

### The Marbach Annals, 1189-1200

*These annals from Alsace are part of a composite text. The first part of this was a set of annals probably from the Augustinian abbey of Marbach covering the period from the seventh century up to 1200, which for the earlier period drew on the Chronicle of Otto of Freising, and which may also have drawn on an earlier set of annals from Strassburg. This text dates from soon after 1200. It was, however, subsequently combined with a further and later set of annals, perhaps from the monastery of Neuberg, covering the period after 1200, and probably collected in their present form in the 1240s. (The section from 1201-20 was probably written at one go soon after the latter date). These combined annals survive in one manuscript, now in Jena, added in a thirteenth-century hand to a late twelfth-century manuscript of the Chronicle of Otto of Freising.*

[Translated from *Die Chronik Ottos von St. Blasien und die Marbacher Annalen*, ed. Franz-Josef Schmale (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, 18a; Darmstadt 1998), pp. 178-208; also in *Annales Marbacenses qui dicuntur*, ed. Hermann Bloch (MGH SRG, Hanover 1907), pp. 60-76. **Translation © G.A.Loud (2011)**]

**In the year of the Lord 1189**, on the Octave of Easter, that is 15<sup>th</sup> April, our men began their most fortunate journey, and the emperor left Hagenau. The princes whom we know that accompanied him were these: his son Duke Frederick of Swabia, Duke Berthold of Merania, the bishops of Würzburg, Liège, Basel, Toul, Regensburg, Münster, Passau (and his brother), Meissen and Freiburg, the Margraves of Baden and Vohburg, the count of Dornberg, Count Berthold of Neuenberg, the Count of Holland, the Count of Nassau, <sup>1</sup> and many other bishops, princes and nobles [also] went. However Duke Leopold of Austria, because he and the king of Hungary were at war, did not dare to cross the latter's land, so he made his way through Italy to the sea. The Archbishop of Besançon, Count Ludwig of Pfirt and many other nobles followed him. <sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For all these, see *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa. The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. G.A. Loud (Farnham 2010), pp. 48-52.

<sup>2</sup> For Count Ludwig, *ibid.*, p. 56.

**In the year of the Lord 1190**, Bishop Henry of Strassburg of blessed memory left this light on the Annunciation of Saint Mary, [which was] Easter Day, and Conrad succeeded him.<sup>3</sup>

In this same year the kings of France and England and the count of Flanders began their journey across the sea. The aforesaid kings secured from King Henry his agreement that they might have peace and safe-conduct to travel in safety throughout his lands, provided that they did no harm anywhere. The king of England in particular swore through his princes that he would do him no evil. However, he lied, for when he arrived at Messina he stormed the city and did many injuries to the citizens, which struck fear into the tyrant Tancred. The latter had usurped for himself the kingdom of Sicily through treachery and tyranny, after the death of William of Sicily, who had passed away without children, although it belonged by right to Henry, King of the Romans, because of his wife Constance.<sup>4</sup> He made an agreement with the king of England, and sent him many gifts, gold, silver, wheat and wine, to prevent him destroying the rest of Sicily.

In this same year the emperor and the pilgrims wintered in Greece, and passed a part of the summer there too. They captured cities, noblemen and some of the best castles of Greece, and Iconium, the capital of the Sultan [too], on account of the latter's breach of faith, which they stormed, apart from the citadel. A few days later, namely on 18<sup>th</sup> May, the godly Emperor Frederick perished, drowned in a watercourse called 'Iron', and was buried at Antioch.<sup>5</sup> His son Frederick was appointed leader of the army in his place. However, while greatly lamenting the death of the emperor, many people seized the opportunity to turn back. The remainder of the pilgrims finally arrived at Antioch and remained there for some time. The prince of Antioch did homage to the duke, in place of the Roman emperor, confirming on oath and with a written privilege that he wished always to be subject in every way to the Roman Empire. Bishop Gottfried of Würzburg and Margrave Herman of Baden died in that same city and were buried on the same day. Archbishop Dietrich of Besançon died that same year at the siege of Acre. Bishop Henry of Basel also died while returning by sea, and Lutold

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<sup>3</sup> Henry (I) of Hasenburg, Bishop of Strassburg 1181-90; Conrad of Hühnenburg was Bishop of Strassburg 1190-1202.

<sup>4</sup> King William II of Sicily died childless on 18<sup>th</sup> November 1189, aged 36. Constance was his aunt, the posthumous daughter of King Roger (d. 1154), who had married Henry VI in 1186.

<sup>5</sup> The date given here was actually when Iconium was captured: Frederick drowned in the River Saleph on 10<sup>th</sup> June 1190.

succeeded him in that bishopric.<sup>6</sup> Many both noble and poor died while on pilgrimage in this same year.

In this same year King Henry travelled into Italy with an army, first to receive his imperial coronation and then to take over the kingdom of Apulia.

**In the year of the Lord 1191**, Pope Clement died, and he was succeeded by Celestine, formerly known as Hyacinth, who was consecrated on Easter Day.<sup>7</sup> On the second day after Easter he then crowned Henry as emperor, with the unanimous consent of all the Romans.

In this same year Duke Frederick of Swabia died during the siege of Acre, and was buried in the house of the Teutonic Brothers [there].<sup>8</sup> His brother Conrad received the duchy of Swabia in his place. There was an eclipse of the sun on the vigil of John the Baptist in this same year.<sup>9</sup>

The Emperor Henry laid siege to the city of Naples in Apulia in this same year, but because of the deaths of Archbishop Philip of Cologne, Duke Otto of Bohemia and many other princes, and with the greater part of his army laid low by serious illness, he decided to abandon the siege – as a result of which the people of Salerno handed over the Empress Constance to the tyrant Tancred. After the death of Archbishop Philip, who had held the see of Cologne for twenty-four years, he was succeeded by Bruno. However, after only a little while the latter voluntarily renounced the see, and Adolf succeeded him.<sup>10</sup>

In this year Bishop Rudolf of Liège returned from the siege of Acre and died at Breisgau. Albrecht succeeded him, although against the wish of the emperor, and he was consecrated at Rheims, where afterwards he was slain. Ludwig, Landgrave of Thuringia, died at sea while returning from that expedition.<sup>11</sup> The bishop of Passau and many other nobles

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<sup>6</sup> Henry of Horbug, Bishop of Basel 1180-91: Lutold of Röteln was bishop 1191-1213.

<sup>7</sup> Celestine III was elected on 30<sup>th</sup> March 1191, Easter that year fell on 14<sup>th</sup> April.

<sup>8</sup> Frederick died on 20<sup>th</sup> January 1191. The Order of St. Mary of the Teutons had been founded during the siege as a charitable order for German pilgrims – it was subsequently militarised in 1197.

<sup>9</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup> June.

<sup>10</sup> Philip of Heinsberg was indeed Archbishop of Cologne 1167-91: Bruno (III) resigned shortly after June 1193. Adolf of Berg, archbishop 1193-1205, 1212-14, was his nephew.

<sup>11</sup> Ludwig III of Thuringia died on 16<sup>th</sup> October 1190.

also died during the siege of Acre.<sup>12</sup> Almost all the pilgrims from Alsace who were there were forced to return through poverty and disease. The aforesaid city was forced to surrender by the kings of France and England, and the duke of Austria. The king of France and the duke of Austria subsequently returned home, the king of England remained and later, after receiving money from the Saracens, handed over Ascalon, a most noble city, to be destroyed, and thereafter he set off on his return. During his voyage home the wind drove his ship towards Venice, and he was forced ashore with only a few companions. He was pursued by Count Engelhard<sup>13</sup> and fought a battle with him, in which many on the king's side were captured or killed. The king escaped by flight and arrived wounded in the march of Styria. He was nonetheless pursued by a certain *ministerialis* of the church of Salzburg called Frederick of Pettau, and he continued his flight into Austria, with no more than six companions. There he was arrested in a little cottage near Vienna, held for some days by Duke Leopold in the castle of Dürnstein, and afterwards handed over to the Emperor Henry. He remained in captivity for a year or more, until he obtained his freedom to return to his homeland through a ransom of 150,000 marks. On his release and once he was at liberty he became a vassal of the Roman empire, without any coercion, surrendering all his land of England and his other lands to the emperor, and receiving them back as a benefice.

**In the year of the Lord 1192**, the emperor sent an army to Apulia led by Berthold of Künigsberg, but he was killed there.<sup>14</sup> In this same year Bishop Conrad of Strassburg was captured by some of the *ministeriales* of that city.

**In the year of the Lord 1193**, Bishop Albrecht of Liège was treacherously murdered by some followers of the emperor.<sup>15</sup>

**In the year of the Lord 1194**, there was a great conspiracy against the emperor, before his second expedition to Sicily, by the eastern Saxons and the lesser princes of the land, and also by the bishops of Mainz and Cologne.<sup>16</sup> However, despite what people expected, the emperor had no difficulty in quelling this revolt.

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<sup>12</sup> Bishop Diepold of Passau (1172-90) died at Acre on 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1190.

<sup>13</sup> Actually Count Meinhard II of Görz.

<sup>14</sup> At Monteroduni, in the summer of 1193.

<sup>15</sup> See Raymond H. Schmandt, 'The election and assassination of Albert of Louvain, Bishop of Liège, 1191-92', *Speculum* 42 (1967), 639-60. Albrecht was killed on 24<sup>th</sup> November 1193.

<sup>16</sup> Conrad of Wittlesbach, Archbishop of Mainz 1183-1200, and Adolf, Archbishop of Cologne 1194-1205, and again 1212-14.

In this same year Tancred, who had wrongfully seized Apulia, died, as did his eldest son. The latter had been betrothed to the daughter of the emperor of Constantinople; she was subsequently discovered in Palermo, and the Emperor Henry gave her as wife to his brother Philip. The emperor in this year commended himself to the prayers of religious men everywhere, decreeing that masses and prayers be said for him, and after collecting forces of knights from all sides, he and the empress set off from his castle of Trifels on 12<sup>th</sup> May with the intention of conquering Apulia. A little later he celebrated Pentecost at Milan in Lombardy, where envoys from Leo of the Mountains met him – the latter requested him to raise him to the rank of king over his land, promising that he would always be subject to the Roman Empire.<sup>17</sup> These envoys also sought that he be enfeoffed by the emperor with strange and hitherto unheard of fiefs (*beneficia*) at various places in Syria which are called ‘At the Lead Tower’. This was done.

Then, while his army marched through Lombardy and Tuscany, the emperor headed with only a small escort towards Genoa and Pisa, there to obtain galleys with men and many soldiers to go by sea.

In this same year the emperor stormed Salerno, and on the Sunday on which is sung ‘The Lord says I think’<sup>18</sup> he made a glorious entry to Palermo, the capital of the kingdom, and there he celebrated his Christmas court in the palace of that same city.<sup>19</sup>

**In the year of the Lord 1195:** The emperor enjoyed the utmost good fortune and imposed his rule upon all of Apulia, Sicily and Calabria, without any losses, and securing a huge sum of gold and silver, along with many precious silken cloths. He captured the wife of Tancred and the bishop of Salerno, along with ten other counts and great men of that land – among whom was a certain noted pirate called Margaritus – who was the foremost of the counts in wealth and power – all of these were held under the most strict guard in various places in the land of Germany. He also led the son of the aforesaid Tancred into captivity, along with his three sisters.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Leo of Armenia was subsequently crowned king by Archbishop Conrad of Mainz in January 1198.

<sup>18</sup> The last Sunday after Trinity.

<sup>19</sup> Henry received coronation as king of Sicily on Christmas Day.

<sup>20</sup> William III, the child king of Sicily, and his mother Sybilla; Margaritus of Brindisi, Count of Malta, and Richard, Archbishop of Salerno 1182-1222.

On Good Friday of this same year the emperor received the Cross in secret at Bari from the Bishop of Sutri, in the presence of three of his chaplains. On Easter Day he had the expedition to Jerusalem publicly preached, and he requested the pope that he order two cardinals, Peter of Piacenza and John of Salerno, to preach this in Germany.<sup>21</sup> This they did, for Peter immediately preached in *Germania*,<sup>22</sup> John in Saxony and Bavaria and the other provinces round about. Meanwhile the emperor returned to the German lands around the feast of St. John the Baptist,<sup>23</sup> and he was able, with great effort, to persuade some of the princes to take the Cross, promising them his assistance. Hence almost all his servants (*officiales*) and chaplains were signed [with it]. Before the feast of All Saints,<sup>24</sup> the emperor held a general meeting at Gelnhausen with all the leading men of Saxony and Thuringia, and after the preaching of Cardinal John almost all the princes of these regions took the Cross. Afterwards Cardinal Peter preached on the feast of St. Nicholas at Worms,<sup>25</sup> and other princes and almost all the barons (*proceres*) from Swabia and elsewhere took the cross, either now or at other moments. The names of these were [as follows]: Conrad, [Arch]bishop of Mainz, the archbishop of Bremen,<sup>26</sup> the bishop of Halberstadt, the bishop of Verden, the bishop of Hildesheim, who was the chancellor, the bishop of Zeitz, the bishop of Regensburg, the bishop of Passau,<sup>27</sup> the bishop of Prague, who was [also] the duke of Bohemia,<sup>28</sup> Abbot Manegold of Tegernsee, the duke of Merania and his son, the duke of Austria, the duke of Carinthia, the duke of Louvain,<sup>29</sup> the son of the duke of Limburg,<sup>30</sup> the count palatine of the

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<sup>21</sup> Peter of Piacenza was appointed cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere in 1185, and was cardinal priest of S. Cecilia from 1188. He was regularly employed as a legate in his native northern Italy, and was last attested in November 1206. John of Salerno was a former monk of Montecassino, who was cardinal priest of S. Stefano in Celimonte 1190-1208. Apart from this legation in Germany, he was also legate in Scotland and Ireland in 1201-2. See Werner Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216* (Vienna 1984), pp. 85-6, 107-9.

<sup>22</sup> Presumably this refers to Roman *Germania*, that is the Rhineland.

<sup>23</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> June.

<sup>24</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> November. The emperor was at Gelnhausen from 24<sup>th</sup> – 28<sup>th</sup> October: among those present witnessing his charters there were many of those listed in the chronicle as taking the Cross at Worms, including Archbishop Conrad of Mainz, the Bishops of Halberstadt, Verden and Zeitz, Landgrave Herman of Thuringia, and the Counts of Schaumberg, Wartenberg and Wertheim, *Reg. Henry VI*, nos. 477-482.

<sup>25</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> December: the emperor was at Worms 5<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> December, *Reg. Henry VI*, nos. 487-491.

<sup>26</sup> Hartwig II, Archbishop of Bremen.

<sup>27</sup> Gardolf, Bishop of Halberstadt 1193-1201; Rudolf (I), Bishop of Verden 1189-1205, a former chaplain of Frederick Barbarossa; Conrad of Querfurt, Bishop of Hildesheim 1194-8, and subsequently Bishop of Würzburg, who was murdered in 1202; Berthold (II), Bishop of Zeitz 1186-1206; Conrad (III) of Laichling, Bishop of Regensburg 1186-1204, who had taken part in the Third Crusade; Wolfgang of Erla, Bishop of Passau 1191-1204, subsequently Patriarch of Aquileia (d. 1218),

<sup>28</sup> Henry, Bishop of Prague, was a member of the Premzlid dynasty, and was the German-supported claimant to Bohemia. He died in 1197.

<sup>29</sup> Berthold V, Duke of Merania (d. 1204), who had taken part in the Third Crusade, and his eldest son Otto (d. 1234); Frederick I, Duke of Austria 1194-8; Ulrich II, Duke of Carinthia 1181-1202; Henry I, Duke of Brabant

Rhine,<sup>31</sup> the landgrave of Thuringia, the margrave of Brandenburg and his brother,<sup>32</sup> the margrave of Landsberg and his brother, the margrave of Meissen,<sup>33</sup> the son of the landgrave of Habsburg,<sup>34</sup> the count of Öttingen,<sup>35</sup> the count of Bogen, the count of Ortenberg, the count of Schaumburg,<sup>36</sup> the count of Querfurt,<sup>37</sup> the count of Mansfeld, the count of Lauterberg, the count of Käfernberg with his two sons,<sup>38</sup> two sons of the count of Daun,<sup>39</sup> the count of Beichlingen and his brother the count of Beilstein,<sup>40</sup> the count of Wartenburg,<sup>41</sup> and the count of Wertheim.<sup>42</sup> There were also many others among the princes, counts, barons and nobles, whose names we have omitted to write down, who were signed with the Cross, along with a great host of [other] men both clerical and lay.

After these events had taken place, certain envoys from the king of Cyprus arrived, with instructions to request the emperor to despatch archbishops from his imperial court who would anoint the king of Cyprus as monarch, since the latter had always wished to be a vassal (*homo*) of the Roman Empire. This was indeed done, for the emperor sent from his person two faithful friends, the archbishops of Trani and Brindisi, back with the envoys, giving them

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1190-1235. Neither the dukes of Merania and Carinthia went to the Holy Land, Claudia Naumann, *Der Kreuzzug Kaiser Heinrich VI*. (Frankfurt 1995), pp. 258-9.

<sup>30</sup> Walram (IV), son of Duke Henry III of Limburg. Walram was subsequently duke 1221-6.

<sup>31</sup> Henry, Count Palatine of the Rhine (d. 1227) was the eldest son of Henry the Lion, the former Duke of Saxony, and had married Agnes, the daughter of the previous Count Palatine Conrad, half-brother of Frederick Barbarossa, who had died in 1195.

<sup>32</sup> Herman (I), Landgrave of Thuringia (d. 1217), whose elder brother Ludwig had died at Acre during the Third Crusade; Otto (II), Margrave of Brandenburg (d. 1205), and his brother Albrecht, Count of Arneburg (d. 1220). The Margrave of Brandenburg was subsequently dispensed from his vow, Naumann, *Kreuzzug Kaiser Heinrich VI*, p. 258.

<sup>33</sup> Margrave Albrecht of Meissen died on 21<sup>st</sup> June 1195: this mention presumably refers to his younger brother Dietrich (d. 1221), who went on the Crusade – although in his absence Henry VI confiscated the march, who was only later restored to Dietrich by King Philip. His cousin Conrad, Margrave of Landsberg was with Henry VI in Sicily in July 1197, Naumann, *Kreuzzug Kaiser Heinrich VI*, p. 248.

<sup>34</sup> Rudolf II of Habsburg (d. 1232), son of Count Albrecht III (d. 1199); their family had benefited considerably from the favour of the Staufen.

<sup>35</sup> Either Count Conrad (II), who had taken part in the Third Crusade, or his brother Count Ludwig (II), who later took part in the Fifth Crusade (d. 1225); their county was in Swabia.

<sup>36</sup> Adalbert (Albrecht) (IV), Count of Bogen (d. 1197); Otto, Count of Ortenberg (near Passau in Bavaria), who died while on the Crusade; Adolf III, Count of Schaumberg (Holstein) (d. 1225), who had taken part in the Third Crusade.

<sup>37</sup> Gebhart (IV), Burgrave of Magdeburg 1190-1213, whose brother Burchard (III) had died on the Third Crusade.

<sup>38</sup> Count Gunther of Käfernberg and his sons Gunther and Henry; *Reg. Henry VI*, no. 488; their Crusade and this family are discussed by the *Chronica Reinhardsbrunnensis*, MGH SS xxx(1).557. The Saxon counts of Mansfeld and Lauterberg (in the Harz) were both called Burchard.

<sup>39</sup> Lambert and Ernst, sons of Count Erwin (II) of Daun (Tonna), near Gotha in Thuringia), who may have travelled out to the east with the Archbishop of Mainz, Naumann, *Kreuzzug Kaiser Heinrich VI*, p. 252

<sup>40</sup> Frederick, Count of Beichlingen, and his brother Dietrich.

<sup>41</sup> These two families were related: Bilstein is near Eschwege in Hesse, Wartenburg near Eisenach in Thuringia. Ludwig, Count of Wartenburg (near Eisenach in Thuringia), died during the Crusade.

<sup>42</sup> Count Poppo of Wertheim was from Franconia.

a sceptre a sign of his action.<sup>43</sup> They set off and most faithfully fulfilled everything that had been enjoined upon them.

Meanwhile the emperor was working to have the princes elect his son, who was now two years old, as king and that they confirm this on oath. Almost all of them, apart from the bishop of Cologne, promised individually that they would do this. If [indeed] this had been done, the emperor, so it is said, would have openly taken the Cross. But when they were summoned to a court, they did not do what they had promised. As a result he abandoned the arrangements he had previously made concerning the expedition.

In that same year Count Amadeus of Mömpelgard was murdered by Otto, the emperor's brother.<sup>44</sup>

**In the year of the Lord 1196** the emperor held a court at Würzburg around the middle of Lent, in which many people received the sign of the Lord. At this same court the emperor wanted to agree with the princes a new decree that was unknown to the Roman kingdom, namely that kings in the Roman realm would succeed each other by hereditary right, as they do in France and other kingdoms. To this the princes who were present gave their assent to him and confirmed this with their seals.<sup>45</sup>

In this same year the emperor set off for Apulia around the feast of St. John the Baptist, but with only a small following, as a result of which he was regarded with great contempt in Italy.<sup>46</sup> Meanwhile the emperor sent envoys and began to negotiate with the pope, seeking the latter's agreement that his son be baptised – for he had still not been baptised – and that he might be anointed as king. It is thought that if he had done this then the emperor would have publicly received the Cross from him. At this time [too] the emperor's brother Conrad, Duke of Swabia, died, and his brother Philip received the duchy. The

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<sup>43</sup> Samarus, Archbishop of Trani 1192-1201, and Peter of Bisignano, Archbishop of Brindisi 1183-96.

<sup>44</sup> Amadeus was Count Palatine of Burgundy.

<sup>45</sup> Henry was at Würzburg on 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> April; among those also present were Archbishop Hartwig of Bremen, the bishops of Bamberg, Havelberg, Metz, Verden and Zeitz, the dukes of Bavaria, Merania, Saxony and Zähringen, Margrave Otto of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Thuringia, Count Palatine Henry, and the chancellor Conrad, Bishop-elect of Hildesheim; *Reg. Henry VI*, nos. 502-3.

<sup>46</sup> The Nativity of St. John the Baptist was on 24<sup>th</sup> June. However, here the writer was being approximate; Henry VI was at Besançon 6<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> July, and reached Turin by 25<sup>th</sup> July, *Reg. Henry VI*, nos. 529-534.

emperor stayed waiting for three weeks at the town of Tivoli, <sup>47</sup> with envoys passing back and forward from both sides, and valuable gifts being despatched by the emperor to the pope, but once the emperor was unable to secure the result he wanted, he set off towards Sicily in a very bad temper.

Meanwhile, in the German lands, through the mediation of Archbishop Conrad of Mainz and Duke Philip of Swabia almost all the princes took an oath and elected the emperor's son as king. <sup>48</sup> In this same year there was a great war between Bishop Conrad of Strassburg and Count Otto, because of which the whole of Alsace was laid waste for four successive years. <sup>49</sup> In this same year, around Christmas, the fourth expedition to Jerusalem took place, with the above-named princes all directing their way through Italy towards the sea.

**In the year of the Lord 1197**, while the emperor was in Sicily, dispute arose between him and the empress, so they say, and she created a conspiracy against him that arose in all the towns and castles of Apulia and Sicily, with the connivance, so it is claimed, of the Lombards and Romans, and also, if one can believe this, of Pope Celestine; and she dissuaded certain Germans who were with her from going to the emperor, as they wished. Therefore, while the emperor was staying in a certain forest for the hunting, the conspirators secretly chose a king from among themselves and mustered a great multitude of around 30,000 armed men, with the intention of killing him while his own men were in ignorance of what was going on. They would have succeeded in this had the emperor not been warned of this conspiracy and fled to the city of Messina, where his steward Markward was in residence. Markward and the marshal Henry mustered a small force, both from their own men and from the pilgrims, whom they led out to fight with the enemy. <sup>50</sup> They killed almost all of them, but captured their king, along with a few other ringleaders, alive – whom the emperor ordered to be brutally put to death. For he ordered a crown to be fixed to the head of their king with iron nails, while the empress was present and looking on, and he had the others either burned alive or thrown into the sea. As a result he aroused extraordinary hatred against himself, both from the natives and among others who were informed of this.

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<sup>47</sup> Charter evidence puts him there only on 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> November, and at Palestrina on his way south on 27<sup>th</sup> November, *Reg. Henry VI*, nos. 571, 571a., 573

<sup>48</sup> At Frankfurt, late in 1196.

<sup>49</sup> Count Otto, one of the sons of Frederick Barbarossa, was palatine count of Burgundy (d. 1200).

<sup>50</sup> Markward of Anweiler (d. 1202) and Henry of Kalden (d. 1214), both *ministeriales* by birth, were Henry VI's two most trusted advisers.

Afterwards, around August, he was enjoying the hunting in a certain forest where the spring water was extremely cold, and in which there was great heat during the day time and it was so cold at night that the ground was covered with ice and mist, and one night around the feast of St. Sixtus he caught cold and was taken ill.<sup>51</sup> Because of this, the emperor ordered that he be carried to the city of Messina, which was two days' journey away, and there he suffered from dysentery, until shortly before the feast of St. Michael he felt better and proposed to travel to Palermo. But after almost all his household and the baggage had been embarked, he realised that his illness had returned, and after making confession with a contrite heart he passed from this world on the day before the said feast.<sup>52</sup>

In that same year, after a truce had been arranged between Count Otto and the bishop of Strassburg and their supporters, Otto summoned Count Ulrich of Pfirt to a meeting at which they were supposed to discuss a treaty of peace and alliance between them, and [then] he slew him in a treacherous ambush. This took place the day before the death of the emperor, and rendered Otto hateful, not just to his enemies but even to some of his [former] friends. On hearing of the death of the emperor the bishop of Strassburg and Count Albrecht of Dagsburg, who had formerly been enemies, were reconciled, and they along with Duke Berthold of Zähringen and Bishop Lutold of Basel and many counts made a sworn alliance (*conspiratio*) against Otto.<sup>53</sup> They started to attack not just him and his men but also those of the emperor, and they laid waste everything with fire and slaughter. Among the many other evil deeds which they perpetrated against Count Otto, they easily captured his advocacy over the church of Gregoriental, which [place] seemed to be impregnable and had never been captured by anyone, and they plundered it of its goods. They also exercised their tyrannical power over Colmar, Schlettstadt, Oberehnheim, Rosheim and many other towns and villages. The men and possessions of the emperor were everywhere plundered by all sorts of people, for they had no defender. For he had summoned his brother Philip, the Duke of Swabia, to him, and the latter had begun his journey and got as far as Rome before he learned of the emperor's death and turned around. Meanwhile a false rumour arose that he had been captured by certain people and put to death, while others claimed that he was sick.

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<sup>51</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> August.

<sup>52</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> September 1197.

<sup>53</sup> Berthold V, Duke of Zähringen 1186-1218; Lutold of Röteln, Bishop of Basel 1191-1213.

In this same year a comet appeared. Also in this year there was a terrible famine in Alsace, so that groups of people were frequently found dead from hunger in the fields and villages; while a measure which was in the vernacular called the ‘town quarter’ (*Burgviertel*) was sold for a mark of silver. In this same year Pope Celestine died, who was succeeded by Innocent.<sup>54</sup>

**In the year of the Lord 1198**, the duke of Swabia arrived, against the opinion, and even against the wish, of many people. He found there to be terrible conflict everywhere, and especially in Alsace. He negotiated a truce between the bishop and his allies and his brother Otto, for he was already aspiring to the kingship. He had talks with the bishop of Strassburg, asking him faithfully to assist him, and promising to restore to the latter everything that his father and brother had taken away, and that everything that he had in his diocese should be subject to his disposition – he sought the kingdom, however, not for himself but for his brother’s son, who had indeed, as we have described above, been elected by almost all the princes, saying that he wished to act in his name and on his behalf. The bishop had accepted these terms, but on the day when he was supposed to come to the duke at Hagenau, he received a letter from the archbishops of Cologne and Trier, one of whom has the right to anoint the king, while the other (that is the archbishop of Trier) to place him on the royal throne at Aachen.<sup>55</sup> The letter told him to hasten to them as fast as he could. When he came to them, they appointed a date in the middle of Lent at Cologne for the election of a king, and they requested the Bishop of Strassburg to bring Duke Berthold of Zähringen with him. Rumour had indeed already spread that they intended to elect him.

Thus, gathering at Cologne on the chosen day, the lower princes elected the aforesaid duke as king, adding however the condition that he ought to pay 1700 silver marks to the aforesaid archbishops. But when he was informed of this, he refused either to accept the kingdom or pay the money, saying that he was unwilling to buy the kingdom for money. At last he was overcome by the prayers of his own men, and especially by the threats of the bishop of Strassburg and the count of Dagsburg, and provided hostages [as a pledge] that he would pay the money, pledging that he would come on a certain day and would do as he had promised. But afterwards he repented, and did not turn up on the promised day, knowing that the duke of Swabia was aspiring to the governance of the kingdom against him. He declared

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<sup>54</sup> Celestine III died on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1198.

<sup>55</sup> John, Archbishop of Trier 1189-1212.

that unless he was unanimously elected by all the princes [he would not accept the throne], for he would never be the one through whom schism arose in the kingdom. He was eventually reconciled with the duke of Swabia through the mediation of the bishop of Konstanz, the Count Palatine of Tübingen and various others.<sup>56</sup> He resigned his claim to be elected, on condition that in return for the kingdom Philip grant him as a benefice the advocacy of Schaffhausen, and that he should have the castle of Breisach, which belonged to his brother Otto, destroyed, or he would owe him a debt of 3,000 marks for that castle, and that he would give the mediators hostages as a pledge that he would do this, which he did. Berthold did homage to him, promising him to provide help and counsel for him to gain the kingdom for himself. For, while the aforesaid princes were electing this same Berthold at Cologne, Philip had been elected by the other princes at Frankfurt.

But while many were rejoicing and hoping for peace, the princes who had elected Berthold now elected the son of Henry, the late duke of Saxony by a sister of King Richard of England, who was called Otto, and had [formerly] been count of Poitou. They made him king, and anointed him as king at Cologne. Hearing of the election of King Otto, Philip sent 300 knights along with many other men-at-arms (*scutiferi*) to Aachen, to deny King Otto entry to the city, and to preserve that city and the throne of the kingdom for himself. But King Otto and his allies besieged that city, and he took it at harvest time, and for three days he sat on the throne of the kingdom. He entrusted the city to men faithful to him to guard.

Meanwhile Philip collected an army and entered Alsace. He destroyed all the wheat in the harvest, stormed and burned Molsheim, accepting the surrender only of the church precinct. He captured the fortress of Haldenburg, he broke into the church precinct of Epfach, and he ravaged [the property of] all the men of the bishop of Strassburg and the count of Dagsburg, who were allies of King Otto, and the whole of lower Alsace, with fire and sword. He then marched to Mainz, where he held a court with his supporters on the Assumption of St. Mary, and there he was solemnly elected by many princes, and he was anointed by the archbishop of Trier, who had now abandoned the man whom he had previously elected, together with the archbishop of Tarentaise, acting instead of the archbishop of Mainz.<sup>57</sup> At

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<sup>56</sup> Diethelm of Krenkingen, Bishop of Konstanz 1189-1206 (formerly Abbot of Reichenau), who was one of Philip of Swabia's closest advisers, and Rudolf, Count Palatine of Tübingen 1182-1219.

<sup>57</sup> Archbishop Conrad had by now gone to the Holy Land. Other sources suggest that Philip was crowned not at the Assumption (15<sup>th</sup> August) but at the Nativity of the BVM (8<sup>th</sup> September).

this same court King Philip made Duke Ottokar of Bohemia a king, giving crowns to him and his wife.

At this same time Empress Constance died in Sicily, and after many difficulties her son Frederick began to reign there.<sup>58</sup>

**In the year of the Lord 1199**, King Philip once again mustered an army and entered Alsace at harvest time and ravaged the wheat everywhere. He demolished all the houses of Rufach, destroyed many fortresses of the bishop of Strassburg and Count Albrecht, and besieged the city of Strassburg. Finally, with the mediation of Duke Berthold of Zähringen and of many other princes, a peace agreement was made between the king and the bishop of Strassburg, through which he renounced all claim to the benefices that his father and brother had held from the see, and [in return] the bishop would support his claim to rule the kingdom to the best of his ability. He then began another expedition, moving his army towards Aachen and crossing the River Mosel, but the resistance of King Otto and his supporters meant that matters miscarried and he retreated.

Furthermore, a great meeting of the princes was held at Bamberg, at which many bishops, including the archbishop of Salzburg, were present, where he and the other bishops raised up the relics of Saints Henry and Kunigunde, who had been canonised by Pope Innocent, and which had already been distinguished by many miracles.<sup>59</sup> A great throng of people from different provinces flocked there on that day, and took away reliquaries of them to various places. A considerable number of these relics were brought back by Abbot Peter to the monastery of Neuburg, and lie among them [*the monks*] to this day.

A wonderful event the like of which is quite unheard of in our days took place at this time in Augsburg in Raetia [Bavaria]. For while she should have been partaking of communion, a certain woman kept the Body of the Lord in her mouth; afterwards, tempted by what sort of evil inclination I do not know, she wrapped it in wax and kept it in her house. But she was later struck with penitence, and went to a religious priest of good reputation and told him about her sin. He did not wish to impose any penance upon her, provided that she

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<sup>58</sup> This last phrase was surely added some time later.

<sup>59</sup> The Emperor Henry II had already been canonised by Eugenius III in 1146; Kunigunde was canonised by Innocent III on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1200. The archbishop of Salzburg was Eberhard (II), archbishop 1200-46.

return the Body of the Lord which she was wickedly keeping with her in her house. She went there and brought the Lord's Body, as it was in the wax, to the priest. Summoning to him many other faithful Christians, he ceremoniously took possession of it. Opening the wax, he found that the mystic bread and Body of the Lord had changed into the true substance of flesh and blood. At the news of this event a great multitude gathered, not just from nearby areas but from far away parts of the land, and the Lord worked many miracles here in praise of His name.

In this year Archbishop Conrad of Mainz returned, along with many other pilgrims, after many labours across the sea. Although because of the death of the emperor he had achieved nothing there, he took the Cross once more, impelled by love for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord.

In the same year the monastery of Hohenburg was burned down just before Christmas.

**In the year of the Lord 1200**, Count Otto died in Besançon after a long illness and making a good confession; the inhabitants of that region greatly mourned him because of his good defence [of them].<sup>60</sup> In that same year Count Berthold of Nimburg im Breisgau and his son took the Cross, with the intention of remaining across the sea in perpetuity. He gave the town of Nimburg, along with its *ministeriales* and appendixes in full ownership to the church of Strassburg, although in return for a money payment. A number of other nobles, along with their wives and children, imitated his example, selling their property and vowing themselves to the perpetual service of the Holy Sepulchre. In this year [too], on 4<sup>th</sup> March, ordinances were laid down at Basel by Lutold, bishop of that same city. Afterwards, on the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross, he took the Cross, along with a great company of abbots and men of religion.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Otto, Palatine Count of Burgundy, died on 13<sup>th</sup> June 1200.

<sup>61</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1200.