

The Wives of the Moravian Margrave John Henry of Luxembourg

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The article focuses on three Moravian margraves personalities, wives of margrave John Henry of Luxembourg, and summarizes their activities in the years 1350–1375. The paper deals also with a special love episode, that Moravian margrave John Henry experienced with the nun Elisabeth, a daughter of the duke of Těšín.

Key words: *Moravian Luxembourgs; Moravian margrave John Henry of Luxembourg; Margaret of Opava; Elisabeth of Těšín; Margaret of Habsburg; Elisabeth of Oettingen*

The Moravian margrave John Henry of Luxembourg was married four times in his life but only three of his wives became margraves of Moravia. In an effort to expand his influence, John of Luxembourg, the king of Bohemia, decided for his younger son John Henry to marry to Margaret, the daughter of the Carinthian duke Henry, in his childhood. However, their marriage ended in a scandalous divorce, what was surely spoken of at most of the European courts then. The complicated situation of the divorce of John Henry of Luxembourg and his first wife Margaret of Tyrol lasted for several years. Their marriage was officially ended in the middle of the year 1349.¹

The Bohemian king John of Luxembourg made a decision that his younger son John Henry would be the Moravian margrave, as stated in his last will of the year 1340. Nonetheless, John Henry became a margrave three years after the king's death.² On 26th December 1349, John Henry accepted the Moravian margraviate in the fief from his brother king Charles in Prague.³

¹ For more details: Miethke, J. (2004). Die Eheaffäre der Margarete „Maultasch“, Gräfin von Tirol (1341/1342). Ein Beispiel hochadliger Familienpolitik im Spätmittelalter. In A. Meyer, C. Rendtel, M. Wittmer-Butsch (Eds.), *Päpste, Pilger, Pönitentiare. Festschrift für Ludwig Schmugge zum 65. Geburtstag*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 353–391.

² *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae*. Pars IV (1892), J. Emler (Ed.), Praha: Sumtibus regiae scientiarum societatis Bohemiae: Prostat apud bibliopolam Ed. Valečka, 320–323, no. 819. And e.g. Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*. Halle: s.n., 45–46; Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava: 1310–1423*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 43–44

The new Moravian margrave stayed in Prague for several days and after 4th January he went to Brno accompanied by the king. They arrived in Brno probably before 17th January 1350. At that time, the new Moravian margrave Margaret of Opava was also present there.⁴

Margaret of Opava

Unfortunately, the exact date of the marriage of John Henry of Luxembourg and his second wife, Margaret of Opava, is not precisely known. The wedding took place probably at the turn of the years 1349 and 1350.

According to the chronicler Beneš of Weitmile, John Henry married Margaret the following year after having received the Moravian margraviate in fief. That means the wedding may have happened at the very beginning of the year 1350.⁵

After arriving in Brno (between 5th and 17th January), Margaret of Opava was always referred to as a Moravian margrave.⁶ Some researchers believe the marriage

and p. 50; Spěváček, J. (1979). *Karel IV.: Život a dílo (1316–1378)*. Praha: Svoboda, 149–150; Spěváček, J. (1982). *Král diplomat: Jan Lucemburský 1296–1346*. Praha: Panorama, 235; Šusta, J. (1946). *Karel IV.: otec a syn: 1333–1346. České dějiny II/3*. Praha: Jan Laichter, 340–342.

³ *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*. Siebenten Bände (1858–1864), P. Ritter von Chlumecky, J. Chytil, V. Brandl (Eds.), Brno: In Commission bei Nitsch & Grosse, 679–684, no. 980 and ibidem p. 684–689, no. 981 (see below as CDM VII). See also *Archivum Coronae Regni Bohemiae*. Tomus II (1928), V. Hrubý (Ed.), Praha: Ministerium scholarum et instructionis publicae, 59–62, no. 60 and CDM VII, 564–567, no. 775. And for more details Elbel, P. (2012). Markrabě Jošt, olomoucké biskupství a olomoucká kapitula. In L. Jan and coll. (Eds.), *Morava v časech markraběte Jošta: K 600. výročí zvolení posledního Lucemburka z moravské větve římským králem a jeho úmrtí*, Brno: Matices moravská pro Výzkumné středisko pro dějiny střední Evropy: prameny, země, kultura a občanské sdružení Jošt Moravský, 37–38 or Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 56.

⁴ On 4th January 1350 was John Henry still in Prague. See *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*. Achter Band (1874), V. Brandl (Ed.), Brno: Verlag des Mährischen Landes-Ausschusses, p. 1, no 2 (see below as CDM VIII). And Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*, 48. From the city treasury were paid 60 groschen to a messenger (the king's barber), who reported the birth of king's son (born on January 17th). And 16 groschen were paid for a wine for margrave Margaret. See *Knihy počtů města Brna z let 1343–1365* (1935), B. Mendl (Ed.), Brno: Československý státní ústav historický, 182 (see below as *Knihy počtů města Brna*).

⁵ *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*. Tomus IV (1884), J. Emler (Ed.), Praha: Nákladem Nadání Františka Palackého, 519–520 (see below as FRB IV).

⁶ Margrave Margaret received wine as a gift from the burghers of Brno (*Knihy počtů města Brna*, 182). Dieter Veldtrup believes that Margaret could have been called a margrave after her engagement (before marriage), but it is unlikely (Veldtrup, D. (1988). *Zwischen Eherecht und Familienpolitik. Studien zu den dynastischen Heiratsprojekten Karls IV. Studien zu den Luxemburgen und ihrer Zeit*, Bd. 2. Warendorf: Fahlbusch/Hölscher/Rieger, 352). Josef Šusta also supports the idea of marriage later than January 1350, on the basis of a letter from John of Lichtenberg to archbishop Balduin (Šusta, J. (1948). *Karel IV. Za císařskou korunu 1346–1355. České dějiny II/4*. Praha: Jan Laichter, 225).

took place in the last days of the year 1349, after the appointment of John Henry as the Moravian margrave.⁷ It may be true that the marriage might have been concluded before 26th December 1349. The fact that John Henry would become a margrave, was certainly well known. Nevertheless, an official ruler of Moravia was certainly more interesting as a son-in-law for the duke of Opava.

According to the chronicler Mathyas of Neuenburg the Bohemian king Charles did not know about the marriage at first and was angry when he heard the news. But this notion can be rejected by the following fact. The monarch spent several days in Brno with the couple, and as we know, John Henry always followed political plans of his older brother.⁸

In a letter from John of Lichtenberg designated probably to the archbishop of Trier, Balduin, there was more formal information concerning the marriage. The author described the latest events, including the marriage of the margrave John Henry. The letter was not dated, but it is probable, it was written around the middle of the year 1350.⁹

Nonetheless, complications caused by the fact that the Luxembourgs did not apply for a dispensation to marry in time because of the close familial kinship (both were great-grandchildren of the Bohemian king Přemysl Otakar II.) emerged soon. According to Milena Flodrová, the wedding was for this very reason only modest, consequently, the marriage generally came to light later. Furthermore, at the congress in Norimberk (which John of Lichtenberg attended), the marriage was discussed behind the scenes as a “*spicy novelty*”.¹⁰

⁷ CDM VIII, p. VI; Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*, 48; Spěváček, J. (1979). *Karel IV.*, 450; Válka, J. (1991). *Dějiny Moravy I.: Středověká Morava*. Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost, 88. Or Baum, W. (2007). *Margarete Maultasch. Ein Frauenschicksal im späten Mittelalter zwischen Eros und Politik*. Klagenfurt, Wien: Kitab-Verlag, 137.

⁸ See *Monumenta Germanie Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*. Nova Series, Tomus IV. Die Chronik des Mathias von Neuenburg (1924-1940), A. Hofmeister (Ed.). Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 444. And Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*. Diploma Thesis, Charles University, Faculty of Arts. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 27.

⁹ See *Monumenta Germanie Historica. Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum*. Zehnter Band (1979-1991), M. Kühn (Ed.). Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 133, no. 169. In a letter author wrote about the peace between the nobility of Frank and Swabia with representatives of Swabian cities (May 1350) and about the congress in Norimberk (Easter 1350). See *Regesta Imperii VIII. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Kaiser Karl IV. 1346-1378* (1877), J. F. Böhmer (Ed.). Aus dem Nachlasse Johann Friedrich Böhmer's herausgegeben und ergänzt von Alfons Huber. Innsbruck: Wagnersche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 103-104, no. 1291b. And Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, s. 27-28.

¹⁰ Flodrová, M. (1995). „Královský“ a „markraběcí“ dům v Brně. *Brno v minulosti a dnes: sborník příspěvků k dějinám a výstavbě Brna* 13, p. 86, note 69; Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 27-28.

The pope Clemens VI. deputed the bishop of Olomouc John Volek to grant the dispensation in August 1350. After the marriage the king Charles IV. applied for an exemption for his brother. The Czech monarch did not forget to emphasize that the margrave and his wife realized the impediment of close familial kinship and would live separately until the dispensation was granted. The pope agreed and ordered the couple to set up two chapels to be supported by 40 gold coins each year.¹¹

The record from the year 1350 (the gift of wine for the Moravian margrave Margaret) is the first documented report of Margaret of Opava in her new role.¹² The tailor of Bohemian queen Anne also arrived in Brno at the same time as stated. Regrettably, the reason for his arrival was not mentioned. He may have been there to help with the wardrobe for the new margrave or to deliver news about the health of the queen and the new-born prince Wenceslas. Alas, we do not know the exact date of his arrival, it is possible that the queen's tailor arrived only a few days after the king's barber, who brought the report of the successor's birth.¹³

A few days later, on 2nd February 1350, the Moravian margrave John Henry announced his plan to establish an Augustinian monastery in Brno as a later funereal place of the Moravian margrave and his family members.¹⁴ The possible participation of margrave Margaret in the founding of this monastery was not mentioned in this text. However, in a document dated 1st January 1358, the Provincial Oldřich thanked both husband and his wife as the founders of the monastery.¹⁵ A day later, margrave John Henry also mentioned that he had founded the monastery together with his wife Margaret.¹⁶

¹¹ See *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia*. Tomus I, Acta Clementis VI. Pontificis Romani (1903), L. Klicman (Ed.), Pragae: Typis Gregerianis, 679, no. 1279 and p. 682, no. 1280. And CDM VIII, 77–78, no. 110 (with incorrect year 1351). See also Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 166 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 28–29.

¹² *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 182.

¹³ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 182; CDM VIII, 32–33, no. 64. Flodrová, M. (1995). “Královský” a “markraběcí” dům, 86, note 70; Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich*, 26–27. Robert Antonín and Tomáš Borovský wrote that the tailor and barber had the task of fulfilling some services for the city (Antonín, R.; Borovský, T. (2009). *Panovnícké vjezdy na středověké Moravě*. Brno: Maticе moravská, 157).

¹⁴ CDM VIII, 4–5, no. 7. And Jan, L. (2012). Rodové fundace moravských Lucemburků na pomezí zbožnosti a reprezentace. In *Morava v časech markraběte Jošta*, 124.

¹⁵ See *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*. Neunter Band (1875), V. Brandl (Ed.), Brno: Verlag des Mährischen Landes-Ausschusses, 58, no. 75 (see below as CDM IX). And Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 34–35. According to Fritz Hecht it is possible that Margrave John Henry and his wife founded the Augustinian monastery together as thanks to God (Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*, 49). On 26th December 1356 John Henry commanded serving anniversaries for his family including his wife Margaret (CDM IX, 33–35, no. 43).

¹⁶ CDM IX, 59, no. 76.

Next information about margrave Margaret is available in the following year when she received Brussels fabric from burghers of Brno.¹⁷ And at the end of 1352, the margrave Margaret received a gift of 30 gold coins at the feast of the Lord's birth.¹⁸

During her marriage, margrave Margaret gave birth to six children, the first child was born in the early year 1353. It was a daughter called Catherine. Unfortunately, as in the case of other children, her date of birth was not precisely documented. According to municipal treasury costs a certain amount was paid to margrave Margaret or her maids of honour for a childbirth every year (1353–1358). That means six children were born. The amount of the gift was lower in the case of the birth of daughters than in the case of sons. Based on this fact we can find out the birth order of margrave children.¹⁹

After the birth of three sons, margrave Margaret always received the same amount – 22 marks of silver. After the birth of the oldest Catherine, the Moravian margrave received 18 marks, after the birth of her middle daughter Elisabeth 14 marks and her servants another 8 marks of silver. In the case of the birth of the youngest daughter, the margrave received 12 marks of silver as a gift.²⁰

The first child of the margrave couple was the daughter Catherine, born sometime between 2nd February and 13th March 1353.²¹ In the autumn of the following year, margrave Margaret gave birth to another child. In this case is explicitly stated that it was a son – the future Margrave of Moravia Jošt.²² In July or August 1355, Margaret of Opava gave birth to another daughter, most likely the later wife of the Meissen margrave William, Elisabeth.²³ In the spring of the following year, another girl was born, whose identity was disputed among experts.²⁴ Subsequently, two sons were born; John Soběslav in the spring months

¹⁷ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 192, Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 30.

¹⁸ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 199, CDM VIII, 149–150, no. 186 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 30, note 117.

¹⁹ Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt (1354–1411)*. Brno: Matices Moravská, 43, note 5.

²⁰ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 207, 224, 232, 240, 249 and 256.

²¹ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 207. On 14th March 1353 was Catherine already betrothed to the son of Duke Albrecht of Habsburg (CDM VIII, 154–155, no. 196). The text clearly states that Catherine is the firstborn daughter of the Moravian margrave. See Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*, 57 and Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 17.

²² *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 224. Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 17–18.

²³ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 232 and Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 18–19.

²⁴ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 240. Some researchers associate this daughter with the person of Anna, wife of Peter of Sternberg (e.g. Spěváček, J. (1979). *Karel IV.*, 642 or Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 139). Other researchers believe that Anna of Sternberg belonged to the family of duke of Opava (e.g. Hecht, F. (1911) *Johann von Mähren*, 58–59, Chochořatý, F. (1978). *Genealogie opavských Přemyslovců 1255–1525. Listy Genealogické a heraldické*

of the year 1357²⁵ and at the beginning of 1358, margrave Prokop.²⁶ Anthropological research of the remains of Moravian margrave Prokop indicated that the last childbirth was premature.²⁷

A few months after the birth of the eldest daughter, the Moravian margrave Margaret had to welcome the new Bohemian queen Anna in the country. After the wedding, which took place in Budín on 27th May 1353, the young queen went to Hodonín, where she met margrave Margaret. This meeting is known thanks to a record of expenses concerning two messengers, who were sent from Brno to Margaret of Opava. After the meeting in Hodonín, queen Anna and margrave Margaret went to Brno, where the queen received a silk fabric worth 10 marks of silver as a gift.²⁸

In the autumn of the year 1353, margrave Margaret was also involved in the administration of the city Brno. At her command, the harlots residing in a place called „Purczelpuhel“ (in Czech “pod Puhlíkem” – near today’s Šilinger Square)

společnosti 6, 129–153). According to Jaroslav Mezník this daughter of an unknown name died during childbirth or soon after (Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 168). Marek Starý especially focused on research in this area – Starý, M. (1996). Tři kněžny Anny z krve opavských Přemyslovců. *Genealogické a heraldické listy* 16/3–4, 26–30; Starý, M. (1998). Dynastická spojení opavských Přemyslovců z českou a moravskou šlechtou. *Genealogické a heraldické listy* 18/1–2, 28–51; Starý, M. (1998). Manželství opavských Přemyslovců. *Genealogické a heraldické informace* 18/3, 38–47.; Starý, M. (2002). Kněžna Anna ze Šternberka. *Časopis Slezského Zemského Muzea, řada B Vědy historické*, 51, 193–202 and Starý, M. (2003). Příspěvek ke genealogii moravskošternberské větve pánů ze Šternberka. *Střední Morava* 16, 84–92.

²⁵ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 249 and Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 18–19.

²⁶ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 256; Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 18–19. According to Milena Flodrová the children were born bit differently – Catherine (March 1353), Jošt (October 1354), Elisabeth (November 1355), Anna (December 1356), John Soběslav (October 1357), Prokop (December 1358). See Flodrová, M. (2000). Lucemburská dynastie. In J. Vaněk (Ed.), *Moravští Lucemburkové (1350–1411): Sborník prací Muzea města Brna*, Brno: Muzeum města Brna, 24–25. There is also a misconception in older literature that the second son of Margrave John Henry was Prokop and the youngest John Soběslav (e.g. Fiala, Z. (1978). *Předhusitské Čechy 1310–1419*. Praha: Svoboda, 152, note 41 or Spěváček, J. (1979). *Karel IV.*, 451).

²⁷ Premature birth may result in a relatively small skull relative to the body, as in the case of margrave Prokop, although Luxembourg was otherwise of a higher size and muscular. For more details Vlček, E. (2000). *Čeští králové I.: Atlas kosterních pozůstatků českých králů přemyslovske a lucemburské dynastie s podrobným komentářem a historickými poznámkami*. Praha: Vesmír, 280–293. Václav Štěpán thinks about that due to the difficult birth of the youngest son margrave Margaret could no longer have other children. See Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 19.

²⁸ In the accounting records, expenditures are recorded with delay as of 1354. *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 218; CDM VIII, 235–236, no. 290. And Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 31.

were expelled from this location and the houses were burned. The city council allocated them four houses as compensation in Česká Street at the Jewish Gate (now Josefská Street) then, where they could run their trade. The councillors expected that this step would bring reduction of the crime which was dangerously increasing in the previous location. The brothels themselves were the property of the city Brno and the women had to pay fees to the city. The brothels were to be supervised by city officials, but they were explicitly warned not to misuse their powers during their visits.²⁹

In years 1353 and 1354 the margrave Margaret received a gift at the feast of the Lord's birth once again (two times six marks of silver).³⁰ During the year 1354 margrave Margaret also received 10 marks of silver from the toll in the village Rousínov.³¹

One year later Margaret of Opava and her husband received 30 marks of silver from the burghers of Brno at the feast of the Lord's birth again.³² In 1355 Margrave Margaret also gave the order to pay 38 groschen from the Brno municipal treasury to the inhabitants of the village Rousínov.³³

In the year 1357, 30 gold coins were paid to the Moravian margrave Margaret from the toll of the village Rousínov.³⁴ But it was the last time. On 25th October 1357, the Moravian margrave freed the burghers from this duty. According to all these pieces of information, it can be concluded that Rousínov probably belonged to Margaret's dowry property.³⁵

²⁹ CDM VIII, 176–177, no. 230. See also Flodr, M. (1994). *Nevěstky v nejstarších dějinách Brna. Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, C 41, 7–14; Flodr, M. (2001). *Brněnské městské právo*. Brno: Matice moravská, 317 – 318; Flodrová, M. (2009). *Názvy brněnských ulic, náměstí a jiných veřejných prostranství v proměnách času*. Brno: Šimon Ryšavý, 47–48 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 30–31.

³⁰ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 207 and 217–218; CDM VIII, 190, no. 251; CDM VIII, 235–236, no. 290. And Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*, 67.

³¹ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 224 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 32–34.

³² *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 225; CDM VIII, 272, no. 334.

³³ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 231. The issue of toll collection in Rousínov in more detail e.g. Flodr, M. (1992). *Právní kniha města Brna z poloviny 14. století. II*, Brno: Archiv města Brna – Muz. a vlastivědná spol., 178–179; Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 32–34; Procházková, M. (2000). *Výdaje Brna ve 2. polovině 14. století*. Diploma Thesis, Masaryk University, Faculty of Arts. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 26.

³⁴ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 248.

³⁵ CDM IX, 56–57, no. 72. And see also Dřimal, J., Peša, V. and coll. (1969). *Dějiny města Brna 1*. Brno: Blok, 73; Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 32–34.

In years 1357 and 1358 margrave John Henry asked the pope for absolution in case of death for himself and his wife Margaret, for the use of a portable altar and the possibility to attend the mass before daybreak.³⁶ The margrave Margaret also received six marks of silver as a traditional gift from burghers.³⁷

In the year 1359, another gift from the burghers of Brno was recorded at the occasion of a baptism of a child. This time the recipient was, however, the margrave John Henry himself. This fact indicates that it might have been the illegitimate child of the margrave. Although the sex of the child was not specified in the record, it can be inferred from the amount of the gift (20 marks of silver) that the child was a son.³⁸

In years 1359 and 1360 at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, margrave Margaret of Opava received six marks of silver from Brno burghers. Independently of this gift, she received another 100 marks of silver; alas, the reasons for this second gift are unknown.³⁹

Of course, there were several maids of honour, noble girls, who served the Moravian margrave Margaret. They kept her a company, doing small household chores, and also helping their mistresses in childbirth.⁴⁰ Margrave's companions were referred to as "domicellae" or "puellae", and eventually, "familiaria". Unfortunately, we have very little specific information, only one girl is known by her name - Claire, who bought her own house in Brno in the year 1350. Claire bought the property worth 3.5 marks of silver from the convent of the Minorite monastery, the house was directly opposite to the monastery gate.⁴¹ Even the ladies serving the Moravian margraves Margaret received, in the same way as other courtiers, certain monetary gifts from Brno burghers. In the year 1355, margrave Margaret received an amount of 14 marks of silver after the birth of her daughter, her maids of honour received eight marks of silver – most likely for their help during childbirth.⁴² A year later, the Moravian margrave gave birth to another daughter, and the burghers gave 12 marks of silver to her and 10 marks of silver to her ladies.⁴³

³⁶ *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia*. Tomus II, Acta Innocentii VI. Pontificis Romani (1907), J. F. Novák (Ed.), Prague: Typis Gregerianis, 266, no. 677–679; ibidem, 325, no. 822 and no. 823 and ibidem, 327, no. 833.

³⁷ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 256 and Procházková, M. (2000). *Výdaje Brna ve 2. polovině 14. století*, 27.

³⁸ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 262 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 40.

³⁹ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 262-263 and p. 270-271 and Procházková, M. (2000). *Výdaje Brna ve 2. polovině 14. století*, 28.

⁴⁰ To the topic e.g. Dvořáčková-Malá, D., Zelenka J. and coll. (2015). *Ženy a děti ve dvorské společnosti*. Praha: Historický ústav.

⁴¹ „...puelle Clare familiari domine marchionisse...” (*Knihy počtů města Brna*, p. 92 of preface).

⁴² *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 232.

⁴³ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 240.

In the year 1358, the margrave's ladies together with other servants received a gift for the New Year in the amount of four marks of silver paid from the city treasury.⁴⁴ The same amount was given to them by the burghers a year later as well.⁴⁵

Margrave Margaret also had her own kitchen with her servants, as evidenced by reports from the years 1358–1361. The kitchen of the Moravian margrave Margaret probably numbered several people because in the year 1361 Myslibor was entrusted with its management (“magister coquine”). In 1358, the cook Ješek worked in Margaret's kitchen.⁴⁶

In the following years, the person of margrave Margaret disappeared from historical sources. The last record, proving that she was still alive, was the information about the master of her kitchen Myslibor from the year 1361.⁴⁷ Concerning the fact that margrave John Henry at the turn of years 1363 and 1364 certainly lived with the nun Elisabeth of Těšín and in February 1364 married Margaret of Habsburg, it is possible to assume that the Moravian margrave Margaret of Opava died sometime between the years 1361–1363.⁴⁸

The only source directly related to Margaret's death is the letter of condolence that was addressed to his younger brother, written by the Emperor Charles IV.; in the letter, the emperor expressed deep regret for her death. The text of the monarch's message illustrates the personal and warm relationship between the siblings. Unfortunately, the Emperor's letter was not dated. The CDM editor assumes that the letter was created in 1363, but it may have been written earlier.⁴⁹

Elisabeth of Těšín

At the turn of the years 1363 and 1364, margrave John Henry experienced a special love episode with the daughter of the duke of Těšín, Kazimir. Hence, it is

⁴⁴ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 256.

⁴⁵ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 263.

⁴⁶ *Die Landtafel des Markgräfthumes Mähren (1348-1466)*. Brünn: Cuda (1856), J. Chytil, P. Chlumecký, K. Demuth, A. Wolfskron (Eds.), Brünn: Nitsch & Grosse, Lib. III., 32, no. 277 (year 1358) and Lib. IV., 45, no. 3 (year 1361). And Baletka, T. (1996). Dvůr, rezidence a kancelář markraběte Jošta. *Sborník archivních prací* 46/2, 301.

⁴⁷ See also Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 36. Unfortunately, in the years 1361-1363, there were no gifts for the margrave couple in the city accountancy, that could help determine the date of her death.

⁴⁸ *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemias illustrantia*. Tomus III, Acta Urbani V. (1944), B. Jenšovský (Ed.), Pragae: Typis Gregerianis, 162–163, no. 258 (see below as MVB III) and Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*, 79; Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 166.

⁴⁹ CDM IX, 246–247, no. 327. And Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 45.

clear that Margaret of Opava was no longer among the living then. However, Elisabeth was a nun in the Cistercian monastery in Silesian city Třebnice.

On 20th January 1364, the pope Urban V. wrote to the bishop of Vratislav that the partners must be separated from each other and Elisabeth must return to the monastery. The papal decree speaks directly about their marriage – “matrimonium de facto”. As Jaroslav Mezník believes, they did not enter the marriage in a church; nevertheless, such was not a necessity in the 14th century. However, the relationship of Moravian margrave John Henry and Elisabeth of Těšín really did not continue.⁵⁰

It may appear that the Moravian margrave obeyed the order of the pope but it is more likely he was under the influence of his brother Charles IV. The emperor had completely different plans for the marriage of his brother. In February of that year, margrave John Henry married another woman. She was Margaret of Habsburg, a sister of the Austrian duke Rudolf IV. A political marriage was an appropriate way to affirm relations with Habsburgs after protracted disputes in the years 1363–1364.

Margaret of Habsburg

Another marriage of the Moravian margrave John Henry was a quirk of fate. Margaret, sister of the Austrian duke Rudolf IV., became his wife in February 1364. Only eighteen-year-old bride was already a widow, her husband had been Menhart, son of Margaret of Tyrol – the first wife of John Henry, who accused him of impotence and repudiated him. The marriage and mutual succession was arranged at a meeting of Luxembourgs and Habsburgs in Brno.⁵¹

Negotiations continued in Vienna, where John Henry on 23rd February 1364 issued a document concerning the planned wedding with Margaret and he left the negotiations concerning the settlement with the duke Rudolf fully to the emperor Charles IV.⁵² The marriage was probably concluded sometime in the days 23th – 26th February in Vienna. In a document dated 23th February, margrave John Henry speaks of Margaret of Habsburg still as „...weilent Margrefinne ze Brandenburg, Hertzoginne in Bayrn und Grefinne ze Tyrol...” and „...unser elichen Wirtinne...“. Three days later, Margaret of Habsburg titles herself as a Moravian

⁵⁰ MVB III, 162–163, no. 258. Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*, 79–80; Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 166 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 46.

⁵¹ CDM IX, 252–254, no. 337; CDM IX, 254–255, no. 338; CDM IX, 255–256, no. 339; CDM IX, 257–259, no. 340; CDM IX, 260, no. 341; CDM IX, 261, no. 342; CDM IX, 261–262, no. 343 and no. 344. Also see Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 170–171.

⁵² CDM IX, 266–267, no. 249.

margrave. In the first document, she gave up dowry from the marriage with Menhart (ten thousand groschen), in the second and the third document she waived all claims to the Austrian countries.⁵³

As in the past, complications caused by the fact that neither the Luxembourgs nor the Habsburgs did apply for a dispensation to marry in time because of the close familial kinship (both were great-grandchildren of the Roman king Rudolf I.) emerged. And the result was the interdict.

The dispensation was granted additionally in May. On 30th May 1364, the pope Urban V. deputed the bishop of Olomouc to cancel the interdict. Despite this, he insisted that the husband and the wife had to live apart until they remarried. It may be assumed that the margrave couple obeyed the order of the pope and they remarried sometime after 30th May of the same year.⁵⁴

Unfortunately it is impossible to prove whether margrave Margaret left Vienna immediately after the end of the negotiations with her husband. However, she certainly was staying in Brno in the middle of May, when her brothers arrived. Her dowry was secured at the castle Strechau or Falkenstein in the Alps by the Habsburgs then.⁵⁵

Margaret of Habsburg lived alongside margrave John Henry for a short time; she died sometime between the years 1365 and 1367 at a young age. Her chaplain John is mentioned in the city accounting records in the year 1365.⁵⁶ Even in the middle of the year 1365, margrave John Henry asked the pope for absolution in case of death for himself and his wife, for the possibility of using a portable altar and for the possibility to attend the mass before daybreak.⁵⁷ As in the previous case, the sources do not document her death closer.⁵⁸

Elisabeth of Oettingen

In the summer months of the year 1367, after the untimely death of Margaret of Habsburg, another marriage of the Moravian margrave John Henry was discussed. His last wife became Elisabeth, a daughter of Albert of Oettingen. And even in this case a future married couple were in the close familial kinship. However, it seems that this time the Luxembourgs requested the granting of

⁵³ CDM IX, 268–269, no. 352 and no. 353; CDM IX, 270–271, no. 354.

⁵⁴ MVB III, 199–200, no. 332; MVB III, 200–201, no. 333 and CDM IX, 277–278, no. 372. See also Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 167 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 46–47.

⁵⁵ CDM IX, 275–276, no. 370.

⁵⁶ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 395.

⁵⁷ MVB III, 314–315, no. 530.

⁵⁸ But Dieter Veltrup indicates the exact date of death 14th January 1366 (Veldtrup, D. (1988). *Zwischen Eherecht*, 481).

a dispensation in an appropriate time. Pope Urban V. granted permission to marry on 25th August 1367 without any indication that the couple might have lived together before. It may be assumed that the wedding took place soon after that date.⁵⁹

Unfortunately, there were no other notes about the Moravian margrave Elisabeth before the year 1375. Then in spring 1375, margrave John Henry asked the pope for absolution in case of death for himself and his wife Elisabeth.⁶⁰ Another note came in August that year when her husband John Henry founded the Carthusian monastery of The Holy Trinity in Královo Pole with the consent of his wife Elisabeth and his three sons.⁶¹ Just a few months later, on 12th November 1375, the Moravian margrave John Henry died and a new margrave couple took over the role. Margrave Elisabeth went to Vienna then where she died in the year 1409.⁶²

Supplementation

The Moravian margrave John Henry had legitimate descendants only with his second wife, Margaret of Opava. Excepting these legitimate offsprings, two illegitimate children are documented; unfortunately, their mothers' names are unknown. Around the year 1345 John Henry of Luxembourg became the father of the illegitimate son John.⁶³ Later, John Henry's son began an ecclesiastical career.

⁵⁹ *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*. Zehnter Band (1878), V. Brandl (Ed.), Brünn: Verlag des Mährischen Landes-Ausschusses, 14–15, no. 15 and MVB III, 537–538, no. 863. And Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 167, note 78.

⁶⁰ *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia*. Tomus IV, Acta Gregorii XI. (1949–1953), K. Stloukal (Ed.), Prague: Typis Gregerianis, 555, no. 963.

⁶¹ CDM X, 268–271, no. 258. Řepa, M. and coll. (2004). *Dějiny Králova Pole*. Brno: Úřad městské části Brno-Královo Pole, 40–41; Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 41.

⁶² Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 48 and Veldtrup, D. (1988). *Zwischen Eherecht*, 481.

⁶³ In the work of the chronicler Benes Krabice of Weitmile, is the report of the birth of the illegitimate son John Henry written after describing the situation that led to the return of this Luxembourg back to the Czech Kingdom (1341–1342). Unfortunately, what time has elapsed between the arrival of John Henry and the birth of his son, the author does not state precisely (FRB IV, 491). The year of birth of the illegitimate son John is usually deduced from the text of the request of emperor Charles IV. dated 1365, which states that John is approximately twenty years old (MVB III, 343–344, no. 568). The information about the birth of an illegitimate son, that refuted the rumour of the impotence of John Henry, is also written in a letter of bishop of Litomyšl (CDM VIII, 31–32, no. 63). Dieter Veldtrup believes that the illegitimate son of the future Moravian margrave was born in Brno – see Veldtrup, D. (1989). Johann Propst von Vysehrad. Illegimiter Sohn eines „impotenten“ Luxemburgers. In F. B. Fahlbusch, P. Johanek (Eds.), *Studia Luxemburgensia. Festschrift für Heinz Stoob zum 70. Geburtstag*. Studien zu den Luxemburgern und ihrer Zeit, Bd. 3, Warendorf: Fahlbusch, 63.

He became the first provost of Vyšehrad, then bishop of Litomyšl and finally patriarch of Aquileus.⁶⁴

In the year 1359, during the marriage with Margaret of Opava, another illegitimate child was born. The child was probably a son, but regrettably, his fate is unknown.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ This career was attributed in the older literature to the second of the legitimate sons of margrave John Henry – to John Soběslav. But Ondřej Schmidt refuted this theory, when he discovered that this career actually belongs to the illegitimate son John (Schmidt, O. (2016). *Jan z Moravy. Zapomenutý Lucemburk na aquilejském stolci*. Praha: Vyšehrad). A study focused on the life and personality of the illegitimate son of Margrave John Henry published also Veldtrup, D. Johann Propst von Vysehrad, 50–78.

⁶⁵ *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 262 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 40.