

## **The Royal Chronicle of Cologne, 1222-49**

*This extract comprises two out of several continuations to the original 'Royal Chronicle' of Cologne, the first part of which ended in 1175. As with one of the earlier continuations, these two sections appear to have been written at the monastery of St. Pantaleon, Cologne. The author was well-informed about the disputes between the emperor and the Italian cities, and the struggle between pope and emperor in Italy after 1239, not least through the circular letters that both sides distributed. But he also provides a detailed and contemporary account of the turbulent history of the Rhineland in this era, of the conflicts between the archbishops of Cologne and the local magnates, and of the attempts during the 1240s by the pro-papal party to choose a replacement for Frederick II and his son Conrad as ruler of Germany. And even where the account deals with extraneous events (which have been included here for the sake of completeness), we are presented with a vivid picture of the world as seen from thirteenth-century Cologne.*

*Translated from Chronica Regia Coloniensis, ed. Georg Waitz (MGH SRG, Hanover 1880), pp. 252-99. [Translation © G.A. Loud, 2009, 2013]*

*[The so-called 'Fourth Continuation' begins in 1220 with a brief account of the Fifth Crusade. This translation commences in 1222]*

### The First Year of King Henry

**In the year of the Lord 1222:** although he was still only a boy, Henry VII, the son of the Emperor Frederick was consecrated as king at Aachen by Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne <sup>1</sup> on the Sunday before the Ascension of the Lord, that is on 8<sup>th</sup> May.

On 11<sup>th</sup> January in this same year, in the first hour of the day, there was a great earthquake in Cologne. A similar earthquake took place in Lombardy on Christmas Day,

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<sup>1</sup> Engelbert of Berg, Archbishop of Cologne 1216-25, whom Frederick II had appointed as his regent soon after he left Germany in the autumn of 1220.

and continued for two weeks, with two shocks a day. It overthrew buildings, including churches, in many places, and both laymen and priests were crushed. The city of Brixen and its people were more or less completely wiped out – the earthquake dislodged rocks from the mountains, overthrew castles and caused unheard of calamities and misery. The land of Rome even saw rain mixed with blood falling from the clouds.

Also in this same year King Waldemar of Denmark and his son was astonishingly captured by Count Henry of Schwerin and was lodged under guard in a very strong fortress by the count.<sup>2</sup>

**In the year of the Lord 1223**, second year [of King Henry]: Pope Honorius sent out preachers and ordered them once again to preach the Cross to the faithful, announcing to everyone that they should make ready to cross the sea with the glorious Emperor Frederick in two years time, on the feast of St. John the Baptist.<sup>3</sup> The daughter of King John of Jerusalem was married to the Emperor Frederick. In this same year King Philip of France died, leaving 150,000 marks for the liberation of the Holy Land.

Also in this same year King Henry the younger held a court at Nordhausen, where Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne made great efforts to secure the release of the King of Denmark.<sup>4</sup>

**In the year of the Lord 1224**, third year [of King Henry]: around the middle of May King Henry the younger held a court at Frankfurt, where envoys from the emperor arrived with a letter from him, informing the king and the princes that Herman, Master of the Hospital of St. Mary of the Teutons,<sup>5</sup> had come to the emperor in Sicily at the

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<sup>2</sup> The dispute between count and king stemmed from the marriage of Waldemar's illegitimate son Niels to Ida, daughter and heir of Count Henry's brother Gunzelin (II). After Niels's death in December 1220, the king claimed half of the county as the inheritance of his grandson Niels II: Count Henry captured the king by treachery after a meeting on an island in the Baltic. Peter Thorau, *König Heinrich (VII.), das Reich und die Territorien* (Berlin 1998), pp. 202-3.

<sup>3</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> June 1225.

<sup>4</sup> September 1223.

<sup>5</sup> Herman of Salza, a Thuringian noble who was Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights 1210-39, and one of Frederick II's closest advisors.

Epiphany of the Lord, and had urged him immediately to cross the Straits [of Messina] and set off for Germany, that he might reach agreement with the princes for his journey and the business of the Holy Land. However, when the emperor heard that the Saracens who were living on Monte Platano wished to surrender to his grace, he sent for his marshal who had been conducting the siege, wishing him diligently to investigate the situation of these Saracens. Because of this he refused to cross the Straits, and sent the aforesaid Hermann on ahead to Germany to secure princely support for the Holy Land and to deal with the affairs of the empire.<sup>6</sup> Among other things he brought a message that the lord emperor had made ready for the assistance of the Holy Land fifty ships called *huissiers*, the capacity of which was so large that two thousand knights with their war horses and all their arms and equipment, and in addition ten thousand other men ready for battle together with their arms, might be transported in these *huissiers*. Each of these *huissiers* had a gangway so that if necessary the knights could disembark easily from the ships on horseback and in full armour without danger of harm, charging into battle as if already drawn up in squadrons; and if there was the opportunity they could enter the river at Damietta, or some other river, in full sail.<sup>7</sup> In this same year Conrad, Cardinal Bishop of Porto and S. Rufina, was sent by the Apostolic See to Germany for the sake of the Holy Land; he was given an honourable welcome at Cologne on the sixth day after Pentecost.<sup>8</sup>

Also in that same year King John of Jerusalem came on pilgrimage to visit the shrine of St. James; during his return journey he married the daughter of the king of Spain.<sup>9</sup> Then he turned his steps towards Germany and came to King Henry, the son of the emperor. Travelling on with him to Cologne, he was received with great honour and

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<sup>6</sup> He appears to have sent Herman north in March 1224, Thorau, *König Heinrich (VII)*, p. 212.

<sup>7</sup> That is at the mouth of the Nile.

<sup>8</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> June 1224. Conrad of Urach was from a Swabian comital family, and was formerly Abbot of Cîteaux. He was Cardinal Bishop of Porto 1219-27. For him, A. Paravacini Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia e 'familiae' cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254* (Padua 1972), p. 12; and for his legation, which lasted until early in 1226, Paul Pixton, *The German Episcopacy and the Implementation of the Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council 1216-1245, Watchmen on the Tower* (Leiden 1997), pp. 322-50

<sup>9</sup> Berengaria, daughter of Alfonso IX of Leon.

joy by Archbishop Engelbert and the whole city on the vigil of the Assumption of St. Mary.<sup>10</sup>

Around this time King Henry entered Saxony, along with Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne, Conrad, the legate of the Apostolic See, and various of the princes, to secure the release of the king of Denmark and the return of the land of the empire which he unjustly held. This same king and his son had been held prisoner for two years by Count Henry of Schwerin in a most strong and inaccessible castle named Dannenberg.<sup>11</sup> To this end, after coming to the River Elbe, the aforesaid princes sent on in advance to the king and the count Herman, the Master of the Hospital of the Germans, who had himself been sent to Germany by the emperor to secure reconciliation and make peace. With his mediation the king was persuaded to return all the land that he had taken from the empire and to receive his crown from the hand of the emperor; and he also promised to pay a ransom of a hundred thousand marks in return for his release. But after the princes who were present with the king had accepted [these proposals], Count Albrecht of Orlamünde, the son of the king's sister,<sup>12</sup> and the barons of Denmark rejected the agreement and refused to uphold what had been promised. They boarded their ships and returned home in an angry mood, taking away with them the huge sum of money that they had brought for the king's ransom. As a result the aforesaid princes abandoned the negotiations and left in confusion. After Christmas Albert of Orlamunde, therefore, gathered an army and set off to attack Count Henry. The latter was busy besieging a castle, but when he was informed of this attack he abandoned the siege and went to meet the count. When battle was joined the fight continued from the first hour of the day until Vespers, with the utmost ferocity and great bloodshed, for many people fell there. Eventually Count Albrecht and many of his nobles were captured by Henry. He was taken to the castle of Danneberg, where his uncle was, and held under guard there [with him].

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<sup>10</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> August.

<sup>11</sup> Sited just to the east of Lüneburg.

<sup>12</sup> He was the son of Sofia, one of the daughters of Waldemar I of Denmark, who had married Count Siegfried III of Orlamünde (who died in 1206). Count Albrecht had been entrusted with the regency of the Danish kingdom in the king's absence, MGH *Epistolae Saeculi XIII e Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*

In this year there was a very long and hard winter, and a great and unheard-of famine, which lasted for two years.

**In the year of the Lord 1225:** King Henry held a court at Frankfurt, where among those present was a certain bishop, sent by the king of England, along with other envoys, who was striving to secure a marriage between the king and the sister of the king of England. But since such an arrangement proved unwelcome to the princes, and no progress could be made with it, the envoys returned home disappointed.

In this same year a man who was dressed as a hermit was through his facial resemblance thought by the people of Flanders and Hainault to be their former count, Baldwin, who many years earlier had received the imperial throne of Constantinople, and who according to the histories had perished in Greece.<sup>13</sup> They forced the comital title upon him, and for two months he held the greater part of that land, clad in imperial purple and with a cross born before him, as is the custom with the emperors of Constantinople. He was questioned by King Louis of France at the castle of Peronne in the Vermandois, and the king uncovered his impersonation. However, with some of his followers still supporting him, he [then] travelled towards Cologne, saying that he would seek help from Archbishop Engelbert, who was at that time directing the government of the German kingdom. But there he secretly abandoned his companions and fled on his own, without ever meeting the archbishop. A little while later he was recognised and arrested in Burgundy, brought back to Flanders, and he ended his life by being hanged from a high gallows at the Flemish castle of Ryssel, although a large number of the common people still claimed after his death that he had been the true count.<sup>14</sup>

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*Selectae*, ed. C. Rodenburg (3 vols., Berlin 1887), i.183 no. 257 (Honorius III to Archbishop Gerhard of Bremen, 31<sup>st</sup> July 1224).

<sup>13</sup> Count Baldwin IX of Flanders, Emperor of Constantinople 1204-5, who had been captured by the Bulgarians at the Battle of Adrianople in April 1205 and had apparently died soon afterwards in captivity.

<sup>14</sup> His arrest and execution may have been some time later: this was recorded by the *Annales Floroffenses* in 1230, MGH SS xvi.626-7. This source also noted that when he was hanged, 'a book was found on him of great learning, which few could understand'.

Also in this same year, on 7<sup>th</sup> November, Engelbert, the venerable Archbishop of the church of Cologne, father of our country and the pride of Germany was alas wretchedly slain by his kinsman the Count of Isenburg. This said count had previously been visiting grievous and violent oppression on the royal church at Essen, of which he was the advocate, by afflicting the men of this church with the most severe labour and carting services. When the archbishop, who was then entrusted with the welfare of the German kingdom, forbade him from levying these harmful exactions, the count – who was unwilling to suffer any limitation upon his tyranny – plotted the death of the archbishop, encouraged, so it was said, by many nobles whose pride the most valiant prelate had restrained. The lord archbishop was returning to Cologne from Soest, a town in Westphalia, accompanied by the wretched bandit, who had 25 men-at-arms with him who had been recruited for this wicked deed. The archbishop was quite unsuspecting, since both his inbred courage and the natural bond of blood-relationship removed any suspicion of this sort on his part, even though a few days earlier he had been forewarned through a letter which had been sent to him. So, seeing a suitable time and place, not far from the village of Schwelm the count and some of his counsellors, or rather bloodthirsty executioners, stabbed the archbishop in his side, and then, with the count urging on his wicked assassins to slay him, they rushed upon him with swords and daggers, and stabbed him 38 times. Once the deed was done, the count and his men took refuge in the castle of Isenberg. The noble corpse lay deserted by everyone, for his whole household was so terrified by this unexpected crime that they fled away, apart from one little servant boy who all alone guarded the body of his lord. At nightfall two local men carried the corpse on a cart to the church of Schwelm, which the archbishop had intended to consecrate on the following Sunday; for this reason he had made confession of his sins on the very day that he was murdered. The next day he was brought to the monastery of Altenberg, where the brothers received the corpse with many tears. He was embalmed, and they watched over him with sorrowful vigils, adding the melody of Psalms; some of the brothers testified that they heard angelic voices there. At the self-same hour he appeared in a dream to one of the brothers, who not only saw him but heard him say that he had gained the triumphal crown of martyrdom in the cause of justice. His intestines were buried there, while on the vigil of St. Martin his precious corpse was brought to

Cologne, where it was received by clergy and people with extraordinary sobbing and outcries. He was buried in the church of St. Peter, where a glorious tomb was built for him; frequent, indeed daily, wonders and miracles took place, for a number of sick people who were brought there received the cure they sought. It was steadfastly maintained that he had [indeed] deserved the prize of martyrdom, since he had been a most just judge and a valiant defender of the fatherland and of the churches of God, and he had fallen in the cause of their defence. Among his many other praiseworthy deeds he maintained a most firm peace. He acquired the castle of Thuron, above the Moselle, a den of thieves, something which was greatly to the advantage of our country and of churches, and he left this to become a property of the church of Cologne. On hearing of his death, Count Henry of Schwerin broke his promise concerning handover of the king of Denmark; an agreement was negotiated and after receiving hostages and a large sum of money he released the king and allowed him to return home a free man.

Thereafter, on 25<sup>th</sup> November, Henry, provost of Bonn, a native of Mülnarken,<sup>15</sup> was nominated for the widowed see. Immediately after his election he swore an oath in the presence of the leading men (*priores*)<sup>16</sup> to take vengeance for the murder of his most pious predecessor. Only a little time passed before the castle of Isenburg was besieged by the vassals of the church of Cologne, acting at the command of the archbishop-elect, and made to surrender. The same thing happened to another castle of this same count called Nienbrügg. The following Christmas Bishop Conrad of Porto, the legate of the Apostolic See, came to Cologne; he excommunicated the wicked Frederick and his accomplices, laying a terrible anathema upon them.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Between Düren and Jülich, to the west of Cologne.

<sup>16</sup> The frequent references in this chronicle to the *priores* of Cologne (cf. also the description of events after the murder of Philip of Swabia, *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, p. 227) would appear to be to the members of the *Richerzeche*, the guild of patrician families, also known as the *primores* of Cologne. I am grateful to Prof. Martial Staub for assistance on this point. For the *Richerzeche* and its role in the government of Cologne, John B. Fried, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1977), p. 94.

<sup>17</sup> Among other actions against Frederick, on 30<sup>th</sup> December 1225 Conrad of Porto announced the confiscation of the fiefs that 'the former Count of Isenburg had held from the abbey of Werden, *quas de ecclesia vestra impius F. quondam comes de Isenberg tenebat in feudo*, *Urkundenbuch für für die Geschichte des Niederrheins*, ed. T.J. Lacomblet (4 vols., Düsseldorf 1840-58), ii.69-70 no. 131.

**In the year of the Lord 1226:** on the advice of his brothers, Pope Honorius sent a legate to France, instructing him to preach the word of the Cross against the heretical inhabitants of Avignon and Toulouse. In response, therefore, to the encouragement of the legate who had been sent to France, whose name was Romanus, King Louis of the French, along with the archbishops, bishops, abbots, counts, nobles, barons and the rest of the magistrates of France, Normandy, Flanders, Burgundy, Brittany, Champagne, Hainault, the Auvergne, Ponthieu and Berry were signed with the Cross against the heretics of Aignon and Toulouse. When the inhabitants of Carcassone, St. Gilles, Nimes, and Marseilles heard news of their arrival with an unheard of force, they hastened to the king of the French, surrendering themselves and all their people to his rule, and confirming on oath that they would be obedient to the Catholic Church. The people of Avignon, however, conceived a treacherous plot, for after they had received the king within the walls they closed the gates, thinking to capture him, but the trapped men defended themselves bravely, and escaped by forcing their way through another gate. Angered by their treachery, the king poured out a vast sum of money on wonderful and hitherto unknown siege engines, through which he destroyed the wall and houses of the said city. After the whole region as far as Toulouse had been made subject and faithful to him, the king died of disease during his return journey, along with two bishops, three counts and a large number of others, both nobles and commoners.<sup>18</sup> His son Louis, who was still a boy, succeeded him as king.

In this same year the Emperor Frederick held a solemn court at Cremona to reform the condition of the empire and for the business of the Holy Land. Many German princes hastened to this court, along with the emperor's son King Henry, but they were held up at Trent for six weeks, being unable to go further because of a rebellion by the people of Verona, who were then blocking the passes in that region. Some of the princes from Saxony did reach the emperor through another road from Austria. However, the king and the [other] princes returned in frustration to Germany from Trent, without meeting the emperor. During their withdrawal the town of Trent was burned down through an accidental fire. While the emperor was moving from Cremona to Borgo San

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<sup>18</sup> Louis VIII died at Montpensier, in the Auvergne, on 8<sup>th</sup> November 1226.



Donino, Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim, who was then entrusted with preaching the word of the Cross, passed sentence of excommunication on the Lombards who were in rebellion against the emperor, who was signed with the Cross, with the co-operation and approval of all the Lombard bishops.<sup>19</sup> But Pope Honorius later revoked this same sentence, sending Alatrinus his chaplain, through whose advice Milan and many other cities conspired together against the emperor, reviving the alliance which had for a long time been known as the Lombard League (*Longobardorum societas*).

In this year Henry, archbishop-elect of Cologne, was consecrated at Cologne with great ceremony as archbishop by the archbishop of Trier on the vigil of St. Matthew,<sup>20</sup> in the presence of all his suffragans, as well as James, Bishop of Acre, and Herman, Bishop of Leal.<sup>21</sup>

Also in this year Count Frederick, the author of the sacrilegious murder, who had fled and remained hidden for a whole year, was captured by a knight called Balschun, [subsequently] sold for 2100 marks, and handed over to the archbishop of Cologne. On the feast of St. Martin, a year and a day after the mutilated corpse of the glorious archbishop had been received in Cologne, and on the day that this same archbishop, while he was still living, had designated to him as the date for drawing up an agreement, he was brought to Cologne. On the third day [thereafter], after making his confession and naming his accomplices in this deed, he was fixed on a wheel, which was raised up on a sort of pyramid, outside the walls of the city. Afterwards the bishops and nobles of the land, the vassals of St. Peter, were summoned, and certain nobles who were held suspect of [involvement in] this killing were allowed by the archbishop and the leading men of Cologne to purge themselves of this criminal charge, although [they did this] with difficulty.

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<sup>19</sup> Conrad (II) of Riesenberg, Bishop of Hildesheim 1221-49.

<sup>20</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> September 1226.

<sup>21</sup> Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Acre 1216-28, and subsequently Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum 1228-40; and Herman, Bishop of Leal in Estonia.

**In the year of the Lord 1227:** King Henry, the son of the Emperor Frederick, came to Aachen where he held a very notable court on the *Iudica me* Sunday, in the presence of nobles from the whole of Germany,<sup>22</sup> Among those present the most distinguished were the archbishops of Salzburg, Mainz, Trier and Cologne, the dukes of Austria, Bavaria, Carinthia, Brabant and Lotharingia, the landgrave [of Thuringia], and Count Ferrand of Flanders, who had been kept a prisoner in Paris for twelve years by the king of France, and had been released in the previous year.<sup>23</sup> Many other bishops also gathered there, as well as nobles from all over Germany. The wife of the king, the daughter of the duke of Austria, was consecrated with a royal benediction and crowned by Archbishop Henry of Cologne, and seated on the royal throne.<sup>24</sup>

In this same year Pope Honorius died after ruling for eleven years; he was succeeded by Bishop Ugo of Ostia, who took the name Gregory. On the feast of St. Mary Magdalen in this same year the king of the Danes, in defiance of his word and of the oath he had sworn to secure his release, prepared to take revenge, and after mustering a great host, engaged the Count of Schwerin in battle. The latter was assisted by the archbishop of Bremen and Duke Albrecht of Saxony, and the king was defeated. He only just made his escape by flight, and some four thousand men on his side were slain.<sup>25</sup>

Also in this same year Bishop Otto of Utrecht mustered a an army of chosen knights to attack the castle of Covoerden because of a rebellion by the man who held that place, which he held by right of homage from the bishop. The bishop and the Count of Geldern marched on the castle on St. Pantaleon's day, along with picked and distinguished knights, but without proper caution – for the whole of this area is marshy –

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<sup>22</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> March 1227.

<sup>23</sup> He had been captured fighting on the side of Otto IV at the Battle of Bouvines, which the author of the earlier section of the chronicle had recorded, *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, p. 235.

<sup>24</sup> Henry had married Margaret of Austria at Nuremberg in November 1225, and at the same time the duke's son Henry had married a daughter of the landgrave of Thuringia, Thorau, *König Heinrich (VII.)*, pp. 262-3. King Henry was later accused of trying to repudiate Margaret to marry a sister of the king of Bohemia, *Annales Wormatienses*, MGH SS xvii.43.

<sup>25</sup> The Battle of Bornhöved, 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1227. Count Henry was leading a coalition of north German princes. In addition to Archbishop Gerhard II of Bremen and Albrecht, Duke of Saxony 1212-61, he was also joined by Count Adolf IV of Holstein and the sons of the Henry Borwin, ruler of Mecklenburg. The king's ally Otto of Lüneburg was captured. Thorau, *König Heinrich (VII.)*, pp. 314-19.

and they found themselves in such difficulty that they could neither march onwards nor retreat. Seeing this, the defenders of the castle suddenly attacked them and trapped everyone. They wickedly beheaded the bishop and his brother the provost, whom these élite knights were unable to protect, for they were sunk up to their knees in the mud. They cruelly killed them, some by drowning and some run through.<sup>26</sup>

In this same year the planned expedition of those signed with the Cross, [recruited] from all over the world, was set in motion, and then broken and scattered, for the Emperor Frederick did not sail forth as he had previously promised. For this reason he was excommunicated by Pope Gregory.

[Also] in this year, in December a mighty wind cast down parts of buildings and tore trees up by the roots. The winter was extremely rainy. [And] in this year Abbot Henry III [of St. Pantaleon]<sup>27</sup> died; he was succeeded by the lord Simon.

**In the year of the Lord 1228:** the Emperor Frederick finally crossed the sea, by sailing slowly through the islands, because of his bodily weakness, or so it was said. He recovered Jerusalem and part of the Holy Land, and he made a truce for a fixed period of time with the Saracens. But since he had made his voyage after being excommunicated and seemingly disobediently, Pope Gregory refused to approve what had taken place, nor would he absolve him. Rather, because feared his return, the pope concluded alliances with the Lombard cities and other places against the emperor, and with their military assistance he attacked and occupied his land and castles, through the agency of the emperor's father-in-law John. However, because the Romans supported the emperor, the pope took steps for his own security and left Rome to stay in Perugia. He ordered that the emperor be denounced as an excommunicate throughout every region, having sent out envoys, and particularly from the Friars Preacher to put this into effect. One of these envoys was Cardinal Otto of Carcere Tulliano, who was sent as legate to Germany and

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<sup>26</sup> Otto (II) of Lippe, Bishop of Utrecht 1215-27, killed on 28<sup>th</sup> July 1227.

<sup>27</sup> Only in two manuscripts.

Denmark.<sup>28</sup> His intention was to do harm to the emperor, and to this end he sought the advice of Duke Otto of Lüneburg. However, Otto refused to do anything against the emperor.<sup>29</sup> The legate went to the city of Liège in Hainault, but was forced to flee by the advocate of Aachen, Arnold of Gimmenich and other imperial supporters and only just escaped. He took refuge at the castle of Huy. He issued a sentence of excommunication against the city of Liège as punishment for the injury done to him, ordering all the clergy to leave [the city].<sup>30</sup> Later he also bound the people of Aachen by the same excommunication, because the supporters of the emperor there had captured the bishop of Modena, who was returning after his legation in Prussia, and held him prisoner, having stolen a great sum of gold. The guilty parties rendered satisfaction for their crime at Cologne, and secured pardon.

In that same year the bishop of Utrecht attacked the castle of Covoerden once again, and with the defenders unwilling to resist him he received its surrender.<sup>31</sup> He drove out the wicked Rudolf, the lord of the castle, and ordered him into exile. The latter pretended to go into exile, but [then] returned in secret and recaptured the castle through treachery, driving out the garrison whom the bishop had placed there.

**In the year of the Lord 1229:** the Emperor Frederick returned from the land overseas, and thinking that the pope had at the time of his pilgrimage gravely injured him, he recovered his castles and land from the papal army with his German troops. His father-in-law King John fled. Among these [possessions] was a town called Sora, which he stormed one day and burned to the ground.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ottone da Tonengo, cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano 1227-44. and cardinal bishop of Porto 1244-51. He came from Piedmont, and was one of the most active Curial diplomats of the period, nuncio to England in 1225, legate to Germany and Denmark 1229-31, in northern Italy 1232, and in England 1237-41, Paravacini Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia e 'familiae' cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254*, pp. 76-91. For his legation, Pixton, *The German Episcopacy*, pp. 369-81.

<sup>29</sup> He was the grandson of Henry the Lion, and subsequently, from 1235, recognized by Frederick II as Duke of Brunswick and an imperial prince. See below.

<sup>30</sup> The *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, MGH SS xxiii.928, suggested that this was an attempt to kill the legate, ordered by Henry (VII), and that Liège remained under interdict for almost a year.

<sup>31</sup> Willibrand of Oldenburg, Bishop of Utrecht 1227-34.

<sup>32</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> October 1229, *Ryccardi di Sancto Germano Notarii Chronica*, ed. C.A. Garufi (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 2nd. edition, Bologna 1938), p.

This same year the citizens of Cologne built a house on the land of the church of St. Pantaleon, near the vineyard of that church, for women of ill-fame who had been gathered together and converted by Rudolf, a false brother, whose baseness was afterwards made apparent since he was, on account of his sins, sent to a dungeon by the lord pope. The brothers of this church opposed this, and denounced the new building. The citizens broke into their houses within Cologne and did serious damage to them. Later they repaired these houses and made satisfaction for their error to the church. In this year the winter was long and hard.

**In the year of the Lord 1230:** in Spain the king of León and his son the king of Castile took up arms against the Saracens and occupied a great part of that land, capturing a city called Merida.<sup>33</sup> That same year the king of Aragon captured an island called Majorca, which had for many years been occupied by the Saracens; he stormed a celebrated city there, capturing its king and the entire royal household.

In this same year the lord Abbot Simon died, and the lord Henry IV succeeded him. Also in this year dispute arose between the archbishop and the duke of Limburg over the advocacy of the abbey of Siegburg.<sup>34</sup> As a result the duke's castle of Deutz was destroyed by the archbishop, and his castle of Bensberg was made subject to a long siege by a large army of the archbishop and the count of Sayn.<sup>35</sup> But although it was fiercely attacked, it was not captured, for those who were within defended themselves bravely and skilfully. On the other side, a castle of the archbishop called Zülpich was burned down in an accidental fire, and as a result was captured by the duke's allies; many men died there in the fire. A substantial army was then mustered there; however, it did not march out to seek a battle, but rather plundered villages and laid waste towns. On the king's orders they [eventually] put an end to the fighting with a truce.

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<sup>33</sup> Alfonso IX, King of León 1188-1230, and his son Ferdinand III, King of Castile 1217-52.

<sup>34</sup> Henry IV, Duke of Limburg 1226-46, who was married to Irmgard, the daughter and heiress of Count Adolf VI of Berg (who had died at Damietta in 1218, during the Fifth Crusade). It was his pursuit of claims relating to the Berg family that drew the duke into the Lower Rhineland.

<sup>35</sup> Henry III, Count of Sayn 1202-46/7, for whom see Joachim J. Halbekann, *Die älteren Grafen von Sayn* (Wiesbaden 1997), pp. 67-105, especially pp. 82-3 for this episode. In October 1230 the archbishop concluded an alliance with the Count Palatine Otto and Margrave Herman of Baden against the duke of Limburg.

Cardinal Otto came from Denmark to the Cologne region, where he was solemnly received and honoured, and there he celebrated the Birth of the Lord. He then left and summoned a provincial council at Würzburg, but the lay princes refused to attend and only a few prelates of churches turned up, [and so] he departed in anger.<sup>36</sup>

In this same year the emperor was absolved by the pope, through the mediation of Duke Leopold of Austria, who died at S. Germano in the Campania after the peace treaty between pope and emperor had been concluded. His intestines and flesh were buried in the chapter house of St. Benedict of Montecassino, while his bones were taken back to Austria.<sup>37</sup>

**In the year of the Lord 1231:** after making peace with the pope, the emperor dined at the same table [with him] at a town of the pope called Anagni, in the pope's chamber built over his paternal house. Then the emperor returned to Apulia. The River Po in Italy flooded in an extraordinary manner. A partial eclipse of the sun occurred at sunrise on 12<sup>th</sup> June.

In this same year the emperor celebrated a court at Ravenna on Christmas Day, at which he wore the imperial crown. Some three months before this court took place Duke Ludwig of Bavaria was murdered in front of his own men by a Saracen envoy from the Old Man of the Mountains. This same Old Man of the Mountains was allied to the emperor, and was taking revenge for the many injuries which the duke had done to the emperor. It is believed therefore that this deed was performed with the emperor's knowledge, since the latter had a little while before had sent a special envoy to the duke, depriving him of his grace both with regard to his person and his property.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Aubrey of Trois-Fontaines quoted a letter from the Duke of Saxony to the German bishops, encouraging them to oppose the legate, *Chronica Albrici*, 928.

<sup>37</sup> Leopold VI died on 28<sup>th</sup> July 1230; his remains were buried at the Cistercian monastery of Lileinfeld, which he himself had founded at the start of his rule.

<sup>38</sup> Duke Ludwig was murdered on 16<sup>th</sup> September 1231. The *Annales Marbacenses*, p. 94, has a similar story, though in somewhat less confident terms – the assassin had an extra-sharp knife of a type used by the followers of the Old Man of the Mountains, but he refused to admit under whose orders he was working, even under the most savage torture. But other sources also blamed the emperor, e.g. *Annales*

The archbishop of Cologne was in dispute with the chapter of St. Peter, and this argument was the root of many evils.<sup>39</sup> Rudolf of Covoerden and his accomplices were broken on the wheel by the people of Utrecht.

**In the year of the Lord 1232:** the emperor remained at Ravenna, and intensified the conflict with the Lombards, but to no advantage, since the Lombards blocked the way to his son the king and [his] German troops. The emperor left Ravenna around the middle of Lent, and took ship for Aquileia. He made his way via Venice where he was given an honourable reception, and having entered the church of St. Mark he placed royal gifts, decorated with gold and precious stones, on the altar. He celebrated Easter at Aquileia, where his son the king came to him, along with some of the princes of Germany. The emperor returned to Apulia by sea about Ascension time, and along the way he captured many pirates, whom he bound with chains. The Sultan of Babylon sent the emperor a tent, made with extraordinary skill, in which images of the sun and moon apparently moved by their known and proper course and speed, unfailingly showing the hours of the day and night. The value of this tent was said to have been more than twenty thousand marks. It was stored among the royal treasures at Venosa. The Easter of the Saracens falling on the day of St. Mary Magdalene, the emperor invited the envoys of the Sultan and of the Old Man of the Mountains to a banquet, and served [them] festive fare, with many bishops and German nobles sitting there. The people of Messina rose in rebellion against the emperor. John of Beirut [also] fought against the emperor in the land overseas. He acted incautiously and was caught in a night ambush, from which he and a few men only just managed to escape, while all his baggage was plundered. But not long afterwards John once again mustered a strong force, occupied Cyprus and made an alliance with its king, who was the son of his sister. Richard, the imperial marshal, was

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*Scheftlarienses Minores*, MGH SS xvii.343: the duke 'was murdered by envoys of the Emperor Frederick'. Cf. *Hermannii Altahensis Annales*, MGH SS xvii.391. The Old Man of the Mountains was the leader of the Syrian Assassins, an extremist Shi'ite sect based in the Nosairi Mountains.

<sup>39</sup> A papal letter of 5<sup>th</sup> February 1232 suggests that this dispute arose from the archbishop (and his predecessors) pledging some of the chapter's property as security for loans from moneylenders, despite the fact that this property was supposedly formally separated from that of the archbishop, *Urkundenbuch für Niederrheins*, ii.92-3 no. 180.

sent out against him; the two fought and Richard was defeated; many knights from the imperial army were captured.<sup>40</sup>

Many heresies were uncovered in Germany, and heretics were punished in the flames. The archbishop of Cologne travelled to Rome, seeking to revoke an inquiry (*inquisitio*) that had been set in motion against him. This was suspended, and he returned after a few days, and thereafter this remained in abeyance.<sup>41</sup> In this year a conflict arose between the archbishop of Mainz and the landgrave of Thuringia.<sup>42</sup> A town called Fritzlar was burned down by the landgrave, and the bishop of Worms and all the canons of that town were captured, along with many other nobles.<sup>43</sup> A partial eclipse of the sun was seen after midday in that same year – this was not, however, of much note.<sup>44</sup>

The archbishop of Cologne crossed into Westphalia with an army, and after receiving the surrender of his enemies returned home in triumph. Although Waleran of Limburg and his supporters came to the help of these enemies, he was driven back and forced to withdraw by the bishop of Münster, across whose diocese he had tried to march.<sup>45</sup>

**In the year of the Lord 1233:** the emperor entered Messina, a city in Sicily, and after arresting its rebels, he burned them in the fire. It is an extraordinary thing, and something greatly to be wondered at that during these times fire so prevailed against the human race. For at almost the same time [both] the rebels in Sicily and an uncountable

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<sup>40</sup> Riccardo Filangieri, who was Frederick's appointed *bailli* in the kingdom of Jerusalem 1232-43.

<sup>41</sup> Gregory IX had written to Archbishop Henry on 12<sup>th</sup> December 1231, to reprove him for unspecified sins, and to inform him that he had commissioned the bishop of Lausanne, the archdeacon of Cambrai and the dean of the church of St. John at Liège to investigate. Subsequently, in July 1232, he sent a circular letter to the inhabitants of the diocese that an investigation of the archbishop was under way. What had given rise to this was not made clear, but a third letter, to Archbishop Dietrich of Trier in March 1233, ordering him to suspend Henry from administration of the temporalities of his see should he alienate any of its real property, suggests that it was disputes about this that were responsible, as well as the misappropriation of the chapter property noted above, MGH *Epistolae Saeculi XIII Selectae*, i.369-70 no. 459, 380-1 no. 472, 418 no. 520.

<sup>42</sup> Siegfried (III), Archbishop of Mainz 1230-49, and Herman, Landgrave of Thuringia 1227-41.

<sup>43</sup> Henry (II) of Saarbrücken, Bishop of Worms 1217-34.

<sup>44</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> October 1232.



number of men in Germany and many buildings perished through fire. For both because of genuine heresies and imagined ones, many people both noble and ignoble, clerics, monks, (female) recluses, burgesses and peasants were condemned throughout Germany to be punished by burning by a certain Brother Conrad, and it is right to say through very hasty sentences. On the very day someone was accused, whether justly or unjustly, that person was condemned and thrown into the cruel flames, with no right of appeal, and being unable to make any sort of defence to save himself. For this reason Brother Conrad, the author of this persecution of heretics, was slain near Marburg by certain noblemen who could find no opportunity of pardon or grace from him.<sup>46</sup> A little while before his death the count of Sayn was falsely charged with heresy, and King Henry held a court where many princes were present at Mainz for his expurgation or defence.<sup>47</sup> The king also mustered troops there, and [then] marched against the duke of Bavaria. Almost six thousand knights were to be found in the royal army on the Lechfeld near Augsburg. Within a short time of his setting out, the king overran Bavaria and received the duke's surrender.

In this year the crops and vintage were much affected by rain. There was plenty of wine, but it was horrid. And in the same year there was a much harsher winter than normal, which froze many vines, figs and olives throughout Italy, France and Germany. The king held a solemn court at Frankfurt where the count of Sayn purged himself from the crime of heresy.

**In the year of the Lord 1234:** the word of the Cross was preached against the Stedinger throughout the lower parts of Germany and Flanders. When this whole army of Crusaders had been mustered, the Stedinger were defeated on the eve of Ascension Day, and completely eradicated from their land. These Stedinger were people living in the

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<sup>45</sup> Presumably Waleram, eldest son of Henry IV of Limburg, later Duke Waleram V (d. 1279), although he must at this time have been still only a young man; his opponent was Ludolf of Holte, Bishop of Münster 1226-47.

<sup>46</sup> On 30<sup>th</sup> July 1233.

<sup>47</sup> July 1233: there is a fuller account of this in the *Gestorum Treverorum Continuatio IV*, MGH SS xxiv.402, according to which Archbishop Dietrich of Trier proclaimed the count's innocence of the charges, despite Conrad's objections. It is probable that the count, who according to the Trier source was

border region between Frisia and Saxony, an area of trackless marshes surrounded by rivers, who had for many years remained excommunicate for their crimes and for refusing to pay tithes, and were considered to be contemptuous of the keys of the Church. But since they were valiant men, although they fought many wars with their neighbours, they were often victorious, even over counts and bishops, and were rarely defeated. Because of this the word of the Cross was preached against them by papal authority through many dioceses. Some two thousand of them perished in the aforesaid battle, while the few survivors fled to the neighbouring Frisians.

The emperor was summoned by the pope to assist him against the Romans, and he stayed with him at Rieti for a little while, after mustering his troops at the city of Viterbo. The Romans suffered their attacks and plundering on a daily basis, and not long afterwards they made peace with the pope. However, a certain Swabian nobleman called the count of Vaihingen perished in this conflict, but many of the Roman nobles were captured.

In this year the count of Holland was suffocated in a tournament at Corbie in the diocese of Amiens.<sup>48</sup> The count of Jülich and his accomplices laid siege to the castle of Mülnarken, as a result of their hatred of the archbishop of Cologne.<sup>49</sup> The count of Sayn raised a strong force, and along with the archbishop sought out those who were besieging the castle. The besiegers abandoned the castle and drew up their battle line against him. Although both sides were drawn up ready for battle near the village of Nörvenich, and remained there for a long time, they [eventually] made peace after lengthy negotiations. The siege of the castle was [thus] lifted.

King Henry held a meeting with various of the princes at Boppard, where he received counsel from certain evil men that he should place himself in opposition to his father the emperor, which is that he did. Thereafter he began to canvass whomever he

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alleged to be 'a man of great cruelty', was one of the murderers: see Halbekann, *Die älteren Grafen von Sayn*, pp.386-7.

<sup>48</sup> Florenz IV, Count of Holland 1223-34, who a few weeks earlier had been one of the leaders of the army that had crushed the Stedinger.

could for assistance against his father, through threats, prayer and bribery, and he found not a few [who were willing to help him].

**In the year of the Lord 1235:** the emperor came from Apulia to Aquileia. Then he entered Germany through Austria with a great crowd [accompanying him] and many treasures. He found his son the king in rebellion, but the latter was powerless, and after taking advice he was received back into his father's grace at Worms on 2<sup>nd</sup> July; but he did not fulfil what he had promised, nor did he resign the castle of Trifels, which he held in his power, and so on the order of his father the emperor he was arrested.

At this time and on the emperor's request, the sister of the king of England was brought from England by the archbishop of Cologne and the duke of Brabant, so that she should marry this same emperor. She was honourably received by all the citizens and towns through which she happened to pass, but the citizens of Cologne welcomed her with even greater rejoicing [than the others] on the fifth day before Pentecost.<sup>50</sup> She dwelt with them in the house of the provost of St. Geroen for a whole month, being treated with great munificence. Then departing, she was handed over to the emperor at Worms, where the imperial marriage was celebrated with proper ceremony. The emperor persuaded the princes not to lavish extravagant gifts on jesters as was customary, considering it the height of madness if anyone should foolishly waste his goods on games and jesters.

A most notable court was convened at Mainz on the Assumption of the Blessed Mary,<sup>51</sup> at which almost all the princes of the kingdom of Germany attended. Peace was sworn, old rights were confirmed, new ones were decreed, and these were published for everybody on parchment in the German language; the crimes of the king against the emperor were [also] made manifest to everyone. Otto of Lüneburg, grandson of the great duke Henry, was promoted to be a new duke and prince. The emperor requested that this day be inscribed in all the annals, because he had strengthened the Roman Empire by

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<sup>49</sup> William IV, Count of Jülich 1218-78: for Mülmarken, above note 14.

<sup>50</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> May.

<sup>51</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> August.

creating the new prince, which was done with the consent of all the [other] princes.<sup>52</sup> This took place on St. Timothy's eve. On St. Timothy's Day, that is the Octave of the Assumption, the emperor wore his imperial crown in the church of Mainz, in the presence of almost all the princes, whom he treated with appropriate honour. After the celebration of the mass he invited all the princes, and all of their counts, to a banquet, which had been prepared with great expense in the open air.<sup>53</sup> Not long afterwards the archbishop of Besançon ended his days at Mainz.

In these times the king of Hungary invaded Austria, and after having devastated that land he received many thousands of marks from the duke in return for peace. For this same duke had not long before ravaged the borders of Hungary, sparing no one, of whatever gender or age.<sup>54</sup>

On the feast of All Saints the emperor held a meeting of the princes at Augsburg, at which the king of Bohemia was present. He received 10,000 marks from the emperor in return for that part of Swabia which belonged to his wife by hereditary right.<sup>55</sup> The emperor then took himself to the town of Hagenau, where he spent the winter. The count of Toulouse and the Count of Provence were present there, and the count of Toulouse received the march of Provence from the emperor, rendering homage to him.<sup>56</sup> The count of Provence, who was in his fifties, was raised by the emperor to the rank of knighthood, for the first time, since the counts his relatives believed that they would not live for very long after they had received the rank of knighthood. Nor would he even then have been made a knight, had not the king of France and the king of England, each of whom had taken one of his daughters as his wife, had not forced him to do this by insistent requests, thinking it unworthy that their father-in-law was not a knight.<sup>57</sup> The envoys of the queen of Spain were also present, who brought Caesar most handsome warhorses and [other]

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<sup>52</sup> Despite this, relatively few annalistic sources recorded this event; among those which did are the *Annales Stadenses*, MGH SS xvi.362.

<sup>53</sup> 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1235.

<sup>54</sup> Bela IV, King of Hungary 1235-70, and Frederick, Duke of Austria 1230 -46.

<sup>55</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> November 1235. Wenceslaus I, King of Bohemia 1230-53, was married to Cunigunda, second daughter of Philip of Swabia.

<sup>56</sup> Raymond VII, Count of Toulouse 1222-49.

magnificent presents. Not long afterwards the death of this queen was announced to the emperor, which he much lamented, since she was his cousin on his father's side.<sup>58</sup>

After Easter in this year three silver circles of huge size appeared around the sun, of which the first enclosed another next to it, and the third cut across the other two, crossing the body of the sun. Although these circles were thought by the people to be a prodigy, the reason for them was explained by Aristotle and by Seneca in his book on Meteors.

In this same year Constantinople was besieged by the Greeks.

**In the year of the Lord 1236:** setting into motion his war with the Lombards who had rebelled against him, the emperor sent out an advance force of five hundred knights, hired for monthly wages, whose leader was Gerhard of Arnstein, a nobleman who was experienced in warlike matters. He was to wait at Verona for the emperor's army which would follow. The emperor meanwhile descended as far as a castle called Marburg, where on 1<sup>st</sup> May a vast crowd of people gathered. Twelve hundred thousand people of both genders were estimated by many prudent persons to have gathered there to commemorate the holy widow Elizabeth, whose glorious body was translated to a golden reliquary on the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, who entrusted this matter to three bishops, those of Mainz, Trier and Hildesheim, although many other bishops and princes were present there.<sup>59</sup> First of all, the emperor raised the lid of the sarcophagus and placed a golden crown from his treasury on the head of the most holy widow. Among many other miracles [that took place], oil flowed from the holy body, which was piously and

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<sup>57</sup> Louis IX of France had married Margaret, daughter of Count Raymond Berengar V of Provence in May 1234, and Henry III of England had married her sister Eleanor in January 1236.

<sup>58</sup> Beatrice, youngest daughter of Philip of Swabia, had married King Ferdinand III of Castile in 1219. She died on 5<sup>th</sup> November 1236.

<sup>59</sup> Elizabeth (1207-31), daughter of King Andrew II of Hungary, and widow of Ludwig IV, Landgrave of Thuringia, who had died in 1227, with whom she had had three children. She was a patron of the Franciscans, and died after a widowhood devoted to charity, austerity and privation, encouraged by her confessor Conrad of Marburg; she was immediately the subject of a popular cult. The three prelates entrusted with supervising the translation were Siegfried (III) of Eppstein, Archbishop of Mainz 1230-49; Dietrich (II) of Wied, Archbishop of Trier 1212-42; and Conrad (II) of Riesenber, Bishop of Hildesheim 1221-46.

wisely distributed under the supervision of the brothers of the Hospital of the Teutons to religious men, that they might build basilicas and altars in honour of the blessed widow Elizabeth. A history was written about her praiseworthy life and particular virtues.<sup>60</sup>

The emperor then came to Coblenz, and summoned the knighthood of the lower districts<sup>61</sup> [to serve] against the Lombards, but few joined him; he [then] summoned the knights of Swabia and Alsace. Since he was leading his army against the Lombards, he delegated to the king of Bohemia, the duke of Bavaria and various bishops the task of invading the land of the duke of Austria, on account of the many crimes and misdeeds which the duke was rumoured to have committed.<sup>62</sup> They entered Austria, where they were joined by some of the nobles of that land, whom this duke had previously and unjustly persecuted and exiled from his territory. They ravaged the whole of Austria and made it subject to the emperor, part from a handful of strongly-fortified castles, to which the duke fled and took refuge. Meanwhile, coming to Augsburg the emperor mustered a force of knights on the Lechfeld, from which he set off on St. James's eve,<sup>63</sup> taking a thousand knights with him to Italy.

After crossing the Alps, he mustered his troops at Verona, where he remained outside the walls for more than a month. From there, he joined with the people of Cremona, who were his supporters, although the Milanese and their allies resisted him in vain, and fled from the imperial army, and together with the Cremonesi he attacked Mantua, which was in rebellion against him, ravaging the whole of its territory outside the walls. He also captured two of its townships (*burgi*), strongly situated by the River Oglio, one of which was called Mercaria and the other Mosio. While the emperor was staying at Cremona, the people of Padua, Treviso and Vicenza, all of whom were hostile to the emperor, as well as the Mantuans, invaded the territory of Verona, and laid siege to the castle of Rivalta. As a result Ezzelino, a soldier who was one of the most important

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<sup>60</sup> This may refer to the *vita* written by Caesarius of Heisterbach, or to its source, a now-lost text written by a group of nuns.

<sup>61</sup> That is the lower Rhineland.

<sup>62</sup> The emperor's charges against the duke of Austria were publically proclaimed at Augsburg in June 1236, MGH *Constitutiones* ii.269-73 no. 201.

<sup>63</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> July.

men of Verona, sent messengers to beg the emperor for help; and the latter responded that he would come in person to render assistance. Hence he marched with his army at great speed from Cremona to Verona in the space of a day and a night. The next morning the emperor moved his camp against the enemy. The latter were astonished by this quite unexpected appearance of the imperial banners, and abandoning their tents they retreated in haste to their own lands.

However the emperor ‘believing nothing has been done when something remains to be done’,<sup>64</sup> and anticipating the march of his enemies, came to the city of Vicenza. The people there first rashly welcomed his knights as though they were their own citizens, although afterwards they posed a vain resistance. He set fire to the city, and the people fled to the cathedral in the hope that they would find safety therein. The fires eventually died down, and the emperor occupied the city in peace, and spent the night in the bishop’s house. Having thus settled his affairs in Lombardy, and left part of his army [there], the emperor retraced his steps and made his way to Austria, where he spent the winter at the noble city of Vienna. He wisely ordered the government of this same land, which he had recently made subject, and strengthened his own men [there].

**In the year of the Lord 1237:** the Patriarch of the eastern Jacobites, a man notable for his learning, conduct and age, came to Jerusalem, accompanied by a crowd of archbishops, bishops and monks of his people. The brothers of the Order of Preachers explained the Catholic faith to him to such effect that during the solemn procession that he customarily made descending from the Mount of Olives on Palm Sunday he swore obedience to the Holy Roman Church, renouncing all heresy, and entrusting his written confession to these same brothers, in Chaldeian and Arabic, as a permanent record. In private, he even received the habit of the Friars Preacher. This same patriarch rules over the Chaldeans, Medes, Persians and Armenians, whose lands the Tartars have in large part ravaged, and his prelateship extends into other kingdoms to such an extent that seventy provinces render obedience to him. Countless Christians live in these provinces, however [they do this] as servants and tributaries of the Saracens, apart from monks, who

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<sup>64</sup> Lucan, *Pharsalia*, II.657.

are freed from tribute. There are two archbishops who follow the same rite, the Jacobite one in Egypt and the other the Nestorian one of the east – they also have prelates and subjects dwelling in Syria and Phoenicia. Japhet (*Jafelinus*) who rules over all those whom the Nestorian hereasy has separated from the Church also promised to do this. His jurisdiction (*prelatio*) stretches over India and through the kingdom of Prester John and that of the Eastern Magus next to it. The patriarch of the Egyptian Jacobites, who are much more in error than those of the east, since they practice circumcision, promised to do this [too], having banned circumcision and abandoned many of their errors. To him is subject greater India, Ethiopia, Libya and Egypt; the Ethiopians and Libyans are not, however, subject to the Saracens. The Maronites who live in Lebanon returned a long time ago to the unity of the faith. Only the Greeks persevere in their malice, blaspheming our sacraments. Some time earlier brother Jordan, the Master of the Order of the Preachers, died in a shipwreck while returning from foreign parts, along with two other brothers and almost ninety other persons. His body was washed up on the shores of Barbary, where the Lord worked glorious miracles through him.<sup>65</sup>

In this same year the Emperor Frederick travelled from Austria up to Regensberg, and summoned the princes to a diet at Speyer. When various of the princes gathered there, they were invited to a banquet by him. He eventually obtained their approval for the designation of his son Conrad, who was still a boy, as king, which had first been done in Austria.<sup>66</sup> While he was at Vienna he had annexed the duchy of Austria and Styria to the Roman Empire; the value of these exceeding sixty thousand marks a year.<sup>67</sup>

In this same year the Templars overseas, who wished to regain a certain castle bordering the land of Aleppo that belonged to them but was under siege by the Saracens decided of their own free will to ravage the land of Aleppo. A great host of Saracens attacked them, and during this battle they slew around a hundred of them. As a result they

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<sup>65</sup> Jordan of Saxony, second Master-General of the Dominican Order 1221-37.

<sup>66</sup> Conrad was elected king in February 1237: the electors were named as the archbishops of Mainz, Trier and Salzburg, the bishops of Bamberg, Freising, Passau and Regensburg, the king of Bohemia, the dukes of Bavaria and Carinthia, and Landgrave Henry of Thuringia, MGH *Constitutiones*, ii.439-41 no. 329.

<sup>67</sup> One manuscript adds: 'But afterwards he returned this duchy to the duke of Austria, when he received the latter back into his grace'. This was in June 1240.



sent a letter to the emperor, begging him to assist in the redemption of their brothers, but the latter is said to have paid little attention to their petition.<sup>68</sup>

Crossing the Alps, the emperor immediately secured the surrender of the men of Mantua and the count of S. Bonifacio. Thereafter, having mustered a large army from Tuscany, the Romagna and Lombardy, as well as many Saracens, he invaded the territory of the men of Brixen and besieged a castle called Montechiaro, which lies near Brixen. He destroyed this castle, and made 1500 people prisoner. Moving on, he captured many other castles. Finally, while he was besieging a castle called Pontevico, the Milanese and their allies boldly hastened with a strong force and with their *carroccio*, carefully guarded, to oppose the emperor.<sup>69</sup> But although peace negotiations took place here, this work was in vain, and the emperor wanted to fight them. However, the pathless and marshy terrain which lay between them [at first] prevented his approach to them. So the emperor secretly had a bridge built over the River Oglio, which he crossed while feigning a retreat [elsewhere], and he attacked the Milanese who were wishing to return home, and cut down those who remained all unaware in their camp. The Milanese resisted fiercely, and the slaughter lasted until dusk. Night brought the battle to an end. About five thousand soldiers had congregated around the *carroccio*, but during the night these men fled through fear of the emperor, abandoning the *carroccio* and many wagons. The townsmen from a place called Cortenuova similarly fled through the night with them, abandoning their town.<sup>70</sup> When morning came, the emperor found the field empty, and he captured the *carroccio* and the Milanese *podestà*, who was the son of the Doge of the Venetians.<sup>71</sup> He brought his prisoner to Cremona, riding in this same carriage as part of his triumphant procession. Ten thousand of the enemy were either taken prisoner, killed or drowned in the River Oglio during this battle. Very few men on the emperor's side

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<sup>68</sup> This rather confused account refers to the defeat of a Templar force of 120 knights led by the Grand Master Armand of Périgord which was trying to clear the territory between Athlit and Acre of Muslim raiders. Other accounts suggest only the Grand Master and nine knights escaped the battle, Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge 1994), pp. 137-8.

<sup>69</sup> The *carroccio* was the wagon on which the city's banner flew, which acted as a rallying point for the army.

<sup>70</sup> The Battle of Cortenuova took place on 27<sup>th</sup> November 1237; detailed discussion by Van Cleve, *Frederick II*, pp. 404-8.

<sup>71</sup> Pietro Tiepolo son of Giacomo Tiepolo (doge 1229-49): he was later hanged at Trani in 1240 as a reprisal for Venetian naval raids on Apulia, below p. 31.

perished. The emperor sent the *carroccio* to Rome as a symbol and in memory of this triumph. He spent Christmas at Pavia, and some cities came there to surrender, notably Lodi and Vercelli.

In this same year on St. Albinus's day <sup>72</sup> a vast flock of pigeons ravaged the vines, plants and crops in many places, and especially near Cologne. Some people also claimed that they had seen a stone half a cubit long and four fingers thick. This was also followed in many places, and particularly in Westphalia, by a high wind which uprooted trees, destroyed houses and crushed horses and some men. The tower which the venerable Archbishop Engelbert had built in front of the castle of Thuron was captured through trickery by the partisans of the count palatine. <sup>73</sup> Winter returned, with wind, snow and unseasonal rain.

During this same winter, around the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, <sup>74</sup> the count of Kleves invaded the archbishopric of Cologne with an army borne by ship, in support of the count of Holland, and he captured and destroyed the archbishop's castle of Aspel, near Rees, through the treason of its castellan. <sup>75</sup> The archbishop quickly mustered a force of picked troops and hastened to drive out the enemy through a surprise attack. But through the mediation and on the urgent plea of the count of Geldern, he agreed to receive the surrender of this same count of Kleves, receiving a substantial pledge (*cautio*) from him that he would render satisfaction for the harm done and that his castle would be rebuilt and much improved.

Many conflicts arose at this time, even in Lent, in the provinces of Cologne, Trier and Mainz, and especially within the diocese of Liège, as a result of which there were

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<sup>72</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> March 1238, remembering that for the chronicler the New Year began on Lady Day, 15<sup>th</sup> March.

<sup>73</sup> Duke Otto II of Bavaria, who had become Count Palatine of the Rhine in 1214, after the death without children of the previous incumbent Henry, of the Welf family. For Thuron, see above p. 7, anno 1225.

<sup>74</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1238.

<sup>75</sup> Dietrich V, Count of Kleves 1193-1260, was a cousin of William II, count of Holland (the later king of Germany), although since the latter was only 10 years old in 1237-8, it was his family rather than him directly who were at odds with the archbishop.

many warlike raids, with much plundering and arson. Towards the end of this same Lent Archbishop Henry of Cologne died.<sup>76</sup>

[The 'fifth continuation' begins at this point]

**In the year of the Lord 1238:** at this time Bishop John of Liège died,<sup>77</sup> and part of the canons elected the provost of Aachen, Otto, while another part postulated William, who had similarly been elected bishop of Valence. Then the *electi* Conrad of Cologne<sup>78</sup> and Otto of Liège travelled across the Alps to the camp of the Emperor Frederick, who was besieging the city of Brescia about the feast of St. John the Baptist,<sup>79</sup> and having received the *regalia* from him, they returned home without delay. The emperor, however, besieged Brescia throughout the summer, and then abandoned the siege and spent the winter at Cremona and places nearby. The pope sent many bishops to the emperor, warning him to refrain from injuries to churches, and especially towards the Roman church. The emperor asked to have these injuries explained to him individually, and posed responses to these charges. He had his replies, as well as the charges, recorded in writing, and these documents were afterwards distributed through Germany and heard [there].

**In the year of the Lord 1239.** The Emperor Frederick was excommunicated by Pope Gregory on Palm Sunday, for many and compelling reasons, notwithstanding the excuses or replies that the emperor had made, as mentioned above. The pope then sent out letters proclaiming the excommunication into every region. He also sent the Bishop of Palestrina as his legate to Gaul, who for fear of the emperor changed his plan, entered the kingdom of France, and proclaimed on the instructions of the Roman pope to transfer the imperial throne, which was alleged to be vacant, from the Germans to the Gauls, by soliciting the king of France to receive this.<sup>80</sup> However, when the king of the French refused this, the legate similarly solicited various other kings and princes, all of whom,

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<sup>76</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> March 1238.

<sup>77</sup> John of Eppes, Bishop of Liège 1229-38.

<sup>78</sup> Conrad, son of Count Lothar of Hochstaden, archbishop of Cologne 1238-61.

<sup>79</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> June.

after discussing the matter carefully, refused this because of the greatness of the emperor. Before this time the pope had sent Master Otto, cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano, to England to promote this same matter in advance.<sup>81</sup> This cardinal was reported to have cleverly sought and obtained a vast amount of money from the clergy and monks [there]. The pope also despatched Sinibaldo to warn Ravenna away from the emperor, to whom it had formerly been most faithful.<sup>82</sup> The emperor, however, sent letters to all the cathedral churches and Christian kings, claiming that he had been unjustly excommunicated by the pope.

In this same year Conrad, [archbishop]-elect of Cologne, became involved in a dispute with the Count of Sayn.<sup>83</sup> The count had raised an army on the far bank of the Rhine, but the elect of Cologne stationed himself at Bonn and prevented him from crossing the Rhine into his own land. The citizens of Cologne came in haste to Bonn with many ships, well-armed and equipped, to help the [archbishop]-elect, and because of their unexpected arrival the war that had arisen about the lordship of the elect quietened down for a time. A few days passed with deceit and dissimulation, and then the [archbishop]-elect set off for Rome, with few people knowing [that he had]. There he was confirmed by the pope, and he returned home in the month of June, along with William, who had been postulated to Liège, who had similarly been confirmed. With the nobility of the region rising in revolt against this same elect, he forcibly seized the castle of Deutz, with the citizens of Cologne helping him, and captured and destroyed the towers of the count of Berg, through means of two great ships of wonderful workmanship, which had been equipped with towers and bridges. Rebuilding all the towers of the castle that had fallen down through age and garrisoning them with his men, he similarly fortified the tower of St. Heribert. Troops were massed there, and the duke of Limburg, who is [also] the count of Berg, did not dare to attack the elect and his knights,<sup>84</sup> and the men of Cologne, who

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<sup>80</sup> James (Giacomo) of Pecorara, from Piacenza, Cardinal bishop of Palestrina 1231-44, formerly Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Trois-Fontaines, Paravacini Bagliani, *Cardinali*, pp. 114-23.

<sup>81</sup> See above note 28.

<sup>82</sup> Sinibaldo Fieschi, from Genoa, cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucina 1227, pope 1243-54 as Innocent IV.

<sup>83</sup> Henry III, Count of Sayn (d. 1246/7) [above note 35]; Halbekann, *Die älteren Grafen von Sayn*, pp. 90-3 for his dispute with Archbishop Conrad.

<sup>84</sup> For Henry IV, Duke of Limburg, see above note 34.

were spread around the castle and were fearlessly waiting for their adversaries there. The elect then crossed part of the land of the count of Berg with a strong force and invaded the land of the count of Sayn. The duke and count were terrified by his coming, and made peace with him, which they confirmed on oath and with sealed documents.

However, the duke of Brabant <sup>85</sup> claimed that the peace between the elect and the said duke and count, to which he had previously agreed [also], had been violated by the elect, and he declared war on the latter, and not long afterwards put this into action. For he mustered about 8,000 warriors, both horse and foot, and invaded the land of the elect, plundering, robbing or burning all the estates belonging to churches through which he crossed. The duke of Limburg rendered him substantial assistance, although more as an abettor, to avoid being charged with violating the pledge he had given, nevertheless many people disapproved of his breach of faith and pretended oath. The duke of Brabant came to the town of Neuss, which he left unharmed, and then changed course, directing his battle lines towards Cologne with the intention of crossing with all his multitude [of followers], but he did not attempt anything against the city. The [archbishop]-elect, being most eager of spirit and never lacking much in audacity, charged out from one of the city gates with only a few knights, while the citizens did nothing, and made an audacious attack on the last division of the duke's army. After this attack, which led to bitter fighting both on the part of those moving by [the city] and those making the sortie, the duke passed onwards, leaving Cologne unharmed, but entered Bonn and set it on fire. Then after moving on to besiege the castle of Lechenich, he discovered that the archbishop-elect of Cologne had mustered a powerful army. As a result, both because his men were suffering from hunger and also terrified by the news of this threat, he retreated into Brabant. <sup>86</sup> The archbishop-elect, however, having raised a splendid force, and assisted by the archbishop of Mainz and the bishops of Münster and Osnabrück, <sup>87</sup> laid siege to the castle of Jülich and completely destroyed by fire the town around the castle. He then set his army in motion [once more] and burned and looted the lands of his

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<sup>85</sup> Henry II, duke of Brabant 1235-48.

<sup>86</sup> The author plays on the alliteration between *famis*, 'hunger', and *fama*, 'rumour' / 'intelligence' / 'news'.

<sup>87</sup> Siegfried [III] of Eppstein, Archbishop of Mainz 1230-49; Liudolf, Bishop of Münster 1226-47; Engelbert [I] of Isenberg, Bishop of Osnabrück 1239-50.

opponents. Destroying the castle called Berg, that was of the *Wallones*,<sup>88</sup> he marched to the castle of the duke of Limburg called Herzogenrath, where he burned down the suburbs and devastated the land round about. Then returning, he besieged a castle of the count of Jülich called Bergheim, and receiving its surrender, he set fire to it and destroyed it.<sup>89</sup> After doing this, he discharged his army. Afterwards the duke of Brabant returned once more with a strong force and laid siege to the castle of Randerath, belonging to Gerard, a supporter of the archbishop, and on its surrender he destroyed it by fire. Then he moved on to the castle of Daelham, which belonged to the count of Hochstaden, the nephew of the [archbishop]-elect, and after besieging it for ten days he received its surrender and garrisoned it with his men.<sup>90</sup> While this siege was going on, the archbishop-elect of Cologne established a fortress in the land of the count of Berg on this side of the Rhine, near a village called Medeme, where he placed his followers and ravaged the count's land all around.<sup>91</sup>

While this war was going on, the elect of Cologne was ordained to the priesthood by the bishop of Münster in the church of St. Peter at Cologne, and on the day of the Apostles Sts. Simon and Jude<sup>92</sup> he was consecrated to the episcopate by this same bishop. A little while later this same bishop entered the land of Waleran, known as 'Kuntzerlandt' and burned and ravaged everything around the castle of Montjoie and Daun.<sup>93</sup>

In this same year the emperor mustered an army and entered the territory of Milan. He brought the city of Como over to his side and conquered two *castra* of Milan, Siziano and Landriano. He then moved to a destroyed bridge of the men of Piacenza,

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<sup>88</sup> This might be translated 'of the Walloons' [French speakers]. but this makes little sense here. It may refer rather to the dynasty of Arlon, that is the family of the dukes of Limburg, who were descended from the counts of Arlon.

<sup>89</sup> Count William IV of Jülich [above note 49] was a first cousin of the duke of Limburg: his mother Matilda was the daughter of Duke Henry IV's grandfather, Henry III, duke 1167-1221.

<sup>90</sup> Daelham is on the Maas, between Liège and Utrecht. Dietrich, Count of Hochstaden (d. 1246).

<sup>91</sup> Cf. the *Annales Floroffenses*, ad. an. 1239, MGH SS xvi.627: 'At this time Conrad of Hochstaden ruled over the church of Cologne. He was a man distinguished by his high birth who was most active in warfare. He ravaged by fire not only the land of the duke of Limburg on the far side of the Rhine, but also that of his brother Waleran at Montjoie, and the land of the count of Jülich.'

<sup>92</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> October 1239.

<sup>93</sup> Waleran was the younger brother of Henry of Limburg. Daun is in the Eifel.

which leads across the River Po, but he lost many tents in a surprise flood that arose at night, and although his people were saved he suffered a huge loss of equipment.

In this year [too] Count Theobald of Champagne, who is King of Navarre, Richard the brother of the king of England, the count of Brittany, the count of Montfort and the count of Bar, with many nobles from Gaul, Spain, England and Germany, set out for the liberation of the Holy Land. They led their forces towards the fortress of Ascalon, having heard that Saracens were nearby, and they attacked them with their customary valour. But they were unluckily and unexpectedly defeated by them and their army was wretchedly annihilated. The count of Bar was captured there and later died, while the count of Montfort and many other nobles from Gaul were [also] captured.

**In the year of the Lord 1240**, the emperor returned to Apulia, and set about re-ordering his kingdom there. He collected money and enriched his treasury, and afterwards mustered a strong army. In the summer he hastened to Lombardy, and victoriously recovered Ravenna, which had deserted him. He also besieged Faenza, building new walls on a large scale around that town, and so confining the citizens who were trapped within that nobody could either enter or leave. He attempted to capture this town through ‘mines’ or underground tunnels, and many machines and siege engines, but the citizens resisted these efforts manfully, and for a long time he gained no advantage. He did, however, hang some seventy captured citizens in view of the town. At this same time the emperor captured three ships of the Venetians, from which he obtained booty to the value of seventy thousand marks. The Venetians were enraged by this, and they ravaged the coast of Apulia with their ships and burned three towns of the emperor. The emperor was roused to anger by this, and he hanged the son of the doge of Venice from a high tower at Trani, a city in Apulia, clad in leather, to ensure that his body later decayed and became an object lesson to those passing below. This man had been the *podestà* of the Milanese, and had been captured earlier during the conflict with Milan.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Pietro Tiepolo, who had been captured at the Battle of Cortenuova in 1237, above note 64.

In this year the archbishop of Cologne raised an army, and having [also] gathered a multitude of the citizens of Cologne he besieged the castle of Zülpich. His enemies, namely the count of Jülich and various nobles of that region led out a strong force against him, but various persons persuaded them to conclude a truce and a sworn peace was sealed. But it did not last for very long, and the archbishop of Cologne besieged the castle of Broich on the River Ruhr. At this time the emperor's son Conrad, who had been elected by a few of the princes as king of the Romans, came to Liège, and then on Palm Sunday he arrived at Cologne, where he decreed that there should be a truce between the lord archbishop of Cologne and his enemies, the nobles of that land, to last until Pentecost, when he would do justice to both parties at Frankfurt, if they had not [by then] come to an agreement. The archbishop not coming there, but sending envoys, whom the king did not consider suitable representatives, and on this pretext he was deemed to be in contempt, although it seemed excusable. Less predictably, the king lent assistance to his enemies, and because of this the war commenced once again. The duke of Brabant raised a large force, and along with the duke of Nancy and many others, both French and German he laid siege to the archbishop's castle of Lechenich, aided by the citizens of Aachen and other imperial supporters. Meanwhile the men of the count of Berg, joined by various men of the emperor, made an unexpected attack on the fortress that the archbishop had established near Medeme, captured it through treachery and destroyed it. However, the archbishop, behaving with his customary valour rather than doing what was sensible in this situation, faced his difficulties head on. He burned down the villages around the castle of Bensburg, even though he only had a few men, but was [then] surrounded by the men of the garrison and suffered a wound in the cheek. He still bravely resisted his enemies, manfully assisting his men in person, and he escaped, though not without losing some of his followers. And immediately after this he crossed the Rhine, and as if not unmindful of the past, but rather of his recent wound, he took up arms and daringly attacked a large number of the enemy near the castle of Bedburg with only a small force. Although the battle was fierce, the [consequent] fame lasted a long time because of the small number of his men, for [in this battle] Frederick of Ryfferscheidt, the lord of the castle, a noble and warlike man, was mortally wounded, and the archbishop led many others off as prisoners. While this was taking place, many knights



from Westphalia mustered to raise the siege of Lechenich.<sup>95</sup> But before their arrival a peace was concluded between the lord archbishop and the duke of Brabant and his allies, which was eventually confirmed and lasted. To consolidate this peace a sister of the lord archbishop was given in marriage to Adolf, the son of the count of Berg who is [also] duke of Limburg, and a half share in the castle of Deutz was assigned to this same Adolf in fief.<sup>96</sup> After this, dispute arose between the archbishop and the citizens of Cologne, because the latter had not remained staunch and faithful to the archbishop until the end of the war, in accordance with the promise that they had made to him at its start. Hence the men of Cologne prepared well-equipped ships of war to protect themselves. But the dispute was then settled, partly through the men of Cologne repeating their pledge, that they would provide assistance to the archbishop, an obligation that they had not previously entered into with his predecessors, and partly through money changing hands.

In this same year the archbishop of Magdeburg, the bishop of Halberstadt and the margrave of Meissen, invaded the land of the margrave of Brandenburg, which they plundered and burned.<sup>97</sup> However the margrave of Brandenburg launched a sudden attack on his enemies one evening as they were tired and pitching their tents; he wounded seventy knights of the archbishop of Magdeburg, captured the bishop of Halberstadt and put all the rest to flight.

**In the year of the Lord 1241.** After besieging Faenza for a long time, the emperor received its surrender after Easter, along with that of many men and fifty *castra*. He built a citadel and a palace in the city, and [then] summoned all the more noble people of Faenza to a banquet, where he made splendid provision for everyone, and they were reconciled one with another.

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<sup>95</sup> For the archbishop's summons to them, *Acta Imperii Inedita Saeculi XIII*, ed. E. Winkelmann (2 vols., Innsbruck 1880-5), i.532 no. 666.

<sup>96</sup> Adolf (VII), Count of Berg (d. 1259), younger son of Duke Henry IV of Limburg, married Margaret of Hochstaden (d. 1314). However, the original enfeoffment of the half-share in Deutz, on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1240, was made to his father rather than him, *Urkundenbuch für Niederrheins*, ii.128 no. 249.

<sup>97</sup> Wilbrand of Käfernberg, Archbishop of Magdeburg 1235-53; Ludolf (I) of Schladen, Bishop of Halberstadt 1236-41; Henry 'the noble', Margrave of Meissen 1221-88; John I, Margrave of Brandenburg 1220-66.

Around this time the bishop of Palestrina, the legate to Gaul, Cardinal Otto, the legate to England, and Gregory, notary of the Roman Curia and legate to Lombardy, met at Genoa, a city of Italy, and boarded twenty-five war galleys, intending to travel by sea to Rome. They were accompanied by many other bishops and abbots from Gaul and England, as well as many envoys of prelates, both from Germany and from other lands, and by a great company of Genoese citizens. Their intention was to attend a council at Rome, where they would discuss the plans put forward by the pope, so it was assumed, to free the Roman Church from the injuries inflicted upon it by the emperor, and to punish the emperor. But they fell victim to an ambush laid by the Pisans and by Henry, King of Sardinia, the natural son of the emperor, and were vanquished. Three galleys were sunk and twenty-two captured.<sup>98</sup> The three legates aforesaid and four thousand Genoese were taken prisoner, not counting many other abbots and religious persons, and envoys of great men, and an uncountable sum of money was also seized there. A letter from the emperor was sent to the people of Cologne concerning this [good] fortune his, which happened through the agreement of God, whose judgements are hidden from us. The emperor had recently sent another letter to these same citizens about the surrender of the city of Faenza, written in a flowery vocabulary and phraseology. The emperor then occupied Spoleto, a town of the pope, and also Benevento; he had already held Viterbo for some time before this, along with many other *castra* belonging to the pope.

In this year news came to us of a disaster menacing the Christian people with destruction, with the arrival of the Tartars. Our ears rang and hearts trembled with tales of their cruelty. This people, so it is said, had migrated from the furthest reaches of Scythia, way beyond the Sea of Azov,<sup>99</sup> had conquered many peoples both beyond the sea and this side of it, and had made the principalities of the Russians subject to them. Round about Lent of this year they entered Poland, laying waste to most of it with fire and plunder. The inhabitants were either killed or they fled, for this race always behaves with savage cruelty, sparing no order or religion. Duke Henry of Breslau, along with a certain

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<sup>98</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1241: there were some other Genoese galleys that did manage to escape. King Enzo of Sardinia may not have been present in person, though he intervened after the battle to protect the captives from ill-treatment.

other duke, went to meet them in battle, but was defeated after a brave fight, in which both dukes and many valiant knights were killed. They cut off the duke's head and took it away with them.<sup>100</sup> Leaving Poland, the aforesaid race entered Moravia, and what is quite incredible is that they covered four days' journey in the space of one day and a night, crossing fast-flowing rivers. They devastated Moravia, apart from the castles and fortified places. During their march they also crossed into the diocese of Meissen and slew many people there. Then, arriving at Hungary, they made common cause with the ferocious people of the Cumans and laid it waste with most bloody slaughter. The king of Hungary levied his troops and went to meet them, taking station on the bank of a certain river with a very powerful army. One night, just as it was growing light, the Tartars and Cumans cleverly crossed the river both above and below the army of the Hungarians and attacked it unexpectedly. They say that sixty thousand Hungarians were killed, and among those who perished were two bishops, and many Germans and Gauls, both nobles and common people.<sup>101</sup> The Tartars immediately ravaged all the rest of Hungary with beastly savagery, killing the people who did not flee.<sup>102</sup> Nor is this to be wondered at since there are almost no cities defended by walls or strong castles in the whole kingdom of Hungary. The king therefore fled and took himself to the duke of Austria, and afterwards he sent the bishop of Waitzen to the emperor seeking help,<sup>103</sup> promising to be subject to him in perpetuity if through his assistance he was able to recover his kingdom. Before and during this conflict many Friars Preacher and Minor fled from both Poland and Hungary, and they armed both clergy and laity throughout almost all Germany with the sign of the Cross against these barbarians. The emperor also wrote to the magnates of Germany, ordering them to make preparations to assist him, because he wished to bring

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<sup>99</sup> *Paludes Meothides*: the Sea of Azov was sometimes referred to as a lake in the Middle Ages, sometimes as marshes, doubtless because it is quite shallow.

<sup>100</sup> The battle of Liegnitz, 9<sup>th</sup> April 1241; the other duke assisting Henry II of Lower Silesia was Miesko of Oppeln. The Mongol army was led by Baidar, the grandson of Chingiz Khan.

<sup>101</sup> The battle on the Sajò river, against a different Mongol army, took place the day after that of Liegnitz, on 10<sup>th</sup> April 1241. The king of Hungary was Béla IV (ruled 1235-70). Five Hungarian prelates were killed, and the king's brother Kálmán later died of his wounds, Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West 1221-1410* (Harlow 2005), pp. 62-3.

<sup>102</sup> The *Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgensis*, MGH SS ix.788, alleged that such was the famine which the Mongol devastation created in Hungary cannibalism was widespread.

<sup>103</sup> Stephen (II), Bishop of Waitzen 1239-43.

help in person to the Christian people against the savagery of the barbarians.<sup>104</sup> The king, the emperor's son, the archbishop of Cologne and many nobles from Germany also assumed the sign of the life-giving Cross. No little fear of this barbarian people seized even more distant regions, not only Gaul but also Burgundy and Spain, to whom the name of the Tartars had previously been unknown. We hear many extraordinary, and quite inhuman, things about the origin, customs and food of the aforesaid barbarian people, which are still not fully known to us and which we shall refrain from writing down here until the full truth has been revealed to us about these matters. We shall then record them in a suitable place.<sup>105</sup>

In this year the landgrave Herman, the son of Elizabeth, died. He had repudiated the daughter of the emperor, to whom he was betrothed, and had married the daughter of the duke of Brunswick.<sup>106</sup> [Also] in this year, a tournament was held at Neuss after the Octave of Pentecost [26<sup>th</sup> May], in which nearly a hundred men died wretchedly, both nobles and knights of outstanding reputation, either from the heat of the air or suffocated by the dust. Some people think that this resulted rather from divine punishment than life being extinguished through exhaustion or having happened because of the intemperance of the air.

On 11<sup>th</sup> July of this same year, after nightfall, a fiery figure like a dragon was seen to fly in the air for the space of an hour from its appearance to disappearance. It had a large and brilliant head, a thick and elongated body, with a slender red tail, the length of which seemed to extend to forty cubits. This figure of a dragon was seen at Cologne to cross the Rhine, and it appeared to other people living in Westphalia and elsewhere; but whatever region or place they were in it still took the same form. Not long afterwards a

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<sup>104</sup> MGH *Constitutiones*, ii.322-5 no. 235 (20<sup>th</sup> June 1241), in which the emperor also appealed for Christian unity, and called for an end to the campaign against him by the pope.

<sup>105</sup> This discussion of the Mongols was quite matter of fact compared with some other contemporary Christian comments: the reference to what the author has heard about the Mongols' way of life may anticipate what he learned from Friar Benedict in 1247 [see below], Peter Jackson, 'Medieval Christendom's encounter with the alien', *Historical Research* 74 (2001), 353

<sup>106</sup> Herman II, Landgrave of Thuringia 1227-41, the son of St. Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1233), married Helena, daughter of Duke Otto I of Brunswick.

fiery shape appeared, of no small size, arising around sunset and flying about, then quickly disappearing.

In this same year Pope Gregory died around the middle of August, and the Apostolic See remained vacant until November, with the cardinals being unable to agree, even though they were enclosed [together] as if they were strictly imprisoned. Finally they elected Cardinal Goffredo, of the Milanese nation, who was called Celestine IV, and who ruled for eleven days.<sup>107</sup> After his death the see remained vacant for a year and eight months, while the cardinals quarrelled and refused to make an election until Otto and James, the two cardinals whom the emperor had taken captive as they were returning from their legations and still held prisoner were returned to them.

In this same year the archbishops of Cologne and Mainz made an alliance with each other,<sup>108</sup> and despite the open opposition of the emperor, or rather his men, they moved an army into the imperial territory called Wetterau, next to the River Möhne, and there they burned and plundered many wealthy villages. Charging the emperor with notorious and grave crimes, they also denounced him publicly as an excommunicate because of his crimes of this sort. They put this reason forward as an excuse for themselves, although some people paid little attention to it, that with the Roman see vacant and the election of a pope hindered by the emperor, they themselves, as faithful and influential sons of their mother, the desolate Roman Church, were rendered vulnerable. Thus they ought properly to take up arms against the emperor, to punish him for the injuries of the Church.

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<sup>107</sup> Goffredo Castiglione, cardinal priest of S. Marco 1227, papal legate in Lombardy 1228-9, and cardinal bishop of Sabina 1238, who died on 10<sup>th</sup> November 1241 after a pontificate of seventeen (not eleven) days. He was an elderly compromise candidate, whose health was undermined by the rigours of the conclave, Paravacini Bagliani, *Cardinali*, pp. 32-9.

<sup>108</sup> The sworn pledge of Siegfried of Mainz to assist his fellow archbishop in the dispute between pope and emperor, and not to desert him, was dated 10<sup>th</sup> September 1241, *Urkundenbuch für Niederrheins*, ii.131-2 no. 257.

**In the year 1242**, the imperial partisans in the diocese of Cologne gained Count William of Jülich for their party through money.<sup>109</sup> He gathered his troops and ravaged the villages of the archbishopric of Cologne stretching as far as Bonn. As he was returning, the archbishop of Cologne, who had hastily obtained help, and intercepted him near the village of Merk.<sup>110</sup> And since he had been forced to enter the war when he had been at peace, the count was afraid, and when night fell he and his knights slunk away. When they became aware of this, the knights and citizens of Aachen also fled, leaving behind some of the infantry, their wagons and baggage, all of which was captured by the archbishop's army and plundered. Only a little while later the archbishop mustered his troops and attacked the land of the count of Jülich. The count and various other nobles and imperial supporters gathered their strength and went to meet him, determined to conquer or die, and they fought outside the castle of Lechenich. There, after a most fierce battle and long resistance, the archbishop was captured, and some of his knights with him. Despite what one might think, in a battle fought with such ferocity on each side no person of note and only a very few commoners were killed, apart from the bailiff of Aachen, who was wounded there and died soon afterwards, and Roger the castellan of Wolckenburg, who was wounded and captured, and passed away a few days later.<sup>111</sup> The archbishop and his fellow prisoners were held under guard in the castle of Niedeggen. While he was held in captivity, Conrad, the emperor's son who called himself king, came to Trier where many nobles were present, and the leading men (*priores*) of Cologne begged for the release of their captive lord, though without effect. After the king had gone to Liège to assist the bishop-elect Otto, he came to Cologne during Lent and tried to confiscate the archiepiscopal income, but the leading men of Cologne and the magnates of the region prevented him doing this, and the king returned to his own territory without achieving [what he wanted].

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<sup>109</sup> His alliance with the citizens of Aachen, to support Frederick II, was concluded on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1241, and noted that he had received 50 marks 'to the augmentation of his fief' from the emperor, *Urkundenbuch für Niederrheins*, ii.134 no. 260.

<sup>110</sup> Near Brühl, 15km. south of Cologne.

<sup>111</sup> John *scultetus* (mayor/bailiff) of Aachen was one of those recorded in the treaty with the count of Jülich (above).

On the day after All Saints in this same year, after a lot of discussion and on the urging of good men, and also not without having received a great deal of money for the expenses of the war from the captive archbishop, the count of Jülich took the sensible decision and freed him.<sup>112</sup>

In that same year Henry IV, abbot of our monastery of St. Pantaleon, died. There was a disputed election, celebrated in discord, but through the mercy of the Father agreement was reached and Herman, a monk of this monastery, succeeded him.

**In the year of the Lord 1243.** The Emperor Frederick sent some men of Faenza, who were once again in rebellion, into exile, and leaving there he entered Tivoli. From there he despatched his knights and attacked the Romans, right up to the gates of the City.

Meanwhile the lord archbishop explained the circumstances of his captivity to the leading men and clergy, and urged and begged them to grant him a subvention as a favour. The leading men and the clergy considered that his petition was for good reason (*ex evidenti causa*), and they gave a tithe of all their ecclesiastical revenues for one year as a subsidy for the archbishop, and in the following year a twentieth of these same revenues.

In this year the castle of Deutz was bought with a large sum of money by the citizens and was razed to the ground, because it was a threat to the city of Cologne; although this threat might seem to have been necessary for the citizens, just as a good teacher is need for his pupils. The leading men indeed regretted this, but the archbishop and the count of Berg were quite ready to grant consent to the sale, for since they held the castle divided between them and neither was in full possession, they regarded it as of no account. O how great it is to be so careless about one's property! What an extraordinary changeability! That we should see a mighty castle, that had fifteen towers round its curtain walls, not counting the main keep and intervening sentry posts, an ancient work,

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<sup>112</sup> For the agreement and peace treaty between the two, in which the archbishop promised to pay the count 4000 marks, and provided him with hostages until he had done so, *Urkundenbuch für Niederrheins*, ii.139-41 no. 270.

strongly fortified and admirable both for its skilful construction and its size, levelled to the ground in a time of peace when no disturbance was threatening it.<sup>113</sup> This same archbishop had, not long before its destruction, repaired with great effort and expense some of the buildings that were falling down with age, and had added new buildings to the work of the men of old, rendering it lasting and clearly more remarkable. It was widely said that this castle of Deutz was first founded and built by Julius Caesar. It was also claimed that the course time rendered it ruinous through age and that at the time of the Emperor Constantine it was repaired and improved by the princes of the region in his honour, and that several inscriptions carved in the stones of its towers prove this. Afterwards, in the time of Otto the Great, the first emperor, it is claimed that this same castle, having lain partly in ruins for a long time, [was rebuilt] through the energy and wisdom of Archbishop Bruno of Cologne, the brother of this same emperor.<sup>114</sup> Then under the Emperor Henry II, and at the request of the blessed Heribert, at that time Archbishop of Cologne, it was generously granted for the building of a monastery of black monks of the order of St. Benedict, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>115</sup> The fortress that was later built at the time of Archbishop Conrad, as has been described, occupied part of the precinct of this monastery. But with the castle utterly destroyed, the area which belonged to the monastery returned to the form and use of a religious house.

In this same year the archbishop of Cologne marched with a strong force against the count of Kleves, to keep his insolence in check and force him to stop extorting a toll at Orsoy on the Rhine. The archbishop purchased the castle of Holthe, as a precaution to resist the attacks of this same count, if he were to renew them later.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Archbishop Conrad recorded that he had ordered the destruction of the walls and towers of Deutz, and the citizens' cash pledge, as well as the consent of Duke Henry of Limburg, Count of Berg [above note 30] and his wife and son to this, on 21<sup>st</sup> November 1242, *Urkundenbuch für Niederrheins*, iv.801-2 no. 663.

<sup>114</sup> This sentence only makes sense if a clause is inserted. Bruno, younger brother of Otto I was archbishop of Cologne and duke of Lotharingia 953-65. This account of the history of Deutz was taken from Rupert of Deutz, *De Incendio Tuitensi*, c. 8, MGH SS xii.632-3. Perhaps surprisingly, it does not mention the disastrous fire that destroyed the monastery in August 1128, to describe which Rupert had written his account.

<sup>115</sup> Heribert, Archbishop of Cologne 999-1021.

<sup>116</sup> Dietrich V, Count of Kleves 1193-1260.



In this year [too] the emperor freed the cardinals and all the abbot and clerics who had been captured with them. And thus Innocent IV was elected pope, who had previously been called Sinibaldo. The city of Viterbo deserted the emperor at this time. The emperor collected an army to recover it and laid siege to the town, but he was frustrated in his hopes of taking it.

At this same time the duke of Brabant was travelling with the count of Geldern to a council of the archbishop of Cologne when he was lucky to escape from an ambush that the count of Jülich had laid for him on the road near Gladbach.<sup>117</sup> He requested a legal judgement [*iudicium*] from the archbishop concerning this rash action. The archbishop held a court at Roermond by virtue of his ducal authority, and he requested a sentence from the duke of Limburg and the other peers of the court. With their mediation the count subsequently submitted himself to the archbishop and agreed to render satisfaction as he decreed; he was finally restored to the [good] grace of the duke, albeit with difficulty.

**In the year of the Lord 1244**, an attempt was made to make peace between the pope and the emperor. On the day of the Lord's Supper, the count of Toulouse and certain judges of the imperial court swore on behalf of the emperor, that the latter would be obedient to the mandate of the Church.<sup>118</sup> However, after this agreement the terms of the treaty were not fulfilled, as the emperor had hoped. For the pope secretly left the city of Rome, took ship and came by sea to Genoa, his native city. He stayed there for some time, detained by illness, and then he took the land route by Mont Cenis, and on the vigil of St. Andrew [29<sup>th</sup> November] he arrived in Lyons, a famous metropolis of Gaul, situated on the River Rhone. Many bishops from Gaul and Spain flocked to him there; and the archbishop of Cologne similarly came to him there. The pope esteemed and honoured him among the most distinguished [prelates].

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<sup>117</sup> Otto III 'the Lame', Count of Geldern 1229-71, was the nephew of the duke of Brabant, his mother Margaret being the duke's sister.

<sup>118</sup> 31<sup>st</sup> March 1244: the emperor's representatives were Count Raymond VII of Toulouse (d. 1249) and the judges Piero della Vigna and Thaddeus of Susa.

In the month of May in that same year many parts of the city of Cologne were burned down. The fire began in the Kriegmarkt around the fifth hour of the day; from there the fire ravaged the neighbouring areas, and flying over the wall it burned the church and cloister of St. . . . ,<sup>119</sup> and running out of control it burned many houses and one gate of the city. This fire, as was frequently the case, was blamed upon various foreigners, all of whom apart from two Germans were ignorant of our language. All of these people were bound to the tails of horses, dragged through the city squares and beheaded, and after this the fire died down.

At this time the archbishop of Cologne issued a decree to purge the whole of Westphalia of plunderers and criminals. A dispute arose because of this in the town of Herford between the townspeople and the servants of the archbishop. The furious townsfolk launched an attack on the archbishop, but a certain wise and discreet man interposed himself and the savage commotion was calmed. The townspeople [then] regretted their uprising, particularly since they feared that the archbishop would come to wreak his revenge upon them. They surrendered themselves and their possessions into his power, and recovered his grace. After this the archbishop received his *pallium* from the pope and was granted privileges very much in his favour. In the solemn procession on the holy day of Pentecost he distinguished himself by displaying his pontifical insignia. That same summer the archbishop collected his forces and marched against the counts of Westphalia and the tyrants who had seized the town of Werla. He besieged the new castle of Isenburg, near Essen, and received its surrender. Later, after these counts and tyrants had been properly tamed, he granted this castle to the count of Sayn.

In December of this same year a mournful letter was brought from the lands overseas to the pope, which is alleged to have been written in human blood. This letter told how certain Saracens, called the Corasceni, invaded the kingdom of Jerusalem and captured it, destroying the Sepulchre of the Lord and the sepulchres of [its] German kings, namely Godfrey, Baldwin and those who followed them.<sup>120</sup> Not long afterwards

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<sup>119</sup> The MSS have a blank space here.

<sup>120</sup> The Khwarismian nomads captured Jerusalem on 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1244.

these same Corasceni fought with other Saracens, who summoned the army of the Christians to their aid, namely the Templars, Hospitallers and the German house, with whom they had made a treaty. The Corasceni were victorious, and almost all their opponents, both Christians and Saracens, were killed in this battle, while the Masters of the Hospital and the Temple, with around a hundred of their knights were captured.<sup>121</sup>

**In the year of the Lord 1245**, the pope who was living at Lyons summoned a general council, sending out letters to every province. This was later celebrated in the month of July. The emperor Frederick was cited to attend this, that he might make his defence to the charges that bishops and other people were making against him. He came as far as Turin, a city in Liguria, but there he remained, sending in his place Thaddeus, judge of the imperial court, a man learned in the law and of great eloquence. Acting as the absent emperor's legal spokesman, he sought further delay, promising that the emperor [himself] would soon appear. He was, however, unable to obtain a postponement, and when certain bishops made charges against the emperor, and Thaddeus, the latter's envoy, had made a most eloquent response, the lord pope paid no attention to this defence, nor did he take any notice of the pleas of the Emperor Baldwin of Constantinople and or the intervention of the count of Toulouse, both of whom were present and who humbly begged the pope on the emperor's behalf. With the approval of the holy council, where 150 bishops were present, not counting abbots and other prelates, the lord pope promulgated a sentence of deposition against the emperor, depriving him of the empire, his kingdom and all other honours. The details of this sentence were copied word for word in a book of the church of St. Pantaleon called 'The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius', at the end in a catalogue of the Roman pontiffs, where the acts of these same pontiffs were noted down.<sup>122</sup> In this same council the lord pope decreed that certain ordinances, which were afterwards referred to under the relevant titles, should be inserted into the new compilation of decretals.<sup>123</sup> After the council the pope sent Friars Minor as envoys to the king of the Tartars, and other envoys to the Sultan of Egypt,

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<sup>121</sup> The Battle of La Forbie, 17<sup>th</sup> October 1244.

<sup>122</sup> The bull of deposition: MGH *Epistolae Saeculi XIII Selectae*, iii.88-94 no. 124.

<sup>123</sup> That is into the official decretal collection compiled for his predecessor Gregory IX by the Spanish Dominican Raymond of Peñaforte.

urging them in a letter to live in peace with the Christians. A little while after the council this same pope sent Philip, bishop-elect of Ferrara, to Germany, urging and inciting the princes to elect a new king. He travelled near Cologne under the escort of the lord archbishop and went to the Landgrave of Thuringia, who received him kindly since he himself aspired to the kingdom.<sup>124</sup>

**In the year of the Lord 1246**, certain Apulians who had been expelled from the household of the emperor plotted the latter's death. The leader of these men was Theobald the Apulian, called Francis. The emperor was informed of this by the countess of Caserta, whose son had married a natural daughter of the emperor, while he was at Grosseto, a town in Tuscany, and he went [from there] in haste into Apulia. The traitors were terrified by this, and knowing the enemy was closing in on them around two hundred of them took themselves to a castle near the sea called Capaccio. The emperor besieged them there, and in the following July the castle surrendered. He had all the conspirators blinded, and after some time burned [the castle?].<sup>125</sup> He sent a letter to Cologne about the imprisonment of these men. Before this, on the vigil of Palm Sunday, Cardinal Rainerio with the citizens of Perugia and the people of many nearby towns, having taken the cross, invaded the town of Foligno, which favoured the deposed emperor. The citizens of Foligno and Spoleto went to meet them, aided by a few Germans, and fought them; six thousand of the army of the Perugians were captured, something which the emperor made known to the citizens of Cologne by a letter.

In the month of May the lord archbishop of Cologne preached the cross against the deposed emperor, and ordered this to be preached, as had previously been done by the archbishop of Mainz and other bishops.

In the months of May and June of this same year such was the shortage of grain at Cologne that bread was rarely to be found for sale. The reason for this was that the citizens had decreed that a measure of wheat flour was to be sold for no more than three

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<sup>124</sup> Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia 1241-7.

<sup>125</sup> The sense is unclear here, and one manuscript omits the phrase 'after some time he burned'.

shillings, when in the countryside more could be obtained for it. They regretted this statute when they saw the great suffering of the people, since because of this regulation grain was not brought to Cologne.

At this same time the lord archbishops of Cologne and Mainz met at Würzburg, and they elected the landgrave of Thuringia, who was [also] present there, as king, announcing a royal court at Frankfurt of the next feast of St. James [25<sup>th</sup> July].<sup>126</sup> When the elected king and the aforesaid archbishops arrived there, along with many other bishops, they found Conrad, the son of the deposed emperor, who had once himself been elected as king, already there and ready to face them. The armies of both sides hesitated for some days there, but they finally fought a battle on St. Oswald's Day [5<sup>th</sup> August], and Conrad, the emperor's son was defeated and fled. More than four hundred knights from his side were taken prisoner, and the archbishop of Cologne brought many back with him as captives. During his return from this victory the bishop of Strassburg captured and destroyed a castle of the emperor.<sup>127</sup> A little while after his defeat Conrad, the son of the deposed emperor, married a daughter of the duke of Bavaria.<sup>128</sup>

In the month of January Dietrich, the young Count of Hosteden, died. He was succeeded by his uncle Frederick, provost of Sankt Maria *de Gradibus*, who however was moved by Divine command, and on 1<sup>st</sup> May gave and transferred the county of Hosteden and the noble castle of Ahr, with all that pertained to them, to St. Peter, so that the archbishop of Cologne would freely possess them in perpetuity.<sup>129</sup>

Before the victory that he obtained at Frankfurt, the lord pope sent ten thousand marks from his treasury to be assigned to the new king. Then after that victory he sent

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<sup>126</sup> A Strassburg source named the electors as the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne and Trier, the bishops of Strassburg, Speyer and Metz, 'and others', *Ellenhardi Chronicon*, MGH SS xvii.121.

<sup>127</sup> Henry (III) of Stahleck, Bishop of Strassburg 1243-60.

<sup>128</sup> Elizabeth (d. 1273), daughter of Otto of Wittelsbach, Duke of Bavaria 1231-53, who as a child had been betrothed to Conrad in 1235.

<sup>129</sup> The charter has not survived, but in an earlier grant of 16<sup>th</sup> April 1246 to the chapter of Cologne, Frederick recorded that Archbishop Conrad was his half-brother, *Urkundenbuch für Niederrheins*, ii.156 no. 298.

fifteen thousand marks, which for a time stored at Liège, so that the king might then grant subsidies to princes and knights, and strengthen his power in his kingdom.

During the winter of that same year the Rhine flooded much more than usual. Around this time the duke of Austria fought with the king of Bohemia and emerged as the victor, making around two hundred knights prisoner. Around the month of June this same duke fought a pitched battle with the king of Hungary. Fighting in that battle hand to hand with a certain king of Russia, he slew him but received in exchange a mortal wound, from which he died two days later. His army, however, was victorious. The son of the king of Bohemia married the daughter of the brother of the dead duke.<sup>130</sup> The end of summer and the whole of the autumn was very wet, and storms sank many ships in the waters around England, Flanders and Denmark. Bishop Robert of Liège died in this same year.<sup>131</sup>

**In the year of the Lord 1247**, Henry, the king-elect, travelled into Swabia, and with the help of the Swabians he besieged the town of Ulm. However, he was unsuccessful and retired. On his journey back, at Wartburg, one of his own castles, he fell from his horse, and after lingering for a few days he died.<sup>132</sup>

Around Pentecost<sup>133</sup> the deposed emperor planned to come to Gaul, to speak with some of those faithful to him in Burgundy, and he summoned the duke of Brabant and many nobles from Germany to a court (*dies placitum*), so that he might, or so he claimed, urge himself in their presence of the criminal charges made against him by the pope. But when he came to Turin news reached him that the city of Parma, which had previously

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<sup>130</sup> Frederick II 'the warlike', the last Babenberg Duke of Austria 1230-46, died after the battle, fought near Wiener-Neustadt, on 15<sup>th</sup> June 1246, and was buried at Heiligenkreuz. Despite two marriages, he was childless. His niece Gertrude, daughter of his elder brother Henry (who d. 1227), married Ladislaus, Margrave of Moravia, but he died only six months later, in January 1247. She died, having been married twice more, in 1288. The Russian prince was Rastislaw, son of the Prince of Kiev and son-in-law of King Béla.

<sup>131</sup> Robert (I), Bishop of Liège 1240-6, died on 16<sup>th</sup> October 1246. He was succeeded by Henry, a son of the count of Geldern (for whom see below), who was bishop 1247-74.

<sup>132</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> February 1247.

<sup>133</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> May.

been faithful to him, had deserted his side. This forced him to return. He besieged Parma and built a new town there, which he called Vittoria. But when the citizens made a brave sortie to fight him, a hundred and fifty of them were captured.

After the death of King Henry, the archbishop of Cologne went to Lyons to discuss with the pope the appointment to the see of Liège, which was then vacant. A little while later the pope sent Peter, cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro, as legate to Germany, so as to create a new king in Germany.<sup>134</sup>

Liudolf, Bishop of Münster, died, and was replaced by Otto of Lippe.<sup>135</sup> Archbishop Conrad of Cologne made the advocacy of Essen, along with the new castle that is called Isenburg, subject to his episcopal jurisdiction, as well as the advocacy of Bonn. Both of these [advocacies] were now vacant through the death of the mighty and very rich Count Henry of Sayn, who had ended his days a little while earlier on the vigil of the Assumption.<sup>136</sup>

In this year the legate Peter and many bishops, namely Conrad of Cologne, Siegfried of Mainz, Arnold of Trier, Gerard of Bremen,<sup>137</sup> with many other bishops, the duke of Brabant and many counts, held a conference in a field near the town of

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<sup>134</sup> Pietro Capocci, cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro 1244-59, from one of the great Roman aristocratic families. He was legate in Germany once again, and Scandinavia, in 1254-5, and died at Anagni, outside Rome, in May 1259, Paravacini Bagliani, *Cardinali*, pp. 300-8.

<sup>135</sup> Liudolf of Holte was Bishop of Münster 1226-47. Otto (II), Bishop of Münster 1247-59, was the younger brother of Bernhard III, Count of Lippe 1229-65.

<sup>136</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> August. Archbishop Conrad had already promised his protection to Countess Matilda of Sayn on 21<sup>st</sup> January 1246 (with no mention of the count in the document). Might this have been because her husband's health was already clearly failing? On 27<sup>th</sup> August he invested Henry, lord of Heinsberg and his brothers with the late count's fiefs, the countess having previously renounced the life interest she had previously been granted by her husband; but they in turn renounced any claim to the two advocacies of Essen and Bonn. *Urkundenbuch für Niederrheins*, ii.161-2 no. 310, 164-5 no. 316. However, various necrologies dated Count Henry's death to 29<sup>th</sup> December (almost certainly 1246), Halbekan, *Die älteren Grafen von Sayn*, pp. 68-70. Countess Matilda lived on until 1284/5, *ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>137</sup> Siegfried (III) of Eppstein, Archbishop of Mainz 1230-49, and Arnold (II) of Isenburg, Archbishop of Trier 1242-59, were cousins, both descended on their mother's side from the Counts of Wied. Gerhard (II), Archbishop of Bremen 1219-58, came from the family of the counts of Lippe, and was an uncle of Bishop Otto II of Münster. Arnold of Trier had faced a rival candidate for his see who had been supported by Conrad IV, and was thus clearly hostile to the Staufen, although the official history of the see suggested that he had only become archbishop 'because of the pressure of his friends' (*quasi coactus ab amicis*), *Gesta Treverorum, Continuatio V*, MGH SS xxiv.407.

Worringen, and they elected as the new king Count William of Holland. Although he was still a young man, they had gathered that he was of a suitable character for the conferment of such a high honour.<sup>138</sup> Many of them took the Cross there against the deposed emperor. A little while later the king-elect entered Cologne with the legate, having been admitted peacefully by the citizens, who at his election had closed the gates of the city and who had up to this time supported the emperor; now they swore fealty to the king-elect.<sup>139</sup>

[Also] at the election of this king, the Friars Minor who had been sent by the pope to the Tartars returned, bringing with them a letter which the king of the Tartars sent to the pope. As he passed through Cologne, one of these same friars, a Pole named Benedict, revealed the contents of this letter and gave a most clear and detailed verbal account of their journey, and of everything that he had seen and heard, to a certain prelate and former *scholasticus* of Cologne, a man by no means ignorant of historical accounts. This same friar also dictated [to him] in every detail a particular little book that the brothers had brought back, concerning the origin, religion and other characteristics of the Tartars.<sup>140</sup>

Around December Bishop Marcellinus of Arezzo attacked Osimo, a city near Ancona, with a papal army, but while he was assaulting a nearby castle he was put to flight by the army of Frederick, in which many Germans were serving, and then captured as he fled.<sup>141</sup> Four thousand men are said to have fallen there. Hugh Novellus, who led

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<sup>138</sup> William (1228-56) had become count of Holland in 1234, on the death of his father Florenz. The duke of Brabant was his maternal uncle.

<sup>139</sup> William issued a privilege to the city, on 9<sup>th</sup> October 1247, in which he not only confirmed its existing rights and privileges, but freed the citizens from tolls levied at Boppard and Kaiserswerth, and promised not to enter the city with armed men, apart from his personal bodyguard, nor to build any fortification within the territory of the archbishop, *Heinrici Raspensis et Wilhelmi de Hollandia Diplomata*, ed. D. Hägermann and J.G. Kruisheer (MGH Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae 18, Hanover 1999-2006), pp. 28-9 no. 2 [= *Urkundenbuch für Niederrheins*, ii.166 no. 318].

<sup>140</sup> English translation, along with the letter of Guyuk Khan, in Christopher Dawson, *Mission to Asia* (Toronto 1980), pp. 79-86.

<sup>141</sup> Marcellinus, the papal Rector in the March of Ancona, was subsequently executed at Vittoria on 21<sup>st</sup> February 1248. For this see G.A. Loud, 'The case of the missing martyrs: Frederick II's war with the Church, 1239-50', *Studies in Church History* 30 (1993), 141-52, and Bodo Hechelhammer, 'Zwischen Märtyrermord und Todesstrafe. Die Hinrichtung des Bischofs Marcellino von Arezzo im Jahre 1248', in *Bischofsmord im Mittelalter*, ed. N. Fryde and D. Reitz (Göttingen 2003), pp. 302-19.



the papal forces, was defeated at Terni by R[ichard], a natural son of the emperor, and almost two hundred of his men were captured. Cardinal Ottaviano was coming to the assistance of the people of Parma, with the men of Milian, Mantua and Brixen, and took station on the bank of a certain river, which he was prevented from crossing by Henry, King of Sardinia, the emperor's natural son. After a long delay, he returned back whence he came.<sup>142</sup>

The new king laid siege to the castle of Werth on St. Lucy's Day [*15<sup>th</sup> December*]. Before this time this same king captured the castle of Nymwegen, with the aid of the count of Geldern.

**In the year of the Lord 1248**, Duke Henry of Brabant died in the month of January. In this same month the new king and the legate went down to the lower parts of the Rhine and came to Utrecht, with the legate encouraging and persuading the men he met to take the Cross against the men of Aachen. However, in Utrecht some minor dispute blew up between their men and the citizens, and as a result of this the people became more and more angry. The king and the legate [then] left, not without shame and anger. The legate went to Cologne, where he preached the Cross against the men of Aachen. He enlisted the laity through the words of his preaching, but he forced the prelates and many of the clergy to take the Cross partly by exhortation and partly by threats, laying sentence of excommunication on those who were unwilling. However, the next day he relaxed this sentence at the request of the lord archbishop of Cologne, leaving this as a matter of individual conscience, part from those who had obtained benefices through the grace of the lord pope, or were seeking one. The legate then went from here up the Rhine towards Strassburg, where it is said that he was honourably received.

Meanwhile the new king, William, and his supporters laid siege to the city of Aachen on 29<sup>th</sup> April. When some of the besiegers, desperate for renown and praise, launched a sudden and rash attack on one of the gates at sunset, those within, both

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<sup>142</sup> Ottaviano degli Ubaldini, formerly a canon of Bologna, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata 1244-72, was papal legate in Lombardy 1247-51 and Sicily 1255-6.

knights and common people, charged out and met them manfully. Both sides were fighting fiercely when some of the besiegers were laid low there and suddenly fell into the cellars of the demolished houses which lay outside the walls and which were filled with water. The rest of their men fled, and the men of Aachen were victorious. As a result of this fight the whole royal army was struck with fear, while the men of Aachen, protected by the darkness, retreated. Among those from the army outside the city who perished in this battle were a nobleman from Perwez,<sup>143</sup> and various others, both knights and retainers, some sixteen of whose bodies were recovered from the cellars. How many of the defenders of the city fell was unknown to those outside, but one of the brothers of Gimnich was mortally wounded. The army of the king made frequent attacks [on the town] and hurled stones [against it] using great machines called *Bliden*, but gained little advantage, since there were several gates left unblockaded, through which both those within and people coming [to join them] could enter and leave. So some engineers diverted the stream that flows near the city, and with the continued assistance of the many pilgrims from Brabant, Flanders and Picardy who had taken the Cross a strong and mighty rampart was built before the lower part of the city, the stream was allowed to flow there and a wide pool was created between the camp of the besiegers and the city. The lord legate, who was present at the siege, granted a generous indulgence to the workers. Encouraged by the preaching of the Friars Minor, a great multitude arrived from the Rhineland, the Moselle, Holland, and most numerous of all from Frisia. Through this host of people, and with the Frisians working especially hard, the city was enclosed and blockaded by a circuit of ramparts. Hence after six months of siege those inside began to waver and they sought a meeting with Archbishop Conrad of Cologne, one of the leaders and most powerful men in the army. Through his mediation they surrendered to the king and were restored to his grace. Thus on the feast of All Saints [*1<sup>st</sup> November*] the lord William, the ruler-elect, was seated on the royal throne and crowned as king by the archbishop of Cologne.<sup>144</sup> After this the legate returned to the Papal Curia, while the king was received in the fortress of Kaiserswerth, which had been surrendered to him some time earlier.

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<sup>143</sup> Perwez, near Gembloux, in modern Belgium.

<sup>144</sup> Aachen being the traditional site of royal coronations, and hence the importance of securing it if the new king was to be regarded as legitimate.

In that same year the chapter of Cologne decided, with the agreement of the archbishop and the town fathers [*priores*], on the complete destruction of the old cathedral and on its rebuilding as a better structure. But when the master masons immediately set about demolishing the eastern wall of the church, the fire they set was too big and they carelessly set all the wood that had been put in place to support the roof ablaze, and the beams above promptly collapsed. The wind fanned the flames, and the whole structure of that noble, albeit ancient, church, along with the two gilded chandeliers hanging within it, was completely destroyed, leaving only the walls. Heavenly power was indeed most clearly revealed in that the reliquary of the Three Kings had been carried from its place in the centre of the church to the main door before the fire began, not through fear of fire but in case the walls collapsed, and as the church became completely filled with smoke it was, with great difficulty, taken outside and preserved completely unharmed.<sup>145</sup> Archbishop Conrad summoned the prelates of the Church, the nobles of the land and his *ministeriales*, and a vast crowd of people were drawn there through those preaching the Word of exhortation, and on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary [*15<sup>th</sup> August*], after the completion of a solemn mass, he laid the foundation stone. By the authority of the lord pope, and his own, and that of the legate and of all the suffragan bishops of the church of Cologne, he granted an indulgence, unheard of up to then, to the faithful who gave in person or sent alms for the fabric of the church. Thus from that time the foundations were laid of a new basilica of St. Peter, that is the cathedral of Cologne, of wonderful size and depth and at great cost.

In this same year Archbishop Conrad of Cologne hastened to bring help to the archbishop of Trier against the many nobles and powerful men from the upper parts [*of Lotharingia*] who, persuaded both by prayers and large sums of money from the Marshal Zorno, had come to raise the siege of the castle of Turun, whose defenders had now

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<sup>145</sup> The relics of the Magi had been brought to Cologne from Milan by Archbishop Rainald of Dassel (1161-7), and installed in the cathedral 'to the perpetual glory of Germany' on 24<sup>th</sup> July 1164, *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, p. 115. The reliquary had been made in the time of Archbishop Philip (1167-91). For discussion, see B. Hamilton, 'Prester John and the Three Kings of Cologne', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R.I. Moore (London 1985), pp. 177-91.

become disheartened through shortage of food.<sup>146</sup> Through the energy and shrewdness of the archbishop of Cologne, some of those who had mustered there were soon persuaded to a reconciliation with the archbishop of Trier. Others took flight, terrified by fear of the archbishop of Cologne. And so the castle of Turun, which was a den of robbers and the hammer of travellers came into the power of the archbishops of Cologne and Trier. After demolishing the tower that had once been built there by Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne,<sup>147</sup> they built a dividing wall and split the site between them, each fortifying his own section.

In this year King Louis of France was encouraged by Divine revelations and frequent and evident signs to lead an expedition for the liberation of the Holy Land. Instruments of war and siege engines were skillfully constructed, food supplies prepared in abundance, and taking his wife with him he set sail from Marseilles, and although some of his ships were endangered by storms he himself arrived safely at Limassol, a city in Cyprus, where he and his men rested over the winter.

Meanwhile the people of Parma were exhausted from the long siege by Frederick, the deposed emperor. They now decided to try a more cunning method of defeating him. So some of the leading men craftily left the city as though in flight, surrendering themselves and their property to Frederick, and were received back into his grace. But their true intention was to work for his downfall. They outwardly claimed to love him, while concealing the hate in their hearts, and along with the rest of the besiegers in Frederick's camp, that is the city of Vittoria, they appeared to be attacking Parma. It was Frederick's custom to make frequent excursions from the camp to go hunting, accompanied by five hundred or more men-at-arms, or to chase wildfowl on a stream about three miles away from Parma. When the appointed day arrived for the betrayal of Frederick, these fugitives did what they had [previously] plotted with the men of Parma. They believed that Frederick, who had gone hunting, was trapped by men in ambush,

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<sup>146</sup> Zorno was the marshal of the duke of Bavaria: the contemporary history of the see of Trier denounced him as 'another Nero' and 'a poisonous viper, and said that the expedition to relieve the castle was organised by the duke (Otto of Wittlesbach, duke of Bavaria 1231-53), *Gesta Treverorum, Continuatio V*, MGH SS xxiv.408-9.

who were part of this plot, and so they suddenly set fire to their tents. On this signal the men of Parma charged out of the city gates, and with the help of the deserters they invaded Frederick's camp. Rushing on the unsuspecting men, they slew some, captured others, plundered the baggage and set fire to the houses; and so they raged [through the camp] until they reached Frederick's tent where he had set up his headquarters (*presidium*). Although the guards of this headquarters defended themselves manfully, the men of Parma prevailed, and breaking into the fortified enclave they captured Frederick's chamber, where they found and took away treasure estimated at forty thousand marks. Frederick, meanwhile, had been warned of the ambushes set for him on the road he took to go hunting, and decided to return to the camp. But seeing from a distance that the camp was on fire and his own men fleeing from it, and meeting them on the road, he was informed of what had come about through the betrayal. He was appalled by this, and in this difficult situation he set off in haste to retreat to Cremona. Others say that once Frederick had realised from the fire in his camp that treason was afoot he hurried to his chamber in the headquarters and personally rescued various regalia (*insignii*)<sup>148</sup> and the more valuable jewels before hastening in panic-stricken flight towards Cremona. The siege of Parma was thus raised through this expedient. Frederick, much upset, ordered that the fortress he had had built above the bridge near to Parma be more strictly guarded by an increased garrison, to prevent the people of Parma being able to bring in supplies by water. He then travelled to Apulia. After his withdrawal his natural son Henry, the king of Sardinia, fought a battle against the men of Bologna, and after a long struggle in which he fought bravely and well, he was finally exhausted and captured, and consigned to prison.<sup>149</sup>

In this same year the winter in our regions was very mild but it rained incessantly, so that only a little ice was seen throughout the winter, for no more than two days at a stretch, and that infrequently. As a result, although the harvest in the following summer

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<sup>147</sup> Engelbert [I], Archbishop of Cologne 1216-26.

<sup>148</sup> The most probable translation: however *insignii* could also mean 'banners' or even 'documents'.

<sup>149</sup> Enzo was captured in March 1249, and remained in prison in Bologna for the rest of his life. He died in 1272.

was abundant it failed to yield the expected crop, and the wine, although plentiful, was a very poor vintage.

**In the year of the Lord 1249**, after the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary [*2<sup>nd</sup> February*], King William besieged Bopard. The townspeople sought a truce and obtained this on terms from the king, who then set off and laid siege to the royal castle of Ingelheim; after a few days he obtained its surrender. Meanwhile Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz died; <sup>150</sup> he was a great-hearted and vigorous man of action. Deprived of their pastor in these stormy times, the clergy and people of Mainz, on sound advice, immediately turned their eyes towards the archbishop of Cologne, whom with general agreement they unanimously postulated as their archbishop. The archbishop of Cologne, who was truly sorry about the death of his fellow archbishop, hastened to the king; and having been singled out by the clergy and people of Mainz, with extraordinary affection and reverence, as the chosen defender of their native city, he gracefully thanked one and all. However, this steadfast and circumspect man refused to make a decision either way – he neither accepted the honour offered to him nor refused it – rather he decided to find out what the wish of the lord pope was in this matter. And although the lord pope was assiduously and skillfully courted by the envoys of the widowed church, he decreed that in such a crisis it was better for the holy Church to have two [separate] persons occupying such renowned archiepiscopal sees rather than one, and he persuaded the archbishop of Cologne to acquiesce in his decision. Hence, with the agreement of this same archbishop, the provost of Mainz, who was elderly but notable for his [Godly] way of life and frugality, was promoted to be the archbishop of Mainz. <sup>151</sup> Soon after the death of the archbishop of Mainz the bishop of Utrecht also died. The lord pope granted the bishopric to the provost of Cologne, from Vianden. However, the clergy of Utrecht, with the support of the people, elected the dean of Cologne, [Goswin] of Randinrode, and

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<sup>150</sup> He died at Bingen on 9<sup>th</sup> March 1249.

<sup>151</sup> Christian (II), Archbishop of Mainz 1249-51, was a son of Count Werner II of Bolanden. The chronicler's brief description was all too accurate. His refusal to take part in the political conflict led to Innocent IV deposing him from office in 1251. For Innocent's letter to the chapter of Mainz, refusing them permission to commend their church to Archbishop Conrad, and ordering them to elect a new archbishop, *Epistolae Selectae Saeculi XIII*, ii.523 no. 706 (4<sup>th</sup> May 1249).

assigned the castles and fortresses of the see to him. A solution to this dispute was the subject of argument at the court of the lord pope.<sup>152</sup>

Meanwhile the lord pope committed the exercise of the office of legate throughout Germany to Archbishop Conrad of Cologne, a man who was endowed with learning, distinguished for his good character, and outstanding for his sound and experienced judgement, as the pope pointed out in his letter [of appointment].<sup>153</sup> He did this so as to increase the devotion of the faithful in the kingdom of Germany, that they might feel they were being continually supported by a legate of the Apostolic See. While the archbishop was in that same year exercising the office of legate to which he had been appointed, he was still keenly involved with the affairs of the kingdom; he went to join the king with a magnificent following of knights, retainers and men-at-arms. The bishop-elect of Liège similarly arrived with his allies.<sup>154</sup> Having mustered this army of his supporters, King William moved his camp towards the town of Frankfurt, en route ravaging the crops and lands of his opponents. As his men approached Frankfurt, his army attacked the village of Sachsenhausen, which had been partially fortified, and allowed access to the bridge at Frankfurt. The king's crossbowmen kept up a heavy fire on the defenders of the village, and the latter fled. After garrisoning the castle established on the bridge, the defenders took refuge in Frankfurt [itself]. But after setting fire to the village of Sachsenhausen, the king retired. Thinking that he could profit little by proceeding further at this time, he abandoned the expedition, remaining for many days within the territory of the archbishops of Mainz and Trier. During his return journey the archbishop of Cologne besieged and destroyed a fortress called Rymezheim.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Bishop Otto (III) of Utrecht died on 11<sup>th</sup> April 1249: he was the uncle of King William. The pope eventually upheld the appointment of Henry of Vianden (the text wrongly has *de Vienna*), who was bishop 1249-67.

<sup>153</sup> Innocent IV announced Conrad's appointment in a letter to the bishops and churchmen of Germany on 30<sup>th</sup> April 1249, MGH *Epistolae Selectae Saeculi XIII*, ii.521-2 no. 704.

<sup>154</sup> Henry, Bishop-elect of Liège 1247-74, brother of Count Otto II of Geldern, remained unconsecrated and a layman throughout his long pontificate. Innocent IV had granted him permission to delay his consecration at the beginning of his pontificate, the better to dedicate himself to fighting the Staufens, MGH *Epistolae Selectae Saeculi XIII*, ii.325-6 no. 452 (15<sup>th</sup> November 1247).

<sup>155</sup> While the archbishop was at Rymerzheim, Count Otto of Altena rendered liege homage to him, on 13<sup>th</sup> August 1249, *Urkundenbuch für Niederrheins*, ii.185-6 no. 352.

In this same year the king of Castile victoriously captured Seville, once known as Hyspaliis, a large and celebrated city which had been given over to the religion of the Saracens, and which he had been besieging for nine years. He installed a Christian population there.

Also in this year the king of France sailed his fleet from the city of Limassol in Cyprus, and accompanied by the king of Cyprus came to that part of Egypt where the Nile reaches the sea. He valiantly but with some difficulty defeated the Saracens who were guarding the shore and preventing his landing, and set up camp outside the city of Damietta. Some of the inhabitants of this town had been slain in the conflict at the port, while others had been sent to guard other coastal harbours where they feared that the king of France might land; so the next day, after ascertaining its condition, the king entered the undefended city, and he distributed the plentiful booty found there to his men. A bishop was appointed there, clergy were ordained, and the true religion was propagated by the Christian inhabitants placed there.

On the feast of St. Remigius [*1<sup>st</sup> October*] in this same year, since the knights and citizens of Boppard had not fulfilled the terms of their agreement with him, King William gathered his forces, and with the assistance of the archbishops of Cologne, Mainz and Trier and of the bishop-elect of Liège, and began an attack on that town. But on learning that Philip of Hohenfels was approaching with various counts and other supporters of Frederick the deposed emperor from the upper regions [of Lotharingia] and a strong force to aid the men of Boppard, he retreated from the town without accomplishing anything. the news also spread that Conrad, a bastard of the former Emperor Frederick, was striving manfully to defeat his enemies in Swabia. He slew some of them and received others back into his grace. In November of this year King William came down from the upper parts of the Rhine and returned to his land of Holland, anxious to free his brother who the countess of Flanders was holding captive. <sup>156</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Margaret, Countess and ruler of Flanders 1244-78 had a long dispute, mainly about the possession of Zeeland, with the Counts of Holland and the Avesnes family (the relatives of her first husband). The capture of Florenz, younger son of Count Florenz IV, helped to bring about an eventual peace, largely in favour of the countess, in 1250.



Around this time the son of the duke of Bavaria cunningly arrested the Marshal Zorno and threw him and his wife into prison.<sup>157</sup> He was a fierce man, the perpetrator of many evil deeds. This malefactor was found to have a vast treasure in gold, all sorts of jewels and other commodities, all of which this wicked man had heaped up through violence and then stored in castles and religious houses. Also at this time the archbishop of Cologne, weighing matters carefully and taking measures for the future, took over the port on the northern bank of the Rhine in his town of Neuss and built a new fortress there on a piece of land next to it that was laying empty, surrounded by a moat.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Ludwig II of Wittelsbach, later duke of Upper Bavaria 1253-94.

<sup>158</sup> The fortress proved unpopular, and in January 1254 the archbishop agreed to demolish it, in view of what he described as the proven loyalty of the people of Neuss, *Urkundenbuch für Niederrheins*, ii.220-1 no. 408.