoffed in 1477. They are first documented in Vitzow in 1486 (Doc. 184), and the name Ewald was most popular among them, later spreading to other lines. Since this line alone acquired the estate, it can be assumed that Bispraw initially acquired it, and Ewald transferred it to Peter before 1477 (as Ewald is absent from the 1477 register). Joint ownership of new acquisitions was only granted after 1477. Similarly, Dubslaw's descendants exclusively owned Damen, which he inherited from Jarßlaff's grandchildren, the original acquirer's descendants.

17. Zatkow was also a possession of the Muttrin lineage and, in 1477, belonged to the two Muttrin branches and the Damener branch [p. 273]. Thus, the Briczmar in Sattikow mentioned in 1389 (in h.) must be part of this lineage. He was a "Halvpape," i.e., undoubtedly a cleric who had received the lowest ordination that leads to the subdiaconate. He presumably remained in clerical status in his younger years and left no heirs. The name is indisputably (also according to Kratz) a misinterpretation of "Pritzbor," the old alternative form of "Priszbur," since the relevant document was issued in East Prussia and written by a High German scribe (it features forms such as "v. Walde," "Mantufel," "Heydebrechen," "Buchow," "Claushayn," and "Czulchhain" for Zülkenhagen). This scribe also wrote "Bolczin" for Polzin and "Bisbra" or "Wisbra" for Bispraw. The suffix "-mar" (from "-mir") could have easily been substituted for the much rarer "-bor" in Pomerania and Poland, which were both regions influenced by the Teutonic Order at the time. Elzow provides the lineage: Voltze from 1316 [b.] as the progenitor of the second branch, with his sons Conrad, Henning, and Prissebur. The first was the father of Jacob (the father of Tessen at Dubberow) and Hans at Gr. Tichow, while the FG of 1576 directly lists Hans and the father of Tessen of Dubberow as sons of the unnamed progenitor of this branch. Elzow did not derive the three brothers from family tradition, which knew nothing of them, nor did he invent them—such an act is uncharacteristic of him—especially since two died without heirs and were therefore irrelevant to the family tree. Instead, he likely transferred them from notes he encountered in another family record and placed them where the FG left a gap. These men existed and were contemporaries: Conrad as the Conrad (Kurt) of Damen in 1403 and 1407, Prissebur as the Pritzbor from 1389, who belonged to the family, and the third as the co-guarantor Henning of Brückow from 1407, the first of three Hennings there [l.]. Gr. and Kl. Brückow belonged to the castle of Stolp in 1485 [Urk. 177] and thereafter. When these estates came under its control is unknown to me, possibly under Boguslaw X., who acquired domains for the castles wherever possible. The castle at Stolp emerged from the princely mill estate and was expanded into a residential house by him in 1480. When the land came under Pomeranian control in 1317, the old Wendish castle had been destroyed, and the associated estates had been transferred to the Putkamer family.

18. The brothers Reimer and Bartes, who were seated and enfeoffed at Gr. Tichow in 1477, do not

appear in later records. Of Reimer's grandsons, Michel was enfeoffed in 1527, and Tessen served as a witness in 1518 [Urk. 431, 395]. Among his sons, Tessen is recorded from 1490 to 1527 as a Johanniter commander in Zachow (and not after 1529). It is certain that he must have been at least 30 years old when he achieved this position, suggesting that Reimer could not have been born after 1425. According to the FG of 1558 and 1576, Reimer's father was Hans of Tichow, and his cousin was Tessen of Dubberow, the father of Jurgen and Peter, who were enfeoffed in 1477. Since, apart from the aforementioned Tichow Tessen, another Tessen appears among Reimer's descendants and two more among Bartes', Hans' father and Tessen's grandfather must have been the Tessin of Dubberow mentioned in 1388 (g.).

19. Pribbeslaf and [Olde] Bispraw were involved in the significant state matter of 1387 and described as cousins [s.]. Just as Bispraw was the son of the youngest of the three original brothers, Pribbeslaf, who was listed first and thus as the elder, must have been the son of one of the two older brothers. Since the sons of Prissebur, who was still alive in 1365, are known, Pribbeslaf must have been the son of the other, unnamed brother. He can be identified as Pribbeslaf of Kresyn, who acted as a co-guarantor in 1407 [l.]. This is plausible because, in 1411, several Klyste from Kresyn appear [m.], presumably his sons.

Dubbeslaw, who first appeared as a witness in Köslin in 1368 and later in 1383, acquired and sold the nearby village of Bonin and died in 1385 (as his son issued a receipt for payment on October 15, 1385), lived well past the time of Prissebur, who was already advanced in age, and nearly into the time of his sons. His connection to Clest extends too far to consider him another original brother. Instead, he must have been the son of Pribbeslaf's elder brother, making him the only plausible position left in the family tree. His property acquisitions in the church lands did not preclude his residence in the Belgard region. His son Dubslav, likely the youngest due to sharing the same name, issued a receipt in 1385 on behalf of his brothers, just as his father had done in 1379 with his heirs [e.]. The sons were evidently of age by 1385. If they belonged to the Dubberow branch, then Tessin of Dubberow in 1388 was the eldest, and the second might have been Hannos, of the same name as his descendant, who led other Klyste in raids in 1404 [k.].

Based on our understanding, Dubbeslaw's sons were of age by 1385, and Reimer of Tichow was about 20 years younger than Bispraw of Muttrin. There were three generations between Clest and Bispraw and four between Clest and Reimer. Therefore, the progenitor of the Dubberow branch must have been Clest's eldest son. This alignment is also consistent with the FG of 1607 and 1700, likely not based on memory but on symmetry in the genealogical trees. - As for the name of this ancestor, it was unknown in 1576; Elzow erroneously assumed it to be Voltze, while the Lehnbrief of 1608 and likely the FG of 1607 name him Jacob, and Bolduan in 1614 along with all subsequent records name him Georg. Just as Prissebur shares his name with his uncle and great-grandfather, Clest's eldest son might have been named after his paternal grandfather Pribislaw (and Voltze possibly after his maternal grandfather). This eldest son would have passed on his name to his younger son, like Dubbeslaw. - The FG of 1576 does not identify the older brother of Hans of Tichow, the link between the two Tessens of Dubberow, but Bolduan and later sources call him Peter, which is quite plausible. Only Elzow names him Jacob. Perhaps Jacob was Peter's brother and the knight Jakusch (a Polish diminutive of Jacob) who resided near Dirschau around 1450 [v.]. The Kresyn branch, mentioned in 1411, likely died out without heirs. Their property seems to have been fragmented. By the 16th century, the Versen family owned half of Kresyn, while the Kleist families of Gr. Tichow and the Damen line (the latter already in 1485) each owned a quarter.

20. Perhaps the von Krummensee family in the Schlochau district near Landeck was a side branch of the Kleist family. Currently, only Hannos von Krommenzehe is known. In 1429, he was granted 40 Hufen at Remmen [now part of the royal forest near Krummensee] under Kulm law in exchange for knight service by the Grand Master (Document 599). In 1612, Philipp Kleist [of the Viezower line] from

Batrow (Flatow District) appealed to Duke Philipp: he had purchased his estates nearly 20 years ago, but they were now being reclaimed by other Poles, alleging that he lacked Polish indigeneity. Philipp argued that several Pomeranian Kleists had held such status for ages, especially in the village of Krummensee, which had been owned by the Kleist family for over 300 years. He requested certification of his contested kinship with the Krummensee family, and this was granted. The certification must have sufficed since Philipp and his sons, who later died childless, retained the estates. Krummensee first appeared as Kleist property in the land registry of 1575. Hans von Muttrin, listed as residing there in 1546, was the grandson of the Hans who was granted estates in 1477. This Hans's brother Peter is the ancestor of Philipp. The shared ancestor is likely Bispro of Muttrin, who was active between 1433 and 1477. According to von der Osten, Bispro "acquired and was granted Polish indigeneity," a note possibly derived from the now-lost Viezower genealogical record of 1607. Bispro could have been the closest heir of Hannos of 1429, securing inheritance rights that he or his son exercised. Hannos might have been his paternal uncle or the son of young Bispro. Alternatively, the note could pertain to this younger Bispro, whom the family genealogy does not mention but was mistakenly attributed to his similarly named nephew. On the other hand, Elzow adds under the section "This family also appears in Poland": "One member of this family married the last of the Borntine family of the Polish line, Margaret von Borntin, and acquired Borntin estates as there were no remaining male heirs." Only one such marriage is recorded: Hans, grandfather of the first Kleist identified in Krummensee, married Paul von Bornentin's heiress around 1480 and acquired part of the village of Bornentin with her (Genealogy of 1558). If Margaret were descended from Hannos of Krummensee by affinity, this would unify both accounts. However, as Königsberg archivist Dr. Meckelburg informed me, the Schlochau documents were taken to Lithuania by the widow of Schlochau's starost Radziwill in 1721 and have yet to be recovered. Future research might clarify this matter.

21. Let us now turn to the family's estates and their distribution among the branches before 1477. The following are the primary sources for this analysis:

- a) The letter of enfeoffment for the five Damen brothers, sons of Dubbeslaff Brata, from 1485 (Document 192).
 - b) The 1541 letter of enfeoffment for Pribslaw of Borrentin detailing what he and his brother inherited from their father Hans (†1516, granted estates in 1477) (Document 460), reflecting their holdings from 1517.
 - c) The 1575 letter of enfeoffment for the Vietzower branch (Document 503), which includes estates acquired from the Raddatz branch in 1480, shares obtained before 1501 in Borrentin, portions ceded in 1517, and other acquisitions from 1490 to 1517. This likely reproduces a letter of enfeoffment issued around 1502 after the death of Peter (granted estates in 1477, died in 1501).
 - d) Property exchanges between the sons of Pribslaw of Muttrin and Peter of Damen in 1522 (Document 414) and with the Dubberow family in 1524 (Document 418), in which they gave up their holdings in ducal lands.
 - e) The ownership status of certain villages in Belgard in 1577 (Document 518).
 - f) Further records from 1628 (Document 607).
- Below, references to these documents are cited by their corresponding letters. The first estates to be considered are those owned by the Kleists in 1477:

Denzin: Around 1300, this village served as the seat of Kleist, referred to at the time as Densin, a name that persisted in Lubin's records. It appears in the 1621 letter of enfeoffment as Kleist property (Document 594), with Carsten von Kleist of Cöslin identified as its resident. In 1591, his uncles Lorenz and Venz von Podewils lodged a formal complaint that the Belgard captain had appropriated a meadow their peasants had used for over 100 years. Likewise, in 1609, the Kleist and Podewils families reported that prime farmland had been seized and incorporated into the Belgard Vorwerk (manorial estate) around 1595, despite their continued payment of 92 bushels of Reipenkorn (a grain tax). By 1628, the village, encompassing 17.5 Hufen (a medieval land measurement) and 2.5 cottagers, was integrated into the Belgard estate. The share of the von Podewils in Denzin was owned in 1478 by the Gantzel family (who provided three feudal horses in 1523) and was inherited at that time by Adam von Podewils as the *Angefäll* (hereditary entitlement) (Document 131).

Roggow: This village, taxed under Bede (see above 11), included a farm inherited by Jurgen Kleist of Dubberow from his ancestors. He exchanged it for Belgard castle property in 1487 (Document 194).

Boissin: This village paid taxes of 1 mark, 8 bushels of rye, and 8 bushels of oats (Bede). Thomas Kleist exchanged his peasants in Boissin for Dubberow in 1524 (d), which included two peasants with three Hufen in 1577 (e), and later in 1690, 1784, and 1862. The Kleists from Cöslin, listed as residing in Beußin or Boysin between 1575 and 1608 (Documents 502, 547, 564), owned nothing in the village by 1577. Instead, the Dubberow branch owned a sheep farm with shepherd and laborers (e). This estate was later absorbed into the Amt (administrative estate), which included these two peasants by 1628.

Dubberow: Dubberow was the seat of Tessin in 1388 (12 g). In 1487, Jurgen of Dubberow traded for Ripengeld (a tax in kind, typically grain), Ripenkorn, and all ducal revenues in Little Dubberow (lütken Dobberowe) and Great Dubberow (groten Dubberowe) (Document 194). By 1577, the family owned Little Dubberow entirely, including the knightly seat, and held half of Great Dubberow (13 peasants, 12 Hufen, and a mill). The Damen line owned five peasants with seven Hufen, and the Cöslin branch owned four peasants with five Hufen (e). Likely, the Cöslin branch sold part of their share to the Damen line before selling the rest in 1613.

Mandelatz: First mentioned as Manlatz in 1608, the village appeared with variations such as Manlatzke (1577, 1609, 1641, 1645), Manlatz (1685, 1696), and Mannelatzke (1645). The name likely originated as a compound to distinguish it from other nearby villages with the suffix -latzke, meaning forested. The 1577 records show the village split between the Dubberow and Tichow branches (4 Bauernhöfe, 6 Hufen at Little Dubberow; 4 Bauernhöfe, 8 Hufen at Great Tichow, e), likely reflecting a division of ownership that had existed since 1477.

Tichow: First mentioned in 1425 and the seat of Hans and his sons in 1477, Tichow paid Bede taxes of 12 shillings, 6 bushels of rye, and 6 bushels of oats. Later known as Groten Tichow from 1540 onward, the estate remained in the family until the 18th century. The Versen family also held a seat in Tichow as of 1523 and maintained a portion of the village until 1773.

Croszine gave Bede 6 β., 3 bushels of rye, 3 bushels of oats (1387). In 1407, Pribbeslaff Kleist held Croszine as Kresyn. It was referred to as Kressyn and Kreszyn in 1411, Crossin in 1485, and from 1608 onwards as Lutken Cressin, Krossin, and Crössin. Since 1667, it has been called Kl. Crössin. Historically, it was merely a peasant village, with 16 hides (1/2) belonging to the Versen family of Burzlaff, 6 1/2 hides to the Kleist family of Gr. Tichow, and 9 1/2 hides to the Damen family (f). This portion was already held by Dubbeslaw in 1477 (a), as were likely the other shares. Since the Tichow family owned the village along with Gr. Tichow and Mandelatz with the Versen family, and since these two estates were equally divided among the descendants of Reimer and Bartes, yet the Tichow family held no shares in Kl. Crössin and only contributed 1 feudal horse in 1523 while the others provided 2 (document 415), and because Kl. Crössin is missing from the Damen estate register of 1501 (document 343), I conclude that Dubbeslaw acquired Reimer's share, presumably initially as a pledge.

Vitzow, written as Vietzow since 1590, provided 8 β. 4 bushels of rye and 4 bushels of oats as Bede. It was the seat of Lüdeke in 1445 [12 r], Peter in 1486 (document 184), and his son Jacob (document 376 etc.). Jacob owned it in its entirety, along with the peasant village of Wussow (only mentioned once in 1665, and referred to as Wutzow from the 18th century onward) (5). The share of Wussow that the Glasenapp family held in the 16th and 17th centuries was likely sold to them by Jacob when he sold rents there in 1523 (document 416), Poberow, which he had purchased from his father, in 1516, half of Borntin in 1517, and half of Naseband in 1519 to raise funds for the acquisition of Bublitz.

Damen was first brought into the family by Jarshaw around 1365 [16], likely from Wusterbart, as it was exempt from Bede [11], and because its appurtenances, specifically from the field mark Nemrin, were

intertwined with those of the Damen estate. Until around 1650, Damen (and its appurtenances, including Kaszekenhagen [Katschenhagen forest with manorial farms, likely named after the Kaszeke = Käseke family] and half of Nemrin [a]) belonged solely to the Damen family lines. A portion of the deserted field mark Nemrin was associated with Borntin (document 386 2c.), and another portion belonged to Wusterbart in 1560 [and earlier].

Muttrin (1407, 1480 Mutteryn, 1433 Mütteryn) provided 1 1/2 marks, 12 bushels of rye, and 12 bushels of oats as Bede. It was the seat of Prissebur in 1320 and 1364, his son Henning in 1365, Henning's son Henning in 1407, and the latter Henning's sons Bisprow (1433, 1477) and Pribbeslaw (1474, 1477), as well as Henning's sons Hans (1481, 1493, 1516 [b]) and Peter (1493, 1505, 1523). In 1524, Dubbeslaw and Jacob exchanged lands with the Dubberow family. These lands included the 4 peasant farms with 7 hides that they held in 1577 (e) and half of a farmstead occupied by Valentin in 1576. The other half was the knight's farm with 2 hides, which Peter from Damen exchanged in 1522 along with other appurtenances (e) for lands belonging to Bisprow's sons. Dubbeslaw already owned a share (a), and by 1577 his descendants held 8 peasant farms, 15 hides (including the exchanged lands), and Hans' descendants held 4 peasant farms, 5 hides, and 2 hides (e), along with a knight's seat.

Dobel (see Bede obligations above, 11) partially belonged to Dubbeslaw of Damen (a), Hans of Muttrin (b), and the descendants of Pribbeslaw of Muttrin, who exchanged lands there in 1522 and 1524 (d). By 1628, the Damen family owned 15 hides, while Hans' descendants owned 4 hides (f). Since the village historically consisted of only 19 hides, the portion of the current field mark west of the Persante River likely came from Borntin's holdings. This village, along with part of Nemrin, was acquired by Hans through marriage to the heiress of Paul of Borntin. Hans' sons purchased in 1517 the other half, which Peter of Vietzow (d. 1501) had received as a feudal privilege, from Peter's son. However, the Glasenapp family of Gramenz held a portion (around 1/4) in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Kikow paid 20 B., 10 bushels of rye, and 10 bushels of oats as Bede. It was a peasant village with 34 hides (e). Shares were held by Dubbeslaw of Damen (a, kykowe), Hans of Muttrin (b), who owned 6 hides in 1577 (e), Jacob of Vietzow (c), and the descendants of Pribbeslaw, who exchanged lands there in 1522 and 1524 (d). In 1524, this included 4 hides (according to e), while in 1522 it was more, as farms were exchanged for Peter's share, requiring an additional 100 florins for the increased holdings in Kikow. By 1577, the Damen family held the remaining 24 hides (e), including these farms and the Vietzow share.

Zatkov provided 1 1/2 marks, 12 bushels of rye, and 12 bushels of oats as Bede. In 1389, Sattikow was the seat of Pritzbor. It was spelled with an "S" until 1575 and 1584. The original form is undoubtedly Zartkow, as seen in a 1599 seal and a 1501 document (343), where the "a" is long (Zaatkow 1584, 1601; Zaetk. 1613, 1618; Zatichow 1656, 1670). Thomas exchanged 3 hides in 1524 with the Dubberow family (d), which amounted to 3 hides in 1577 (e). Dubbeslaw of Damen held 3 hides in 1477 (a) and 3 hides in 1577 (e). In 1556, Jürgen of Damen owned a portion, possibly the same share his son held in 1619. The remaining 12 hides (2/3), including the knight's seat existing before 1572, were held by the Vietzow family in 1577 (e). However, around 1502, they owned only a share that, when calculated among entire and half-villages (c), would have been less than half. This likely led to a land exchange with Hans of Borntin. See Drenow for further details. The associated manor Lassentz was established in 1572.

Drenowe and Czernekowe were half-owned in 1485 by the Damen family (see below, 22) and half around 1502 by the Vietzow family (c). The same division existed at Zarnekow in 1628. Zarnekow had 22 hides, including 6 knightly hides, of which 5 taxable hides belonged to the Damen family and 11 taxable hides to the Vietzow family. Drenow had 20 knightly hides and 14 1/2 taxable hides. Of these, 8 knightly hides belonged to Vietzow, 2 knightly hides and 6 taxable hides to Pribschlaß of Muttrin, and 10 knightly hides and 8 1/2 taxable hides to the Damen family (f). Thus, half of the village belonged to

the Damen family, while the other two families held a quarter each. Around 1500, the knightly hides were mostly occupied by peasants, making divisions focus more on equality of dues than on equal land areas. Hans inherited the Muttrin share from his sons in 1516 (b) and likely acquired it from Jacob of Vietzow through exchange between 1502 and 1516, as Jacob's descendants only owned a partial share in Zarnekow. Further records (Nasebänder reports) indicate that Tetzlaw von Bonin received lands west of the Chodel [Kautel River, within the Duchy] in a division with his brother in 1356, while his brother received the lands in the bishopric. Tetzlaw was enfeoffed by Duke Wartislaw [likely ruling 1374–1394, the father of King Eric] with Naseband, Drenow, Zarnekow, and Konow [Kramerwinkel]. Tetzlaw's son [more likely grandson, as Henning of Nasebande sat in 1389, a figure absent from the Bonin family tree], Ewald, who married a von Wedel-Falkenburg around 1400, pledged Drenow and Zarnekow to the Kleist family of Damen. Ewald planned to redeem the pledge through timber sales, but the wood was lost in flooding along the Persante River. His widow, supported by her von Wedel relatives, initiated a feud in which 5 Kleist villages were burned, and 10 knights died on both sides. However, the Kleist family retained the estates, which led to further conflict with the Kleist of Voldekow [likely Dubbeslaw's son Drewes, active 1477–1488; see below, 22]. Ewald's son Karze of Naseband died in 1486; his son Peter "was begged for half of Drenow and Zarnekow" and evidently reacquired half of Naseband from Jacob Kleist of Vietzow in 1519 after extended litigation (see soon). Peter likely reclaimed his share in both villages, as neither contributed Bede to Belgard Castle, confirming their original connection to Naseband Castle [see above, 11].

Vilnow—sometimes referred to as Vilmenow, likely its original form—was first mentioned in 1477 as the seat of Voltze, who was certainly the father with whom the FG begins. It appears as a Kleist estate in 1488, 1490, and 1493 (documents 203, 216, 269). Voltze's sons sold it before 1507, when they were established in the Mark (documents 339, 358 a.). Additionally, in 1490, Naseband was also a Kleist estate (document 216). Jacob of Vietzow was enfeoffed with half of Konave [field mark where the manor Krämerwinkel recently regained its name] and half of Nasebantt around 1502 (c) and sold it in 1519 to the Bonin brothers there for 440 florins (document 399). Subsequently, Voltze's son Schir sold his patrimony for approximately 1,000 florins (document 421, beginning), including Vilnow for 600 florins. Clearly, the share in Naseband constituted the other part of his father's inheritance, especially since no other Kleist appears to have resided there. The buyer was Peter of Vietzow, who likely sold it to his father, perhaps Jost von Bonin, uncle of the 1519 buyers, about whom the Nasebänder reports state that the estates belonging to him had been given to the Kleist as a fief.

Raddatz is first mentioned in 1403 as a seat (Radacz 12 k, Raddaß 1477), specifically of Henning, who divided it with his brother between 1360 and 1370 [14]. It had already been owned by the Kleist family in 1289 [2]. In 1526, Schir Kleist and the elders of the village demarcated the boundaries as his father [Voltze, d. 1469] had left them (document 422). These boundaries, verifiable in all respects, encompass the field marks Raddatz, Schneidemühl, Kucherow, Zamenz, Kl. Zemmin, Lanzen, Falkenhagen, Juchow, Gissolk, Bramstädt, Neudorf, Panikow, and Klingbeck. With the exception of the first and last, the others were established by the Kleist family in their "wilderness" after 1560. Certainly, the entire possession belonged to the deserted lands where in 1295 the Belgard region ended against Poland, and Kleist retained it in this manner, as others did neighboring lands. Raddatz, often recorded with the article in documents, is evidently named after the lake and was likely established early. Klingebeke, due to its German name, probably existed before 1450.

Dallentin was owned, like Raddatz and Klingbeck, by the sons of Pribbeslaw from 1407. Divided in 1435, they had inherited it from their father, whose widow also retained 1/8 as a dower. He had acquired it since it was known around 1500 and 1533 by tradition that the Kleist family of Raddatz had received it from the Ubeske, who had obtained it as a dowry with two maidens from the Loden family, who had received it in exchange from the Glasenapp family (document 444 under 1). Half the village was pledged between 1458 and 1498 to the Loden family of Zuchen. The other half was transferred by

Bisprow to Peter of Vietzow in 1480; of this half, 1/2 went to the Butenhave family, 1/4 to his stepmother, and 1/4 to Schir's widow.

Of the 25 hides in Glyne, Prissebur of Mutrin received half along with joint ownership of the other half from the Glasenapp family in 1364. He was likely enfeoffed with it around 1365 along with his two sons [12 b. c]. This is the half-Glineke that Bisprow of Raddatz pledged before 1493 to Claus vom Herzberge (documents 273, 274), and his nephew Schir inherited it from him. First called Nassen Glinke in 1659, he alone owned it, indicating it was neither divided among his brothers nor inherited from his father. How it passed from the Mutrin family to him is unclear. Since it does not appear in the 1477 register, it was either already pledged or not yet acquired.

22. On December 28, 1485 (document 192), the five brothers of the Damen family received their hereditary and feudal rights as their father had held them in the ducal lands and as they had purchased, namely, these properties in their entirety: Damen, Kaszekenhagen, Warnyn, Groten Hansselt, Groten and Lutken Voldekowe, half of Nemeryn, Drenowe, Czernekowe, Lutken Hansselt, Frigenstein, Lotczige (Lotzke), and what their father had possessed in Groten Dubberowe, Czathkowe, Muttryn, Dobeln, Kykowe, Kreszyn, Kowalke, Dymmekur, and Smenczin. Thus, the wholly owned estates are listed first, followed by those partially owned. Damen, along with Kaszekenhagen and half of Nemeryn, was acquired by Jarlaw around 1370. The properties not marked in print were also partially owned by other members of the Kleist family and were acquired before the relevant divisions. In contrast, the bolded properties remained exclusively owned by the Damen branch of the Kleist family until much later and can be seen as grouped under the Voldekowe estates, which in 1523 provided two feudal horses, compared to four provided by the four knightly seats in Damen along with shares in the older properties. Furthermore, the bolded properties were all part of the parish church in Schwelin (from which Kowalk was detached around 1570 and added to Naseband). These properties did not pay Bede to Belgard. The shares in Kowalk, Dimkuhlen, and Smenczin were already held by Dubbeslaw, as were Warnim and both Voldekowe. The field mark Groten Hansfelde, half of Lutken Hansfelde [both between Warnim and Kowalk], and Freienstein, along with the forest and lake Lotschen, were either purchased by the sons or partially owned by their father. This likely included the portion for which Peter Monnichow of Bukow was enfeoffed in 1479 as inheritance and fief: 1/8 of Frigenstein and shares in the forest Grabbama [possibly Grabuffa near Dimkuhlen, document 600], the forest Vir near Smenczin [where Vierhof is], the forest Karleue, and the lake Letzetzky (document 133), which is Lottschen. Later, the Münchow family no longer owned anything there. Furthermore, Ansam Versen of Pobanz was enfeoffed in 1517 with 1/3 of Smenczin, 1/3 of Kowalk, and a portion of L. Voldekow, which Pawel and Frederick Versen had held as a fief (document 387). The Versen family of Tiezow owned the first property until about 1700 (the woodland and a manorial farm until 1733), the second and third properties, except for a cottager, until after 1645 (document 623), and a sheep farm in Dimkuhlen until about 1620 (documents 517, 600). In contrast, Peter von Volcow is mentioned in 1353 as a witness in Köslin regarding the affairs of the von Bulgrin family, and Paul Versen the Younger is recorded in Volkow in 1389 (document 92), Curt V. in Voldekow in 1429, Reimer V. in Voldekow in 1472 (document 117), and by January 25, 1477. In 1490, Drewes Kleist is listed in Voldekow (documents 124, 216), and by 1501, the sons of his brother Curt had inherited their father's property in both Voldekows (document 343). Originally, only the smaller Voldekow contained a knight's seat, while the larger Voldekow consisted solely of peasant holdings. Shortly before 1477, both were acquired from a branch of the Versen family by Dubbeslaw, likely using the funds he obtained from selling his share in Bublitz. This acquisition also included two-thirds of Schmenzin, Kowalk, and Dimkuhlen, as well as the entirety of the large Hansfelde and half of the smaller Hansfelde (which was subsequently associated with Kowalk), and probably also Warnin. The property acquired by Dubbeslaw's sons likely corresponds to the holdings that were still owned by the Münchow family in 1479.

23. In 1485, the Duke enfeoffed the brothers of the Damen family with their hereditary and feudal rights

"in our lands." This likely contrasts with their holdings within the bishopric. The charter of Count Ludwig of Ewersteyn, the [1472] elected bishop, dated December 11, 1479 (document 135), provides further details. According to the document, Bishop Ziuwerd [Siegfried Bock] had, in 1444, as recorded by Brüggemann, sold Bublitz town and castle, along with the villages of Porse and Zassenborch, as hereditary property to Mickes Massow, Rudinger Massow, and subsequently to Dubbeslaw Kleist of Damen for one-half share, Peter Monnechow of Bukow for one-sixth share, and the brothers Peter and Henning Glasenapp of Manow for the remainder. Ludwig had purchased and redeemed the first two shares but was compelled to sell them to Jasper Loden of der Ghust. However, Peter Glasenapp and the sons of his deceased brother contested the sale, prompting Loden to cede his purchase to them. Ludwig then sold it to them and used the proceeds to release the citizens of Kolberg and Köslin from a surety they had undertaken against Dubbeslaw Kleist, who had only partially received his purchase money. Dubbeslaw had sold the property before January 25, 1477, as Ludwig had pledged the revenues ("Orbör") of Bublitz town to Drewes, Dubbeslaw's son, by that date (document 124), indicating the sale had likely occurred shortly before. Dubbeslaw may have purchased the property around 1467 or 1468.

Dargenhof is first recorded as a possession of the von Bonin family in 1491 (document 226a). Dubslaw Kleist, the son of Pribbeslaw of Muttrin, acquired part of it through marriage to Barbara von Bonin before 1513 (document 374). In 1522, he exchanged another portion of Dargen and the field mark Darso with Peter of Damen (document 414) and acquired further shares from Pribbeslaw, Jochim, and Jürgen, sons of Bisprow's brother. Additionally, the grandson of a third brother, Curt, inherited legal claims to both portions from his ancestors (document 511). The latter two portions were identified as ancestral hereditary fiefs. Evidently, their common ancestor Dubbeslaw had already owned them. However, Glineke and Schwellin were only acquired after 1477, with the former and half of the latter being lost again by 1536.

24. The state of ownership in 1477, based on the preceding details, would have been as follows: Bisprow of Muttrin owned shares in Muttrin, Döbel, Kikow, and Boissin; half of Denzin, Drenow, and Zarnekow; the majority of Zatkow (including Lassenz); one-quarter of Gr. Dubberow; and, additionally, his son Peter held all of Vietzow and Wutzow. Dubbeslaw of Damen owned all of Damen with its appurtenances, shares in Muttrin, Döbel, Kikow, Zatkow (about 3/9), half of Drenow and Zarnekow, one-quarter of Gr. Dubberow, and 2/9 of Kl. Crössin. Around 1475, he also acquired Warnin, Gr. and Kl. Voldekow, Gr. Hansfeld, two-thirds of Kowalk, Dimkur, and Schmenzin, half of Kl. Hansfeld and Freienstein, as well as a share in Dargen with Dasow. Pribbeslaw of Muttrin held shares in Muttrin, Döbel, Kikow, Zatkow (1/6), and Boissin (1/7). Jürgen and Peter of Dubberow owned all of Kl. Dubberow and half of Gr. Dubberow, nearly one-third of Manlatzke, and one peasant in Roggow. Reimer and Bartes of Tichow owned about three-quarters of Gr. Tichow, nearly half of Manlatzke, and one-fifth of Kl. Crössin. Voltze of Vilnow held this village and had recently acquired half of Naseband along with half of Konow. The Raddatz line owned Raddatz with its extensive wilderness, Klingebeck, and Dallentin, although half of it was pledged. Whether they or still the Muttrin line held Nassen Glineke at that time is unclear.

Let us now consider the conclusions that can be drawn from these data.

Among Bisprow's sons, Henning inherited the shares in Denzin, Boissin, and Gr. Dubberow. In 1493, he was also an heir at Muttrin (document 279), so his son likely sold the share to Hans. Hans owned shares in Muttrin (already in 1481), Döbel, and Kikow, and probably also in Zatkow. Peter owned half of Drenow, half of Zarnekow, over two-thirds or possibly almost half of Zatkow, a share in Kikow, and all of Vietzow and Wutzow. He could not have inherited these two villages from his father, as the division among the brothers would otherwise have been disproportionate. Since Lüdeke Kleist held Vietzow in 1445 and was, at most, a cousin (patruelis) of the seven Muttrin-Damen brothers at the time, and joint ownership of new acquisitions was only introduced in 1477, it has been inferred that Lüdeke's line acquired these two villages and transferred them to Peter.

What Prissebur owned as part of Muttrin in 1320 and 1364 corresponds to what the Muttrin and Damen families shared in 1477, namely Muttrin, Döbel, Kikow, and Zatkow. Damen and its appurtenances were only acquired by his son Jarislaw, while Zarnekow and Drenow were pledged by the Damen family according to the Nasebander reports. Therefore, the properties divided equally between Jarislaw and his brother Henning were those attached to Muttrin and the halves of Gr. Dubberow and Denzin, along with a possibly significant share in Boissin held by Henning's descendants. Jarislaw held the knight's seat in Zakow if the Pritzbor who resided there in 1389 was his son.

According to the FG, Henning had seven sons: Bisprow, Dubbeslaw, Pribbeslaw, Jakob, Schir, David, and Voltze. Of these, the last four died without heirs. The first, third, fifth, and seventh sons inherited Muttrin and its associated properties, while the second, fourth, and sixth inherited Damen. When the last two of these sons died, Dubbeslaw took over their shares in the Damen properties, and the children of his two eldest brothers allowed him to retain them to maintain unity. When Jürgen, Jarislaw's youngest son, was killed (after 1445), Dubbeslaw took possession of the Damen properties that Jarislaw had owned, claiming they had already been pledged to him during the lifetime of Herman, Jürgen's elder brother. Whether Dubbeslaw reached an agreement with his four brothers residing in Muttrin is unknown. In 1474, Bisprow and Pribbeslaw received joint ownership of Dubbeslaw and Jacob's Damen properties. This claim must be qualified, as all of Henning's sons were equally entitled to what Jarislaw had inherited from their father. Any differing arrangements could only concern acquisitions made by Jarislaw and his descendants, such as Damen (with Katschenhagen and half of Nemrin). However, two of Dubbeslaw's brothers also resided there, meaning he could not have held it alone. Instead, the inheritance from their father and cousins was pooled and divided into two parts, with the Muttrin share assigned to the first, third, fifth, and seventh brothers, and the Damen share to the second, fourth, and sixth. This alternating arrangement ensured that the brothers within each group inherited from one another first and only secondarily from the other group.

Drenow and Zarnekow were divided equally, likely because they were only held under pledge at the time. Similarly, half of Gr. Dubberow was split evenly, and Kikow was almost evenly divided, as were the peasant holdings in Muttrin and Döbel. The first group held the knight's seat in Muttrin. However, in Zatkow, the first group had the knight's seat and over two-thirds of the peasant holdings, indicating a division that deviated from earlier patterns. Additionally, the four brothers held shares in Denzin and Boissin, while the three brothers owned Damen, the most significant of all the estates. It can be assumed that the 12 1/2 Hakenhufen in Nassen Glineke were added to the four brothers' share. Since this still would not suffice, it must be accepted that Dubbeslaw held a pledge over Herman's share of Damen.

Among the surviving brothers from the first group, Pribbeslaw held significantly less than Bisprow. It is likely he who acquired Nassen Glineke and sold it to Bisprow of Raddatz, possibly using the proceeds to purchase property in Stolp, which his son Jacob and his descendants later owned.

Voltze, Kleist's third son, is mentioned as a witness in Belgard in 1316 [12 b.], and his son Bisprow was residing there in 1389 [12 b.] and, as of 1407, had not yet been titled "of Vilnow." The village of Vilnow is, by no means, equivalent to the holdings of the Raddatz brother. From this, I conclude that it was acquired later—either from Naseband or more likely from the Triddemer, as it did not pay Bede to Belgard Castle and because it separated the estate of Crossin (Gr. Crössin) from its appurtenances Steinburg and Grünenwalde. Before acquiring Vilnow, the line likely owned estates that were connected to Belgard Castle and its knightly service. Potential candidates for these holdings include the other half of Kleist's seat, Denzin (the Gantzel family, whose minor sons of Laffrentz were also enfeoffed with shares in 1478 [document 131], are mentioned, as far as I can see, only in the Neumark in the 14th and early 15th centuries [document 98]), the remaining part of Roggow (where the Dubberow family held one peasant until 1487), and the village of Vorwerk, which, based on its name, was originally a dependency of the castle. This could explain why, around 1595, the fields and meadows of Denzin were annexed to Vorwerk. Presumably, the remainder of these holdings was sold around 1477, and in

exchange, half of Naseband and Konow were acquired. Gr. Dubberow was divided equally between the first and second lines, indicating it was originally held by Kleist, as was Kl. Dubberow, since both villages were also considered a single settlement (document 518).

Both Dubberows and Denzin were certainly owned by Kleist, as were the intervening Roggow and Boissin. After the partition around 1320, the eldest son held all of Kl. Dubberow with the knight's seat, half of Gr. Dubberow, and the share of Roggow that his descendants inherited from their ancestors in 1487. Prissebur's descendants held half of Denzin (with the seat), half of Gr. Dubberow, and Boissin. According to the assumptions above, Voltze held the remainder of Roggow (later Vorwerk and peasant village), half of Denzin, and Raddatz. The division was approximately equal; even if Raddatz already existed as a new village, Klingbeck likely did not yet, and the share of the wilderness may have been granted later. The proposed ownership of Vorwerk may have been obtained by the elder Bispraw as a Burgmann of Belgard. Thus, Muttrin (with Döbel, Kikow, and Zatkow) was first acquired by Prissebur, which seems plausible since his share would otherwise have been disproportionately large. Additionally, shares in Gr. Tichow, Kl. Crössin, and Mandelatz were likely acquired later by the Dubberow family but before 1380.

Supplement
to Section II of the History of the Kleist Linage⁹⁷⁰
by W. Stettin

As the printing of Section II was almost completed, and the genealogical table prepared by Quandt down to 1477 had already been lithographed, I was made aware, through the “History of the Town of Colberg,” issued in instalments by Professor H. Riemann in Greifenberg, that, in the earliest period, Kleists had been settled in Colberg, of whom neither the traditional accounts nor the various family genealogies had made any mention.⁹⁷¹

After careful perusal of the relevant source, the town book of Colberg, which in 3 thick parchment volumes comprises the years from 1373 to 1540⁹⁷², and, like all town books, contains conveyances and pledgings of plots and salt-pan sites, inheritance settlements, oaths of peace, now and then council resolutions and individual historical notes, I have indeed found only little; but even this little suffices partly to confirm Quandt’s genealogical table by documents, and partly to correct and complete it.

In accordance with the previous arrangement I shall first let the documents follow, which I have taken up only down to 1475, since the later isolated occurrence of the name offers absolutely nothing new:

1377.

recognoscimus quod borstmann emit a **vikken Klest** et a nicolao vos domum sitam in platea landesbant intra praedictam domum angularem penes bolcendahl et intra domum lapi-deam quam coram nobis resignaverunt.

1385.

recognoscimus quod stephanus gründemann inignoravit domum suam inaplatea Landesbant sitam penes domum Hans breiner **Hermannno Cleest** pro centum et quatuor marcis vincon. denariorum exsolvendis in fetso nati Christi pro anno futuro, et si eadem pecunia non exsolveretur eidem **Hermannno** extunc eandem domum tanquam pignus exsecutum vendere potuit suam pecuniam de ea recepturus.

1407.

recognoscimus quod Her Johann Helt et **Hermannus clyst** assignaverunt nicolao Helt pro hereditate sua materna quartam partem domus quam modo inhabitat **Hermannus clyst** in platea apothecaria proximae apud Webelen proconsulem sitae.

⁹⁷⁰ The former first paragraph of the supplement is now, above, part of the preface to the first edition. (2007)

⁹⁷¹ Eberhard Sauer, *Der Adel während der Besiedlung Ostpommerns*, 1939, has pointed to the following further charters (p. 239): In a charter of 20 January 1319 from Bast, in which the Hospitaller knight Bernhard and the squire Heinrich, brothers von Heydebreck, come to terms with the monastery of Dargun concerning disputed boundaries between the monastic farmstead of Bast and the villages Bast, Parnow and Poppenhagen, it says: Pommersches Urkundenbuch V, no. 3236, pp. 416/417. Thus a “Clestesboken” (Kleist-beech) is mentioned, which stood on the road from Bast to Köslin. In the second charter of 13 November 1325 Johann von Schleze again determines with the monastery of Dargun the boundaries between the monastic property at Bast and his goods. At the end of the charter it says: .” Pommersches Urkundenbuch 6, no. 82 b, p. 300, no. 3888. Sauer conjectures that Nycolaus Kleist was a burgher of the town of Kolberg. (2007)

⁹⁷² The oldest part, comprising the years 1277–1372, unfortunately seems to have been lost.

1413.

(The brothers Hans, Claus and Hermann Roggow, sons of Hening Roggow of Belgard, settle the paternal inheritance among themselves, the claims upon the estate being counted out individually.)

d. hebbe wy enen Bref de sprekt up and erhalf hunderd mc van **henningh clyst** wonaftich to sanow. unde van zinem vadere dar tu is uns **henningh clyst** noch schuldich zos unde druttich mc vor wande van zines vader wegghen.

11 October 1436.

Wytzke Manteuffel of Krukenbeck, Hermann Kleist, son of Curt Kleist of Damen, and Dubbeslaff Zülow of Zülow swear an oath of peace to the council of Colberg and promise compensation for the nocturnal raid upon the monastery on the Old Town.

(From the municipal archive at Colberg No. 98, printed in H. Riemann, "History of the Town of Colberg.")

Vor alle den yenen, de dessen brieff zeen edder hören lesen, bekenne wy Wytzke Maanduuel to Krukenbeke, **Hermen Clyst**, **Kurd Klestes** sone to Damen, unde Dubbeslaff Sulowe to Sulowe wonaftich, unde betughen apenbar in disseme breue myt unsen rechten erfnamen, dat wy umme oueruaringhe unde walt willen, de wy ghedan hebben an deme erbaren heren her Johan Bley juncfrouenpraueste des closters to der Oldenstad buten den muren to Colberghe unde ok an des suluen closters slote to brekinghe ete spise, vlesche, lichte unde vorlust willen soes mark penninghe ghegrepen wurden van deme erverdighen rade to Colberghe unde vorbat in ere torne unde bewarynghe ghesettet. Des syn wy umme unses gnedighen heren Sifridi bischopes to Camyn unde des irluchteghen hochgeborn vorsten unde heren Buguslaues, hertoghen to Pomeran, unde ok umme unser vrunde bede willen van deme suluen rade to Colberghe ute den tornen gelaten unde hebben umme der vorsrr: wald unde oueruaringhe willen deme irbenomeden praueste unde clostere wandel unde nughe ghedan in sodaner wise, dat wy den prauest hebben gheboden umme godes willen, dat he uns togeheue de wald unde oueruaringhe, de wy an em ghedan hebben in deme clostere by nachtslapender tyd, dat he uns umme godes willen to gheuen heft unde vor de walt de gesehen ys in den anderen vorsrr. stucken, schole wy gheuen eyen steen wasses deme vorsrr: clostere in de ere godes unde wedergeheuen de soes mark, de dar verloren wurden, unde wy Wytzke, **Hermen** unde Dubbeslaff nummer na desser tyd in dat closter to kamende. Vortmer so laue wy Wytzke, **Hermen** unde Dubbeslaff vorscreuen mit macht desses breues deine rade to Colberghe, eren nakomelinghen, deme praueste unde clostere vorsrr. nummer to sakende, edder to manende uppe unsen heren van Camyn, syne nakomelinghe, syne capitle, ryddere, knechte, stede, borghen, unde syne undersaten, baren unde ungeboren, in to komenden tyden, ghestlik edder werlick, umme desser vorscr. sake willen, men unsen Heren van Camyn und syne undersaten to forderende unde to beschermeude, unde weret sake, dat wy Wytzke, **Hermen** unde Dubbeslaff vorscr. unse eruen, unse vrunt edder yenichman van unser wegghen unsen heren van Camyn, syne stede, slote, mannen, undersaten, de Colbergheschen, den prauest unde dat closter umme der vorscr. sake wyllen beschedigheden edder unse here van Camyn unde de synen yenighen hinder edder schaden dar umme nemen dun mosten edder deden, in welker wys de hinder unde schade to queme, he were luttik edder grot, den laue wy Wytzke, **Hermen** unde Dubbeslaff myt unsen eruen unde medeloueren, de hir nascreuen stan ghensliken uptorichtende sunder oeschermynghen yenigherleye rechtes. Wy medelouere hir nascreuen lauen ok in krafft desses breues, wen wy geeschet werden van deme rade to Colberghe, to Colberghe in tokamende uptorichtende schaden, de van desser sake gekamen sy, so scholen unde wille wy to Colberghe inryden, den schaden to vorbutende unde ute den muren to Colberghe nicht to schedende, sunder de schade sy ghensliken unde sy des rades wille. Alle desse vorscr. stücke unde eyn yslik by syk stede unde vast to holdende an guden truwen, dar nicht ane to netende hulpewort, herenleyde,

beschermynghe ghestlikes edder werlikes rechtes, de wy ouergheuen mit macht desdes breues, dar laue wy vor Henningk Manduuel van Nesyn, Henningk Romele to Clapetowe, Arnd Romele to der Kerstine, Clawes Manduuel to Drosedowe, Jost Manduuel to Trepetow unde Syuerd Wopersnowe to Kametzow lauen unde hebben gelauet myt ener samenden hant myt unsen houetluden vorscr. unde unsen rechten ernamen alle desse stücke vorscr. unde eyn yslik by sik stede unde vast to holdende sunder hulpewort, leyde unde yenigherleye arghelyst. Des to tuchnisse hebbe wy houetlude unde borghen vorscr. unse inghezeghele myt wytshop unde wyllen henghet vor dessen breff.

Datum Collberg anno domini 1436 die Jouis post festum Dionysii martiris gloriosi.

1475.

Dinnies v. d. Osten and Rüdiger Massow conclude peace with Colberg.

(Colberg Town Archive No. 117, printed in H. Riemann, "History of the Town of Colberg.")

Zeugen: de erbaren düchtigen unde ersamen Kersten Vlemynck marschalk, Wedeghe van der Osten, Curd Ramele, **Drewes Klest**, Ventzke van dem Wolde, Ventzke Monnechow, Hans Karith, Hinrik Teche radeskemerere, Tessen Stoyentin, Clawes Runghe radmannen to Colberghe, alle erenwerdich unde louenvaste.

Kratz's argument for the Wendish origin of the family von Kleist and its cognatic descent from the German knight Conrad Kleist, insofar as it is based on the fact that down into the 15th century no German baptismal name occurs, respectively that the (supposedly) first German baptismal name to occur is Curt (Conrad) (see above pp. 173 and 179), is rendered null by the documents of 1377 and 1385. For Vike (Vicko), meaning Friedrich⁹⁷³, is, just like Hermann, a German baptismal name. One might now be led to the conjecture that the Kleists occurring in Colberg were of German origin and descended from the German knight Conrad Kleist, who did not, after all, die without heirs; for this conjecture, however, no documentary support is to be found. We shall therefore have to try to place them among the ancestors of the family now existing.

That we are not dealing with spurii, but with genuine offspring, is proved by their possessions and their kinship. Under Bishop Count Hermann von Gleichen (1251–1288) Colberg became a German town. Besides the Germans, only noble Wends found acceptance in it and received the civic right. The Pomeranian noble families, German as well as Wendish, held it to be just as honourable (and in any case more advantageous) to boil salt than to practise agriculture, since one extracted the salt from the ground.⁹⁷⁴ No wonder, therefore, that in the town book of Colberg one finds almost the whole Hinterpomeranian nobility represented. Whole streets were built up with curiae and stone houses of noble houses, which took their names from them (as, for example, the Landesbant and Schlieffen Street). The most distinguished street was regarded as the Landesbant Street, and in this we find Vike Klest settled.⁹⁷⁵ According to the document of 1407, Johann Helt (probably a cleric) and Hermann Clyst convey to Nikolaus Helt, as maternal inheritance, the fourth part of the house in Apothekerstraße, which at that time is inhabited by Hermann Clyst. There can be no doubt that

⁹⁷³ It is striking that among the Bork and Bulgrin the baptismal name Vike is pretty much the first (1355 and 1335); among the Mecklenburg Pritzbuers, who according to Kratz's and Quandt's assumption are of one stock with the Kleists, it is the first German baptismal name (1314); see above p. and , and Urk. 82.

⁹⁷⁴ Riemann, *Geschichte von Colberg*, p. 34

⁹⁷⁵ Besides the Kleists, among others the following distinguished houses were settled there: the Horn, Lewetzow, Voß, Molenhusen, Wyse, Stubbe, Hazenvoot, Wockenvoot, Wusseken, de Rega; see Riemann, *loc. cit.*, p. 50.

Hermann Kleist and the brothers Helt were half-brothers on the mother's side; the Helts belonged among the most distinguished families of Colberg, which has given its name to a salt-cottage.⁹⁷⁶

In order to be able to place the Kleists occurring at Colberg in 1377, 1385 and 1407 into Quandt's genealogical table (I.), the baptismal name Hermann provides the only clue. If one considers genealogical table I., it is striking that in the Damen–Muttrin line M 9 (Hermann from Damen) and his father M 4 (Curt from Damen) bear German baptismal names, while all the other contemporaries, except the biblical ones, still make use of the Wendish baptismal names. This circumstance indicates that the persons in question lived for a long time in a German community, married Germans, and were born of German mothers. The baptismal names Conrad (Curt) and Hermann find their simplest and most obvious explanation in the several bishops of the same names who were territorial lords of Colberg. I therefore make no difficulty in considering the Hermann Kleist who appears at Colberg in 1407 to be identical with the Herman Kleist who lived at Damen in 1436 and 1439. The man who in 1407 divides the maternal inheritance must be thought young, perhaps just come of age. Since the fourth part of the house is conveyed to Nicolaus Helt, there must also have been a fourth heir, and as such one might assume Jurien (Jürgen) M. 10, the younger brother of Hermann Kleist from Damen, then still a minor and represented by his brother. Curt (Conrad) M. 4 would then have married the widow of Heyno Helt in Colberg.⁹⁷⁷ If one accepts the identity of Hermann Kl. of 1407 with the Hermann Kl. of Damen who died without heirs between 1439 and 1445, then the Hermann Cleest of 1385 must belong to an earlier generation. I regard him as a brother of Curt M. 4, who, as often happened, transferred his name Hermann to his eldest nephew, thus as a son of Jarslaff M. 2. Quandt gives this man, without documentary support, two further sons: Henning of Brückow and Pritzbor Halvpap at Zadtow; if this is correct, then I would speak of them as sons of the first marriage, and would, already on account of his name, regard Pritzbor as the eldest son, respectively eldest grandson, of the grandfather Prissebur M. 1. Jarslaff would then in a second marriage have married a Colberg patrician's daughter, with whose dowry Damen was purchased, and would then have bequeathed the estate to his eldest son of the second marriage, while Zadtow went to his eldest son of the first marriage, who originally was intended for the clerical estate (in Colberg?). More difficult is it to place Vicke Kleist (1377); one must either regard him as a further son of Jarslaff M. 2, since it is not impossible that the Prissebur seated at Muttrin in 1320 and more than 70 years old in 1365, "de de het Klest," could have had, even from the second marriage of his son Jarslaff, a grandson (Vicke) of full age in 1377; or else—what is more probable in point of chronology—as a previously unknown son of Prissebur M. 1, who removed with his elder brother Jarslaff to Colberg, remained there, and died without heirs. In any case Vicke Kleist, even if not born at Colberg, like Curt M. 4 and his brother Hermann, must nevertheless already have lived there for a long time by the year 1377. For the designation with the family name simply as such (*conductus*, *dictus* occurs more often about that time) suggests—just as with the Germans—a longer use of the family name; Prissebur at Muttrin is almost at the same time (1364) still designated as "de de het Klest." Against the immigration of Vicke Kleist there also speaks the circumstance that, according to the town book, to many family

⁹⁷⁶ The Kleists were not members of the salt guild (*Salzjunker*) according to the new Kothén ordinance drawn up in 1450; but the Woedtke, Pritze (abbreviation of *Prissebur*) and Wusseken were, who may well be of one stock with the Kleists. Besides these there is also of interest a Dethmar Raddatz occurring in the town book, belonging to the council and related to the most distinguished families, once in a charter written in Low German in 1376 (oath of peace of Berthold Glasenapp on account of the manslaughter committed upon Dethmar Dobelstein) named "Dethmar de Raddas."

⁹⁷⁷ As wife, family name lacking, she buys in 1374 the house consisting of two halves, concerning which her sons in 1407 hold division; her remarriage to Curt Kl. must therefore have taken place after 1374.

names a place-name is appended, as roggow de Belgard, Henning Wusseken de Belgard⁹⁷⁸ etc., which in the following generation disappears—proof that the fathers had immigrated from outside.

It is therefore quite possible that Vicke Kleist is not related to Curt and Hermann Kleist, but that his forebears immigrated into Colberg much earlier; it would not be impossible that he already descended from Prissebor I. 11 (1287), who, as episcopal castle-reeve of Arnhausen, remitting 10 marks to the cathedral chapter at Colberg, had a certain relation to Colberg. Quandt indeed has the Meseritzes descend from him, but he could just as well have turned toward Colberg; then, however, the patronymic derivation of the name Kleist would be at an end, and, in spite of the comma in the document of 1289 (U. 75), one would have to read Pritzebur clest. In any case, the first part of the lost Colberg town book (in 1760 it was still extant) would probably give the best information about the origin of the name and also of the family.

The document of 1413 leads to the correction of Quandt's pedigree. The possibility, which Quandt indeed suggests but rejects (see above p. 234), that a confusion between the names Henning and Heinrich had occurred, is by it made a certainty. The names are, even in later times, probably often confused on account of their similar sound; in the documents of 1404 and 1411 (Urk. 96 and 101) this confusion was all the easier, since they are issued in Prussia. Quandt sets Heinrich R. 5 as the eldest son of Henning R. 3, because in 1411 he is listed as residing at Zanow; from the document of 1413, however, we see that Henning Kleist resided at Zanow, evidently as princely reeve; that is Henning Kleist at Raddatz R. 3, who is listed as hereditarily seated there in the documents 97 and 100. It would be more than striking if, in the document of 1407 (Urk. 100), where all the Kleists (at least those living in the duchy) provide surety for their cousin Clest Kleist who has been taken prisoner, the allegedly eldest brother (Heinrich), who, next to the father, was the party most closely concerned, should be missing among the sureties!

Heinrich R. 5 is therefore, as safely identical with his father Henning R. 3, to be struck out of the genealogical table.

It remains to be regretted that the document of 1413 did not name the father of Henning Kleist; we would then have established the Raddatz line by documents down to the traditional ancestor Volz. Quandt designates Volz R. 1 as the father of Henning; it is unlikely, though not impossible, that Volz, born at the latest in 1295, should have had a son still able to bear arms in 1413 (Kratz assumed one generation more); but if one compares the document of 1389 (Urk. 92), according to which a Volcze Kleist lived at Belgard, with the present document of 1413, according to which Henning Roggow of Belgard lent 36 marks to the father of Henning Kleist, Quandt's assumption becomes almost a certainty. The document of 1436 confirms a combination made by Quandt. Against the quite definite statements of the Ruschitz manuscript and the family genealogy that Hermann and Jürgen I, M. 9 and 10, were sons of Jarislaff M. 2, he inserted Curt M. 4 as father, who otherwise could not be placed; see above p. 236; the present document expressly designates Hermann as son of Curt Kleist of Damen. To this document I must still attach the brief remark⁹⁷⁹ that it is by no means a common robbery, but evidently a private feud, which at that time still occurred quite frequently. Thus we see the same Hermann Kleist in the company of the same Wytzke Manteuffel in 1439 involved in a private feud (Urk. 105), and in 1475 (see the document communicated above) Dinnies v. d. Osten and Rüdiger Massow conclude peace with Colberg. It cannot be assumed that three notable noblemen would alone have raided a monastery merely to rob meat and candles. That they stole 6 marks is not

⁹⁷⁸ There also exists a family "von Belgard," which with Hermann von Belgard first appears in Colberg in 1266; here the original place-name has become the family name.

⁹⁷⁹ Riemann, "History of the Town of Colberg," p. 266, depicts the incident as a common robbery raid and has those involved condemned to death—of which there is nothing in the charter.

even said by the document; the same were lost on the occasion of the fight. If they and their following forced open the store-room against the will of the provost and made free with the victuals found there, there is nothing reprehensible in that. Their capture presupposes an honourable fight; certainly they would not have been let off so cheaply (one stone of wax and repayment of the 6 marks) if one had had to do with common highwaymen. Hermann Kleist of Damen's participation in the fight strengthens me in the assumption that he formerly had been settled in Colberg and tried to avenge a supposed or real wrong. As a place of residence for Dubbeslaff Zülów (it is not to be thought of Dubbeslaff called Bratta, who inherited Damen from Hermann and Jürgen M. 9 and 10) I can only regard the present forest-complex "Zülów," belonging to Gr.-Tychow and Kiekow, where he will have established in the wilderness an outlying farm and named it after himself.⁹⁸⁰

Drews Kleist, who appears as witness in the document of 1475, is I. M. 23 seated at Voldekow.

⁹⁸⁰ At present (1873) the share of Zülów belonging to Gr.-Tychow is said to be converted again into an outlying farm. A squire Dubbeslaff Zule occurs in 1359, a squire Vike Zule in 1391 on Rügen; Dubbeslaff of 1436 could be his son; the Zülów family existed in and near Belgard still into the previous century; cf. also Urk. 459 no. XXIII.

