

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Stettin Revised: Redating a Major Medieval Inquisition of Heresy

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Abstract

The article presents a revised dating of a major late medieval inquisition of heresy, challenging the dating of the records established since the 1880s. The inquisitor Petrus Zwicker's proceedings against Brandenburgian and Pomeranian Waldensians in Stettin did not take place between November 1392 and March 1394, with an 11-month pause between March 1393 and February 1394, as has been the scholarly consensus up till now. Instead, the prosecution was a continuous process that started in November 1393 and lasted till late March 1394. The article discusses the problems of the established dating that is based on now-outdated information about the inquisitor's itinerary and an ambiguous 15th-century commentary on the register volume. The internal evidence of the register, such as the way different deponents refer to the same events, strongly points towards an uninterrupted process. The revised timeline for the inquisitions solves several contradictions in interpreting the records and proposes new lines of inquiry. A novel reconstruction of the last Waldensian minister's visit to Stettin and surroundings is provided in the last section of the article. In general, the article addresses the constant need to re-evaluate established interpretations of premodern sources, including those uncontested in the scholarship.

Keywords: Waldensians; Medieval inquisition; Medieval heresy; Zwicker, Petrus; Dating; Source criticism

1. Introduction

The founder of Protestant church history, the Croatian-born humanist Matthias Flacius Illyricus, wrote in his *Catalogus testium veritatis* (1555/1562) about a manuscript containing inquisition depositions against Northern-German Waldensians in 1391: “I also have a large volume of proceedings, in which 443 Waldensians, with that name, were examined in Pomerania, Mark [Brandenburg] and in nearby regions around the year of the Lord 1391.”¹

¹Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Catalogus testium veritatis, qui ante nostram aetatem pontifici romano ejusque erroribus reclamant* [–] (Strasbourg, 1562), 430: “Habeo quoque magnum processum uolumen, in quo 443. Valdenses nominatim examinati sunt in Pomerania, Marchia, et uicinis locis, circa annum Do. 1391.”

With his *Catalogus*, Flacius established a long Protestant tradition of perceiving medieval dissidents persecuted by the Catholic Church as martyrs of the true faith and reformers before the Reformation, a tradition that continued into the 19th and 20th centuries, encouraging German scholars with an Evangelical background to engage with medieval heresy.² Although his historiography was confessional and apologetic, Flacius set an example for the study of medieval manuscripts. His references to the proceedings against Pomeranian and Brandenburgian Waldensians led the monumental figures of the 19th-century history of heresy and inquisition, Wilhelm Preger and, above all, Wilhelm Wattenbach, to discover the process in question: the Celestine provincial Petrus Zwicker's anti-Waldensian inquisition in Stettin.³

Flacius also set an unfortunate example in interpreting the Stettin inquisition: an incorrect date. In fact, everything written about one of the most significant Waldensian inquisitions of the late Middle Ages over the past 150 years of modern scholarship has been wrong about one crucial aspect: dating. Zwicker's inquisition against the Brandenburgian and Pomeranian Waldensians in Stettin (now Szczecin in Poland) did not take place between November 1392 and March 1394, with an 11-month pause between March 1393 and February 1394, as has been generally thought. Instead, the prosecution was a continuous process that started in November 1393 and lasted till late March 1394. In this article, I present a new, revised dating and timeline for Zwicker's inquisition. The revised dating clarifies the timeline of the persecution of German Waldensians in the 1390s, settles several inconsistencies within Zwicker's inquisition records, and enables a more reliable view of the last phases of the northern German Waldensian communities before their breakdown by Zwicker. In general, the article addresses the constant need to re-evaluate established interpretations of premodern sources, including those uncontested in the scholarship.

The Waldensians were a dissident group whose origin was in the conversion in the 1170s of Valdes, a wealthy citizen of Lyon. Originally forming a reform movement based on the imitation of the apostolic lifestyle, Valdes and his early followers were declared heretics in the 1180s, their will to preach the word of God despite being laypeople having been a major point of contention with the Church. In the 13th and 14th centuries, the persecuted Waldensians started to diverge theologically from medieval Catholicism. The late medieval Waldensians regarded most of the clergy as sinful and corrupt, preferring to confess their sins and receive absolution and penance from their own dissident ministers – an obviously heretical practice from the Church's point of view. One of the characteristics of Waldensian theology was literal biblicism, which led them to condemn all oaths, death penalties, and the Church's

²Martina Hartmann, *Humanismus und Kirchenkritik: Matthias Flacius Illyricus als Erforscher des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: J. Thorbecke, 2001), 182.

³Wilhelm Preger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldenser im Mittelalter*, Abhandlungen, 13.3 (Munich: Verlag der k. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1875), 51; Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Über die Inquisition gegen die Waldenser in Pommern und der Mark Brandenburg," *Abhandlungen der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Phil.-hist. Classe* 3 (1886): 3; Wattenbach, "Über Ketzergerichte in Pommern und der Mark Brandenburg," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Classe* 1 (1886): 47. See also Hartmann, *Humanismus und Kirchenkritik*, 184–185. Wattenbach's articles have been republished, with original pagination, in Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Kleine Abhandlungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte: gesammelte Berliner Akademieschriften; 1882–1897* (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Dt. Demokrat. Republik, 1970).

material possessions, as well as to deny the existence of purgatory. Consequently, the Waldensians did not believe in penance after death.⁴

Petrus Zwicker's inquisition in Stettin was part of a larger wave of persecutions against German-speaking Waldensians in the late 14th and early 15th century, which resulted in the near complete destruction of German Waldensianism. In addition to Stettin, Zwicker examined Waldensian, often together with his co-inquisitor Martin of Amberg/Prague, in Erfurt (1391), Upper Austria (1395–1398), Trnava in modern Slovakia (1400), Sopron (Ödenburg) in Hungary and Hartberg in Steiermark (1401), Vienna (1403) and finally in Buda (1404).⁵ Although German Waldensians are no longer “the Middle Ages’ forgotten heretics,” as Robert Lerner lamented in 1986,⁶ the late medieval German heretics and their persecution remain stranger to non-specialists than French or Italian heresy inquisitions. Therefore, I must stress the general significance of the Stettin inquisition records: the 195 preserved depositions, containing information about over 1000 individuals, are among the most valuable medieval inquiries into laypeople's faith, interrogated by an inquisitor who was perhaps the least prone of all medieval questioners to distort the deponents' statements.⁷ In addition, Zwicker's notaries systematically recorded not only the deponents' involvement in Waldensianism and the remarkable variation of beliefs among those he questioned, but also personal details such as birth and residence places and parents' names. The lack of a complete edition has prevented a full appreciation of these depositions, but recent studies have demonstrated that they also have the potential for quantitative explorations of dissident communities.⁸ The dating of these depositions is somewhat a technical and narrow question, but it has crucial implications for the future study of this essential source for late medieval lived religion.

The foundation of the modern study of Stettin inquisition records is a seminal article published by the German historian Wilhelm Wattenbach in 1886, an article that remains worth reading 140 years after its publication. Wattenbach analyzed 141 depositions preserved in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel manuscript 403 Helmst., and

⁴The best general reference work on medieval Waldensians is Euan Cameron, *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000. Two recent volumes sum up the recent research on the medieval Waldensians. See Marina Benedetti and Euan Cameron, eds., *A Companion to the Waldenses in the Middle Ages*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 103, Leiden: Brill, 2022; Francesca Tasca (ed.), *Storia dei valdesi: Come nuovi apostoli (secc. XII–XV)*. Turin: Claudiana, 2024.

⁵Georg Modestin, *Ketzer in der Stadt: der Prozess gegen die Strassburger Waldenser von 1400*, MGH Studien und Texte 41, 1–12. Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2007; Reima Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany: The Inquisitor Petrus Zwicker and the Waldensians*, 32–37. York: York Medieval Press, 2019; Eugene Smelyansky, “Heretical Refugees and Persecution of German Waldensians, 1393–1400,” *Journal of Medieval History* 48, no. 3 (2022): 398–399.

⁶Robert E. Lerner, “A Case of Religious Counter-Culture: The German Waldensians,” *The American Scholar* 55, no. 2 (1986): 234.

⁷Peter Biller, *The Waldenses, 1170–1530: Between a Religious Order and a Church*, 287–289. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001; Biller, “Goodbye to Waldensianism?,” *Past and Present* 192, no. 1 (2006): 19–20; Biller, “Inquisitors’ Interrogations of Waldenses,” in *A Companion to the Waldenses in the Middle Ages*, edited by Marina Benedetti and Euan Cameron, 378–379. Leiden: Brill, 2022.

⁸Reima Välimäki and David Zbiral, “Analisi delle reti sociali delle comunità valdesi germanofone nell'ultimo scorcio del XIV secolo,” in *Storia dei valdesi 1: Come nuovi apostoli (secc. XII–XV)*, edited by Francesca Tasca, 227–246. Turin: Claudiana, 2024; Reima Välimäki and David Zbiral, “Uncovering Patterns in Dissident Interactions among Late Medieval German Waldensians Using Social Network Analysis,” in *Social Network Analysis and Medieval History*, edited by Matthew Hammond, 229–253. York: ARC Humanities Press, 2025.

he dated them from January 26 to March 6, 1393 and from February 9 to March 25, 1394.⁹ Wattenbach based his dating on the date March 12, 1394 which was given in the prologue to the depositions of five Waldensians from the diocese of Poznań,¹⁰ and on a notice written by a later medieval hand after the last deposition, stating that Zwicker's process "started in the year of the Lord 1393 in the month of January and continued through the following year until the month of February in the said diocese."¹¹

Wattenbach also noted that there was "a great confusion" in the order of the depositions. After folio 275 (old numbering, new folio 112), the depositions jumped from March 6 to February, having dates between 9 and 19 February written in a hand and with an orthography that is completely different from those of the preceding protocols.¹² Wattenbach was right on two points: that there is a break in the organization of the depositions and that these depositions in February 1394 are written by a different notary than most of the Stettin records, Mattheus Hyldebrand. Combined these things with the information provided by the anonymous commentator at the Dominican convent of Prenzlau, who declared that the inquisitions started in January 1393 and lasted till the next year, Wattenbach came to a quite logical conclusion. This was that the "great confusion" in the sequence of the protocols was caused by combining the depositions from two different years, 1393 and 1394.

Unfortunately, Wattenbach did not clearly state that in all the depositions he studied, there are only two complete dates that give the day, month, and year: March 12, 1394 mentioned above, and March 2, 1394 in the deposition of Jacob Hukman.¹³ All others give the day and month, for example "in the year etc., on the 23th day of the month of February mentioned above,"¹⁴ only the day, for example "in the year etc., on the 14th day of the month mentioned above,"¹⁵ and often only "in the year and so forth mentioned above," or similar abbreviated dates. Despite all uncertainties involved in this, once Wattenbach had conjectured the overall timeline from this combination of two dates and the 15th-century note, he inferred the dates of all the individual depositions and presented these inferred dates as facts.

The next important stage in consolidating the dating of the Stettin inquisition was the archival discovery, study, and selective edition of the records by the historian Dietrich Kurze in the 1960s–1970s. Kurze found another 54 depositions, many of them badly

⁹Wattenbach, "Über die Inquisition gegen die Waldenser," 4–5, 7–19.

¹⁰Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 403 Helmst., f. 21r: "Anno nativitatis eiusdem M [ccc]lxxxiii [1394] die xii [12.] Mensis Marcii, indictione secunda, p[ontificatus] sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Bonifacii divina provid[encia] noni anno quinto." See Wattenbach, "Über die Inquisition," 5; Dietrich Kurze (ed.), *Quellen zur Ketzergeschichte Brandenburgs und Pommerns*, 235–236. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975.

¹¹Wattenbach, "Über die Inquisition gegen die Waldenser," 5–6; Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 260–261.

¹²Wattenbach, "Über die Inquisition gegen die Waldenser," 4–5: "Zuerst also auf Blatt 187–275 (neu 33–112) haben wir die Nummern 174–279, vom 26 Januar bis 6. März, nämlich 1393. Zugeschrieben sind noch kleinere Zahlen, neben 174–210 die Zahlen 31–60, doch mit einigen Sprüngen [...]. Nach Blatt 275 ist eine grosse Verwirrung: es tritt eine ganz andere Hand und andere Orthographie ein; die Daten sind wider vom 9. bis zum 19. Februar, ohne Zweifel 1394."

¹³Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 403 Helmst., f. 126v: "Item Anno domini mccccxxxiii [1394] die secunda Mensis Marchii hora quasi nonarum"; See also Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 233.

¹⁴Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 403 Helmst., f. 98v; Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 197: "Anno etc. die xxiii [23] Mensis februarii predicti."

¹⁵Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 403 Helmst., f. 83r; Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 176: "Anno etc. die xiiii [14.] mensis predicti."

damaged, in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript 348 Novi. The depositions included some dated to November and December of the preceding year, but unfortunately not the first deposition of Zwicker's register, which undoubtedly would have given a firm starting date for the proceedings. Following Wattenbach's interpretation that the depositions in the manuscript 403 Helmst. were from January to March 1393 and February to March 1394, Kurze inferred that the November–December depositions are from the year 1392. This is supported by the medieval numbering of the depositions, which although not entirely consistent, seems to strive for chronological order. The first dated deposition discovered by Kurze has the medieval number 3 and the date November 22. It is preceded by a badly damaged fragment, which Kurze interpreted to be number 2, likely from November 21.¹⁶ Consequently, we are not missing a lot from the beginning of Zwicker's register, but those missing folios are crucial.

Kurze proposed that Zwicker's inquisition could not have been continuous, but that it must have had two stages, from November 1392 till March 1393 and again from February till March 1394, with an 11-month break in between. He gave two entirely logical reasons for his assumptions. First, at Kurze's time, scholars assumed, based on H. Haupt's and G. Friess's 19th-century studies and editions, that Zwicker had been conducting an inquisition against Waldensians in Upper Austria since 1391 and was active there in 1393: this explained the break in Stettin proceedings.¹⁷ Although considered to be somewhat controversial, the dates of Zwicker's sojourn in Upper Austria were accepted till 2010s,¹⁸ when I examined the whole manuscript evidence and established that the inquisition against the Waldensians in Steyer and Enns area took place between 1395 and 1398, which is after the Stettin trials.¹⁹ Second, Kurze pointed out, correctly, that had Zwicker interrogated Waldensians in Stettin during the whole time from November 1392 till March 1394 at the approximately same pace we can observe from the preserved documents, there would have been at least three times more depositions than the approximately 450 he and his notaries produced.²⁰

In the introduction to his summary edition of the Stettin depositions (1975), Kurze hardly discussed the 11-month gap in the inquisition, simply following the arguments presented in his 1968 article. He speculated that the appearance of "Matheus notarius

¹⁶Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 77–78.

¹⁷Kurze, "Zur Ketzergeschichte der Mark Brandenburg und Pommerns vornehmlich im 14. Jahrhundert: Luziferianer, Putzkeller und Waldenser," *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 16/17 (1968): 71; cf. Gottfried Friess, "Patarener, Begharden und Waldenser in Österreich während des Mittelalters," *Österreichische Vierteljahresschrift für katholische Theologie* 11 (1872): 266; Herman Haupt, "Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstlichen Deutschland seit der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 3 (1890): 371–373, 407.

¹⁸Biller, *Waldenses*, 255; Peter Segl, "Die Waldenser in Österreich um 1400: Lehren, Organisationsform, Verbreitung und Bekämpfung," in *Friedrich Reiser und die 'waldensisch-hussitische Internationale' im 15. Jahrhundert: Akten der Tagung Ötisheim-Schönenberg, 2. bis 4. Oktober 2003*, edited by Albert de Lange and Kathrin Utz Tremp, Heidelberg; Ubstadt-Weiher; Basel, 2006, 165, 177, 183–184; Kathrin Utz Tremp, *Von der Häresie zur Hexerei: "wirkliche" und imaginäre Sekten im Spätmittelalter*, MGH Schriften 59, 298. Hanover: Hahnische Buchhandlung, 2008; Modestin, *Ketzer in der Stadt*, 4; Modestin, "Peter Zwicker (gest. Nach dem 7. Juni 1404)," in *Schlesische Lebensbilder* 10, edited by K. Borchardt, 28. Inzingen: Degener & Co., 2010; Modestin, "The Anti-Waldensian Treatise *Cum Dormirent Homines*: Historical Context, Polemical Strategy, and Manuscript Tradition," in *Religious Controversy in Europe, 1378–1536*, edited by Michael Van Dussen and Pavel Soukup, 217. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

¹⁹Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany*, 156–162.

²⁰Kurze, "Zur Ketzergeschichte," 71 no. 86.

publicus” as a notary in February 1394 had something to do with the restart of the inquisition after the break, as Mattheus had written what Kurze, following Wattenbach, assumed were the first protocols of the second stage of the inquisition.²¹ For the edition, Kurze did an immense work in reconstructing the probable medieval order of the records that had been dispersed in two different manuscripts. To do so, he used the medieval folio numbers, medieval numbering of the depositions, which was probably done by someone from Zwicker’s staff, and the deposition dates. He also gave new running numbers 1–195 for the preserved depositions and pointed out alternative orders for the depositions that were hardest to situate in the sequence, since they were so damaged.²² Kurze’s reconstruction of the deposition order is impressive, especially with regard to the damaged depositions from November to January, but the misinterpretation of a pause in the inquisition means that his reconstructed order does not hold from February onwards.

As a careful historian, Kurze signaled that the dates were indeed conjectural by putting them in brackets in his edition. However, as often happens in the study of history, after an interpretation is accepted it is repeated as a fact. Although Kurze’s edition has been criticized for being too selective and leaving out many of the repetitive, common statements by the deponents,²³ it has become the standard reference for the Stettin inquisition,²⁴ and few have consulted the original depositions. Consequently, the dating based on the work by Wattenbach and Kurze has been accepted by other scholars, including the latest research on the northern German Waldensians²⁵ and the inquisitor Petrus Zwicker.²⁶

A challenge in dating the Stettin inquisitions is that they are not mentioned in any other source than the trial records themselves. Frustrating though it may be, it is not unique or even rare for medieval inquisitions of heresy. The only independent sources that can be of help are the two lists of converted Waldensian ministers, that is lay confessors and preachers known as “masters” by their followers and Brethren in the modern scholarship, dated to 1391 and listing several Brethren mentioned by the deponents in Stettin.²⁷ The lists are discussed in the last section of this article regarding the last Brother to visit Brandenburg and Pomerania.

In the rest of the article, I demonstrate that the established view needs to be questioned and the dating of Stettin Waldensian inquisitions revised. There is very little evidence to

²¹Kurze (ed.) *Quellen*, 24: “Möglicherweise hat seine Tätigkeit etwas mit der Wiederaufnahme der Verhöre nach elfmonatiger Unterbrechung im März [sic] 1394 zu tun, denn er schrieb die ersten Protokolle der neuen Inquisitionsphase.”

²²Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 20–27.

²³Alexander Patschovsky, “[Review:] Quellen zur Ketzergeschichte Brandenburgs und Pommerns. Gesammelt, herausgeben und eingeleitet von Dietrich Kurze,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 34 (1978): 589–590; Peter Biller, “Editions of Trials and Lost Texts,” in *Valdesi medievali. Bilanci e prospettive di ricerca*, edited by Marina Benedetti (Turin: Claudiana, 2009), 29.

²⁴See e.g. Cameron, *Waldenses*, 125–144; Utz Tremp, *Von der Häresie zur Hexerei*, 275–297.

²⁵Reima Välimäki, “More Powerful than Mere Matter? Forbidden but Practiced Material Religion among the Late Medieval German Waldensians,” in *Tangible Religion: Materiality of Domestic Cult Practices from Antiquity to Early Modern Era*, edited by Ria Berg et al., 239–253. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2021; Peter Biller, “Waldenses by the Baltic,” in *A Companion to the Waldenses in the Middle Ages*, edited by Marina Benedetti and Euan Cameron, 163. Leiden: Brill, 2022; Välimäki and Zbiral, “Analisi delle reti sociali.”

²⁶Modestin, “Zwicker”; Modestin, Zwicker, Peter, *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 28 (Berlin, 2024): 800–1; Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany*, 32, 116 et passim.

²⁷On the two lists and their editions, see Biller, *Waldenses*, 233–236; Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany*, 109.

support the 11-month break in Zwicker's inquisition between March 1393 and February 1394, but much that indicates a continuous process from November 1393 till March 1394. Next, I discuss the evidence in support of the established dating, followed by justification of the revised timeline. Parts II–III are, by necessity, technical, delving into the details of quires, folio and deposition numbers, as well as the internal consistency of the Stettin depositions. Readers interested in the more general implications of the redating are advised to proceed to Part IV, which presents a reconstruction of the last Waldensian minister's visit to Stettin and its surroundings.

II. Evidence Supporting the Wattenbach-Kurze Dating

There are two pieces of evidence that support the established dating, both already been referred to above. They are not, however, uncontroversial. The first is the short notice written by someone at the Prenzlau Dominican convent after the last deposition, that of Sybert Curaw on March 25, 1394. The notice states that Zwicker "started in the year of the Lord 1393 in the month of January and continued through the following year until the month of February in the said diocese" and that he "deposed the above-written and diligently collected register at the Prenzlauer convent among the Friars Preachers in the year of the Lord 1394, and left it to their custody."²⁸ Kurze noted that the notice is likely written in 1432, as its author has first written that year, struck it through, and replaced it with 1394. The slip probably refers to the current year at the time of writing.²⁹ The notice, therefore, was written 38 years after the end of Zwicker's inquisition, and although it is valuable evidence of Zwicker's register's transmission history, it is extremely unlikely that the Prenzlauer Dominican who wrote the notice possessed any first-hand information about the process in the 1390s.

It is also worth noting that the 1432 notice contains blatant mistakes about the details of Zwicker's process and that these cast doubt on its value as a source. First, it proposes that Zwicker was commissioned for the diocese of Cammin by the apostolic see. However, the Stettin depositions list only commission by the archbishop of Prague and the bishops of Brandenburg, Cammin, and Lebus,³⁰ and the scholarly consensus is that Zwicker never was a papal inquisitor.³¹ In addition, the notice claims that the process ended in February [1394], even though it is written after a deposition that clearly gives the date March 25. The author also presumed that the trials started in January 1393, but the first depositions date to November, not January. It is, of course, possible that some depositions were lost already by 1432, and that the Dominicans at the time possessed depositions only from

²⁸"Hic liber sive registrum istud practicatum [MS: practicatus] est et collectum per reverendum patrem, fratrem Petrum inquisitorem, provinciale ordinis Celestinorum, ad partes Almanie et dyocesim Camminensem specialiter destinatum [MS: destinatus] per sedem apostolicam. Qui anno domini 1393 in mense Ianuario incepit, et per sequentem annum in predicta dyocesi continuavit usque ad mensem Februarium. Et suprascriptum diligenter collectum registrum in conventu Prymslaviensi apud fratres predicatorum anno domini 1394 deposuit et custodiendum reliquit." Kurze (ed.), *Quellen* 260–261; cf. Wattenbach, "Über die Inquisition gegen die Waldenser," 5–6.

²⁹Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 28.

³⁰Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 235, 253; See also Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany*, 34.

³¹See esp. Alexander Patschovsky, "Straßburger Beginenverfolgungen Im 14. Jahrhundert," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 30 (1974): 117–118; Richard Kieckhefer, *Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1979), 55–57; Modestin, "The Anti-Waldensian Treatise," 213; Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany*, 30–31.

January onwards.³² This theory presupposes that (a) the register was already damaged or split in the early 15th century (b) after the damage, it still had more depositions than now, as none of the extant January depositions give the year explicitly and (c) the year stated in the lost January depositions was indeed 1393. There is, however, a much simpler and likely explanation: the author of the notice had only superficially browsed the register, found years 1393 and 1394 mentioned there, and misread the starting month as he did the end month.

The second piece of evidence is the jump from March 6 to February 14 between the depositions with medieval numbers 279 and [280],³³ which have the medieval folio numbers 275 and 276. The deposition on March 6 (279) has been written by an anonymous notary who wrote most of the extant depositions, and the deposition on February 14 by a public notary Mattheus, whom Kurze has identified with “Matheus Hyldebrand of Stettin, a cleric and a public notary,” who repeatedly appears as a clerical witness in other depositions, and who possibly was identical with a certain Mathias Brant mentioned on March 1, 1392 as a vicar of the Church of St Mary in Stettin.³⁴ As stated above, already Wattenbach and later Kurze interpreted this leap in dates to also mean a leap in the year, from March 1393 to February 1394.

There is, however, little reason to assume that the change of the notary also marked a long break in the inquisition. Rather, it seems that there are two notaries working simultaneously,³⁵ and that the quires where they recorded the proceedings were included in the register volume in an order that was roughly but not uniformly chronological. Kurze himself admitted that towards the end of the process, the numbering did not always follow the chronology: depositions with the medieval numbers from 390 to 401 should be between the medieval numbers 432 and 433 if chronology would have been strictly followed.³⁶ In the quires written by Mattheus Hyldebrand, the order had changed when the records were joined to the main register volume, and the depositions on February 9 and 11, are located after those on February 19.³⁷ At least in one case the anonymous notary filled in blank pages left by the notary Mattheus without any regard of the chronology: the deposition of Jacob Hukman on March 2 and 5, 1394 (medieval number 296) has been written by the anonymous notary on the two empty pages that the notary Mattheus had accidentally skipped over when he wrote the deposition of Alheid Wegener on February 11 (medieval number 295).³⁸ This practical solution also demonstrates that the two notaries shared their notes and writing material.

There are reasons to believe that these are not the only inconsistencies. There are 78 depositions missing between the medieval numbers 91 (January 12) and 174 (January 26).³⁹ If all of them had been held from January 12 to 26, it would have meant five to six

³²This is speculated by Kurze, see Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 28.

³³Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 403 Helmst., f. 112r–113r. The manuscript has ‘290’, but here the numerator clearly has intended 280, as it is followed by number 281 and there is the deposition number 290 between 289 and 291, see f. 121. See also Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 26.

³⁴“Matheo Hyldebrandi de Stetyn clerico et notario publico,” see Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 24.

³⁵In addition, Petrus Zwicker himself took notes of eleven interrogations with the eschatocol always written by the anonymous notary, see Appendix 1 and Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 23–24.

³⁶Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 27.

³⁷Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 26–27.

³⁸Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 403 Helmst., f. 126r, 127v (Alheid Wegener), 126v–127r (Jacob Hukman), cf. Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 26–27.

³⁹In addition to the missing seventy-eight depositions, there are five fragments that probably belong between numbers 91 and 174, but they have neither preserved dates nor numbering, see Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 114–116.

interrogations every single day, which is a possible but unlikely pace when compared to the rest of the register. It is much more likely that the missing depositions were based on interrogations held over a longer period in January–February.

What speaks most against the supposed 11-month break in the inquisition between the medieval depositions 279 and [280] is that there are no traces of it in the register. The anonymous medieval numerator, who most probably belonged to Zwicker's staff and made several comments on the margins,⁴⁰ simply continued the numbers and folio numbers without any remarks. He clearly worked immediately after the trials with a complete set of records, and if the depositions till number 279 had belonged to a different year than those from 280 onwards, he would almost certainly have made some note about it in the register. No such remarks survive. The lack of comments by the numerator corresponds to the similar lack of references to a pause in the depositions, which will be discussed below.

How would the collaboration of the notaries look like if we assume that there is no pause in the inquisition? Due to the lost depositions, it is impossible to say when Mattheus Hyldebrand joined Zwicker's inquisition as a notary, but it is possible to make an educated guess. The first time he is mentioned as a witness is on January 26, [1394] in the deposition of Margaretha Sibe from Mohrin.⁴¹ Around the same time, Zwicker and the anonymous notary started to have problems dealing with the number of deponents. On January 27, starting on the third hour of the day (around 9 a.m.) and continuing till Vespers (around 6 p.m.), Zwicker interrogated seven deponents, one of whom, Joris Buchult, had arrived the day before (January 26) and taken his oath then.⁴² Work started to pile up, as in the evening of January 27, Zwicker received oaths from four additional deponents, whom he then interrogated on the following day, January 28.⁴³ These depositions are also very concise, the notary using even more abbreviations than normal. Clearly, more people were coming in than the inquisitor and the notary were able to handle. The first preserved deposition written by Mattheus is on February 9, but he was probably at work already before that. Mattheus had a distinct way of numbering the quires he used. The folio where the deposition on February 9 starts has the marking "tercius sexternus" (that is "the third quire of six" = twelve folios), whereas on February 14 he starts "quartus sexternus."⁴⁴ It is not too big a leap of faith to assume the existence of the sexterns one and two by Mattheus, corresponding to 24 folios and as many depositions, dating prior to February 9. Therefore, Mattheus probably started to work for Zwicker in early February or even late January [1394].

With the two notaries, Zwicker was able to interrogate as many as 10 (February 14, [1394]) and 11 (February 18, [1394]) deponents per day. There are some indications of the notaries taking turns. On February 14, the anonymous notary started at the third hour (around 9 a.m.) and took notes of seven depositions. According to his concise dating practice, "in the year and so forth as above," they all took place on the third hour, but more probably throughout the morning and early afternoon. In any case, at the ninth hour Mattheus took over, and wrote down three depositions in the ninth hour, after it, and at

⁴⁰Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 26.

⁴¹Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 116–117.

⁴²Medieval deposition numbers 178–184, see Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 121–126.

⁴³Medieval deposition numbers 185–188, see Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 127–129.

⁴⁴Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 403 Helmst., f. 113r; 125r. Here, the order of depositions was mixed when they were bound to the register volume, *tercius sexternus* starts at f. 125r and is incomplete, whereas the complete *quartus sexternus* starts at f. 113r. Cf. Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 27. Kurze pretty much bypasses the implications of the probable first and second sexterns.

the time of Vespers, that is around 6 p.m. On February 18, Mattheus worked from the first hour (around 6 a.m.) till third hour, writing down two depositions. The anonymous notary took over at the third hour and continued till the ninth hour with seven depositions. At the ninth hour Mattheus returned to the afternoon shift, taking notes of two additional depositions. The work of two notaries on February 18 totaled 11 interrogations between early morning and Vespers.⁴⁵

All in all, it appears that the inconsistency in the medieval numbering and folio numbers that puzzled Wattenbach and Kurze is simply a result of compiling together the depositions written by two notaries working simultaneously for the inquisitor. They took notes mostly on their own sheets of paper, with one exception mentioned above, and because they worked on the same days, it was no longer possible to retain a strict chronological order in the records, if that ever was the goal of the medieval numerator. What led Wattenbach and Kurze to look for a break in the records was the note from 1432 stating that the inquisitions started in January 1393 and continued through the following year in February. As the author of this remark is mistaken about the start and end month of the inquisition, there is no reason to trust his estimate of the inquisition's duration. What sustained Wattenbach's and Kurze's interpretation was the assumption that Zwicker visited Upper Austria in the middle of the Stettin inquisitions. As the notion of Zwicker's working in Austria before 1395 has now been thrown out, there is now very little that supports the idea of a break between March 1393 and February 1394. Instead, the dating causes numerous problems that are solved with the new proposed dating: from late November 1393 till March 25, 1394. [Appendix](#) presents a revised dating for all 195 preserved depositions, organized from the earliest to the latest. [Appendix](#) also gives Kurze's dating and his running number for comparison. In the following, Section III presents the arguments in support of the new chronology.

III. Arguments for the Revised Dating

The greatest support for the revised dating, November 1393 to March 1394, is the internal evidence of the Stettin depositions themselves. First, if there had been an 11-month hiatus in the inquisition process, there should be at least some references to it by the inquisitor, notaries, or deponents. There are none. No one said that their relative had been in front of the inquisitor already a year ago. There are no inquiries into possible relapsed heretics, and neither the notaries nor the numerator working after the inquisition make a single remark on two different stages in the process. Everything in the records points to a single, uninterrupted process. For example, in the introductory note to the depositions of the five Waldensians from the diocese of Poznań, explicitly dated March 12, 1394, the anonymous notary states that "Brother Petrus, provincial of the brethren of the order of the Celestines in Germany, inquisitor of heretical depravity commissioned by the archbishop and bishops of Prague, Lebus and Cammin: Because he discovered, examined, convicted and gave penance to more than 400 heretics of both sexes of the Waldensian sect in the diocese of Cammin [...]"⁴⁶ The purpose of the note is to explain to the bishop of Poznań why Zwicker examined five of his subjects, over whom he had no authority, but who had appeared before him to receive absolution and penance. If the inquisition process had been going on for more than a year, one would have expected some kind of temporal

⁴⁵See [Appendix](#).

⁴⁶Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 235.

reference in a note of this nature, but there is none. The absence of evidence is not, as it is well known, evidence of absence, but in this case, it strongly points in one direction: the absence of the conjectured pause in the inquisition proceedings.

Second, there are several pieces of internal evidence that support my proposition for the dating. The most important of these is how the deponents remember when their last confession to a Waldensian Brother took place. Human memory is extremely fallible, and one cannot presume that temporal information in medieval inquisition depositions, especially relating to events that had taken place years or decades earlier, is accurate in the usual sense of the word. One should regard any individual memory with suspicion. Taking that into account, we see interesting contradictory patterns emerging from the data. They relate to the last confession the deponents had made to a Waldensian Brother, an event that we can assume they probably remembered relatively well. The examples in [Table 1](#) demonstrate that the established timeline has several implausible references to time.

Especially blatant is the contradiction in Alheid Wegener's deposition, who on February 11, 1394 said that she had confessed to a Waldensian Brother named Nicolaus (there were several of that name) "more than a year ago" in the house of her father-in-law Heyncze Wegener alde ("Old") in Gross-Wubiser. That would mean that a Waldensian brother visited the village of Gross-Wubiser when the inquisition in Stettin was already underway, and several villagers had already been convicted by Zwicker. Heyncze Wegener alde himself had confessed his heresy on February 10, 1393, according to Kurze.⁴⁷ If Alheid had told Zwicker about a Brother visiting a partly converted Waldensian community, it would certainly have caused a strong reaction from the inquisitor, resulting in further inquiries and accusations of relapses into heresy, of which there is no trace either in Alheid's deposition or elsewhere. The apparent contradiction is solved by the revised dating. Both Heyncze Wegener alde and his daughter-in-law Alheid were interrogated in February 1394, Heyncze on 10 February and Alheid the following day.

Another remarkable feature is that the deponents from the two supposed stages of the inquisition, presumably separated by circa a year, seem to describe similar events with similar temporal markers. Grete Wegener, the daughter of Heyncze Wegener alde, gave an extraordinarily accurate dating for her last confession: around the past Michaelmas, a year had elapsed from it, and it had taken place in her father's house. As Grete's trial was on February 19, 1394, her last confession had been around September 29, 1392. Interestingly enough, Katherina Currebuch also told the inquisitor about confessing to a Waldensian brother in Heyncze Wegener alde's house around Michaelmas over a year ago. However, if we follow Kurze's dating, Katherina gave her deposition on February 14, 1393, dating her last confession to Michaelmas 1391. Of course, we could assume that meeting Waldensian Bretheren at Heyncze Wegener alde's house around Michaelmas was a yearly event, but there is a much simpler explanation through the revised timeline: both Grete Wegener and Katherina Currebuch confessed in February 1394 and described the same event in late September 1392. Even Alheid Wegener's and Heyncze Wegener alde's vague temporal references (over a year ago, almost 2 years ago) in February 1394 concerning their last confession at Heyncze's house probably point to September 1392.

A similar case comprises the numerous deponents who told Zwicker that their last confessions were approximately a year ago in Peter Gossaw's house in Gross-Wubiser.

⁴⁷Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 160. Unfortunately, the deposition of Heyncze Wegener junge, the son of Heyncze alde and husband of Alheid, has not been preserved.

Table 1. Selected deponents and their statements concerning the last confession to a Waldensian Brother

Deponent	Dep. Nr.	Deposition date, according to Kurze	Time reference of the last confession	Date of the last confession, according to Kurze's dating	Waldensian Brother	Host of the last confession
Alheid Wegener	157 (old 295)	1394–02–11	Et est ultra annum	Late 1392/early 1393	Nicolaus	Heyncze Wegener alde
Heyncze Wegener alde	94 (old 222)	1393–02–10	Prope duos annos	1391	–	Himself
Grete Wegener	166 (old 290)	1394–02–19	Et est unus annus elapsus circa festum Michaelis transactum	c. 1392-09-29	–	Heyncze Wegener alde
Geze/ Ghertrud Walther	162 (old 284)	1394–02–18	Et est annus unus elapsus circa autumpnum transactum	Autumn 1392	–	Peter Gossaw
Katherina Wideman	163 (old 285)	1394–02–18	Et sunt bene elapsi 2 anni circa autumpnum proximo venturum	Autumn 1392	–	Peter Gossaw
Katherina Currebuch	114 (old 241)	1393–02–14	Quod ante Michaelis fuerit unus annus	c. 1391-09-29	–	Heyncze Wegener alde
Grete Polczman	128 (old 253)	1393–02–20	Quod in autumpno fuerit unus annus	Autumn 1391	–	Peter Gossaw

Depending on the trial date, such statements seem to refer either to autumn 1391 or 1392 (see Geze Walther, Katherina Wideman and Grete Polczman in Table 1). Based on the revised timeline, I am in a position to propose that all these statements refer to the same occasion that took place in the autumn of 1392. In fact, with the revised dating, one can, with greater confidence than before, date and locate the last visits of the Waldensian Brethren in Pomerania, which I shall do in the last section of this article.

A problem caused by the Wattenbach–Kurze dating is that there are cases where members of the same household or close family seem to confess a year apart for no apparent reason. I referred earlier to Heyncze Wegener alde and his daughter-in-law-Alheid. In Table 1 one can see that in Kurze's dating, a year also separates the depositions of Heyncze and his unmarried daughter Grete, still living at her parent's house. It is extremely improbable that she would have been interrogated over a year after her father, who had denounced her in his deposition.⁴⁸ A similar case is the interrogation of the married couple Claus and Geze (or Gertrud) Walther from Gross-Wubiser. According to Kurze, Claus was interrogated on February 10, 1393 and Geze over a year later on February 18, 1394. Again, such a delay is improbable given that Claus had denounced his wife.⁴⁹ The most likely explanation is again the dating. When all February depositions are dated to the same year 1394, the timeline becomes much more plausible. First, Heyncze Wegener and Clauss Walther, who had come in front of the inquisitor voluntarily, without summons, appeared in court on February 10. A little over week later their denounced family members were summoned to court. Geze Walther is mentioned to have been summoned personally with a letter by her parish priest. Such a specific form of summons is a logical outcome of the inquisitor learning about her involvement in heresy from her husband.

One of the rare cases of resistance to the inquisitor during the Stettin trials took place in the village of Klein-Wubiser, one of the settlements where a majority if not the whole population was Waldensian. Led by a man called Sybert Curaw, the locals imprisoned the inquisitor's messenger, Fikke and prevented the summons letters from being read out in the village church. Sybert and his companions also slandered Zwicker and some of the people who went to the court voluntarily, and for a while some of them were fugitives from the inquisitor.⁵⁰ One of the fugitives was Tyde Rudelbeke, whose own deposition has been lost, but whose wife Beata admitted that Tyde had slandered the inquisitor and called him Antichrist, and that Tyde and Sybert had escaped from the inquisitor. At first, Beata said that she did not know where her husband was, but she then admitted that she had heard from a certain Creter de Costriniken that Tyde was in Fredenwalde, which is located in Uckermark at a distance of more than 60 km from Klein-Wubiser.⁵¹ Later, Heyne Smerwynkel, one of the rebels in Klein-Wubiser, confirmed that he had been on the run with Sybert Curaw and brothers Tyde and Claus Rudelbeke.⁵² Finally, Sybert himself said that he had escaped from the inquisitor with "three others," of whom Claus Rudelbeke was to only one left.⁵³

⁴⁸Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 161, cf. 229–230.

⁴⁹Kurze (ed.) *Quellen*, 159, 226.

⁵⁰The events have been recounted several times. See Kurze, "Zur Ketzergeschichte", 74; Kieckhefer, *Repression of Heresy*, 63–5; S. K. Treesh, "The Waldensian Recourse to Violence," *Church History* 55, no. 3 (1986): 301; Cameron, *Waldenses*, 141.

⁵¹Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 208; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 403 Helmst., f. 106r.

⁵²Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 258; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 403 Helmst., f. 31r.

⁵³Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 260.

All these deponents, as well as others recounting the events in Klein-Wubiser, speak of them as something recent, without any temporal references, as one would speak of the events of past weeks or months.⁵⁴ However, the established dating would place a year between Beata Rudelbeke's deposition on March 1, 1393, and those of Heyne Smerwynkel and Sybert Curaw in March 1394. While one can easily imagine an escape of more than a year, there would have been some talk about time in the depositions if the opposition in Klein-Wubiser had lasted that long. Again, a much more likely explanation is that Sybert's and his comrades' acts of rebellion all took place in February–March 1394, meaning that neither the inquisitor nor the accused had any particular need to date the events.⁵⁵

It is also highly improbable that Zwicker would have left the process interrupted after the interrogation of approximately 280 deponents, as Wattenbach and Kurze proposed. It is actually surprising that no one has thought about what such a hiatus would have meant for the partially converted and convicted communities. The established dates would mean that for a year or more, some family members were converts that had abjured their heresy and were undergoing a public penance, while others were unrepentant heretics. When one abjured one's heresy and received absolution and penance for it, the abjurer renounced all heresy and communion with heretics, under an oath and the pain of death.⁵⁶ The requirement to abstain from contact with one's former sisters and brothers in faith was not an empty legal detail: in late 14th-century Germany, it was monitored. When the Waldensian Johannes Örtel had sought help from Konrad Huter, a converted Waldensian in Regensburg, Huter had turned his back on Örtel, not wanting to have anything to do with him. Soon afterwards, in 1395, when Örtel was accused by the bishop of Eichstätt, he implicated Konrad Huter. Örtel's implication was enough to bring Konrad with his family to trial. They were acquitted only after the inquisitor Martin of Prague, with whom Zwicker collaborated on numerous occasions, provided assurance, in a letter of May 1396, that, after making enquiries among recently converted Waldensians, he was convinced that neither Konrad nor his wife Elizabeth had been in any contact with Waldensians after their abjuration.⁵⁷ While it was possible to turn back to an old acquaintance, following the strict conditions the abjuration imposed upon converted heretics would have been simply impossible for a prolonged period of time inside a family or close-knit village community. An 11-month break would have generated cases of suspected relapses, of which there is no indication in the register.

In addition to such implausible legal and practical consequences, a half-converted community would have posed serious spiritual threats, according to the way Zwicker saw things. I mentioned earlier his justification for interrogating and convicting the five Waldensians from the diocese of Poznań, which was outside his jurisdiction. Zwicker stated that releasing them without a trial would not 'be safe either for the souls of the mentioned persons [converts] or the orthodox Catholic faith in general' as the converts

⁵⁴See above all the deposition of Jacob Hukman, who seems to have been a foreman of sorts in Klein-Wubiser, edited in whole in Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 233–235.

⁵⁵The first references to their opposition is by Gyrdrud Melsaw on 12 February, dated 1393 by Kurze but 1394 according to the revised dating. See Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 167–168.

⁵⁶This common form is to be found in the abjuration formula used by Zwicker. Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 76.

⁵⁷On the Huter family trial in 1395, see H. Finke, "Waldenserprozess in Regensburg, 1395," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 4 (1890): 345–46; Kieckhefer, *Repression of Heresy*, 131–132; Reima Välimäki, "Bishops and the Inquisition of Heresy in Late Medieval Germany," in *Dominus Episcopus. Medieval Bishops between Diocese and Court*, edited by Anthony J. Lappin and Elena Balzamo, 191–194. Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2018.

Table 2. The witnesses of three depositions in February [1394]

Deponent	Dep. Nr.	Deposition date, according to Kurze	Deposition date, revised	Witnesses	Notary
Mette Dorynk	89 (old 217)	1393–02–09	1394–02–09	Nicolaus “socius inquisitoris”; Gregorius Bucholt; Arnaldus Borst/Berss; Corte Lempky/Lepkyn	Anonymous Notary
Tylss Ermgart	95 (old 223)	1393–02–11	1394–02–11	Nicolaus “socius inquisitoris”; Bernhardus Morynk; Hermannus de Assen; Mattheus Hyldebrand; Johannes Pamgarten; Corte Lempky/Lepkyn; Arnaldus Borst	Anonymous Notary
Sophya Myndeke	156 (old 294)	1394–02–09	1394–02–09	Nicolaus “socius inquisitoris”; Gregorius Bucholt, Arnaldus Borst/Berss; Corte Lempky/Lepkyn	Mattheus Hyldebrant, witnesses listed by the Anonymous Notary

could easily relapse into heresy if Waldensian ministers were to visit the neighboring diocese.⁵⁸ Partly converted families and villages would have been a much greater danger than Waldensians in the nearby diocese. One can, of course, invent any number of other reasons for Zwicker interrupting his interrogations, but we must emphasize this again: there is not the faintest sign of such an interruption within the depositions themselves.

A final piece of evidence that refutes the possibility of a break before the depositions written by Mattheus Hyldebrant from February 9, 1394, onwards and those written by the anonymous notary before that comes from the list of witnesses. Each interrogation had clerical and/or lay witnesses listed at the end of each deposition. Table 2 presents the witnesses in three depositions, two of which are dated by Kurze to February 1393 and one to February 1394. The witnesses demonstrate that they were all conducted in February 1394.

Three remarks on the table:

1. The trials of Mette Dorynk and Sophya Myndeke, presumably separated by a year, had an identical set of witnesses.
2. Some of these witnesses were outsiders, present only in a couple of trials. Corte Lepkyn, or Lempky, was a city council member from the nearby city of Wollin (now Wolin), mentioned only in these three depositions. Arnaldus Borst, or Berss, was a layman from Salzwedel in Saxony, more than 250 kilometers from Stettin.⁵⁹

⁵⁸Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 235: “et considerans, non esse securum tam predictarum personarum animabus quam orthodoxe fidei katholice communiter, eo quod propter vicinitatem diocesum predictarum faciliter possent iam conversi relabi in abiuratum heresim, si heresiarche hereticos vicine diocesis visitarent.”

⁵⁹Arnaldus Borst is also mentioned in depositions on 30 January [1394], see Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 130, 133, 155, 162, 220.

3. It is nearly impossible that both Corte Lepkyn and Arnaldus Borst would have happened to be in Stettin on February 9, both in 1393 and 1394.

Consequently, the deposition of Mette Dorynk, as recorded by the anonymous notary, and the deposition of Sophya Myndeke, the earliest document produced by Mattheus Hyldebrant, both took place on February 9, 1394.

Finally, a couple of words should be said about the turn of the year, as obviously the first deposition of the new year would have had the complete date. Most probably the turn of the year the notaries used was December 25, which was at the time the most widespread practice in Germany and the norm both in the diocese of Cammin and also in the archdiocese of Prague, Zwicker's home diocese.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, several dozen depositions have been lost between the medieval number 52 (December 23, [1393]) and the next dated deposition number 91 (January 12, [1394]). So, whether the new year began on December 25 or on January 1, the first deposition of the year 1394 is lost to us. The number of missing depositions indicates, however, that Zwicker and his staff continued hearings over Christmas and New Year.

The internal evidence in the deposition thus points to a continued process without any breaks. There is no significant evidence contradicting what we propose: that the revised dates from November 1393 till March 1394 presented in the [Appendix](#) should be taken as the probable timeline of Zwicker's inquisition in Stettin. The revised dating has several implications for the study of these inquisition records. In the last part of this article, I shall show that with the new dating, it is possible to reconstruct the last visits of Waldensian ministers to the dissident communities in Brandenburg and Pomerania.

IV. Who was the Last Waldensian Minister to Visit Northern Germany and When?

The revised dating solves certain contradictions in the references to the last Waldensian Brethren visiting Brandenburg and Pomerania. In this final section of the article, I shall consider the identity of a Brother called "Nicolaus conversus" and attempt to date his last visit to the area.

Scholars agree that the conversion of Waldensian ministers in 1390 or 1391, whose names were compiled in two lists circulating with other polemical descriptions of Waldensians, was a decisive blow for German Waldensians and provided Zwicker and other inquisitors with the names and locations of their followers.⁶¹ Not all Brethren, however, converted. Deponents confessing in the final weeks of the inquisition in February–March 1394 refer to their last confession having taken place over a year ago, pointing to late 1392 or even early 1393. It is clearly after the conversion of the ministers by 1391, and in the following, I demonstrate that at least one Waldensian Brother was active in late 1392 and that he is not identifiable with any of the Waldensian Brethren named in the lists of converts from 1390/1391.

Among the Waldensian Brethren visiting Brandenburg and Pomerania, the most often mentioned is a certain Nicolaus, usually designated as "now/recently converted" (*iam conversus*). This converted Nicolaus is usually identified as Nicolaus Gotschalk, also

⁶⁰Hermann Grotefend, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit. Für den praktischen Gebrauch und zu Lehrzwecken entworfen* (Hanover; Leipzig: Hanse, 1898), 11.

⁶¹Kurze, "Zur Ketzergeschichte", 70–71; Kieckhefer, *Repression of Heresy*, 57–58; Cameron, *Waldenses*, 140; Smelyansky, "Heretical Refugees", 398.

known as Claus of Brandenburg, a Waldensian Brother born to non-Waldensian parents in Altenkirchen near Königsberg (Neumark) and introduced to Waldensianism 26 years before the Stettin inquisitions, together with his mother Gyrdrud and sister Geze, the latter of whom was among the Waldensians Zwicker questioned in Stettin. Having discovered Geze's deposition, who stated that her brother was "once a heresiarch, now a Catholic priest living in Vienna,"⁶² Kurze established the identity of Nicolaus Gotschalk with "Claus de Brandenburg" mentioned as a convert and priest in the so-called long list of converted Waldensians, dated to 1391.⁶³ In his edition of the Stettin protocols, Kurze further confirmed that Nicolaus Gotschalk was the same person as "Nicolaus iam conversus," and indexed both under one and the same entry in his index.⁶⁴ Following Kurze's edition, Euan Cameron gave an explicit timeline for Nicolaus Gotschalk's conversion: in autumn 1392 he was still a Waldensian Brother, in December 10, 1392 a deponent referred to him as "a heresiarch now converted at Prague" and on December 23, Geze Gotschalk stated that he was a Catholic priest living in Vienna. Cameron described Gotschalk's conversion "as a major coup for Zwicker."⁶⁵ Cameron's reconstruction of Nicolaus Gotschalk's conversion and career is, however, too quick to be true, not to mention that Gotschalk is listed among the converted masters in 1391.⁶⁶

A careful reading of the Stettin depositions indeed reveals that "Nicolaus iam conversus" is not identical with Nicolaus Gotschalk, nor with Nicolaus Solothurn, Nicolaus of Plauen, Nicolaus of Poland, or Nicolaus of Vienna, all Brethren named Nicolaus and mentioned in both the Stettin depositions and the lists of converts.⁶⁷ Indeed, the designation *iam* ("just now," "recently") might well refer to the fact that he had converted after the major conversion in 1390–1391. He was the converted "heresiarch" that Peter Gossaw from Gross-Wubiser, the most important host of the local Waldensians' meetings, knew was staying in Prague in December [1393].⁶⁸ Thus, he is not to be confused with Nicolaus Gotschalk, living as a Catholic priest in Vienna.

The most convincing evidence for the disambiguation of the two men, "Nicolaus iam conversus" and Nicolaus Gotschalk, comes from two Stettin depositions, above all from Geze Gotschalk's statement. Although she was sister to Nicolaus Gotschalk and confessed to Brethren regularly, she was rather ignorant of their names in a way that was typical of Brandenburg-Pomeranian Waldensians in general. First, she claimed that she did not remember their names, but then, apparently pushed by Zwicker, she said that she had thrice confessed to her brother, once to a heresiarch whose name she did not know and the last time to "Nicolaus also heresiarch, recently converted." When read directly from the original manuscript instead of Kurze's summary edition, it becomes evident that, with the last Nicolaus, Geze (and the notary) meant a Nicolaus who was not her brother.⁶⁹ The two

⁶²Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 109.

⁶³Kurze, "Zur Ketzergeschichte", 79–81. The long list is edited in Herman Haupt, *Der Waldensische Ursprung des Codex Teplensis* (Würzburg: Stahel, 1886), 35–36.

⁶⁴Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 351

⁶⁵Cameron, *Waldenses*, 140.

⁶⁶Haupt, *Der Waldensische Ursprung*, 35.

⁶⁷Herman Haupt, *Der Waldensische Ursprung*, 35–36; E. Werner, "Nachrichten über spätmittelalterliche Ketzer aus tschechoslowakischen Archiven und Bibliotheken," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig. Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 12, no. 1 (1963): 265.

⁶⁸Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 99. On Peter Gossaw's position in the community, see Välimäki and Zbiral, "Analisi delle reti sociali", 239.

⁶⁹Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 348 Novi, f. 27v: "sed nescit nominare eos attamen dixit se forte ter confessam fratri sue cum fuisset heresiarcha, semel in konegesperch in capetulario fratrum

Nicolauses are even more evidently separated in Sybert Curaw's deposition. On March 25, 1394 Sybert, the very last Waldensian convicted in Stettin, said that approximately 2 years earlier he had confessed "to Nicolaus heresiarch now converted and to Nicolaus Gotschalk."⁷⁰ It is evident that both Sybert Curaw and Nicolaus Gotschalk's sister Geze regarded the recently converted Nicolaus and Nicolaus Gotschalk as two different persons.

When did the last Waldensian Brethren visit Brandenburg and Pomerania, and who they were? First, one has to note that the Brethren identifiable with the converts of 1390–1391 do not, with two exceptions, feature among those to whom the deponents had last confessed. Jutta Rudeger from Stettyn knew several Brethren by name, and said that she had confessed to Nicolaus Gotschalk, Conrad de Toryngia (Thüringen) Conrad de Gemunde (Schwäbisch-Gmünd) and Nicolaus Solothurn. Her last confession had been to Nicolaus Solothurn 1 year earlier.⁷¹ Her memory must have failed, as both Kurze's dating of her deposition (November 24, 1392) and my revised dating (November 24, 1393) would place this confession after Nicolaus Solothurn's conversion (by September 1391). The second exception is the already-mentioned Sybert Curaw, who on March 25, 1394 (an undisputed date) said that he had confessed "for the last time in the house of Henning Vischer in Gross-Wubiser in a room, and it was around 2 years ago that he confessed to heresiarchs Nicolaus-now-converted and Nicolaus Gotschalk; he cannot name others."⁷² As often with the concise Stettin depositions, the statement is ambiguous. One reading is that Sybert's last confession had been 2 years earlier (Spring 1392) to Nicolaus-now-converted and Nicolaus Gotschalk, another is that his last confession had been at the time, and that the only Waldensian confessors he knew by name were the two Nicolauses. I incline to the second. The evidence of the Stettin depositions thus by and large supports the information of the lists dated to 1391: the Waldensian ministers mentioned in these lists of converts had stopped visiting the area a couple of years earlier.

In total, 26 deponents named a Waldensian minister to whom they had confessed 2 years ago or later, that is after 1391. The single references to Nicolaus Gotschalk and Nicolaus Solothurn are questionable, as discussed in the previous paragraph. In comparison, 19 deponents said that their last confession had been to "Nicolaus conversus,"⁷³ and an additional six deponents named a more general "Nicolaus the heresiarch" or similar,⁷⁴ in this context probably referring to the recently converted Nicolaus. On

sancti augustini heremitarum; et semel in moryn et semel hic in domo rudegers; et eciam uno heresiarche sit confessa in konegesperch in ecclesia parochiali ubi sedisset cum eo sibi confitendo attamen nesciuit nomen eius; et vltimo confessa sit Nicolao eciam heresiarche iam conuerso ante vnum annum in groten Wowiser in domo Pamillen in camera." Cf. Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 109.

⁷⁰Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 259: "heresiarche Nicolao iam conuerso et Nicolao Gotschal sit confessus."

⁷¹Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 81.

⁷²Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 259: "et ultimo in domo Henning Vischer in groten Wowiser in camera, quod sit circa 2 annos, heresiarche Nicolao iam conuerso et Nicolao Gotschal sit confessus; alios non scivit nominare."

⁷³Herman Gossaw, Peter Gossaw, Andres Ermgart, Thyde Ermgart, Grite Daneel, Tylls Reppin, Grete Wegener, Sybert Curaw, Geze Gotschalk, Hans Steklyn Jr, an unnamed deponent (nr. 45), Margharetha Sibe, Sybe Hutvilther, Coppe Sybe, Cuene Hutvilther, Heyne Beyer, Mette Hutvilther, Mechtyld Cappens and Katherina Polan. See Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 89, 99, 107, 109, 114–17, 119, 143, 147, 156, 166, 192, 195, 211, 213, 259.

⁷⁴Mechtyld Philippus, Alheid Wegener, Tylss Hockmann, Katherina Debyken, Herman Rudeger Jr and Zacharias Welsaw. See Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 84–85, 95, 188, 201, 221.

February 18, [1394] Tylss Hockman said “that in the autumn it had been a year” from her last confession, ergo it had been in late 1392, and she “named Clauss and Conrad.”⁷⁵ Again, it is a bit uncertain if she meant that her last confession had been to confessors named Clauss (=Nicolaus) and Conrad, or if those were the only named “heresiarchs” she remembered in the first place. If she meant that her last confession had been to them, her deposition implies that Nicolaus was accompanied by another, probably younger, confessor named Conrad. The Waldensian Brethren are known to have followed a sort of apprenticeship or novitiate, where a young Brother accompanied a senior master for several years before he was allowed to hear confession independently – the short *De vita et conversacione* tract written in the 1390s speaks of a period of 6–10 years.⁷⁶ The evidence is, however, indecisive, and it might just as well be that Tylss was referring to earlier confessions to Conrad of Schwäbisch-Gmünd.

It is thus evident that a Waldensian Brother named Nicolaus was the last confessor or the Waldensians in Brandenburg and Pomerania. From the Stettin depositions one can with relatively high confidence reconstruct his visits. My reconstruction is based on a dataset recording all social interaction mentioned in the Stettin depositions, and it follows the revised timeline presented in this article. The dates given below are not “real” dates given in the depositions but inferred from these premises. Therefore, no references are given to individual depositions, and the reader is again reminded that the following is only this: a reconstruction.

There are two quite accurate dates provided in the depositions. Lucia Scroeter from Stettin, interrogated in the very beginning of the process in November 1393, said that her last confession had been a year ago on the Feast of the Assumption of Virgin Mary, that is August 15, 1392. She did not mention a Brother Nicolaus, but others in Stettin did, referring also to the autumn of 1392. The deponents from the city of Stettin were summoned to court at the beginning of the process, where many depositions are badly damaged or lost, and do not allow a closer reconstruction.

Nicolaus’s next traceable step is the village Selchow. Arn Enghel from Gross-Wubiser said that his last confession was there in Ebyl Vilter’s house before Michelmas 1392. He did not name Nicolaus, but he is mentioned as visiting Selchow in the autumn of 1391. Katherina Mews also spoke of a meeting at Ebyl Vilter’s house around Michelmas but referring to the year 1391. There are other depositions divided between autumn 1391 and 1392, and it seems that Nicolaus visited there both in 1391 and 1392.

Most meetings took place in Gross-Wubiser, where Brother Nicolaus visited Heyncze Wegener alde’s house on or around Michelmas 1392. It was not the only house in Gross-Wubiser where meetings were held in late 1392: Peter Gossaw, Hennyk Joris alde, Hans Mews, and Otto Pamill are also mentioned as hosts. The town of Bärwalde is mentioned in a dozen depositions, and Peter Beyer, Tyde Cremer, and possibly also Peter Newman hosted sermons and confessions in the autumn of 1392. In Klein-Wubiser, the house of Hennyk Vischer was the meeting place, mentioned by six

⁷⁵Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 403 Helmst., f. 91v: “et vltimo in domo Hennyng Vischer, quod in autumpno fuerit vnus annus et nominauit Clauss et Conrad[um]”. Cf. Kurze (ed.), *Quellen*, 188.

⁷⁶See the edition of an Olomouc manuscript in Werner, “Nachrichten über spätmittelalterliche Ketzler,” 267. On this short treatise, see Reima Välimäki, “The Portrayal of the Waldensian Brethren in the *De Vita et Conversacione* (c. 1391–3),” in *Inquisition and Knowledge, 1200–1700*, edited by Peter Biller and L. J. Sackville, 157–177. York: York Medieval Press, 2022.

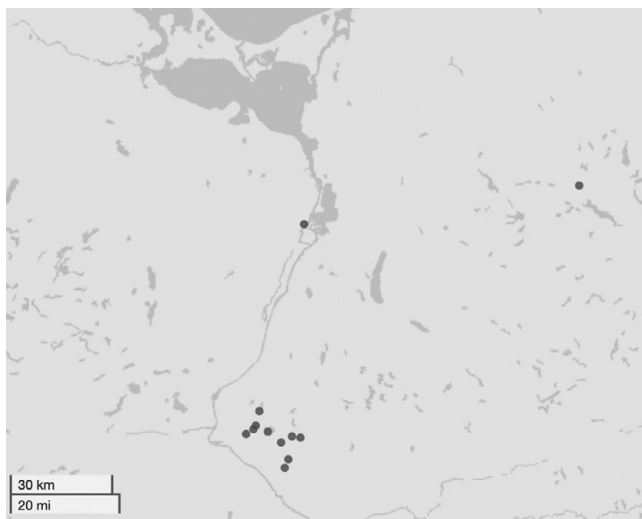


Image 1. The places visited by Nicolaus, recently converted in 1392. Map: author, created with Palladio.⁷⁷

deponents, all pointing towards late 1392. Other places where Nicolaus probably visited in late 1392 were Gossow, Dramburg, Gräfendorf, Mohrin, Bellin, Gross-Mantel, and Voigtsdorf, each having one to four deponents stating that their last confession had taken place around that time.

Interestingly enough, 16 deponents from the village Kaakstedt, which was one of the most important Waldensian communities, all said that their last confession had been 2–3 years ago (1391), and no-one named a Brother named Nicolaus. It thus seems that he skipped Kaakstedt, at least in 1392. The same seems to apply to Kerkow and Wilmersdorf, though evidence is very scarce. In Prenzlau, Nicolaus is mentioned, but all eight deponents consistently refer to two or more years ago.

It is actually remarkable how consistent the deponents' memories are: within one residence, they typically point to the last confession having taken place either 1–2 or 2–3 years ago, Selchow being an exception. This is further proof of an uninterrupted process from November 1393 to March 1394: if there had been almost a year's break in between, one would expect more dispersed statements.

Nicolaus, the last Waldensian Brother, thus arrived in Stettin in August 1392. He probably stayed there and the surroundings for several weeks, before moving upstream the river Oder, where we can trace him in the Waldensian villages of Selchow and Gross-Wubiser around Michaelmas in late September. The furthest point to the east he visited was Dramburg (now Drawsko Pomorskie), some hundred kilometres east of Stettin (See [Image 1](#)). Interestingly, Nicolaus stayed on the right bank of Oder, skipping towns and villages in Uckermark. It is possible that he remained in the area till early 1393, but this is speculative. Soon after this, he converted, and in November 1393 Zwicker commenced an inquisition against his followers in Stettin, possibly armed with information from the “recently” converted Nicolaus.

⁷⁷“Palladio”, Stanford University, accessed July 3, 2025, <https://hdlab.stanford.edu/palladio/>.

Conclusions

One should not lightly discard a dating of events established by over a century of careful scholarship. But the evidence presented here is compelling. It is what must be done in the case of Petrus Zwicker's inquisition in Stettin. The trials against Northern German Waldensians were an uninterrupted process, hearings starting in late November 1393 and ending on March 25, 1394.

The established dating assumed that the inquisition started a year earlier and that there was a break of 11 months between March 1393 and February 1394. Besides an ambiguous 15th-century note concerning the process, there is no evidence that supports the existence of such a break in the hearings. On the contrary, maintaining that there was such a hiatus requires accepting several unlikely coincidences, most importantly members of the same household appearing in court a year apart from each other, or a same rare set of witnesses happening to be present in two trials separated exactly by 1 year. The revised timeline presented in [Appendix](#) solves a number of these apparent contradictions and inconsistencies in the depositions.

With the revised dates, scholars are better equipped to study the course and dynamics of the Stettin trials. The last section of the article demonstrates the potential for fresh interpretations by presenting a reconstruction of the last Waldensian minister's visit to Brandenburg and Pomerania. However, while the revised dating is a significant step forward in the study of Zwicker's inquisition register, there remains one desideratum: the full edition of these rich and detailed depositions.

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Appendix. The Revised Dating of Stettin Inquisition with a Comparison to D. Kurze's Dating (1975)

Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
1	1	2	Anonymous Notary	1393–11–21	1392–11–21		3-inferential	Deponent 1
2	2	3	Anonymous Notary	1393–11–22	1392–11–22	Anno, indictione etc. quibus supra, die xxii [22.] Mensis Nouembris predicti, hora quasi terciarum, in loco et coram petro Inquisitore predicto	2-interpretive	Andres Rymsnyder
3	3	4	Anonymous Notary	1393–11–22	1392–11–22	Anno etc. die xxii [22.] mensis predicti, hora quasi nonarum in stuba curialis prepositi Stetynensis supradicta, coram domino Petro inquisitore supradicto	2-interpretive	Cune Conradi
4	4	5	Anonymous Notary	1393–11–24	1392–11–24	Anno etc. die xxiii [24.] Mensis nouembris predicti, hora quasi terciarum, in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Jutta Rudeger
5	5	9	Anonymous Notary	1393–11–25	1392–11–25		3-inferential	Deponent 5
6	6	10	Anonymous Notary	1393–11–25	1392–11–25	Anno, die etc. predictis, hora quasi vesperrorum, coram quo supra et loco predictis	3-inferential	Claus Thomis
7	7	11	Anonymous Notary	1393–11–25	1392–11–25		3-inferential	Deponent 7
8	8	12	Anonymous Notary	1393–11–26	1392–11–26	Anno etc. die xxvi [26.] mensis predicti hora quasi nonarum in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Katherina Debyken

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
9	9	13	Anonymous Notary	1393–11–26	1392–11–26		3-inferential	Deponent 9
10	10	14	Anonymous Notary	1393–11–27	1392–11–27	Anno etc. predictis, die xxvii [27.] Nouembris predicti hora terciarum uel quasi in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Herman Rudeger Jr
11	11	16	Anonymous Notary	1393–11–27	1392–11–27		3-inferential	Heyne Wyldenhagen
12	12	17	Anonymous Notary	1393–11–28	1392–11–28	Anno etc. die xxviii [28.] Mensis Nouembris predicti hora quasi terciarum in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Lucia Scroeter
13	13	19	Anonymous Notary	1393–11–28	1392–11–28		3-inferential	Deponent 13
14	14	20	Anonymous Notary	1393–11–28	1392–11–28/29	Anno etc. et die, hora terciarum, quibus supra, coram, loco quo supra	3-inferential	Katherina Huter
15	15	32	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–06	1392–12–06/07	Anno et die etc. predictis, hora quasi nonarum, in loco et coram quo supra	3-inferential	Herman Gossaw
16	16	33	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–07	1392–12–07		3-inferential	Heyne Vilter alde
17	17	34	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–08	1392–12–08		3-inferential	Heyne Vilter junge
18	18	35	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–08	1392–12–08		3-inferential	Claus Hubener
19	19	36	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–09	1392–12–09	Anno etc. die ix [9.] Mensis decembris, hora quasi [terciarum?] et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Zacharias Welsaw

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
20	20	37	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–09	1392–12–09	Anno etc. ac die predictis, hora terciarum in loco et coram quo supra	3-inferential	Jacob Welsaw
21	21	38	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–10	1392–12–10	Anno etc. die x [10.] Mensis decembris, hora nonarum uel quasi, in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Zdeneke Rudeger
22	22	39	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–11	1392–12–10		3-inferential	(lutge) Jacob
23	23	40	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–11	1392–12–10	Anno et die ac hora terciarum etc. predictis	3-inferential	Peter Gossaw
24	24	41	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–11	1392–12–10	Anno etc et die predictis, hora quasi vesperorum in loco et coram quo supra	3-inferential	Heyne Swed junge
25	25	[42]	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–13	1392–12–13	Anno etc. et die xiii [13.] M[ensis decembris, hora] quasi terciarum, coram quo supra et loco	2-interpretive	Clauss Brant junior
26	26	43	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–13	1392–12–13	Anno etc. et die ac hora predictis et coram quo [supra] et loco	3-inferential	Andres Ermgart
27	27	44	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–13	1392–12–13	Anno et die etc. predictis, coram quo supra et loco	3-inferential	Jacob Philippus
28	28	[45]	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–13	1392–12–13		3-inferential	Deponent 28
29	29	[46]	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–14	1392–12–14	[Anno etc.] die xiiii [14.] Mensis decembris, hora quasi [---] coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Jacob Smed Sr
30	30	[47]	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–17	1392–12–17		3-inferential	Jacob Smed Jr

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
31	31	[48]	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–18	1392–12–18	[Anno etc.] die xviii [18.] Mensis decembris, hora quasi [–] supra	2-interpretive	Mette Rudeger
32	32	49	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–20	1392–12–20	Anno etc. die xx [20.] Mensis decembris predicti, in loco et coram supra	2-interpretive	Jacob Reyman
33	33	50	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–21	1392–12–21	Anno etc. die xxi [21.] Mensis decembris, hora terciarum uel quasi, in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Thyde Ermgart
34	34	50(b)	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–21	1392–12–21	Anno etc. et die ac hora predictis, loco et coram quo [supra]	3-inferential	Katherina Ermgart
35	35	51	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–22	1392–12–22		3-inferential	Deponent 35
36	36	52	Anonymous Notary	1393–12–23	1392–12–23	Anno etc. ac die xxiii [23.] Mensis predicti, hora quasi nonarum [?]	2-interpretive	Geze Gotschalk
37	37	[66]	Anonymous Notary	1394–01	1392-12 or 1393-01		3-inferential	Deponent 37
38	38	67	Anonymous Notary	1394–01	1392-12 or 1393-01	Anno et die ac hora etc. predictis	3-inferential	Alheyt Vilter
39	39	72	Anonymous Notary	1394–01	1393-01	Anno etc. et die ac hora predictis etc. coram quo supra et loco [–] inde quasi hora nonarum sit iurata et interrogata	3-inferential	Katherina Welsaw
40	40	90	Petrus Zwicker	1394–01–11	1393–01–11	Item Anno et die et hora vesperorum etc. predictis	3-inferential	Jacob Hildebrant
41	41	91	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–12	1393–01–12	Anno etc. die xii [12.] Mensis Ianuarii hora quasi nonarum, in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Hans Steklyn Jr
42	42	?	Anonymous Notary	1394–01			3-inferential	Deponent 42

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
43	43	?	Anonymous Notary	1394–01			3-inferential	Deponent 43
44	44	?	Anonymous Notary	1394–01			3-inferential	Deponent 44
45	45	?	Anonymous Notary	1394–01			3-inferential	Deponent 45
46	46	?	Anonymous Notary	1394–01			3-inferential	Grite Daneel
47	47	174	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–26	1393–01–26	Anno etc. die xxvi [26.] Mensis Ianuarii predicti hora quasi terciarum in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Margaretha Sibe
48	48	175	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–26	1393–01–26	Anno et die ac hora etc. predictis	3-inferential	Margaretha Cremer
49	49	176	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–26	1393–01–26	Anno et die ac hora predictis, coram quo supra et loco	3-inferential	Sybe Hutvilther
50	50	[177]	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–26	1393–01–26		3-inferential	Deponent 50 Rorekyn
51	51	178	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–27	1393–01–27	Anno etc. et die et hora coaram quo supra et loco [26.1.] [–] luratus igitur et die xxvii [27.1.] sequenti immediate, hora terciarum et interrogatus	2-interpretive	Joris Buchult Jr
52	52	179	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–27	1393–01–27	Anno etc. et die xxvii [27.] hora quasi terciarum uel quasi, in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Hennynk Panklicz Jr

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
53	53	180	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–27	1393–01–27	Anno et die ac hora prescriptis	3-inferential	Grete Velthan
54	54	181	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–27	1393–01–27	Item die, anni predicti et hora predictis coram quo supra	3-inferential	Grete Joris
55	55	182	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–27	1393–01–27	Anno et die ac hora predictis coram quo supra et loco	3-inferential	Tylss Sleyke
56	56	183	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–27	1393–01–27	Anno et die ac hora predictis	3-inferential	Tele Dorynk
57	57	184	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–27	1393–01–27	Anno etc. et die predictis hora vesperorum uel quasi	3-inferential	Tele Hanns
58	58	185	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–28	1393–01–28	Anno et die ac hora etc. predictis [27.1.] [–] lurata igitur et interrogata die xxviii [28.] mensis predicti ubi supra, hora terciarum	3-inferential	Tylls Velthan (virgo)
59	59	186	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–28	1393–01–28	Anno etc. predictis [27.1.] luratus igitur et interrogatus die xxviii [28.] predicta et hora	3-inferential	Cune Gyrswalde Jr
60	60	187	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–28	1393–01–28	Anno etc. predictis [–] Item die predicta sequenti [28.1.] et hora in Iudicio sicud et alii Interrogatus	3-inferential	Hans Han Jr
61	61	188	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–28	1393–01–28	Anno etc. predictis [–] luratus igitur et interrogatus sequenti die et hora predictis [28.1.]	3-inferential	Tele Fricze
62	62	189	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–28 / 1394–01–30 / 1394–02–07	1393–01–28 / 1393–01–30 / 1393–02–07	Anno etc. die xxviii [28.] Mensis Ianuarii predicti, predicta hora quasi nonarum [–] Item die penultima mentis predicti hora quasi terciarum [–] Item Anno etc. die vii [7.] Mensis februarii hora quasi terciarum	2-interpretive	Katherina Fricze

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
63	63	190	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–29	1393–01–29	Anno etc. predictis, die xxix [29.] Mensis Ianuarii predicti, hora nonarum uel quasi in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Michael Hubener
64	64	191	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–30	1393–01–30	Anno etc. die penultima [30.] mensis Ianuarii predicti, hora quasi terciarum in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Geze Honover
65	65	192	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–30	1393–01–30	Anno, die ac hora predictis, coram quo supra et loco	3-inferential	Wendel Slekaw
66	66	193	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–30	1393–01–30	Anno eciam, die et hora predictis etc.	3-inferential	Grite Hewer
67	67	194	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–30	1393–01–30	Anno, die, hora etc. predictis	3-inferential	Grite Becker
68	68	195	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–30	1393–01–30	Anno et die etc. predictis etc.	3-inferential	Sophia Hagen
69	69	196	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–30	1393–01–30	Anno etc. et die, hora quasi vesperorum uel quasi, coram quo supra	3-inferential	Tylls Buchholt
70	70	197/167	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–30	1393–01–30	Anno etc. predictis	3-inferential	Heyrich Schumeker
71	71	198	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–31	1393–01–31	Anno etc. die vltima [31.] mensis Ianuarii predicti, hora quasi terciarum, coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Heylewyg Fricz
72	72	199	Anonymous Notary	1394–01–31	1393–01–31	Anno etc. die vltima [31.] Mensis Ianuarii predicti, hora quasi nonarum, in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Gyrdrud Cremer
73	73	201	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–01	1393–02–01		3-inferential	Deponent 73

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
74	74	202	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–01	1393–02–01	Anno, die et hora prescriptis	3-inferential	Gyrdrud Baldyken
75	75	203	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–01	1393–02–01	Anno etc. die ac hora prescriptis, coram quo supra et loco	3-inferential	Mette Han
76	76	204	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–02	1393–02–02	Anno etc. die secunda [2.] Mensis februarii predicti hora quasi terciarum in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Hans Molner Jr
77	77	205	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–02	1393–02–02	Anno, die et hora prescriptis etc.	3-inferential	Coppe Sybe
78	78	206	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–03	1393–02–03	Anno etc. die tercia [3.] Mensis februarii predicti, hora quasi terciarum in loco et coram quo supra.	2-interpretive	Grete Tramburch
79	79	207	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–03	1393–02–03	Anno, die et hora etc. predictis	3-inferential	Mathias Joris
80	80	208	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–03	1393–02–03	Anno et die ac hora etc. predictis, hora	3-inferential	Sophia Herwart
81	81	209	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–03	1393–02–03	Anno etc. die et hora etc.	3-inferential	Tylss Lyse
82	82	210	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–03	1393–02–03	Anno et die predictis, hora quasi nonarum, coram quo supra et loco	3-inferential	Cuene Hutvilter
83	83	211	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–07	1393–02–07	Anno etc. die vii [7.] Mensis februarii predicti, hora quasi nonarum, coram quo supra et loco.	2-interpretive	Katherina Hockman
84	84	212	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–07	1393–02–07	Anno etc. predictis, coram quo supra	3-inferential	Mette Baldyken

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
85	85	213	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–08	1393–02–08	Anno etc. die viii [8.] Mensis februarii predicti, hora quasi terciarum, in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Hennyng Smet
86	86	214	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–08	1393–02–08	Anno etc. die viii [8.] mensis predicti hora quasi nonarum. In loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Katherina Oertwyn
87	87	215	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–08	1393–02–08	Anno etc. et die ac hora predictis	3-inferential	Moede Gyrswalde
88	88	216	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–08	1393–02–08	Anno, die et hora prescriptis	3-inferential	Heyne Gyrswalde
89	156	294	Mattheus notarius publicus	1394–02–09	1394–02–09	Item nona die mensis februarii hora primarum loco predicto coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Sophya Myndeke
90	89	217	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–09	1393–02–09	Anno etc. die ix [9.] Mensis februarii predicti hora quasi terciarum. In loco et coram quo supra.	2-interpretive	Mette Dorynk
91	90	218	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–09	1393–02–09	Anno et die ac hora predictis etc. quibus supra	3-inferential	Heyne Beyer
92	91	219	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–10	1393–02–10	Anno etc. die x [10.] Mensis februarii predicti hora terciarum uel quasi in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Herman Herwart
93	92	220	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–10	1393–02–10	Anno etc., die ac hora etc. predictis	3-inferential	Andreas Herwart
94	93	221	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–10	1393–02–10	Anno, die etc. predictis hora nonarum uel quasi	3-inferential	Clauss Walther

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
95	94	222	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–10	1393–02–10	Anno, die et hora etc. prescriptis	3-inferential	Heyncze Wegener alde
96	157	295	Mattheus notarius publicus	1394–02–11	1394–02–11	Item xi [11.] mensis februarii hora primarum quasi in loco predicto coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Alheid Wegener
97	95	223	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–11	1393–02–11	Anno etc. die xi [11.] Mensis februarii, hora terciarum uel quasi coram quo supra et loco	2-interpretive	Tylss Ermgart
98	96	224	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–11	1393–02–11	Anno et predictis	3-inferential	Tylss Hutvilter (de Bernwalde)
99	97	225	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–11	1393–02–11	Anno etc.	3-inferential	Grete Hulczendorp
100	98	226	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–11	1393–02–11	Anno etc.	3-inferential	Grete Wegener (de Bernwalde)
101	99	227	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–11	1393–02–11	Anno, die, et hora prescriptis	3-inferential	Heyne Tramburch
102	100	228	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–11	1393–02–11	Anno die etc. predictis hora quasi vesperorum coram quo supra	3-inferential	Mette Hutvilter
103	101	229	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–12	1393–02–12	Anno etc. die xii [12.] Mensis februarii predicti, coram quo supra et loco, hora terciarum	2-interpretive	Gyrdrud Melsaw

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
104	102	230	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–12	1393–02–12	Anno et die ac hora predictis etc.	3-inferential	Anna Mews
105	103	231	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–12	1393–02–12	Anno etc. predictis	3-inferential	Grete Hockmann
106	104	232	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–12	1393–02–12	Anno die etc. predictis	3-inferential	Katherina Rutlinger
107	105	233	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–12	1393–02–12	Anno et die etc. predictis	3-inferential	Heyne Hockmann Fekte
108	106	234	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–13	1393–02–13	Anno etc. die xiii [13.] Mensis februarii predicti hora tertiarum uel quasi coram quo supra et loco productus est de carcere	2-interpretive	Peter Beyer
109	107	235	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–13	1393–02–13	Anno, die et hora etc. predictis	3-inferential	Hennyng Stymer
110	108	236	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–13	1393–02–13	Anno etc. hora quasi nonarum uel quasi	3-inferential	Gyrdrud Brotwyn
111	109	237	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–13	1393–02–13	Anno etc. quibus supra	3-inferential	Katherina Rytappel
112	110	238	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–14	1393–02–14	Anno etc. die xiiii [14.] mensis predicti, hora quasi terciarum, in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Katherina Spigilman
113	111	239	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–14	1393–02–14	Anno et die ac hora predictis	3-inferential	Gyrdrud Rudaw
114	112	239(b)	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–14	1393–02–14	Anno, die et hora etc. predictis	3-inferential	Hennyng Fricze junior

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
115	113	240	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–14	1393–02–14	Anno etc. predictis	3-inferential	Heyle Hockmann
116	114	241	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–14	1393–02–14	Anno etc. predictis	3-inferential	Katherina Currebuch
117	115	241(b)	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–14	1393–02–14	Anno et die etc. predictis	3-inferential	Alheytt Molbuk
118	116	242	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–14	1393–02–14	Anno, die etc. predictis	3-inferential	Hans Swed
119	158	290 [280]	Mattheus notarius publicus	1394–02–14	1394–02–14	Item 14. die mensis Februarii, hora nonarum in loco predicto, coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Clawes Levendal
120	159	281	Mattheus notarius publicus	1394–02–14	1394–02–14	Item 14. die mensis Februarii, hora post nonas, coram quos supra, loco predicto	2-interpretive	Grete Beyer
121	160	282	Mattheus notarius publicus	1394–02–14	1394–02–14	Anno etc., 14. die mensis Februarii, loco predicto, hora quasi vespereorum, coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Tilze Enghel
122	117	243	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–17	1393–02–17	Anno etc. die xvii [17.] Mensis februaryi predicti hora nonarum uel quasi coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Margarethe relicta piscatoris
123	161	283	Mattheus notarius publicus	1394–02–17	1394–02–17	Anno etc. xvii [17.] die mensis Februarii hora nonarum	2-interpretive	Tyde Mews
124	162	284	Mattheus notarius publicus	1394–02–18	1394–02–18	Item xviii [18.] die anno predicto mensis februaryi hora primarum loco prefato coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Geze Walther

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
125	163	285	Mattheus notarius publicus	1394–02–18	1394–02–18	Item xix, xviii [18.] die, anni predicti, mensis februarii, hora tertiarum loco predicto coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Katherina Wideman
126	118	[244(b)]	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–18	1393–02–18	Anno etc. die xviii [18.] Mensis februarii predicti hora quasi terciarum coram quo supra et loco	2-interpretive	Grete Dame
127	119	245	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–18	1393–02–18	Anno die et hora prescriptis	3-inferential	Clauss Innike
128	120	245(b)	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–18	1393–02–18	Anno etc.	3-inferential	Heyne Melkaw
129	121	246	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–18	1393–02–18	Anno die et hora predictis	3-inferential	Tylss Smed
130	122	247	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–18	1393–02–18	Anno die et hora predictis	3-inferential	Tylss Blumvelde
131	123	248	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–18	1393–02–18	Anno die etc. predictis hora quasi nonarum	3-inferential	Tylss Hockmann
132	124	249	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–18	1393–02–18	Anno et die ac hora predictis	3-inferential	Ermgart Reppyn
133	164	286	Mattheus notarius publicus	1394–02–18	1394–02–18	Item anno etc. xviii [18.] die mensis februarii hora nonarum, loco predicto, coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Matheus Berebom
134	165	289	Mattheus notarius publicus	1394–02–18	1394–02–18	Item xviii [18.] die mensis februarii hora quasi uesperorum loco predicto coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Tilze Goricze

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
135	166	290	Mattheus notarius publicus	1394–02–19	1394–02–19	Item anno etc. xix [19.] die mensis predicti hora primarum, loco predicto, coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Grete Wegener
136	167	291	Mattheus notarius publicus	1394–02–19	1394–02–19	Item anno etc. xix [19.] die mensis februarii hora terciarum loco predicto coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Clauss Zebekaw Sr
137	125	250	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–19	1393–02–19	Anno etc. die xix [19.] Mensis februarii predicti hora terciarum uel quasi	2-interpretive	Sophia Swed
138	126	251	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–19	1393–02–19	Anno etc. die ac hora prescriptis.	3-inferential	Petyr Rutlinger
139	127	252	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–19	1393–02–19	Anno, die ac hora prescriptis	3-inferential	Heyne Wegener
140	168	292	Mattheus notarius publicus	1394–02–19	1394–02–19	Item anno etc. xix [19.] die mensis februarii hora missarum, loco predicto coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Ilsebee virgo
141	169	293	Mattheus notarius publicus	1394–02–19	1394–02–19	Item xix [19.] die mensis februarii hora quasi nonarum loco predicto coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Tilze Hockmann
142	128	253	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–20	1393–02–20	Anno etc. die xx [20.] Mensis predicti hora quasi terciarum in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Grete Polczman
143	129	254	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–20	1393–02–20	Anno etc. predictis	3-inferential	Tylls Reppin
144	130	255	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–20	1393–02–20	Anno, die, hora etc. predictis.	3-inferential	Katherina Gyrdrud

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
145	131	256	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–20	1393–02–20	Anno, die et hora prescriptis	3-inferential	Koene Konekens
146	132	257	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–20	1393–02–20	Anno, die et hora prescriptis	3-inferential	Katherina Schermer
147	133	258	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–20	1393–02–20	Anno, die et hora predictis	3-inferential	Mechtyld Cappens
148	134	259	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–21	1393–02–21	Anno etc die xxi [21.] mensis predicti, hora quasi nonarum, in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Arn Enghel
149	135	260	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–21	1393–02–21	Anno et die ac hora predictis	3-inferential	Anna Tramburch
150	136	261	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–23	1393–02–23	Anno etc. die xxiii [23.] Mensis februarii predicti, hora quasi nonarum uel quasi, coram quo supra et loco	2-interpretive	Grete Doerynk
151	137	262	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–24	1393–02–24	Anno etc. die xxiii [24.] Mensis februarii predicti, hora quasi nonarum in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Tylss Waldeberch
152	138	263	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–24	1393–02–24	Item die anni etc predictis	3-inferential	Cecilia Bukeman
153	139	265	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–26	1393–02–26	Anno etc die xxvi [26.] mensis februarii predicti hora quasi nonarum in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Mechtyld Philippus
154	140	266	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–26	1393–02–26	Anno, die et hora etc. prescriptis	3-inferential	Margaretha Eckardus

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
155	141	267	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–27	1393–02–27	Anno etc., die penultima mensis februarii predicti hora quasi terciarum coram quo supra et loco	2-interpretive	Hans Rudaw
156	142	267(b)	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–27	1393–02–27	Anno etc. et die penultima predictis hora quasi vesperorum in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Mette Truteler
157	143	268	Anonymous Notary	1394–02–27	1393–02–27	Anno die et hora predictis	3-inferential	Tylss Steklyn
158	144	269	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–01	1393–03–01	Anno etc. die prima mensis Marcii hora quasi terciarum in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Beata Rudelbeke
159	145	270	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–01	1393–03–01	Anno et die ac hora prescriptis	3-inferential	Katherina Saczhe
160	146	271	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–01	1393–03–01	Anno etc. et die predictis hora quasi nonarum	3-inferential	Grete Wegener
161	147	272	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–01	1393–03–01	Anno etc. predictis.	3-inferential	Katherina Stegeman
162	170	296	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–02	1394–03–02	Item Anno domini mcccclxxxiii [1394] die secunda Mensis Marchii hora quasi nonarum	1-textual	Jacob Hukman
163	148	273	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–04	1393–03–04	Anno etc. die quarta Mensis Marcii predicti hora terciarum uel quasi	2-interpretive	Grete Smed
164	149	274	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–04	1393–03–04	Anno die et hora etc. predictis	3-inferential	Katherina Polan
165	150	275	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–04	1393–03–04	Anno die hora etc. predictis	3-inferential	Hans Polan

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
166	151	276	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–04	1393–03–04	Anno die et hora etc. predictis	3-inferential	Katherina Smed
167	152	276(b)	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–05	1393–03–05	Anno etc. die v [5.] Mensis predicti hora quasi nonarum	2-interpretive	Tylss Octho
168	153	277	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–05	1393–03–05	Anno etc. predictis	3-inferential	Alheyt Meyer
169	154	278	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–05	1393–03–05	Anno etc. predictis	3-inferential	Clauss Poczelaw Jr
170	155	279	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–06	1393–03–06	Anno etc. die vi [6.] Mensis Marcii predicti, hora quasi tertiarum	2-interpretive	Katherina Wegener
171	171	428	Petrus Zwicker	1394–03–12	1394–03–12	Anno nativitat[is] eiusdem M[on]st[er]ii [1394] die xii [12.] Mensis Marcii, indictione secunda, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Bonifacii divina providencia noni anno quinto	1-textual	Hans Spigilman
172	172	429	Petrus Zwicker	1394–03–12	1394–03–12	Anno et omnibus quibus supra	3-inferential	Arnd Spigelman
173	173	430	Petrus Zwicker	1394–03–12	1394–03–12	Anno etc. die xiii Mensis Marcii et omnibus aliis quibus supra	3-inferential	Claus Spigelman
174	174	431	Petrus Zwicker	1394–03–12	1394–03–12	Anno et omnibus aliis quibus supra	3-inferential	Aleyd Takken
175	175	432	Petrus Zwicker	1394–03–14	1394–03–14	Anno etc. die xiiii [14.] Mensis Marcii	2-interpretive	Petir Scherer
176	176	390	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–14	1394–03–14	Anno eciam, die et hora prescriptis	3-inferential	Geze Gerencz

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
177	177	391	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–15	1394–03–15	Anno etc. die xv [15.] Mensis predicti, hora quasi terciarum	2-interpretive	Tylss Tramburch
178	178	392	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–15	1394–03–15	Anno, die et hora etc. predictis	3-inferential	Grete Smedyken
179	179	393	Petrus Zwicker	1394–03–16	1394–03–16	Anno etc. die xvi [16.] Mensis Marcii, hora primarum uel quasi	2-interpretive	Herman Wegener junior
180	180	398	Petrus Zwicker	1394–03–16	1394–03–16	Anno et omnibus quibus supra, die xvi [16.] Mensis Marcii, hora vesperorum uel quasi	2-interpretive	Katherina Hagen
181	181	399	Petrus Zwicker	1394–03–16	1394–03–16	Anno et omnibus quibus supra	3-inferential	Katherina Gerkens
182	182	400	Petrus Zwicker	1394–03–17	1394–03–17	Anno etc. die xvii [17.] Mensis Marcii	2-interpretive	Hans Kukeler
183	183	401	Petrus Zwicker	1394–03–17	1394–03–17	Anno et omnibus quibus supra	3-inferential	Thyde Tramburch
184	184	433	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–19	1394–03–19	Anno etc die xix [19.] Mensis Marcii, hora quasi terciarum etc. quibus supra	2-interpretive	Clauss Flyetman (de Wrech)
185	185	434	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–20	1394–03–20	Anno etc. die xx [20.] Mensis marcii, hora quasi terciarum	2-interpretive	Katherina Mews (de Selchaw)
186	186	434(b)	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–20	1394–03–20	Anno, die, et hora prescriptis	3-inferential	Peter Oestyrlicher
187	187	435	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–20	1394–03–20	Anno, die etc. predictis, hora quasi nonarum, in loco et coram quo supra	3-inferential	Sophia Grasaw

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Running numbers, new	Running numbers by Kurze (1975)	Medieval deposition numbers	Notary	Document date (revised dating)	Document date by Kurze (1975)	Date information in the depositions	Epistemic level (1-textual – 2-interpretive – 3-inferential)	Deponent name
188	188	436	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–21	1394–03–21	Die xxi [21.] mensis marcii, hora terciarum uel quasi, in loco et coram quo supra	2-interpretive	Peter Lawburch
189	189	437	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–21	1394–03–21	Anno, die, et hora prescriptis	3-inferential	Swene Wyttenvelt
190	190	438	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–23	1394–03–23	Anno etc. die xxiii [23.] Mensis Marcii hora terciarum uel quasi	2-interpretive	Geze Cune
191	191	439	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–23	1394–03–23	Anno eciam et die, hora, etc. predictis	3-inferential	Walther Cune
192	192	440	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–24	1394–03–24	Anno eciam, die xxiii [24.] mensis marcii predicti, hora quasi terciarum	2-interpretive	Tele Hockmann
193	193	441	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–24	1394–03–24	Anno, die etc. predictis, hora quasi nonarum	3-inferential	Heyne Smerwykel
194	194	442	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–24	1394–03–24	Anno, die, et hora etc. prescriptis	3-inferential	Katherina Schowenburch
195	195	443	Anonymous Notary	1394–03–25	1394–03–25	Anno etc., die xxv [25.] Mensis Marcii, hora quasi nonarum, coram quo supra et loco	2-interpretive	Sybert Curaw