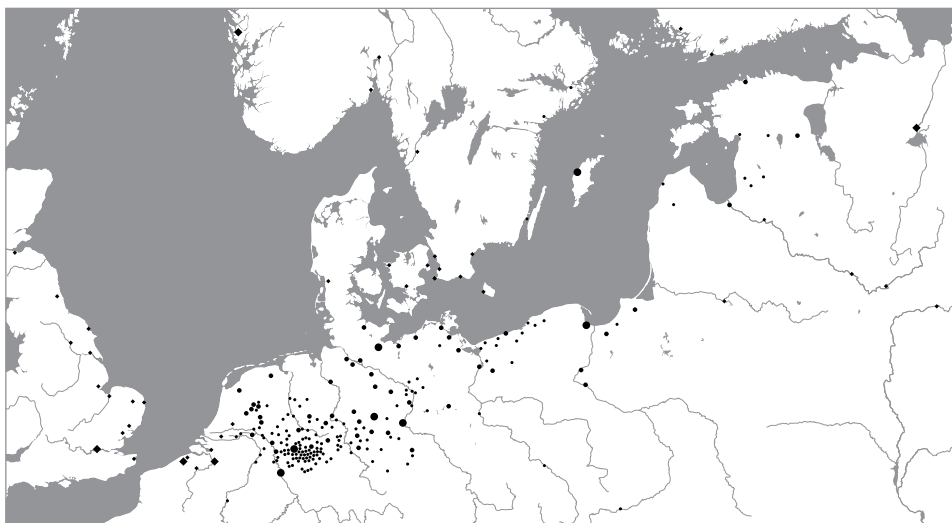


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**Reconsidering the Composition Principles of the  
Lübeck Town Council: Lists of the *ordines* of Consuls  
in the *Liber Memorialis (Memorialbuch)* from Lübeck**

**von Valentin L. Portnykh und Emil E. Otakulov**

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# Reconsidering the Composition Principles of the Lübeck Town Council: Lists of the *ordines* of Consuls in the *Liber Memorialis* (*Memorialbuch*) from Lübeck<sup>1</sup>

by Valentin L. Portnykh und Emil E. Otakulov

**Die Prinzipien für die Zusammensetzung  
des Lübecker Rats neu betrachtet:**

**Listen von *ordines* der Ratsherren im Lübecker *Liber Memorialis***

**Zusammenfassung:** Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg wurden mehrere mittelalterliche Handschriften aus dem Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, die in das Steinsalzbergwerk Bernburg ausgelagert worden waren, in die Sowjetunion transportiert. Ein kleiner Teil dieser Sammlung wurde vor kurzem in Tomsk entdeckt. Darunter ist eine wertvolle Handschrift, die vor dem Krieg als *Liber Memorialis* oder Memorialbuch von Lübeck bekannt war. Dieses Buch besteht aus 57 Pergamentblättern und hat zwei Teile: der erste enthält Einträge, die das wirtschaftliche Leben Lübecks betreffen, der zweite Listen von Lübecker Ratsherren. Der Artikel ist diesem zweiten Teil gewidmet, vor allem den Listen von Ratsherren, die in drei sogenannte *ordines* geteilt sind. Obwohl die Handschrift vor dem Krieg teilweise veröffentlicht und regelmäßig von Historikern, die sich mit dem Lübecker Recht beschäftigten, benutzt wurde, sprach über diese *ordines* fast keiner. Man ging allgemein davon aus, dass diese Kategorien einer bestimmten Regel entsprachen, nach der jeder Ratsherr zwei aktive Jahre im Amt und dann ein Ruhejahr hatte. In unserem Artikel analysieren wir sowohl veröffentlichte als auch bisher unveröffentlichte Angaben aus dem Memorialbuch und kommen zu dem Schluss, dass entweder die Regel dieser Rotation ganz anders funktionierte, als wir es uns vorstellen, oder man unter diesen *ordines* etwas anderes verstehen muss.

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<sup>1</sup> The work is sponsored by the Russian Science Foundation, project no 17-78-20011. We are extremely grateful to Professor Catherine Squires (Moscow), Professor Carsten Jahnke (Copenhagen), Dr. Vincent Challet (Montpellier) and to the peer-reviewers of this journal for their very helpful advice. We are also grateful to Ardella Crawford for the English editing.

## 1 A surprising discovery in the heart of Siberia

Since 1980, Tomsk State University, an old Russian university and the only one founded in Siberia before the October Revolution, has allegedly possessed a collection of Western manuscripts, printed books, and documents, some of which are medieval. In 2017, the Russian Science Foundation sponsored the launch of an extensive study of this collection, which revealed that most of the medieval manuscript books and documents originate from the Hanseatic cities of Lübeck and Hamburg, from both their libraries and archives, with one manuscript book having previously been preserved in the Domgymnasium at Halberstadt.<sup>2</sup> They were all transported as a war trophy from Germany to the Soviet Union after World War II. One of the three manuscripts from Lübeck was identified as the so-called *Liber Memorialis* or *Memorialbuch*, once preserved in the *Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck* and well-known among historians of the Hansa before WWII.<sup>3</sup>

We are fairly certain of exactly how these medieval manuscripts and documents ended up in the Soviet Union, despite the fact that Lübeck and Hamburg were not part of the Soviet occupation zone. From 1942 to 1944, the most valuable items from archives and libraries in the Hanseatic cities of Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg were evacuated southeastwards. Serious evacuation measures in Lübeck started in 1942 after a massive bombardment of the city by the Royal Air Force on Palm Sunday. In 1942–43, a considerable portion of these library and archival materials was brought to salt mines in the area of Bernburg (Sachsen-Anhalt);<sup>4</sup> and in 1944, some archival items were transported to salt mines in Grasleben (Lower Saxony).<sup>5</sup> Later, Grasleben became a part of the British occupation zone; and in 1946, archival materials were consequently returned to Lübeck<sup>6</sup>. Bernburg was occupied by the United States Army, but was ceded to the Soviet Army on 1 July 1945, according to international agreements concerning occupation zones.<sup>7</sup> Afterwards, the archival and library materials from Bernburg were taken as a war trophy and sent from Berlin to Leningrad in August 1946 by train Nr. 176/8037.<sup>8</sup> In 1948, Ahasver von Brandt, director

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<sup>2</sup> Portnykh 2021.

<sup>3</sup> See for example: UBStL 2.1, S. X.

<sup>4</sup> Von Brandt 1952, p. 55, Graßmann 1992, p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> Von Brandt 1952, p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> Von Brandt 1952, p. 56.

<sup>7</sup> Graßmann 2013, p. 106.

<sup>8</sup> Lehmann/Kolasa 1996, p. 198.

of the Lübeck City Archive, was already aware of the transportation of the archival materials to the Soviet Union<sup>9</sup>.

Unfortunately, we do not have extensive information about the fate of library and archival materials in the Soviet Union. Of the archival documents and manuscript books from the Hanseatic cities, a very large portion ended up in Moscow and from thence was returned to Germany in 1990<sup>10</sup>. The Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts still has a 12-volume inventory of this collection made in 1981. Some parts of the library and archival items were transported to Georgia and Armenia, and were returned to Germany from 1996 to 2000<sup>11</sup>. Antjekathrin Graßmann, a prominent scholar of Lübeck and Hanseatic history and a former director of the Lübeck Archive, nonetheless states that the archive still lacks some documents<sup>12</sup>. Some of these were found in Tomsk. We do not possess any certain information about how they went from Leningrad to Tomsk: a local legend says that they arrived by train from Moscow in 1980, but this is only oral information provided by Tomsk library staff members. There are no publications related to this issue.

## 2 The *Liber Memorialis*/Memorialbuch: a brief description

Of the *Liber Memorialis*, it must first be said that this book is a relevant source for the study of medieval Lübeck. It consists of 57 parchment folios measuring 26,7x19,0 cm, which were filled in by around sixty different hands over more than two centuries. Whereas in the Lübeck Archive the book had no call number, it now has call number B-2900 at the Tomsk State University Library. The date of the first entries in the manuscript is certainly 1318, since folio 2r starts with this phrase: *Anno MCCCXVIII in cathedra Petri* (the Chair of Saint Peter, February 22) *inchoatus est liber iste*. It should also be noted that this is written by the earliest hand in the manuscript, which was identified by Friedrich Bruns as that of Johannes Ruffus<sup>13</sup>.

To our knowledge, the *Liber Memorialis* is a unique book: it does not have any equivalent produced in medieval Lübeck. Folios 1–18 are filled with entries concerning the economic life of the city, presumably the most important information. However, this data was not entered continuously: much information is entered in Latin in the first half of the fourteenth century, with German

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<sup>9</sup> Von Brandt 1948, p. 126.

<sup>10</sup> Graßmann 2013, pp. 119–120.

<sup>11</sup> Krawehl/Neubacher 1999; Hamann 2000, pp. 245–248; Graßmann 2013, pp. 121–122.

<sup>12</sup> Graßmann 2013, p. 122.

<sup>13</sup> Bruns 1934, pp. 42, 46.

translations of some of these made in the second half of the fifteenth century, and then only a few later entries are from the sixteenth century. This part is not the focus of this article, which is dedicated to the second part of the manuscript book (ff. 20–57), in which are represented the various lists of consuls who formed the Lübeck town council.

Four different sections are found in this part of the book:

- 1 Consuls ordered by years of their death, from ancient times to 1566 (ff. 20r–30r); this list was started soon after the end of the Lübeck Uprising of 1408.
- 2 Consuls ordered by years of their election, covering the period 1416–1578 (ff. 31v–34v); this list was started around 1520.
- 3 Consuls ordered by three so-called *ordines*, covering the period 1318–1475 (ff. 39r–40r, 40v–41v, 43r–44r, 46v–47v), divided into four chronological sections, each forming a separate set of lists of the consuls of the first, second and third *ordo*.
- 4 Consuls ordered by three categories, presumably also *ordines*, from 1480 to 1568; entries are made for each specific year with some gaps (ff. 37v–38v, 42r–46r, 48v–53v, 54v–57v).

In general, these lists are far from being unknown. More or less all extant scholarship on the history of the town council in Lübeck uses them. Up to 1945, it was possible to use the original, and afterwards it was still possible to use much of the information from the *Liber Memorialis*, which became available thanks to several pre-war publications. The list of consuls ordered by years of their death (the part up to the Lübeck uprising of 1408) was amended with information taken from charters and published by Jacob von Melle and Ernst Deecke<sup>14</sup>. Recently, a transcription of the part of this list covering the period up to the Lübeck Uprising of 1408, based on unpublished notes by Wilhelm Brehmer and Friedrich Bruns, was published in a book by Michael Lutterbeck<sup>15</sup>. Bruns published and extensively commented on the list of elected consuls (section 2) and the section with the lists of consuls from 1318 to 1475, which were divided into three *ordines* (section 3)<sup>16</sup>. However, the last section number 4, which concerns 1480–1568, has never been edited or studied. Only a small part of it, entries which cover the years 1499–1507, was published by Deecke, who merely gave an example from this part of the manuscript book

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<sup>14</sup> Von Melle 1742, pp. 26–43; Deecke 1842, pp. 28–41.

<sup>15</sup> Lutterbeck 2002, pp. 448–456.

<sup>16</sup> Bruns 1934, pp. 69–84, pp. 41–63.

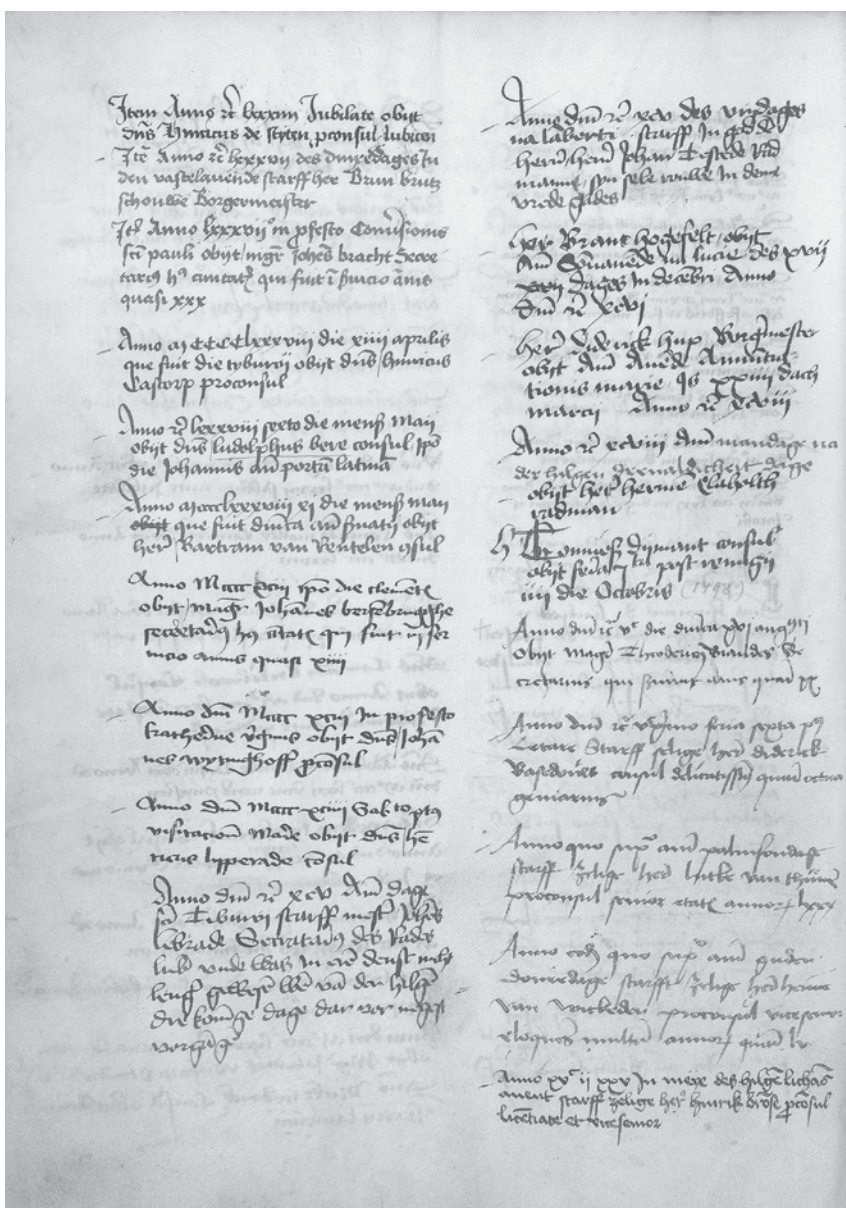


Fig. 1: A page from the list of the consuls ordered by years of their death (section 1), fol. 26v (Tomsk State University Library).

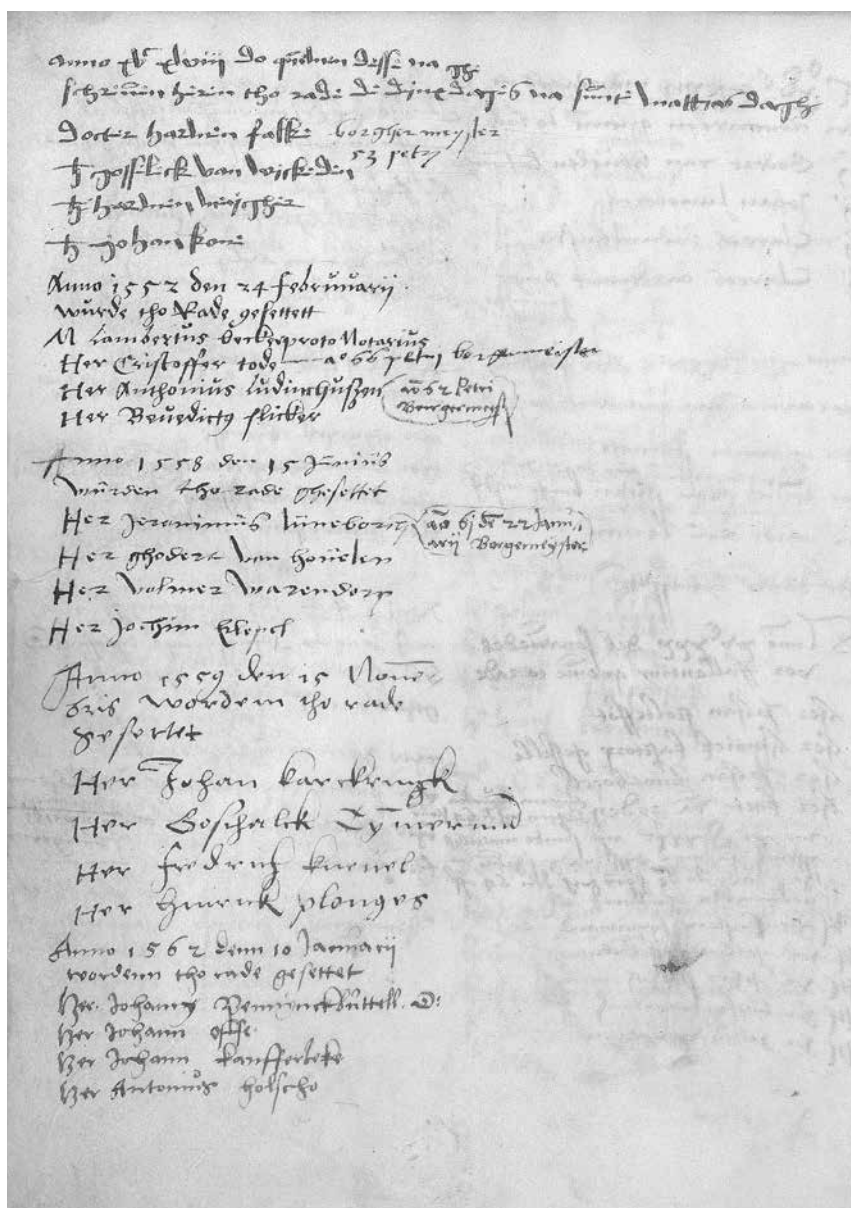


Fig. 2: A page from the list of the consuls ordered by years of their election (section 2), fol. 33v (Tomsk State University Library).



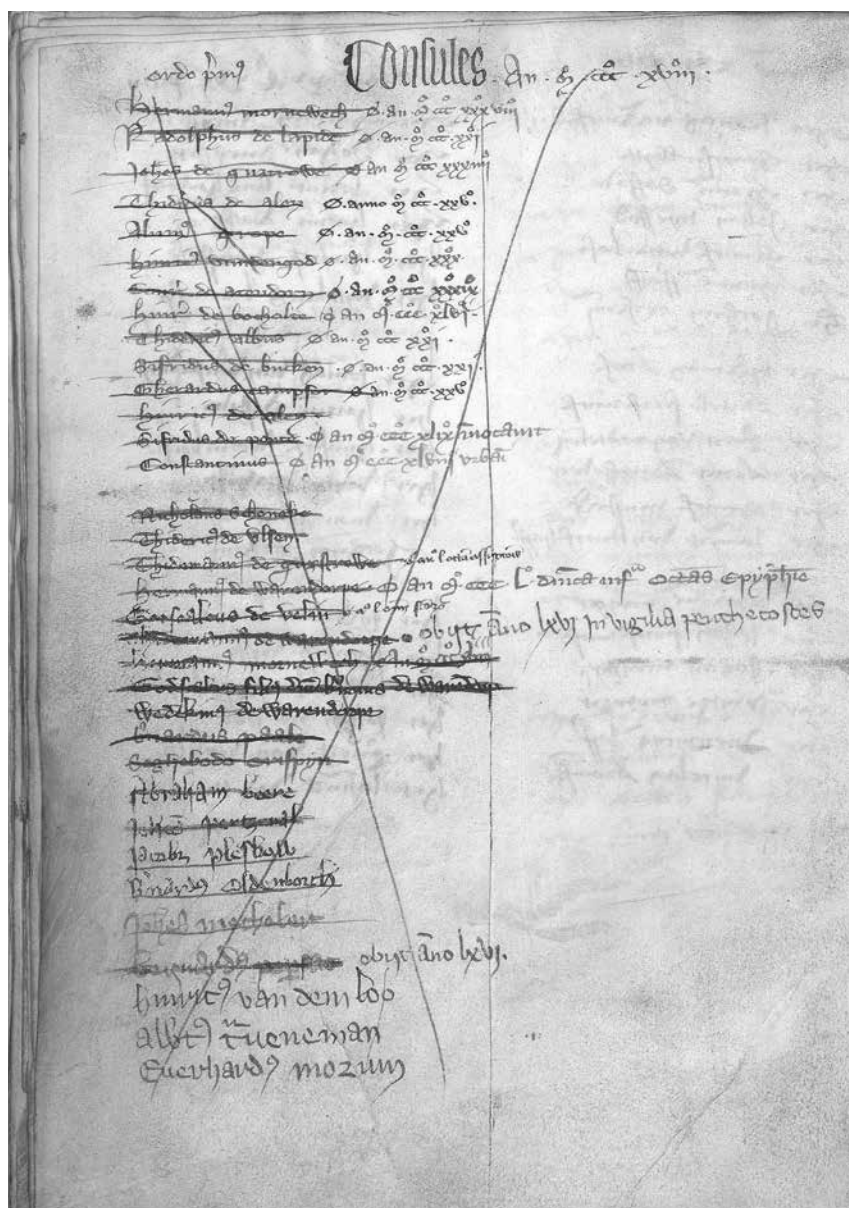


Fig. 3: A page from the section 3, a list of consuls of the first ordo started in 1318, fol. 46v (Tomsk State University Library).

Anno 1528		Anno 1529	
geen claus bromf	1	heer metkames bromf	1
geen firtze oparvordig	4	heer hazine plingel	2
geen gogem garten	17	heer hincick warmbake	3
geen guntt barchingst	12	heer hirtze gawert	4
geen coedt darchingst	18	heer Johan van kampen	1529 jan
geen gogem van kampen	5	heer claus barchingst	6
	+ 1529 jan	heer tonges van stette	1529 jan
		heer daryt dynesen	1529 jan
geen garmen wale		heer hazine falke	2
geen guntt wylfide	10	heer hincick wylfide	10
geen lundberg wylfide	16	heer Johan salge	11
geen gogem zalge	11	heer hincick karkimick	12
geen garmen oparmes	2	heer Johan lincborck	13
geen godert van garmes	19	heer gert van lenter	1529 jan
geen garmen anger + 1528 jan		Doctor matens pakelbis	15
<del>geen gogem garmes</del>		heer lammert wylfide	16
geen guntt wylfide	3	heer Johan geze kens	17
doctor matens pakelbis	15	heer hirtze wylfide	18
geen gogem lundberg	13	heer godert van horelen	19
geen claus lundberg	+ 1528 Maan	heer hazine schijte	1529 jan
geen claus barchingst	6		

Fig. 4: A page from the section 4 with entries for 1528 and 1529, fol. 51r (Tomsk State University Library).

without any interpretation<sup>17</sup>. It should be noted that a largely known publication of a list of all consuls throughout the whole history of the city of Lübeck by Emil Ferdinand Fehling is a combination of information from various sources, where our manuscript might have been used, but the sources are not indicated explicitly, in whole and for each individual consul<sup>18</sup>.

### **3 An unclear part of the manuscript book: what do the *ordines* represent? The evidence of the historiography**

Several scholarly works have been published on Lübeck law and administration. Of course, the town council takes a prominent place in all of them. However, these works focus mostly on the history of the town council, its composition, elections, membership, functions, etc., but say almost nothing about the three *ordines*. Above all, it should be mentioned that the very term used in the *Liber Memorialis* is almost totally absent from the extant scholarship. Thus, the exact meaning of the *ordines* remains something of a mystery, though it has been addressed.

The earliest publication we have found to address our question is an article by Johann Martin Lappenberg, who compares the composition of the Hamburg town council with those of neighboring towns<sup>19</sup>. To clarify what the so-called *ordines* of the Lübeck town council are, he quotes the privilege given to Lübeck by Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Duke of Bavaria: *Kust men jemene in den rat, dhe scal twe jar besitten den rat; den dridden jares scal he vri sin des rades, men ne moget den mit bede van eme hebben, dat he suke den rat*<sup>20</sup>. This means that each member of the town council takes part in its activities for two years, while the third year is free of any consular activity. The original of the charter, which is now believed to be a forgery (see further), has not survived, the current copy in Middle Low German translation being preserved in the so-called Bardewik Codex<sup>21</sup>, a well-known codex of Lübeck law ordered by Albrecht von Bardewik, chancellor of Lübeck, in 1294. This codex was also transported to the Soviet Union and is actually preserved in Russia<sup>22</sup>. Johann Friedrich Hach also refers to another codex, which he

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<sup>17</sup> Deecke 1842, pp. 25–27.

<sup>18</sup> Fehling 1925.

<sup>19</sup> Lappenberg 1851.

<sup>20</sup> Lappenberg 1851, p. 285.

<sup>21</sup> UBStL 1, pp. 5–6; Hach 1839, pp. 170–171; Pauli 1847, p. 80; Ganina/Cordes/Lokers 2021/22, vol. 1, Bl. 94v–95r, pp. 348–349.

<sup>22</sup> Ganina/Mokretsova 2016; Ganina/Cordes/Lokers 2021/22.

dates to 1240<sup>23</sup> and which contains the text of the privilege, but this date was judged doubtful by Ferdinand Frensdorff<sup>24</sup>. A similar principle for the rotation of the *consules* is given in another version of the text of the privilege of Henry the Lion provided in the Chronicle of Detmar, which is a relatively late source from the 14/15<sup>th</sup> centuries: “... *dat so weldich ratman koren wert, de sal twe jar sitten; des drodden jares scal he wesen vry van deme rade, et en sy, dat man dat myt bede moge beholden*”.<sup>25</sup> The *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck* dates the privilege to around 1163: this date is obviously taken from the Detmar Chronicle, given that the text of the privilege forms a part of the entry of 1163<sup>26</sup>. However, the privilege of Henry the Lion has for a long time been considered a forgery made in the late thirteenth century<sup>27</sup>. Nevertheless, it is usually recognised that although a forgery, this ‘privilege’ reflects the authentic principle of the rotation of the *consules*, and recent scholarship always describes it as recorded in the charter of Henry the Lion.

Lappenberg provides examples to demonstrate that various similar rotations of town council members were common to many towns inside and outside of medieval Germany<sup>28</sup>. It is curious, however, that when Lappenberg mentions the part (1499–1507) of the yearly entries covering the period from 1480 to 1568 (section 4) from the *Liber Memorialis* published by Deecke<sup>29</sup>, he affirms clearly that he thinks these are actually *ordines*<sup>30</sup>. Looking at this small part of section 4, he concludes that apparently the order ‘active-active-gap’ was not actually respected because the same person could stay in the same *ordo* for three or even five consecutive years<sup>31</sup>. Unfortunately, this curious observation was not developed in further studies. Moreover, the very question of the nature of the *ordines* has almost never been addressed since then.

We found only two relatively modern publications in which the *ordines* are explained clearly. Both discuss the *ordines* only with the use of the lists covering the period from 1318 to 1475. Section 4, which covers the period from 1480 to 1568 and which has three distinctive categories of consuls that may well be *ordines* too, is not taken into account. Nothing else apart from

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<sup>23</sup> Hach 1839, p. 48, pp. 170–171; see also: Pauli 1847, p. 80.

<sup>24</sup> Frensdorff 1876, p. 117; Frensdorff 1872, p. 53.

<sup>25</sup> UBStL 1, p. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Die Chroniken 1884, pp. 21–22.

<sup>27</sup> Frensdorff 1876, p. 142; Bruns 1951, p. 3; Ebel 1971, pp. 225–226; Am Ende 1975, p. 131, pp. 137–138; Lutterbeck 2002, p. 13; Ganina/Cordes/Lokers 2021/22, vol. 2, pp. 186–187.

<sup>28</sup> Lappenberg 1851, pp. 290–302.

<sup>29</sup> Deecke 1842, pp. 25–27.

<sup>30</sup> Lappenberg 1851, p. 288.

<sup>31</sup> Lappenberg 1851, p. 288.

the *Liber Memorialis* is mentioned: it may well be that this medieval source from Lübeck is the only one that refers to *ordines*.

The first publication is an article by Friedrich Bruns. Referring precisely to the *Liber Memorialis*, he explains that the division into three *ordines* was used in the Lübeck town council until 1810<sup>32</sup>. It should be noted that in another of his articles, he states that the main principles by which the Lübeck town council functioned were in use as late as 1851<sup>33</sup>. Bruns affirms that the *ordines* refer to the above-mentioned rotation of active and gap years, and quotes the same privilege of Henry the Lion without mentioning it: he just says *Stadtrecht*, probably because at that time it was commonly recognised as a forgery<sup>34</sup>. The list of 1480–1568 is only briefly mentioned, but Bruns makes it clear that in his view, these are also three *ordines*<sup>35</sup>.

The most recent work on the Lübeck town council, written by Michael Lutterbeck, addresses the question of the *ordines* in the description of sources. The *Liber Memorialis* is mentioned as having disappeared after WWII<sup>36</sup>, but Lutterbeck could at least work with some of the consul lists published by Bruns in 1934. Among other things, he describes the principle of division in the *ordines*: the title of consul is lifelong, but after two years of participation in sessions comes a gap year. Thus, three *ordines* are, respectively, the first and the second year of active membership in the town council, and the third year, which is a gap year<sup>37</sup>. The lists of 1480–1568 are not mentioned, obviously, because of their unavailability: they were not published before the war, so Lutterbeck could not use them.

This principle of membership in the town council – a lifelong membership with alternations of two active years and one gap year, and always with reference to the pretended privilege of Henry the Lion – was mentioned in the nineteenth century by Carl Wilhelm Pauli<sup>38</sup> and Ferdinand Frensdorff<sup>39</sup>. According to their terminology, members who were active in a specific year

<sup>32</sup> Bruns 1934, p. 41.

<sup>33</sup> Bruns 1951, p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> Bruns 1934, p. 41.

<sup>35</sup> Bruns 1934, p. 31.

<sup>36</sup> Lutterbeck 2002, p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> Lutterbeck 2002, p. 23: „Entsprechend der in Lübeck üblichen Abfolge von zwei aktiven Jahren im sogenannten sitzenden Rat und einem anschließenden Ruhejahr ohne Verpflichtungen ergibt sich eine Dreiteilung, bei der pro Jahr ein Drittel der Ratsmitglieder ins Ruhejahr geht, das zweite Drittel im sitzenden Rat bleibt und das letzte Drittel aus dem Ruhejahr wieder in den sitzenden Rat gelangt. Die Ordines listen die Ratsmitglieder nach ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu einem dieser drei Drittel oder Ordo auf.“

<sup>38</sup> Pauli 1847, p. 84.

<sup>39</sup> Frensdorff 1861, pp. 101–102.

formed ‘den sitzenden Rath’ (‘the sitting council’). The same principle of rotation, but without any specific reference, is reported by Bruns in his detailed article on the history of the Lübeck town council<sup>40</sup> and in Wilhelm Ebel’s classic on Lübeck law<sup>41</sup>. A fundamental volume on Lübeck history, published by Antjekathrin Graßmann, mentions this rotation as well<sup>42</sup>. However, none of these publications speaks about the *ordines* mentioned in the *Liber Memorialis*.

To sum up, these *ordines* are a marginal issue in studies on the history of the Lübeck town council. It is generally admitted that the service of the consuls of Lübeck was lifelong but that every third year, consuls were free of their consular duties. According to Lappenberg, Bruns, and Lutterbeck, this was what the so-called *ordines* signified: the first active year, the second active year and the gap year. Apparently, this assumption was based on the spurious privilege of Henry the Lion, which is the only source quoted in scholarship. In this article, we will try to study the data available in the manuscript of the *Liber Memorialis* and put this hypothesis on trial.

#### 4 *Liber Memorialis*: list of consuls divided into *ordines*, 1318–1475

As stated previously, section 3 of the *Liber Memorialis* consists of four separate lists of Lübeck consuls, each divided into three sections, the *ordines*: from 1318 onwards (ff. 46v–47v), from 1368 onwards (ff. 43r–44r), from 1403 onwards (ff. 40v–41v), and from 1449 onwards (ff. 39r–40r). These lists were permanently amended when new consuls were elected. Names of deceased consuls were crossed out. All these lists were edited by Bruns who, among other things, provided his findings concerning the dates of the elections of Lübeck consuls and identified the hands of some of town secretaries<sup>43</sup>.

We can be certain that these consul lists are the earliest in this manuscript book. Johannes Ruffus entered a statement that the book was started in 1318. The first entries in the 1318 list of consuls divided into three *ordines* are also written by his hand. Furthermore, on fol. 1r, there is a medieval table of contents, written by Johannes Ruffus as well, wherein the last entry reads “*De nominibus consulum in fine libri*”. That is to say, these consul lists were an integral part of the book from the beginning.

It should be stressed that in case of the lists of 1318–1475, *ordo* is an exact term used in the book to describe three categories of consuls – *ordo primus*,

<sup>40</sup> Bruns 1951, p. 3.

<sup>41</sup> Ebel 1971, p. 232.

<sup>42</sup> Graßmann 2008, p. 225.

<sup>43</sup> Bruns 1934, pp. 69–84, pp. 41–63.

*ordo secundus*, *ordo tertius*. The number of consuls in each of these categories is more or less equal. It should be noted, however, that in the list of 1368 and subsequent years, there is no column for the third *ordo*. A paleographical analysis shows that these consul lists were amended gradually: usually, the names of new consuls elected in a specific year form a unique entry, which one can clearly distinguish from others when looking at handwriting or ink colour. This means that consuls' names were probably recorded soon after the persons were elected. Exceptions indicating that consuls elected during several elections may have been entered at once are very rare.

A comparative analysis of four chronological subsections – 1318, 1368, 1403 and 1449 – demonstrates that they form a continuous list of consuls. That is to say, for example, all consuls present in the list of 1403 who are not deceased by 1449 are also present in the list of 1449. Only a consul named Johannes Colman (elected in 1428, died in 1454) does not appear in the lists of 1449, though he was still alive. Bruns suggests that his name had been noted and then deleted<sup>44</sup>. Almost all elections are taken into account. However, though the next list starts with 1368, no consuls elected in 1367 also appear in the list of 1318. Some consuls fail to appear, obviously, because of the absence of the third *ordo* in the lists of 1368. In the list of consuls ordered by death date (ff. 20r–30r, section 1), no names are lacking in the list of *ordines*, except town notaries and secretaries, and except those consuls who were presumably in the third *ordo* of 1368, which fails to appear. No consuls present in the list of elections (ff. 31v–34v) are absent from the lists of *ordines*.

To what extent is it possible to determine what these *ordines* were? Unfortunately, the manuscript itself does not provide any information on the meaning of the word *ordo*. We need to try to deduce it from the information about the consuls. In fact, the hypothesis that three *ordines* refer to an alternation of two active years and one gap year seems strange: in the lists of 1318, all consuls are mentioned only once, and no change of status is reflected. In the lists of 1368 and 1403, some few names that appear for the second time were added somewhere in the upper part of the column or on the right. Sometimes the second mention is in a different *ordo* than the first. For example, in the lists of 1368, Godfridus Traveneman is mentioned in the first as well as the second *ordo*. According to Bruns, these repetitions of names could happen because the person was elected *borgermeister*<sup>45</sup>. For the period of 1368–1403, we have a detailed prosopography of consuls made by Lutterbeck<sup>46</sup>, thanks to which we can confirm that Bruns is likely

<sup>44</sup> Bruns 1934, p. 61.

<sup>45</sup> Bruns 1934, p. 53.

<sup>46</sup> Lutterbeck 2002.

to be right. In fact, all the consuls mentioned twice in our lists were elected *borgermeister*, and the *termini ante quos* of this change of status for each of them, which Lutterbeck retrieved in charters, match the approximate dates of repeated entries made in the book, as far as it can be deduced from an analysis of the hands. In the list of 1403, two people – Johannes Clingenberch (*ordo tertius*) and Johannes Zegeberch (*ordo primus*) – are even mentioned three times, but the second and the third mentions are in different *ordines*: in the first and third, in both cases (it is hard to determine exactly which of the two entries in each case was made earlier). In the list of 1449, many people are mentioned two or three times, since apparently around both 1460 and 1475, years of elections, secretaries entered all the consuls during these years, not merely those elected, as was usually done. The entries taking into account consuls elected in 1475 are annotated by another hand to reflect the year 1477 (the marginal note in all three *ordines* reads *anno or ordo lxxvii*). At the same time, it is unlikely that it was originally the list of 1477: two people present in it, Hermen Sundesbeke and Vrytze Gravart, according to the information in section I, died in 1476. It is more likely to be that the note ‘1477’ is a kind of ‘update’: the two aforementioned members of the town council are marked with a Ø sign, which is used in the manuscript to designate deceased people, and this is done with the same hand which noted the year 1477. In other words, 1477 is the date of an update, not the original date of the list, which may well be 1475, given that the new consuls present in it were elected in this year. At the same time, it is very strange that no consuls are marked to have changed the *ordo* in 1477.

Another curious observation is that in the year of election, a new consul could be ascribed to any *ordo*. In other words, if one of these *ordines* is a gap year, some consuls started in a gap year. However, it is theoretically possible. We have an example of the rotation of two active years and a gap year in Wismar, a town which adopted the Lübeck law<sup>47</sup>. We possess medieval lists of the consuls of Wismar, which were edited by Friedrich Crull<sup>48</sup>. From the middle of the fourteenth century onward, they are organized so that for each year, various categories of consuls are indicated: those who entered the council, those who remained in the council, and those who exited. In the first entries, 1344–1351, it is sometimes specified that those who had entered during the past year remained in the council, and those who had been staying in the council for two years exited from it. If in a specific year there were elections, it is also indicated which ones were elected. To see whether the algorithm functions as theoretically formulated, we systematized the data

<sup>47</sup> Ebel 1971, p. 44, p. 136; Crull 1875, pp. XIV–XV.

<sup>48</sup> Crull 1875.



from this list: with very few exceptions, the rule of three years – active-active-gap – functions very strictly. What is curious is that sometimes, though rarely, once they were elected, consuls could start immediately with a gap year. This is, for example, the case with Hermannus Heger in 1458, Hans Crevet and Hans Werckman in 1461, or Marquard Brincker and Hermen Monick in 1473.

If we posit that the *ordines* mean precisely the above-mentioned rotation, we can try to trace how regularly the principle of rotation of two active years and a gap was respected in medieval Lübeck by integrating lists of the *ordines* from different periods. In fact, if we admit that consuls were noted the year of their election, we have data about which *ordo* a consul belonged to in year A. And then, for consuls who survived until the year of composition of the next list, we know what *ordo* a consul belonged to in year B.

Tables 1, 2, and 3 integrate the data from the lists of 1318 and 1368, 1368 and 1403, and 1403 and 1449, respectively. Numbers in the tables mean the numbers of the *ordines* to which various consuls are ascribed. In these and subsequent tables, doubtful consul entries that are likely to have been substituted for the original ones are not taken into account. Later repeated mentions of the same consuls, made presumably when they were elected *borgermeister*, are not taken into account. The orthography of names is given as provided in the entry corresponding to the last column of each table.

A comparison of the lists of 1318 and 1368 soon becomes confusing: we see that all consuls elected from 1318 to 1367 who survived until 1368 are noted in the same *ordo* as in the year of their election, though elections were not always held every three years. Furthermore, if we calculate, we see that the supposed algorithm does not work: for example, the last consul in the table is in the same *ordo* in 1366 and 1368 (the years of election provided by Lutterbeck 2002).

	1349	1352	1358	1359	1363	1364	1366	1368
<b>Zeghebodo Crispyn</b>	1							1
<b>Jacobus Plescowe</b>		1						1
<b>Johannes Metheler</b>			1					1
<b>Hinricus van me Loo</b>						1		1
<b>Albertus Travelman</b>						1		1
<b>Everhardus Morum</b>						1		1
<b>Hinricus Rigbodo</b>				2				2
<b>Hermannus Osenbrugge</b>					2			2
<b>Symon Zwertingh</b>					2			2
<b>Danquardus van me Zee</b>							2	2

Tab. 1: Integration of the consul lists of 1318 and 1368.

	1368 <sup>1</sup>	1382	1384	1387	1389	1391	1393	1396	1402	1403
<b>Brun Warendorp [iunior]</b>	1									1
<b>Hinrik van Hachede</b>		1								1
<b>Hermen Vorste</b>			1							1
<b>Tideman Junge</b>						1				1
<b>Albert van der Brucge</b>									2	1
<b>Gherd Hoyeman</b>									2	1
<b>Henning van Ryntelen</b>								2		2
<b>Bertelt Kerkering</b>			2							2
<b>Hermen Yborch</b>			2							2
<b>Hinrik Meteler</b>			2							2
<b>Heyno van Hachede</b>				2						2
<b>Curd van Alen</b>				2						2
<b>Arnd Sparenberch</b>								2		2
<b>Johan Crispyn</b>								2		2
<b>Goswin Clingenbergh</b>		1								3
<b>Hermen Dartzow</b>				2						3
<b>Bernd Plescow</b>							2			3
<b>Reyner van Calven</b>							2			3
<b>Marquard Bonhorst</b>									2	3
<b>Clawes van Stiten</b>									2	3
<sup>1</sup> Brun Warendorp elected in 1367 is in the first ordo in the list of 1368.										

Tab. 2: Integration of the consul lists of 1368 and 1403.

A comparison of the *ordo* numbers for consuls elected from 1368 to 1402 and the *ordo* numbers of those among them who were still alive in 1403 gives the following picture (years of election provided by Lutterbeck 2002 and Bruns 1934) (see table 2).

Here we can see that, on the one hand, consuls elected in the same year to the same *ordo* are often in the same *ordo* in the list of 1403. However, there are some exceptions. On the other hand, we see that, again, the algorithm does not work if we posit that every three years everyone must be in the same *ordo*. The same observations can be made when correlating the consuls elected in 1403–1448 with the consul list of 1449 (dates of election provided by Bruns 1934) (see table 3).

Apart from comparing different chronological blocks of the lists of *ordines*, there is one more possibility for putting the hypothesis of alternating active and gap years on trial. As already mentioned, in 1460 and 1475, years of elections, secretaries apparently made entries naming all members of the town council, not just those elected that specific year, as was the usual custom. This provides us an opportunity to see which *ordines* consuls were ascribed to in 1449 (or

	1416	1426	1428	1433	1438	1447	1449
Johan Clyngenberch		3					1
Johan Gherwer	3						1
Jacob Braemstede		1					1
Jorden Pleskouwe					3		1
Hinrik Lipperode					3		1
Johan Westvael						3	1
Johan Russenberch		2					2
Godeke Pleskouwe				2			2
Gherd van Mynden				2			2
Johan Tzina						2	2
Johan Bere	1						3
Wilhelm van Calven				1			3
Johan Zegheberch		1					3
Johan Luneborch			1				3
Bertold Wiitigk					1		3
Johan Brolingk						1	3
Hinrik van Styten						1	3

Tab. 3: Integration of the consul lists of 1403 and 1449.

the year of their election, if later), in 1460, and in 1475. In table 4, we have put together the data for consuls who lived long enough to provide us useful data (election dates from Bruns 1934). The orthography of names is given as in the first mention of each consul in this list.

As usual, we see here that the order ‘active-active-gap’ is still not respected. The most illustrative evidence is represented by the last two columns, 1472 and 1475: if the principle had worked, all consuls should have been ascribed to the same *ordines* in both of these years, which is not the case at all. People also should have been ascribed to the same *ordines* in 1460 and in 1475. Normally, all the consuls who were in the same *ordo* in 1449 should have also shared the same *ordo* in 1460 and 1475, but this is far from being true. In other words, either the *ordines* do not refer to the alternation of active and gap years, or else the algorithm recorded in the codex of Albrecht von Bardewik and the other two sources was not working in Lübeck reality.

Of course, the veracity of the data in all these tables depends on whether the entries with consuls elected were made immediately, or a considerable time after, which can theoretically be the case: we see that elections were sometimes not very frequent, and consuls could be entered some years after the elections, and at the same time before the next elections. However, the fact that we have so many examples wherein the algorithm does not work, suggests that this cannot seriously influence our conclusions.

	1449	1451	1452	1455	1460	1467	1472	1475
<b>Johan Zegheberch</b>	3				3			
<b>Johan Luneborch</b>	3				2			
<b>Wilhelm van Calven</b>	3				3			
<b>Bertolt Wytigk</b>	3				1			
<b>Johan Brolingk</b>	3				3			
<b>Hinrik van Styten</b>	3				2			2
<b>Johan Tzina</b>	2				2			
<b>Hinrik Lypperode</b>	1				1			
<b>Andreas Gheverdes</b>		1			1			3
<b>Wendemer Overdiik</b>			1		1			
<b>Hermen Sundesbeke</b>					1			2
<b>Vritze Grawerd</b>					1			2
<b>Johan Wytinckhoff</b>						1		2
<b>Ludeke van Tunen</b>							1	1
<b>Hinrik Klockeman</b>							1	2
<b>Ludeke Bere</b>					2			1
<b>Tideman Evynchusen</b>							3	1
<b>Alff Greverode</b>				2	2			3
<b>Hinrik Constin</b>						2		3
<b>Hinrik van Calven</b>							2	3
<b>Hinrik Ebbeling</b>		3			3			
<b>Cord Brekewold</b>				3	3			3

Tab. 4: Analysis of the data provided in the consul list of 1449.

The main caveat to take into account is that we usually do not know on which day of the year the elections took place. At the same time, the list of consuls from 1416 ordered by years of their election (section 2) suggests that elections could be organised at any time of the year, while annual entries of names of consuls covering the period from 1480 to 1568 (section 4) were always made on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February, on the *Cathedra Petri*, when a new town council year started and some of its members actually started their gap year or returned from it<sup>49</sup>. Sometimes, the date of an entry is directly indicated, and other times it must be derived from evidence: only consuls elected in 1522, 1530, 1562, 1567 are present in these entries already in the year when they were elected, clearly because these elections took place on the 21<sup>st</sup> of January, the 12<sup>th</sup> of February, the 10<sup>th</sup> of January and the 4<sup>th</sup> of February respectively – that is, before the 22<sup>nd</sup> of

<sup>49</sup> Bruns 1951, p. 3; Ebel 1971, p. 232; Lutterbeck 2022, p. 29.

February<sup>50</sup>. Even the consuls elected in 1548 on the 28<sup>th</sup> of February are present in the annual entries only from 1549, and those elected on the 24<sup>th</sup> of February 1552, only from 1553. It is also noteworthy that an ‘update’ marginal note at the end of the 1449 subsection of section 3 (*ordo lxxvii*)<sup>51</sup> is obviously made on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February or before: the scribe’s update indicates that two consuls had died, but he did not add the consuls elected on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of February 1477 (the date is noted in our manuscript, section 2: *anno 77 des anderen dages na Petry*), only one day after the *Cathedra Petri*! Thus, we must theoretically admit that consuls were entered in the lists of 1318–1475 (section 3) on the *Cathedra Petri* as well, and not the year of their election, if they were elected after the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February. We know from our manuscript that the lists of *ordines* started in 1449 were made on the Feast of St. Martin, which is the 11<sup>th</sup> of November, whereas for 1318, 1368 and 1403, we do not have such information. But in any case, even if we admit that sometimes consuls were noted only in the year following their election, and with their current *ordo*, the algorithm present in the historiography does not work either. Indeed, in some cases it seems to function, but at the same time in many cases, it still does not work: for Hermannus Osenbrugghe, Symon Zwertingh, Danquardus van me Zee in the first table; Albert van der Brucge, Gherd Hoyeman in the second table; Jacob Braemstede, Johan Russenberch, Johan Tzina, Wilhelm van Calven in the third table<sup>52</sup>. Furthermore, we have consuls who share the same *ordo* in year A and not in year B, signifying that the algorithm from the historiography does not work.

However, we have still more evidence which can help us to discover what the *ordines* were. There are also lists of consuls covering the period from 1480 to 1568 (ff. 37v–38v, 42r–46r, 48v–53v, 54v–57v). These have never been published or studied, but they can obviously help us to understand what the *ordines* mean.

## 5 *Liber Memorialis*:

### list of consuls divided into three categories, 1480–1568

This very long section 4, wherein consuls are recorded from year to year and with entries for most of the years between 1480 and 1568, also has three distinctive categories of consuls. This is true of all provided entries without exception.

<sup>50</sup> Precise days of elections are present in our manuscript in the list of consuls ordered by the year of their election starting from the mid-fifteenth century. See Bruns 1934, pp. 72–84.

<sup>51</sup> See p. 132.

<sup>52</sup> It is difficult to apply the same principle of analysis to the fourth table, since we cannot be sure that entries with all members of the town council including those elected in 1460 actually reflect the state of play in 1460.

These three groups of consuls are never called *ordines*. Nevertheless, it is highly likely that they actually are *ordines*, given the following coincidence: the last elections accounted for on the list of *ordines* starting with 1449 took place in 1475; and between 1475 and 1480, only the elections of 1477 and 1479 are missing. The fact that in the lists of 1480–1568, consuls can start with any of the three categories in the year of their election<sup>53</sup> does not contradict our assumption: we have seen the example of Wismar, which demonstrates that once elected, consuls could immediately start with a gap year.

The consuls at the end of the fifteenth century are not noted each year. Between the entries for 1486 and 1497 is an entry without date, as well as an entry to which the year 1495 was added later by another hand. In other cases, the names of the consuls and the dates are recorded simultaneously. We have two entries for 1560, which is probably a mistake: the second entry may well be for 1561. If we accept this assumption, we have entries for the following periods of the sixteenth century: 1497–1530, 1536, 1538–1543, 1548–1562, 1565–1568. The entry for 1509 seems to be incomplete (only ten consuls, and only one name in the third category), but the others do not leave such an impression. The total number of consuls can vary from 15 to 23 with a more or less equal number of consuls in each of three categories.

The richness of this material allows us to trace the individual trajectories of consuls over a relatively long time span. Another table that we have prepared (table 5) demonstrates which alleged *ordo* each consul was ascribed to in each specific year. In this table, we have also integrated information about the years of the election of consuls (taken from the list on ff. 31v–34v, i. e., section 2) and the dates of their deaths (taken from the list on ff. 20r–30r, i. e., section 1). When combined, these lists do not contradict each other: we see that almost all the consuls are regularly noted in the *ordines* list, from election to death. This confirms that the positions of consuls on the Lübeck town council were normally lifelong. There are a few exceptions when a consul is not noted in the *ordines* anymore some years before his death. This is quite normal: sometimes consuls could retire for personal health or economic reasons<sup>54</sup>. A comparison of the list of alleged *ordines* of 1480–1568 with other consul lists of the *Liber Memorialis* also demonstrated that in the lists of 1480–1568, nobody fails to appear.

The table demonstrates that cases when someone did not change the number of his *ordo* in the following year were very frequent. Nobody has a ‘regular’ personal trajectory in which the *ordo* is always changing according to a specific

<sup>53</sup> See new consuls elected in 1522, 1530, 1562, 1567, who are noted in these lists already in the year of their election.

<sup>54</sup> Bruns 1951, pp. 60–64.

	1480	83	86	? <sup>1</sup>	95(?) <sup>2</sup>	97	98	99	1500	01	02	03 <sup>3</sup>	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13
Hinrik Castorp (elected in 1452)	1	1	1	died in 1488																		
Brun Brusschow (elected in 1475)	1	1	3	died in 1487																		
Thydemann Effynckhusen (elected in 1472)	1	1	died in 1483																			
Hinrik Lipperade (elected in 1475)	1	1	1	3	died in 1494																	
Bartram van Rentelen (elected in 1477)	1	1	1	died in 1488																		
Dyderick Hup (elected in 1477)	1	1	1	3	2	3	2	died in 1498														
Brant Hoghefelt (elected in 1479)	1	3	3	2	3	died in 1496																
Hermen van Wickedden (elected in 1479)	1	1	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	died in 1501											
Hinrick van Siten (elected in 1447 <sup>4</sup> )	2	3	died in 1484																			
Johan Wytnekhoff (elected in 1467)	2	3	3	2	died in 1493																	
Hinrik Klockeman (elected in 1472)	2	3	3	2	3	2	3	1	1	1	died in 1502											

<sup>1</sup> Some names are entered two or three times, presumably because of a change in the ordo, and some were eventually crossed out because the persons died. It is likely that this entry was used for several years.

<sup>2</sup> This date is noted by another hand.

<sup>3</sup> The three groups of consuls are marked respectively A, C, and B on the margin, which probably means that we should interchange the second and the third categories.

<sup>4</sup> This date is taken from Bruns 1934, p. 71. There is no date for these elections in the manuscript.

	1480	83	86	?	95(?)	97	98	99	1500	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	
Tonnyeß Dyeman (elected in 1475)	2	3	3	2/2/3	3	3	died in 1498 <sup>5</sup>																
Hinrik Bromse (elected in 1477)	2	3	3	3	2	3	-	-	-	-	died in 1502												
Wedewe Karcckrinck (elected in 1479)	2	died in 1482																					
Lutke van Thunen (elected in 1472)	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	died in 1501												
Lutke Bere (elected in 1460)	3	2	2	died in 1488																			
Alff Greverade (elected in 1455)	3	died in 1481																					
Hinrik Constyn (elected in 1467)	3	died in 1483																					
Hinrik van Kalven (elected in 1472)	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	died in 1504									
Volmer Warendorp (elected in 1475)	3	2	2	1/3	2	2	3	1	1	1	2	1	died in 1504										
Dyderick Basedow (elected in 1477)	3	2	2	1/3/3	2	3	1	3	1	1	died in 1501												
Ffieke Nydinck (elected in 1479)	3	2	died in 1483																				
Hermen Claholt	elected in 1484		1	3	2	3	2	died in 1498															
<sup>5</sup> The entry about his death in section 1 notes that he died on Thursday after the Feast of St Remigius, which was October 4, but it does not provide the year. However, in the given interval, the only possibility is 1498.																							



	1480	83	86	?	95(?)	97	98	99	1500	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	
Johan Kerckinck		elected in 1484	1	3	2	2	3	1	2	2	1	2	3	3	3	2	3	-	3	3	1	3	
		elected in 1484	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	died in 1510			
Johan Hertße		elected in 1484	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	died in 1510			
Johan Bere		elected in 1489	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	2	1	1	1	2	3	died in 1508						
Thydeman Barck		elected in 1489	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	2	1	1	1	2	3	2	1	2	3	1	3	
Johan Testede		elected in 1489	2	died in 1495																			
Hartich van Stiten		elected in 1489	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	died in 1511			
Hinrik Witte		elected in 1496			1	1	3	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	1	2	2	2	2	
Hinrik Westffael		elected in 1496			2	3	1	1	1	2	3	2	3	3	died in 1505								
Hermen Dersowe		elected in 1496			2	3	1	3	3	3	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	3	1	
Hermen Mesman		elected in 1496			3	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	
Daffyt Dyffesen		elected in 1500							1	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	died in 1509					
Hermen Meiger		elected in 1500							1	2	1/2 <sup>6</sup>	3	2	1	2	3	-	2	1	2	2	2	

<sup>6</sup> This man figures in both sections.

<sup>6</sup> This man figures in both sections.

	1480	83	86	?	95(?)	97	98	99	1500	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13		
Hinrik Castorp									elected in 1500	2	3	2	1	1	2	3	2	1	2	2	2	died in 1512		
Bartolt Kerckrinck										elected in 1500	3	1	3	2	2	1	2	3	-	3	3	1	3	
Effert van Rentelen									elected in 1501		1	3	-	3	3	2	3	-	3	3	1	3		
Johan Nygestaid									elected in 1501		1	3	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	3	1		
Ffderick Jorß									elected in 1501		2	1	1	1	2	3	2	died in 1508						
Johan Kinkel									elected in 1501		3	died in 1503												
Berndt Boemhouwer									elected in 1501		3		3	3	3	2	3	-	3	2	2	2		
Johan Meiger									elected in 1501		2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	2		
Hinrick Warmboke									elected in 1506			1		1	2	1	1	2	1	2	1			
Johan van Wickedden									elected in 1506			1		1	died in 1509									
Thomas van Wickedden									elected in 1506			2		3	-	3	2	3	1					
Dyderick Bromse									elected in 1506			3		2	died in 1508									
Johan Ebelinck									elected in 1506			3		2	died in 1509									
Pawel Steer									elected in 1509											1		2	died in 1511	

# Reconsidering the Composition Principles of the Lübeck Town Council

	1480	83	86	?	95(?)	97	98	99	1500	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13
Fritze Gawert																	elected in 1509		1	1	3	1
Jacop Wilkenß																	elected in 1509		2	died in 1510		
Hermen Ffalke																	elected in 1509		2	2	2	1
Hinrik Neenstede																	elected in 1509		2	3	1	3
Hartich Stanghe																	elected in 1509		3	3	1	3

	1514	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	36	38	39	40	41
Johan Kerskrinck	1	2	3	died in 1516																		
Thydenan Barck	3	1	2	3	1	1	3	1	died in 1521													
Hinrik Witte	3	3	1	3	3	2	3	-	-	died in 1523												
Hermen Dersowe	2	3	1	2	died in 1517																	
Hermen Mesman	-	died in 1515																				
Hermen Meiger	1	2	3	1	2	2	1	2	3	2	1	3	3	2	3	died in 1528						
Bartolt Kerskrinck	3	1	2	3	1	1	3	1	2	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	died in 1534				

	1514	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	36	38	39	40	41
	3	1	2	3	1	2	died in 1520															
Effert van Rentelen																						
Johan Nygestatd	2	3	1	3	3	died in 1518																
Berndt Boenhouver	1	1	2	1	2	3	2	3	1	1	3	2	2	died in 1526								
Johan Meiger	1	2	3	1	2	died in 1518																
Hinrick Warmboke	2	3	1	2	3	3	1	2	3	2	1	3	1	3	3	1	3	died in 1534				
Thomas van Wickedon	2	3	1	2	3	3	2	3	1	1	3	1	2	3	died in 1527							
Ffritze Grawert	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	-	died in 1538			
Hermen Ffalke	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	1	3	2	2	3	died in 1530				
Hinrik Neenstede	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	3	2	2	2	died in 1529					
Hartich Stanghe	1	died in 1514																				
Lambert Witnickhoff	elected in 1514	1	2	3	1	1	2	2	2	1	3	1	1	2	2	3	died in 1529					
Mouwerisius Loff	elected in 1514	2	3	2	2	2	1	1	3	3	-	-	died in 1526									
Clawes Bromse	elected in 1514	2	3	1	1	1	3	3	2	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	2	1	3
Jochim Gereken	elected in 1514	3	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	3	3	1	1	3	1	2	1	3	2	1

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	1514	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	36	38	39	40	41			
Cordt Schepenstede				elected in 1518		2	3	1	2	3	2	2	2	1	died in 1527										
Hinrik Kerecrinck				elected in 1518		2	3	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	2		died in 1540			
Johan Zalighe				elected in 1518		3	2	2	3	2	1	3	3	2	2	2	died in 1530								
Hinrik Gruter				elected in 1518		3	2	3	1	1	3	died in 1524													
Matheus Pakebusk					elected in 1522			1	1	3	1	3	1	2	3	3	2	1	died in 1537						
Gotdzick van Wickedon					elected in 1522			1	1	3	3	3	1	3	died in 1527										
Johan van Kempen					elected in 1522			3	3	2	2	2	1	3	1	1	died in 1529								
Hermen Plonnieß					elected in 1522			3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	3	died in 1533							
Cordt Wibbekinck					elected in 1522			3	3	3	3	1	2	1	1	3	2	1	2	1	2	1			
Godert van Hovelen								elected in 1527							2	3	1	3	3	1	3	2			
Johan Luneborch								elected in 1527							3	2	died in 1529								
Clawes Ludinckhusen								elected in 1527							3	died in 1528									
Clawes Bardewick								elected in 1527							3	1	2	3	-	-	-	-	-		
Tonnies van Stiten								elected in 1528							1	1	1	2	3	2	3	2	2		

	1514	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	36	38	39	40	41
Davit Dyvessen															elected in 1528	1	2	died in 1533				
Gerdt van Lenten															elected in 1528	2	1	died in 1533				
Hermen Schuthe															elected in 1528	3	2	2	1	3	1	2
Johan Stolteffot															elected in 1530		3	2	2	2	3	3
Hinrick Kastorp															elected in 1530	3	2	died in 1537				
Johan Luneborch															elected in 1530	3	3	died in 1531				
Kort van Ryden															elected in 1530	3	3	1	3	1	1	3
Karsten Tymernan															elected in 1535		1	1	3	1	3	3
Luteke Lunenborch															elected in 1535		1	1	3	died in 1539		
Harmen van Doren															elected in 1535		2	2	1/1 <sup>7</sup>	3	1	
Jorden Bassedowen															elected in 1535		3	1	3	1	3	
Johan Sialtho															elected in 1535		3	2	1	3	died in 1540	
Hinrick Koller															elected in 1537		3	2	3	3	3	
<sup>7</sup> This name is written twice.																						

	1514	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	36	38	39	40	41
Tynne Dragun																		elected in 1537	3	-	1	1
Lammert van Dalen																		elected in 1537	3	2	2	2
Albert Klever																		elected in 1537	3	2	2	1

	1542	43	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	60[1]	62	65	66	67	68
Clawes Bromse	2	1	died in 1543																		
Jochim Gereken	3	2	died in 1544																		
Cordt Wibbekinck	3	2	died in 1544																		
Godert van Hovelen	1	3	2	1	2	3	1	-	-	died in 1555											
Clawes Bardewick	-	-	1	2	3	1	3	2	1	3	3	1	2	1	2		died in 1560				
Tonnies van Sitten	2	2	3	3	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	3	3	1	1	1	died in 1564			
Hermen Schuthe	1	3	died in 1547																		
Johan Stolteffot	2	1	3	died in 1548																	

	1542	43	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	60[1]	62	65	66	67	68
Kort van Ryden	1	1	3	1	2		died in 1550														
Karsten Tymerman	2		died in 1542																		
Harmen van Doren	3	1	3	1	2	3	1	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	died in 1559						
Jorden Bassedown	3	2	1	2	3	2	3	2	3	died in 1555											
Hinrick Koller	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	3	1	1	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-
Tymme Dragun	2	-	died in 1544																		
Lammert van Dalen	1	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	died in 1558							
Albert Klever	3	1	1	2	3	1	3	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	-	died in 1565			
Hynryck Bromsse (elected in 1541)	1	3	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	3	3	1	3	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
Evert Stortelberch (elected in 1541)	2	1	2	3	died in 1549																
Andreas Busmann (elected in 1541)	2	2	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	2	3	3	1	3	3	died in 1561				
Iheronymus Pakebus (elected in 1541)	2	2	1	2	2	died in 1550															
Bartolmeus [?] Tynappel	elected in 1544	1	2	2	3	1	1	3	2	3	1	2	2	2	1	2	3	3	2	died in 1566	
Iheronymus Warmbocke	elected in 1544	2	3	3	1	2	2	died in 1552													



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	1542	43	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	60[1]	62	65	66	67	68
Ambrosius Meyer	elected in 1544	2	3	1	3	2	3	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	2	3	2	2	1	1	2
Pawel Wybbeckynck	elected in 1544	3	3	-	1	3	1	1	1	3	1	2	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Harmen Falke	elected in 1548	1	1	3	2	2	2	3	2	3	1	3	1	1	died in 1559						
Gosselick van Wickeden	elected in 1548	3	2	2	3	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	died in 1558							
Harmen Meygher	elected in 1548	3	died in 1549																		
Johan Kone	elected in 1548	3	3	3	1										3	died in 1559					
Lambertus Becker															3	1		died in 1562			
Cristoffer Tode															2	2	-	-	-	1	3
Anthoritus Ludinehußen															2	3	1	1	3	2	2
Benedictus Slicker															2	2	1	3	2	1	3
Ghodert van Hovelen																					
Volmer Warendorp															1	2	1	1	1	2	1
Jochim Klepel															1	3	2	1	1	died in 1566	
															1	3	1	3	died in 1564		

	1542	43	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	60[1]	62	65	66	67	68
Jeronimus Luneborch													elected in 1558	3	1	3	3	1	2	3	1
Johan Karekringk													elected in 1559		3	2	1	3	2	2	3
Goschalck Tymmerman													elected in 1559		3	3	3	3	2	1	1
Fredrich Knevel													elected in 1559		3	3	3	1	1	2	1
Hinrick Plonges													elected in 1559		3	3	2	3	3	-	3
Johann Pennynckbuttell															elected in 1562		2	3	1	2	1
Johann Offe															elected in 1562		2	2	3	died in 1566	
Johann Kanfferbeke															elected in 1562		2	3	3	3	2
Antonius Holscho															elected in 1562		2	2	3	3	2
Ffrans van Styttten																elected in 1564		1	2	1	3
Hynryek van Stitten																elected in 1564		2	1	2	1
Johann Broeckes																elected in 1564		2	3	3	2
Cordt Wolters																elected in 1564		2	3	3	2

	1542	43	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	60[1]	62	65	66	67	68
Goslich van Stitten																		elected in 1567		3	2
Jochim Louineborich																		elected in 1567		3	2
Mattewes Tydeman																		elected in 1567		3	2
Hynrick Lynthorst																		elected in 1567		3	2

Tab. 5: The data from the consul lists of 1480–1568 (section 4). The three sections of consul lists for each year are interpreted as three ordines and noted with numbers 1, 2 and 3. The table shows what ordo consuls were ascribed to in each specific year. The orthography of names is given according to the list of town council elections on the ff. 31v–34v

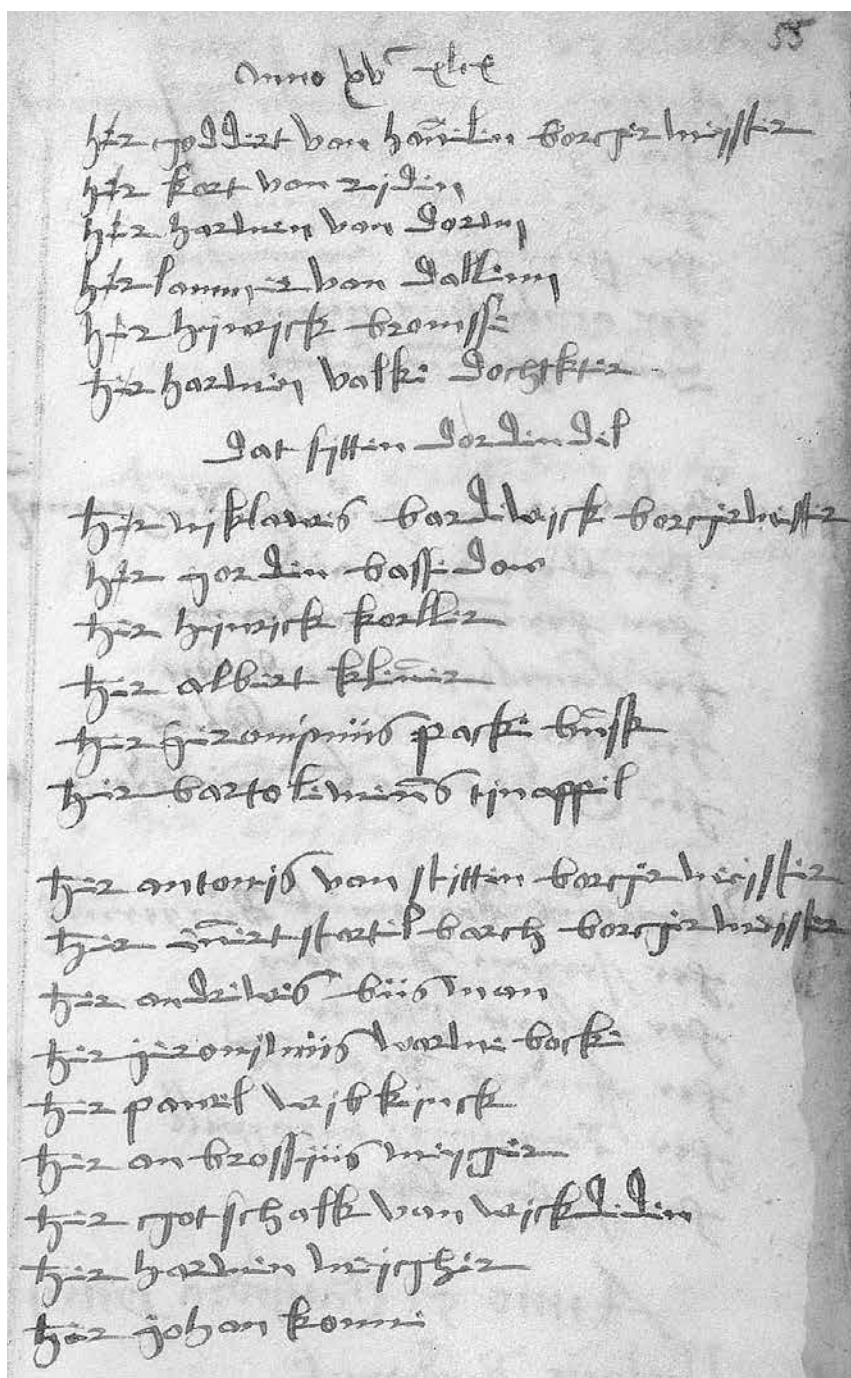


Fig. 5: Liber Memorialis, fol. 55r. Entry for the year 1549 (Tomsk State University Library).

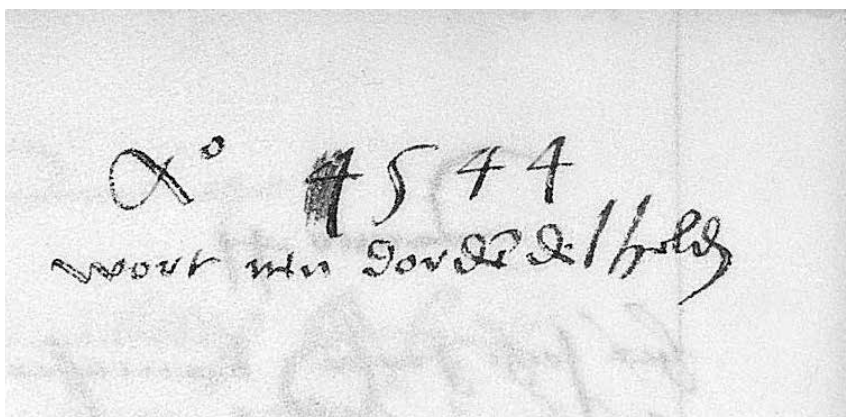


Fig. 6. Liber Memorialis, fol. 53 v. Entry for the year 1544 (Tomsk State University Library).

algorithm (for example, 1-2-3-1-2-3, etc.). If we assume that the three separate categories of consuls each year mean *ordines*, and that the word *ordines* means an alternation of active and gap years, it seems clear that, contrary to Wismar, in Lübeck there was no constant rule that every third year of a consul was a gap one.

However, in the record of 1549 we have evidence that these three categories do probably signify the alternation of active and gap years. In fol. 55r, the words *dat sytten dordendel* (a sitting third) are inserted between the first two categories. On the one hand, it seems a little strange that only one third is called 'sitting'. Nevertheless, it is a clear indication that these three thirds might indicate the active or passive presence of these consuls in the council.

Another entry could probably shed light on what the three categories of consuls were, but we cannot understand its meaning at this time. On fol. 53v there should have been an entry for 1544, which was never made. However, there is a comment: *wort nen dorde(n)del hold(en)/hald(en)* (there was no third [probably, that year?]).

## 6 Conclusion

It remains hard to say what the *ordines* mentioned in the *Liber Memorialis* of Lübeck were. There are still two separate problems: do *ordines* mean the alternation of active and gap years of consuls, as claimed in extant historiography? And are the categories in the list of consuls of 1480–1568 *ordines* as well, or another unknown category of town council members?

At this time, we cannot suggest any meaning for the *ordines* other than the succession of alternating active-vs.-gap years according to the previous understanding. It cannot be an indication of any functional classification of

consuls, given that *borgermeister*, which was a lifelong title, can be found in any of the three categories (in section 3 they are entered for the second time, and in section 4 they are clearly indicated). The number of consuls in each *ordo* is relatively equal, which makes a yearly alternation convenient. At the same time, such an assumption means that the alternation of active and gap years was not subject to a strict order, like in Wismar. Furthermore, it is not clear why a distinction between three *ordines* was needed: consuls were either ‘active’ or ‘not active’. A three-*ordo* system like in Wismar is needed only when a sequence of years – ‘active-active-gap’ – is more or less respected. It is unclear which of the three years was the gap. It is likely the third because this category is absent in the list of 1368. Probably the scribe deemed it unnecessary to note those who were inactive, but this is not certain because in that list consuls were entered only once, and after a gap year they became active for two subsequent years.

The list of 1480–1568, section 4, is likely to provide a division in the *ordines* as well: chronologically it goes immediately after the list of the *ordines*. Furthermore, each year’s entry is divided into three relatively equal categories, as in the case of the *ordines*. Moreover, the list of consuls from 1549 alludes to three categories that indicate active or non-active membership in the town council in a specific year. But if the three categories of consuls, into which each entry of section 4 is divided, are actually the *ordines* (meaning the above-mentioned rotation), it is clear that either this rotation was not respected in reality at all or these *ordines* were not defined by the rotation, as is currently held. Is it possible that the principles of this rotation were not stable throughout the centuries? This question has yet to be explored.

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