

**KARLHEINZ  
DESCHNER**

**Criminal History  
of Christianity**

**Volume 6**

**11th & 12th Century**



**BERSERKER**

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**BOOKS**

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KARL HEINZ DESCHNER

Criminal history of  
Christianity

VOLUME 6

THE 11. AND 12. CENTURY

From Emperor Henry II, the "Saint" (room), to the  
end of the Third Crusade (1189)

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i. CHAPTER

EMPEROR HEINRICH II. THE SAINT  
(1002-1024)

The man who was above all church-minded -  
Annales Hildesheimenses'

-jtzc I will snhobca to write of him, who by God's cnnde and his  
own dūchcigkeic demurred everyone who stood up against him,  
and who forced them to hild him to me bent neck.- Bishop  
Thietmar of Merseburg'

-Like none of his predecessors, he took over the management of the  
God's people, the church, assimilated to the Biechölm."  
-Heinrich was a king who confronted, did not frighten, who  
tore open trenches, did not shake them up. He made use of all  
means, from cunning and treachery **to naked violence** and  
with a particular preference for canon law. - - He who  
**wanted to bring peace** became one of the most warlike kings  
of his time. - Johannes Frid-

- . **was able to assert himself** ... by pointing to the  
healthy (!) principles of regulation Otcos. t. resorted to.  
Handbook of the history of Kirckenc-

## CHURCH CULTURE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Emperor Henry II (= Duke Henry IV of Bavaria) the Heilige (iOoz-IOZ4) was born on 6 Mdl s7i or s7; probably in Abbach near Regensburg, perhaps in Hildesheim. In any case, he lived here during the exile of his father Heinrich -the brawler- of Bavaria (V yz3 ff., y44 ff.). And the Hildesheim cathedral school also trained him for the clergy; probably less because of his poor health than because of Emperor Otto 11's intention to deprive his opponent's spröfling of any share in the royal power. In Regensburg, the prince's education was then continued by the

The "reformist cleric" local bishop Wolfgang becneded the preund of the great forger of documents Pilgrim of Passau (V44\* ff., yz8 f.), whereby he was also assisted by Abbot Ramwold of St. Emnierain,

also an active propagandist of the Gorzcr reform. In short, Heinrich grew up in the air of the church, and throughout his life he remained in it, he remained attached to his spiritual upbringing - indeed the sense of it.

For a head shaped like this, this had consequences. He not only maneuvered, which was difficult to avoid if you wanted to rule between all the groups of nobles; he not only lured them with large fiefdoms here and attractive benefices there. No, he also exploited the discord among the magnates, intrigued, agitated, and drove them to conflict again and again. Above all, he continued the traditional antagonism of the Liudolfings, especially the Bavarians, against the Conradines and the Salians, who eventually cooperated with them. He spread fear. He made and

quickly broke friendships

again. He paid particular attention to the Bavarian dioceses, favored relatives and overlooked the legitimate expectations of others. He liked to disguise himself. His frequent lists sometimes bordered on treachery. He obviously committed injustice through unjust judges, and even Thietmar, who was well-disposed towards him and very generous, and who dedicated two books of his chronicle to him, once confessed: "All the people grumbled, and secretly complained that the Lord's anointed was sinning.

Perhaps more harmless is Henry's penchant for macabre jokes. For example, he amused himself with his entire court (not without rebuke, of course) with the mortal fear of a naked man smeared with honey and licked by a bear! Macabre, in a completely different way, his forced exploitation of the silver mines of the Rammelsberg near Goslar, a waste of wood so enormous that it led to an ecological crisis in the Harz mountains, with the rapidly growing spruce in its wake.

Above all, however, the saint, who repeatedly commands peace and invokes peace, constantly uses violence - one of the most warlike kings of our time (Fried).

Personally, the future emperor appears pious. He occasionally visited a prominent saint's tomb, venerated relics as a matter of course and took part in church ceremonies more often than other princes of the time. Indeed, he demonstrated his faith at almost every opportunity. No sooner had he thus celebrated the "Incarnation of the Lord" on Christmas Ines in Frankfurt than he spent the annual commemoration in Aachen on January 4, 1003 of his predecessor "in the greatest devotion", then comes out of love to St. Servatius (d. 384) to his tomb in Maastricht, moves on to

Liège to visit the patron saint there, Lambert (d.

703) -u venerate, celebrates, again in Aachen, on February 2, 1003, -in reverence the purification feast of the Mother of God-, was-

on he hurries to Nijmegen, tim d" during Lent -first to attain the kingdom of God and his justice ...-, as Thietmar of Merseburg says, our main source for Henry.

Is there something "calculating" about this piety? Of course, like

every piety, especially the Christian one! That of his wife, for  
example,

St. Cunegonde, of whom there are no less than 60 documents with the formula -pro remedio animae-, for the salvation of the soul or with analogous phrases.

It is well known that Heinrich, the "-rex canonicus", who was known as "supreme imperial cleric", he also held several canonries. He has been a member of the cathedral chapter in Bamberg since 1000 and in Magdeburg since 1010, but is also a canon in Strasbourg, Aachen, Paderborn and Hildesheim. He participates in the prayer communities of cathedral chapters and receives their benefices. He joins the prayer community of Montecassino, forms a "Societas et fraternitas" with Cluny, also fraternizes with other reform monasteries, with Fruttuaria, with Saint-Benigne in Dijon. He accomplishes the refoundation of the diocese of Merseburg (1000), the refoundation of the diocese of Bamberg (\*7) SOWle des Bishopric of Bobbio (1014) - as the third ornament of his pious life- works- (Thietmar): possibly initiated by Bobbio Abbey, which, much plagued by neighboring bishops, hoped for more protection from its own bishopric of Bobbio. Even today, the traditional apologetics still praise Henry's (and his 1st wife's) will -to live in accordance with Christ-, speak of a -personal succession according to the instructions of the Gospel- and attest him -a religious gift of his own kind- (Guthj).

The latter may be true. For even if Henry was "truly pious", as Benedictine Bauerreiss, the Bavarian church historian, affirms, he was not too pious, not of that "good guy" piety, for example, which is only encountered at the wrong time, only repulsive. No, a "soft-hearted king", no, -that would be bad too-, Bauerreiss quotes Brun von Querfurt, another saint.

Because of course the duke's son also mastered the "The craft of war. Praying and killing {cf. V *i6 li!*, z8 If!) were harmoniously combined. Of course, the bloody quarrel was (admittedly not only) a requirement of rule in this family. Henry's father, the quarrelsome one, was so at odds with his cousin, Emperor Otto II, that he wanted freedom and the duchy of

(V 3z3 ff.). And even Henry's grandfather, Henry I of Bavaria, the brother of Emperor Otto I, feuded with him for years (V Izo ff.).

### HEINRICH THE SAINT STEALS THE IMPERIAL INSIGNIA AND BECOMES KING AGAINST ALL LAW

Although not initially destined for the throne, he was made co-regent (*condux*) by his father and, after his death *in 995*, was elected duke *by the* Bavarian nobility, who also supported his bid for the crown in Bavaria, or at least tolerated it on all sides. Otherwise, however, his claim to the ruler's seat of Otto, who had died so unexpectedly and without mercy

III was anything but undisputed. After all, there was neither a direct heir apparent nor a prior designation, but several candidates and disagreeing princes, all of whom decided to convene their own electoral assemblies. Although Henry was a great-grandson of Henry I, a great-nephew of Otto I, a second cousin of Otto III, there was also the latter's closest relative, the Salian Otto of Carinthia, a grandson of Otto the Great. And as the son of Otto's daughter, he was one degree closer to the deceased ruler and was probably more powerful than Henry. However, the Carinthian renounced, if we can believe Bishop Thietmar, Henry's declared partisan, if it was not a forced renunciation. And other aspirants, at times the two descendants of King Henry I's siblings, Swabian duke Hermann and Margrave Ekkehard of Meissen, also eventually dropped out.

For Henry, although ill from an early age, was obsessed with the royal crown that had escaped his house. Unwilling to hesitate for long, he lay in wait, as cunningly as brutally, for the funeral procession of the dead man who had been led across the Alps to the Rolling court of Bishop Siegfried von

Augsburg, the only great man who initially stood up for Henry, who had just made him bishop. And in Polling, the Bavarian snatched the imperial insignia from the funeral procession, which was particularly significant at the time as it symbolized the empire. The robber shed copious tears at this brazen action and asked each magnate individually (singularly) and with great promises to make him their lord.

and king - (Thietmar).

However, the Holy Lance was missing. The suspicious Archbishop of Cologne, Heribert, who wanted to make his relative, the Swabian duke Hermann II, king, had sent it in advance. Thus Henry forced her release by imprisoning the archbishop - also a saint (feast originally March 6, now August 6) - and then by taking his brother, the Würzburg bishop Henry I, hostage. Both saints distrusted each other all their lives, and the holy king kept the holy prince of the church cold for almost his entire reign. Henry also freely had Otto's entrails buried in Augsburg and made large donations for his salvation - although it is not known that he actually fulfilled them.

It was particularly the majority of the most powerful prelates who satisfied Henry's desire for the throne, not least because of his promises. But he also held out the prospect of rich rewards to the secular greats, the majority of whom, however, initially considered him unsuitable to rule for a variety of reasons - something which posterity has agreed with the princes on for centuries. Henry, as cunning as any full-blooded politician, was quick to offer assurances, which often took a long time to be fulfilled. Thus, even in the hunt for his legitimacy, he only attained the title of king through a formal, partial election and "against all justifiably existing constitutional norms" (Hirsch), alongside the election of Henry I "the most controversial in the history of the East Franconian kingdom" (Brühl).

On y. June 1000, the twenty-nine-year-old became the last male descendant of the Saxon dynasty in Mainz, where no king had yet been crowned, by Franconia,



Bavaria and Upper Lorraine was elected king, then quickly anointed and crowned by the local Archbishop Willigis, his zealous and most important helper, with songs of praise in honor of God. Metropolis Willigis, to whom Henry vowed to "exalt and elevate God's church and Christ's priests to the best of his knowledge and ability in the most vigilant veneration" (to whom he also, like many others, personally "gave and promised much"), was without doubt the legitimate coronator. But almost everything else was unusual: the time, the place, and of course the throne of Charles was missing, as was a general election.

### **BLOODY START OF GOVERNMENT**

Heinrich, who had put all his will and skill into  
 -The bishops Alwin of Brixen, Hartwig of Salzburg, Christian of Passau, Gebhard of Regensburg, Werner of Straßburg, Gottschalk of Freising, even the Würzburg prelate who had previously been taken hostage by Henry. Others, however, leaned towards other pretenders or stood up for them; for Margrave Ekkehard of Meißien some of Saxony's most important personalities, Arnulf of Halberstadt and Bernward of Hildesheim, the holy warrior, castle builder and former teacher of Otto III. (V y5o), who had already received Ekkehard in Hildesheim with royal honors; for Duke Hermann of Swabia, above all Archbishop Heribert of Cologne, Gisiler of Magdeburg, Lantbert of Constance, Othelrich of Chur, albeit often for different motives. The Saxons, Swabians and Lower Lorraine were completely absent from the election.

Ekkehard von Meißen, however, the ambitious popular duke of Thuringia and favorite of the Saxons in particular, who had stormed Castel Sant'Angelo under his friend Otto III qq8 and brutally liquidated Crescentius and his comrades (V Jaq), was now for his part and still

killed in time. This important contender for the crown - who, of course, seemed to have given up in favor of the Swabian duke, which would have considerably strengthened his position - had his head cut off one night in the palace of Pöhlde am Harz and the body stolen: the private revenge of Counts Siegfried II and Benno von Northeim, as it is repeatedly said, along with his playmates, who then returned home "happy and unmolested" while Abbot Alfger read the mass for the soul. Without this murder of Michael, in which political reasons probably played a part, Henry, inaugurated or not, would hardly have become king, the man who, according to Bishop Thietmar, "humiliated everyone who stood up against him by God's grace and his own prowess", who "forced them all to obey him with their necks in the *air*".

This also applies to Hermann II of Swabia and ElsaB (997 -- i) from the Rhine-Franconian house of the Conradines (V 3§§ ff.). The great-nephew of Henry I enjoyed excellent relations with the

and initially even appeared to be the most promising candidate for the throne, as most of the princes gathered at Otto III's funeral assured him of their solidarity. His canonry was desired, and he attempted to prevent his rival from crossing the Rhine to be crowned in Mainz at Worms with an army consisting of Swabians, some Franks and Alsatians, but was tricked by a sham maneuver,

But now the "God-fearing and humble duke" took up arms against the future saint. His Swabians took Straßburg, which belonged to the king, plundered it, even robbed the entire treasure in the cathedral church of St. Mother of God and then, to crown their heroic deed, "set fire to the house of the Lord" - without the duke's knowledge, claims Thietmar, his relative; but most sources blame him. St. Henry, however, who blamed the entire dispute over the throne on the devil, who had prevented his royal happiness, devastated the lands of the Swabians in retaliation and cleared out their farms; a necessary business that the bishops of Strasbourg and Basel then apparently continued.

For in order to establish his dominance, in order to be considered a king, he had to devastate and plunder the country - whether he wanted to or not - as was the pious custom.

However, before Henry could embark on the military campaign planned for the spring, the Swabian Bfl I submitted at Bruchsal in October. "Never before or since has a German king seized the crown so violently" (R. Usinger)

- even if it could be noted that "all kings had done the same, namely with violence and war against resistance" (Fried). But Henry did not want to become blessed or holy at that time. He only wanted to win a dignity at any price, which his father and grandfather had already coveted in vain, in short he wanted to fall back on the healthy (!) principles of government of Otto I" (Handbuch der Kir- chengeschichte).

The fact that8 the future saint did not yet feel firmly in the saddle is shown by the many months he spent in the hospital following the coronation.

-royal ride". Common among the Merovingians, it was dropped for centuries afterwards. Henry took it up again, obviously as a demonstration of legitimacy: a battle, as it were, for approval after the election, a royal elevation, says Roderich Schmidt, "in stages"; a procession that led via Thuringia, Saxony, Lower Lorraine, Swabia and Bavaria to Upper Lorraine.

And blood was already flowing again on this ride, there was a -very fierce fight-. But on 10. August, on the occasion of the coronation of St. Cunegonde in Paderborn, plundering Bavarian troops clashed with the locals, and the royal TruchseB Heinrich, the brother of Chancellor Eil- bert, also fell. Bishop Thietmar b l a m e s this on the greed of the Bavarians. -At home they must always be content with little, but abroad they are almost insatiable.

## RxFORMIEREi\$t - AND PASSiNG

Henry II, a decidedly pragmatic type, was tough, calculating, eager for advantage, with an almost unerring instinct for people he could use. No hint of genius, not even the slightest, clings to him, not even in crime. The infamous poker game of all or nothing is completely alien to him. He only sees the possible, the obvious, and seeks to realize it. This is why he replaces Otto III's motto "Restoration of the Roman Empire" on his royal seal - with recourse to a Carolingian sovereign bull - with the motto "Renewal of the Frankish Empire" and abandons the Romanized imperial ideology, the universalist ambitions of his predecessor.

However, he continued the Ottonian church policy without interruption. In doing so, "the man who was ecclesiastically minded above all things" (*vir omni ecclesiastica perfectione praecipuus*), who wanted to be a colleague of the bishops, made them completely subservient to him. He transformed his concern for them, as I recognize not for the first time, into rule over them - even more so than under Otto I; indeed, more than all his predecessors, he brought system to the matter. Henry II supported the reform, the stricter observance of ecclesiastical discipline, celibacy for example (5th izz), the ban on close marriages, certain monastic norms; but the reform also supported him - and helped him.

Even as a duke, his first government measures were aimed at reforming monasteries, whereby he was even able to oppose the bishops. And later he was so responsible for the monasteries and their buildings that he was called "pater monachorum", father of the monks. Of course, he became pater episcoporum even more. He made great donations to the high clergy, the bishoprics, the pillars of his power. - Which (emperor) - praises a contemporary lament on his death, "has so brilliantly elevated and enriched the temples of the saints with an abundance of girdles?"

But Henry II was not only - the great comforter of the saints

Churches (Annales Quedlinburg), but was also and even more a "real politician", indeed, so much so that he, the saint, for many years, it seemed advantageous, fought without further ado together with the accursed pagans, side by side against a catholic prince (p. 83 ff.), a prince who only a short time ago, together with the Germans, had fought against these same accursed pagans!

Piety and a pronounced sense of utility were inextricably linked in his life. He took care of the monasteries, promoted their reform (on the very first day of his royal reign he confirmed an abbot's election in Lorsch) and bestowed more imperial goods on abbots and bishops than before, because the monasteries, immersed in wealth and luxury, The monasteries, immersed in wealth and luxury, had become institutions for the feudal nobility, the monks often lived or wanted to live like them, but Henry needed their efficiency, not only for his wars beyond the borders, but often even more for his weakening of the aristocratic, princely concentration of power in the empire. The monasteries, the episcopal churches had to provide for the king's guest (servitium regis), since the palaces were now failing in this respect, and had to maintain Henry - more often still, and much more expensively on the road than his predecessors - and his entourage, his envoys, messengers and their escorts, personnel, for these lords naturally did not travel alone either. Not to mention the fact that the church had to provide a substantial part of the imperial army, for Henry had "conducted most of his most important campaigns, as Looshorn emphasizes, mainly with the troops of the ecclesiastical princes". (In the year of his death, the monastery of Fulda, whose abbots already resided like princes, received the county of Stoddenstadt in the Maingau from him; even the nunnery of Gandenheim had only become a county a few years earlier).

He made the most important imperial monasteries of Fulda, Prüm,

Reichenau, Corvey and St. Maximin near Trier - and restricted their independence. Even as duke, he respected the Tegernsee monks' right to freely choose their abbot - in IOO3 they are even said to have chosen their abbot according to the

The monks of Tegernsee had prayed for the salvation of their duke, who was in Italy with Otto III. (The monks of Tegernsee had prayed one hundred and fifty masses and seven psalters for the salvation of their duke, who was in Italy with Otto III).

All monasteries had to pay Henry fixed levies, the *servitium regale*, and almost everywhere he reformed and secularized monasteries, he also collected, collected most unabashedly, often fleecing to the point of exhaustion. It is no coincidence that the Quedlinburg annals brand him a -church robber-. His constant feuds and wars swallowed up a lot of money, and to raise the necessary funds he demanded payments from churches and monasteries that far exceeded Otto I's practice. Each time it was the same procedure, each time the reformist aspect was wonderfully harmoniously combined with the economic need, the religious interest with the imperial interest, so to speak, whereby Henry preferred the wealthiest abbeys. For example, he forced the first reform on the Eifel monastery of **Prüm** and encroached on its property. The wealthy abbey of Hersfeld, where the high nobility lived in splendor, separated from each other in their own houses, with horses and

Henry IO-4 reformed the monasteries and monasteries and confiscated a large part of their possessions. He also took part in the reform of Berge Abbey near Magdeburg (1007) and Reichenau Abbey (1006), which had only been accessible to the nobility since the 10. Century only accessible to the nobility, he intervened. In Reichenau, he dismissed Heinrich, the monk elected by the brothers, "although he had accepted monetary payments from him" (*quamvis ab eo pecunias accepisset*), and appointed Abbot Immo of Gorze and Prüm in his place, who "severely oppressed some of the brothers through fasting, beatings and banishment", writes Hermann von Reichenau, who was already seven years old when he was "given over to the sciences" and remained there until his death 1014 at the chair of the monks.

the shackled eminent chronicler, suffered a serious loss of great men, books and church treasures". However, Abbot Immo was soon fired again.

Similarly, the reform of Fulda, the "queen among the German monasteries", and Corvey on the Weser led to considerable expropriations in favor of the royal domains. The abbot of the mighty Fulda, which was far too powerful for Henry and whose vast possessions he had only confirmed and increased in red down to the remotest claims and rights, was summarily dismissed and the superfluous goods of the convent (Guth) confiscated; perhaps even a deliberate robbery to defray the costs of his Roman campaign. In any case, the fathers left the monastery in droves, especially those of free birth. Fulda seemed to become deserted; it temporarily resembled, according to a contemporary, a place of fire.

Henry also dismissed Abbot Walh of Corvey and, against the will of the religions, appointed the monk Druthmar from Lorsch as the new abbot.

-like Rebellen- to take up arms. However, Henry put seventeen of them in prison, whereupon the others parried, which was seen not only at the time as a disgraceful blow to the rights and origins of the highly respected foundation that had existed for almost two centuries.

The Ordinary of the Imperial Abbey, Meinwerk of Paderborn (1004-1036), who was connected to the emperor through his ties to the Saxon royal house, his wealth, much of which he had to transfer to the Paderborn church, as well as his military service, and even through their common schoolmates at the cathedral school in Hildesheim, had called his master to his aid. Henry often rewarded the bishop - who was repeatedly and harshly expelled from Corvey - with donations, among others by the abbey of Schildesche and Helmarshausen, the latter especially in the 12th century. The latter was a not insignificant long-distance trading center, especially in the 18th century, when it tried to secure its privileges against Paderborn through forgeries (Fahlbusch). And Meinwerk, this extremely acquisitive, construction-mad, ostentatious prelate, "the ideal of an imperial bishop of the Ottonian-early Salian period" (Struve), went so far as to steal from the ruler; he stole a cup from him, had it forged into a mephitic chalice and

The emperor declared, 'convicted by the monogram', that he had not stolen anything, but had only put the emperor's vain greed at the service of God.

In Memleben, whose monastery had been founded by Otto II and endowed with the unusually large gift of eleven Btirgwarden, Otto III had still endowed it with Thuringian property, market, minting and customs rights, Henry deposed Abbot Reinhold and withdrew all endowments and privileges from Hatis. As a result, a large part of the staff dispersed and the abbey, henceforth a provostship, an appendage of Hersfeld, became impoverished for centuries.

In Trier, where in St. Maximin, the oldest and richest of all the monasteries there, the brothers even attempted to murder the new strict abbot Poppo during the implementation of the reform, the monarch IOJ3 collected no less than 6,656 hooves or manses (whereby this term for a farm often goes beyond the scope of a Baiernhof, a farmstead). A chronicler of the 7. J lthrhunderts estimates, based on the prices of his time, the value of the estate taken from the monastery by the king and, to a not inconsiderable extent, given to the Duke of Bavaria, his brother-in-law, at almost 93 million guilders.

For many monks, especially the conservative, anti-reform ones, Henry II was merely a tyrant who "usurped the goods, rights and ways of life of sacred institutions" (Schulze). He gave monasteries to the bishops one after the other: Seligenstadt to the diocese of Würzburg, St. Stephen and Schwarzach to the diocese of Strasbourg; Paderborn, the abbeys of Helmarshausen and Schildesche, St. Florin zu Koblenz to Trier, Disentis to Brixen, and so on. And in Italy he proceeded no differently: a political concept that allowed the bishops to sufficiently and regularly fulfill their military and economic obligations ... (Seibert).

But Heinrich once gave from his "own property--", he called it -It is our duty to endow the holy churches of God above all with the blessings bestowed on us by God". This could



However, he was all the more likely to do so because everything that the bishoprics, whose landholdings were constantly growing, received remained at his service, **euphemistically** or historiographically (oh, the same thing): the

-Imperial interests". It is clear that many a bishop took monastery property for his own use; however, the monks' reports of punishment were much less likely to frighten prelates than ordinary believers. The chronicle of St. Lawrence censures Bishop Durand of Liège in the strongest terms because he ruthlessly took monastery property, partly to enfeoff his knights and partly for the benefit of his own table. For as the lord, so the lord. As late as 1023, after his last monastic reform in St. Maximin near Trier, Henry transferred a large part of these possessions to powerful vassals. Not to mention the fact that he appointed and dismissed abbots as he saw fit, without any regard for the convent's right to vote.

' GOOD HOGS' AND  
• HEI LI GE LEITHAMMEL"

Henry II, who clung to the right of appointment of the bishops, who prevented free elections even more resolutely than Otto I, who occasionally, as in Paderborn, when renewing privileges, simply continued the right to vote, Henry gave the most important church offices to men he trusted, without caring much about the proposals of cathedral chapters, conventicles, about free consent, in short about the *electio canonica* and its absolutely guaranteed rights. In the face of opposition from the episcopate, in the face of counter-effects, he imposed his will in Magdeburg, Trier, Hamburg and Halberstadt, with the exception of a single, somewhat obscure case in his entire twenty-two-year reign. Many bishops also came directly from the "court chapel", the political diplomatic service; six of the ten archbishops appointed by Henry. He would only appoint clerics as bishops who had

previously, as it were, under his

eyes, had proved their worth. Thus he filled 21 of the vacancies that arose during his reign with members of the court chapel, 21.2 percent; the episcopal appointments in Merseburg, Bamberg, Cambrai, Toul, Brixen and Trent are still missing. However, he also drew his people from cathedral schools, five alone from graduates of the Liège cathedral school, including his chancellor Gunther and his biographer Adelbold.

In many cases, younger men made clerical careers through him, but occasionally also had to make contributions in money and goods for the benefit of the emperor and the empire. He awarded the office of bishop not least with regard to the capital of his candidates, such as Thietmar of Merseburg, Meinwerk of Paderborn and Unwan of Hamburg, both of whom came from the very wealthy Saxon Immedinger clan and had to leave a considerable part of their wealth to the church. The saint was therefore not spared the accusation of simony.

In any case, each of his chancellors was eventually given a bishopric. As a result, the leading prelates, Willigis of Mainz, Burchard of Worms, Bernward of Hildesheim, Meinwerk of Paderborn and Eberhard of Bamberg, always stood firmly by him. He increased their possessions, gave them even more counties, sovereignties and royal banns in fief than his predecessor. He extended their rights and strengthened their power, but without increasing their independence from the crown. On the contrary. He imposed his will on them. He demanded unconditional obedience. When there were differences with Gundachar of Eichstätt, he told him outright that he had made him bishop so that what he wanted would happen immediately; if he wanted to remain in office, he had to comply. And when Bishop Wolberto of Liège repeatedly refused to send money to the royal chamber, when he refused to "throw it down the throats of the jugglers and other court dogs", when he preferred to build churches and support the poor, the Holy Lord was furious.

Henry, who completes the royal sovereignty in the Reichskirche,

By claiming unrestricted power over them, he became a Prussian king like hardly any other German ruler. He virtually led the German church - in contrast to Canon law, of course. He presided over the prelates while they were still in their temples, and was by no means just an honorary prelate. As king, he convened fifteen so-called imperial synods, in which he attempted to regulate many matters in the church as well as (other) matters of the realm. The court assembly and synod, the meetings of the lay nobility that regularly took place alongside the councils, merged into one another anyway.

Henry negotiated with the bishops as he did with his subjects. He controlled discipline in the church, the administration. He asserted his will in legal problems, in lawsuits, in disputes over church property, diocesan boundaries, the removal of bishops, in questions of morality, marriage and even in theological matters. He even forced Benedict VIII to introduce the Symbolum into the Roman missal.

In general, the popes had little say in all of this. The Church was essentially Henry's instrument, a political issue. But he not only ruled it, he also ruled through it. On the other hand, the state was highly ecclesiasticalized, even more so than under the Ottonians, and the clericalization of the kingdom reached its peak. The fact that Henry took the internal reform of the church seriously does not contradict this, but rather underlines it, especially as the imperial monasticism, which was influenced by Gorizia, was in principle in favor of his imperial policy and he did not allow the bishop's power over the monasteries to be restricted."

Henry restored the bishopric of Merseburg, which had been dissolved under Otto II, elevated Bobbio to a bishopric and in the meantime founded - not without cunning - (Wendehorst) the bishopric of Bamberg (p. 7 ff.) . Assigned to the archdiocese of Mainz, it was still under the special protection of the pope.

and supported by the ruler in every respect, endowed with royal estates, Bavarian ducal estates, Upper Franconian countships, lands in Styria, Carinthia, and the Bavarian province of Styria.

Tyrol and with monasteries. The main political and missionary task of this diocese was undoubtedly the final subjugation of the Slavic population on the Regnitz and Obermain rivers, which was still attested to half a century later (p. 7 ff.), i.e. once again the 'tried and tested' Carolingian policy of granting monasteries to the Slavs. winning the Slavs - by sword *and* mission" (Brackmann).

Henry II relied all the more on the bishops as they served him as a counterweight against the secular nobility, as with their help he quelled all the revolts of secular feudal lords, often even his relatives, in the first decade of his reign, mobilizing "the last reserves of the imperial estate" (Fried) for the benefit of the Church.

In this way, he ruined Margrave Henry of Schweinfurt, to whom he had promised the Duchy of Bavaria (p. 60 ff.}. In this way, he systematically disrupted the positions of power of the Bavarian and Swabian dukes. The princes who had become particularly powerful under Otto II and III were the king's greatest opponents. Thus he, the Bavarian Liudolfinger, pursued the Frankish noble houses of the Salians and the Conradines with relentless vigor and opposed the bishops of Worms, Mainz, Würzburg, Bamberg, Strasbourg and Basel. He strengthened the prelates with generous privileges at the expense of the ducal power. As a result, he conducted most of his decisive campaigns mainly with the help of the bishops, of whom he probably used and demanded more than 20 to be good shepherd dogs and "holy bellwethers"!

Because what was true long before: "In the political battles the archbishops, the metropolitans, play the first role-- (Daniel Rops), is all the more true under Henry. The episcopate was one of his most important instruments of power. The warlike -The "imperial church system" culminates."

The increasing militaristic implication of the high clergy had already become clear earlier, especially in volumes 4 and 5. However, it would seem desirable to examine the entire history of the early Middle Ages as state- and church-carrying

complex in a more systematic and coherent way. If this also requires longer retrospectives and partial repetitions, it will be all the more conducive to understanding this and the following period.

## EXCURS

### CLERGY AND WAR

-fränkic rulers and insl'csondrc guy d. Gr. were already increasingly turning their politics, administration and military affairs over to bishops and abbots.- Reinhard Schneider"

"Even monks liked to hear and write about deeds of war, through them one attained 'immortal' fame, without them the fiefdom was poor and prosaic.  
Heinrich Fichtenau"

-The fight with dtn weapons is more bearable than a right-Gerbert of Aurillac (i'apsi Silvester II, qqj-ioej)\*





Even today, Christianity is, miraculously, still regarded as an organization of peace, love of neighbour and enemy, good news. Even today, the majority of people, especially Christian believers, do not realize the immense extent of the involvement of the Church in feuds and wars, even in late antiquity and especially in the early Middle Ages. For more than any other religion, even more than Islam, Christianity has been and remains the religion of war.

Already in the early q. This betrayal, the abrupt metamorphosis of the church of the pacifists into that of the field monkeys, its worst case, and one that happened overnight, so to speak (I \*47 ff!). Admittedly, a paltry remnant of early Christian pacifism occasionally lingered, early medieval poenentials, in continuation of a provision of Basil of Caesarea, imposed a penance of five days for killing the enemy of war, sometimes even a year, as did Fiilbert, Bishop of Chartres from roo6 onwards. However, such punishments were then avoided in the battle of vestiture by not considering the respective opponent as human - and could now kill with impunity.

In the Orient, there were soon gods of soldiers, warrior saints, St. Demetrius, St. Theodore, St. Sergius, St. George. And as early as the end of the4 J century, the matter is reflected in literature.

Christ Vegetius writes down his --epitoma rei militaris--: a

An opus apparently addressed to Emperor Theodosius I, concerning the so-called art of war: recruitment and training, the army and its facilities, fortress and naval warfare. For centuries, this textbook by a Christian dominated the military thinking of Christendom. Ec was used until the

It was eagerly read, copied and practically used by military leaders in the later Middle Ages. It was kept in monastery libraries, in Reichenau and in St. Gallen. Bishops liked to give it to princes, such as Bishop Hertgar of Liittich (with a corresponding dedicatory poem) to the military commander Count Eberhard of Friuli (d. 4 or 866), a son-in-law of Louis the Frommen.

Eberhard, a successful warrior against both Saracens and Slavs and venerated as a saint in the abbey he founded at Cysoing near Tournai, was a friend of Rhabanus, the famous Abbot of Fulda and Metropolitan of Mainz. And the latter, probably in the last year of his life, 8yy, created an abridged version of Vegez's work for the young King Lothar II, a nephew of Charles the Bald. In a few sentences, the archbishop praises the fight for freedom, king and fatherland as the best guarantee for entry into paradise. -"For he who preserves intact the loyalty pledged to his prince and would rather lose his present life than his loyalty will undoubtedly receive eternal life from the one w h o created the law and commanded it to be preserved.""

In the same secular period, Nicolsus I (8y8- 7), the Pope, who had been canonized, was quite Christian in his response to the Bulgarians' question as to whether war could be waged on certain holy days:

"If war is avoidable at these times, then it should be refrained from; but if it proves necessary for the defense of the fatherland or for similarly just reasons, then it should be waged; God should try to place the hands in the ShoB in the face of the greatest danger; hope and salvation should not be placed on certain days, but only on the Lord; God had the Hebrews massacred when they refused to fight on the Sabbath to teach this lesson (x Mac. z,3z ff.)."

Oh uplifting biblical example! And as always welcome: massacre those who do not want to be massacred - provided, of course, that the reasons are just. But there always have been. Theologians have been talking and living (!) about "just" war since Augustine (I y•4 ff.).

In reality, of course, once the war had begun, people no longer worried about its justice, but were instead told to march, to strike on command, to kill from start to finish. Just like today! In the Middle Ages, however, wars were so frequent that declarations of war in the modern sense were hardly known, in fact it was said that they were not in use. (War - and the closely related *pehde* - usually began with a factual attack on the enemy)."

Popes Leo IV (14'hey) and John VIII (7\*- -), however, also assured all those who fell in battle against pagans and other opponents of the Church of their heavenly reward, the eternal life.

### **PASTORAL CARE OR "LOVE IN A STRANGE FORM**

Mother Church had long been concerned about the souls of her slaughtering sons. No less a personage than the "Apostle of the Germans", St. Boniface (IV li. ch.), who gave shields and lances to the King of Mercia, energetically strove for an intact military chaplaincy. Thus the Concilium Germanicum y z: -The prince shall have one or two bishops with him, together with the palatine priests, and each commander (count) a priest, who can pronounce judgment on those who confess their sins and impose penance on them." The decision was reiterated and confirmed by the royal law of Karlmann, the ruler of Austrasia, and later also endorsed by Pope Hadrian I, thus legally and formally establishing Carolingian military chaplaincy for the first time.

It has been mentioned since the era of Charles I. And quite a few accompanied the army for the purpose of worship, sacramental service, propaganda, especially in the q., in the io. This was particularly the case in the qth century, when the cathedral canons acted as field priests under the Ottonians in Italy.

Just as the wars, especially the so-called civil wars and feuds (a difference more of scale than of genre) hardly ceased in the Middle Ages, whereby it was not so much the ethics of the Christians that grew stronger as their barbarism.

Thus it is pure window-dressing to claim that Christianity first had to penetrate the world more deeply and only then, by means of -'ever new impulses, new streams of religious power--, from Benedict of Aniane (V 3y ff.) in the qth century to Clu- nicians and Gorzes, Cistercians and Premonstratensians, to the mendicant monks in the i 3rd century, was able to penetrate the world more deeply. The bloody business, the disciplina militaris, was humanized, as it were, by means of ever new impulses and new streams of religious power, from Benedict of Aniane (V 3y ff.) in the qth century to the Clu- nicians and Gorzians, Cistercians and Premonstratensians to the mendicant monks in the i 3rd century. There was - a transformation of the craft of arms through a Christian ideal of chivalry - even if it "only became historically effective at the height of the Middle Ages" (Schieffer) - after one thousand two hundred years of the Christian era!

And was it effective?

In reality, wars remained just as terrible throughout the Middle Ages. And then, among Christian peoples, they became not only more extensive, but even more terrible, ever more orderly and crushing at the same time, an unrestrained escalation of violence that was in fact almost unlimited, but basically sanctioned by the Church, and which increasingly extended to non-combatants as well."

Nevertheless, the apologists continue their well-worn repertoire, their permanent dumbing down and brutalization of the people. Thus Franz Böckle, once Germany's most prominent moral theologian, writes, completely unshaken by two world wars: -When violence resists the real crime itself, it is not evil, but rather then appears as love in a foreign guise. Absolute non-violence leads to anarchy and violence.

Absolute non-violence is the devil, of course. Ergo, Christianity practices "love in a strange form" and is no longer punished for this by its priests, but is literally praised to death for it. Even as late as

the 4<sup>th</sup> century

Basil, bishop, saint and Doctor of the Church, commanded the war

to stay away from communion for at least three years with their unclean hand. And centuries later, Fulbert of Chartres demanded one year's bufie for killing in war - but twenty-one years for killing a priest (in peace)."

BLESSING OF THE EELDZEI CHEN, THE MONKEYS  
, THE  
LIGHTS OR " CHRI ST IS BORN'

A ya hr Bufile there, twenty-one years there - who wouldn't be puzzled by that! At that time, the Church had been calling for stabbing in battle for centuries. In addition, the whole war was enriched with clerical unholiness, the mass murder was pseudo-religiously ritualized, mystified, through the use of Christian texts, symbols, consecration, blessing etc. in the liturgy, the shaft, in its preparation.

As early as the . or 6th century, the Leonian Sacramentary, written in Rome at the time: "Defeat, Lord, the enemies of the Roman name and the Catholic confession! Protect the rulers of Rome everywhere, so that through their victory your people may have secure peace! Destroy the enemies of your The Gallican sacramentaries of the7. and 8th centuries usually replace the Roman Empire in the prayer texts with the Frankish Empire and sometimes conclude with the king. times, the army has already entered the Pürbitte.

The early Christians naturally r e j e c t e d battle flags, more so in the West than in the Orient. But around the turn of the millennium, they also began to be used in the West.

Use. Indeed, Pope Nicholas I (8—#37) recommends the use of the cross as a military emblem in his detailed doctrinal letter to the Bulgarians and acts as if it were already common practice in Christianity.

In the io. In the nineteenth century, the German pontificals of the

liturgical blessing of the battle flags. -Just as you made Abraham triumph against five kings and gave King David victory in battle for the glory of your name, so let yourself be called upon to bless and sanctify this standard, which is to be carried for the defense of the holy church against the enemy who is raging with fury. Always, by the way, the same black and white painting: there the holy emblem, the holy church, the defense, there the enemy raging with fury.

Of course, the Christian soldiery itself is also blessed. Thus a blessing for the army in the 11th century reads: "May their courage be undaunted, may their thirst for battle be upright, and when the army has triumphed through your angel, then give it not to its own strength, but only to your Son, the victorious Christ, the thanks and triumph who, through the humility of his suffering and death on the cross, triumphed over death and the devil." Yes, how well Golgotha can be marketed! Until the last two world wars, it served as a model for human slaughter animals, becoming a metaphysical reservoir of power for physical death."

It is only logical that murder weapons are also consecrated (which I have often heard denied and usually in general: "The church has never consecrated weapons!").

But now, again first in German pontificals, already in the later 10th century a sword blessing--, which is also called so in the titles of the manuscripts. And it applies above all to the slaying piece itself: "Hear, Lord, our petitions and bless with the hand of your Majesty this sword with which this servant of yours N. wishes to be girded, so that it may be a defense and protection for the churches, widows and orphans, for all servants of God against the rage of the heathen, and inspire fear and terror in the enemies. - (Who would doubt that widows and orphans here - and elsewhere - are just euphemistic substitutes, mere rhetorical figures between churches and servants of God, which is all the clergy really care about\* Or is it cynicism? After all, widows and orphans came into existence en masse thanks to such church aid).

The bishop himself equipped the Catholic fighters with banners, swords, lances and shields.

War cartridges such as Mauritius (vg 4JQf.), Sebastian, Georg become increasingly popular. A Christian "knightly ethic" and a Christian chivalry emerged, in which the figure of the warrior reached its apotheosis (Contamine). Before the battle began, the butchers swallowed the living body of the Lord (all the more necessary as their own could soon be dead, soon slaughtered themselves). They also commended themselves to God and all the saints for moral armament. And swords were sharpened on church portals for weaponry, as the "Wetzmarken" of North German Christian temples still show."

However, people did not only go to church for such "religious" reasons, not just for a "religious service", a blessing of the flag, a consecration of arms. Rather, as in medieval Florence, for example, the marchers also met there to read the war chapters, the "statutes and regulations" laid down for the campaign with detailed provisions on marching, encampment, punishments, etc. - the most extensive spying system in the world. -The most extensive system of spies (later monks used to head the military intelligence bureau) served to prepare for the battle and accompanied it" (Davidsohn).

At the latest in the 10th century. Bishops or priests led the killing mob with crosses, flags and relics. They recited prayers, litanies, intoned pious songs, such as the popular *alu Gottes Namen fahren wir ...* -. (Above my belly was still written during the Second World War: -GOD WITH US-. And for many, unfortunately, it was and still is in their heads). Then those who were armed in every respect rushed at the evil enemy with the most religious battle cries, with "Kyrieleison- or the names of various saints, such as St. Benedict, firmly gathered around the banner, the consecrated, sanctified one. -Christ is born," cried Archbishop Christian of Mainz, in thought perhaps still with his numerous pleasure women (p. §\*7-1 The On the Marchfeld, the scene of so much carnage over two millennia, the Bishop of Basel called out: "Sant Marei, Mother and



Maiden, all our troubles be slain unto thee." The imperial troops shouted "Rome", the French "Montjoie", the Normans "God help", the crusaders "Holy Cross". And then the work began, the real work in the vineyard of the Lord ...

However, even though Christianity, especially the Catholic Church, waged war almost without interruption in the Middle Ages, it **hardly** found time to write summarizing war treatises. Significantly, it was only the humanists who began to do so."

#### tHe eUrIErUS WAS A WAR DIRECTOR STrElstG VERB OTE1'I

While the Church had generously allowed its laity to kill in war ever since Constantine - *in stark contrast to three hundred years of pacifist doctrine and practice!* - it denied this to the clergy. For they had to distinguish themselves, chaste and undefiled, from the rest of the whoring and moribund Christian people in order to demonstrate their specialness, chosenness and dignity. So he was no longer to marry and, from the very beginning, he was not to wield a sword. A priest was not allowed to have bloodstained hands, was not allowed to do military service or carry weapons. For centuries, violations of these rules resulted in dismissal and expulsion. Ancient church regulations also prohibited the clergy from hunting. The same applied to any criminal court activity. Clergymen were not to be involved in the passing or execution of a death sentence and were thus complicit. Offenders were deposed, by the i. i. Council of Toledo ( 75) with life imprisonment, and this even with the direct or indirect imposition of a mere corporal punishment."

In the late 6th and 7th centuries, priests were also forbidden to carry and use weapons, but without the threat of specific punishment. The Germanic The National Council forbade them to take part in combat, and even to bear arms.

"spiritual" functions, including military chaplaincy. Popes of the 8th and 9th centuries, however, urged the clergy to renounce bloody action. Pope Zacharias, for example, or Hadrian I, who asked Charlemagne, in particular bishops of

and yet even<sup>77</sup> \*flit undertook the first papal war of aggression against Terracina with its own army."

And Saxon butcher Charles - celebrated as a saint in the Church for a millennium - winks at the Pope, as it were, repeats the decrees of the Concilium Germanicum in the oldest of his surviving capitularies (around 780s), and also forbids even more-

In his Church Capitulary of Aachen (789), he advised clerics to rely more on the protection of the Lord. In fact, however, the great shedder of blood was able to

his incessant military campaigns, his creation of the "Europass, he never renounced the prelates' contingents, he repeatedly insisted on their military service, he allowed bishops and abbots to fight among and for himself, and his state hedeiitete

"without question an important step on the way to the inclusion of war in church ethics" (Erdmann). After all, "wars are increasingly determined by religious motives" (Montgomery).

And just as Charles acted in contradiction to his own decrees and those of his predecessors, so did the Church. While Pope Nicholas I in the later 9th century repeatedly spoke out against an armored c)erus and its successes and also forbade swearing on the sword, while the Italian clergy still in the 10th. While the Italian clergy, with Bishop Atto of Vercelli, the famous theologian and cultural historian, did not see fighting as a matter for priests, but for demons, ecclesiastical princes went into battle all around; incidentally, ordinary clerics also went into battle when the enemy was invading, when the country was in need.

For one thing was usually the sermon - and the other the opposite, the practice. From the 4th century onwards at the latest, people staggered through the world as a single blatant criminal paradox.

times. The war duties of the bishops, strictly against the canonical regulations, were performed; many actual pastoral duties, strictly canonical, were hardly done. And while the reputation of the chief shepherds, their self-confidence and their power grew, their dioceses saw themselves increasingly fleeced."

MILITARY BRAVADO OF THE BISHOPS  
'VIRTUALLY A CRT PREREQUISITE FOR  
HOLINESS'-

The involvement of the clergy, especially the high clergy, in military service resulted from various factors: from the transformation of rigorous Christian pacifism into the most heinous battle cry that has permeated history (I \*47 ff.); from a certain Germanization (I V 3z ff.); from the enormous ecclesiastical This in turn led to immunity and vassalage, to the development of the i-leer- and Burgbarine, which were, however, also expressly conferred. The bishop was at the head of the butchers, while the burgbarin gave the high clergy the right to build fortifications.

Thus all bishoprics gradually commanded their militia, milites, vassals and ministerials, who were mainly obliged to perform military service for the king in return for a fief or an estate. The bishops preferred to recruit their troops from their relatives. Similarly, most monasteries had military troops, not only those with imperial immediacy, but also the king's own monasteries and those of the temporal and ecclesiastical greats.

As early as the Migration Period, the prelates became the central bearers of resistance (F. G. Maier) against the Germanic tribes. At the beginning of the . century Toulouse under his bishop against the Vandals. Thus the u

4\*

born St. Severin calls on the Noricans to take military action against the Alemanni and personally commands the tJnterneh-

+ 47, chief shepherd Sidonius Apollinaris, son-in-law of the Gallic counter-emperor Avitus, leads the defense of Clermont-Ferrand (Avernum) vider die Wesigoren.

Among the Merovingians - they fought "primitively", wrote the Greek poet and historian Agathias at the time, with throwing spears and, their most important weapon, the battle axe - the high cleric himself fought at the head of his troops. In the Battle of Embrun (7- the local bishop and the bishop of Cap fight against the Lombards and are slain, according to a contemporary prelate, -many with his own hand-. Soul shepherd Sagittarius, a big drunkard and fornicator, rides into the slaughter "not armed with the sign of the holy cross, but with the worldly breastplate and a helmet" (cf. IV 269 ff.).

In the 7th century, bishops with butchery experience - such as Leodegar of Autun (IV 280 ff.), Desideratus of Chalon-sur-Saône, Bobo of Valente or Genesius of Lyon - were already quite - normal-, military prowess (similar to aristocratic abbots) was already a major factor.

future) -a kind of prerequisite for holiness

**(Prinz).**

You can see this right away in Emilianus, the 7-s fallen head of Christ of Nantes. Born in Brittany, so rich in heroes and saints, he fought three times like a berserker against the Saracens, struck down even their evil general Nymphus, shattered, scattered, tore his combatants to pieces, from him

twice greater, by his great *example* and -the heavenly food- (Donin), to true great feats in slaying, ruk falling still to fight for the holy church, to die, gasps, "I already see heaven open; there is our true fatherland- -and becomes a saint of Catholica.

Since the end of the 7th century, bishops and abbots, according to

-In accordance with the "law of the state", their servants and vassals were to be personally conscripted into the army. They were not supposed to slaughter or kill themselves. But Pippin II the Middle (d. 718) did not dislike warlike clerics. And under his son Charles Martel, warring shepherds were more the rule.

Bishop Gerold of Mainz fell on one of his Saxon campaigns. And his son Gewilib, again Bishop of Mainz, took revenge on the Saxon who had killed his father during the next campaign. (Although Gewilib was deposed<sup>74s</sup>, he lived as a Eigenkirchenherr still ig years an honor". In passing: the names Both Mainz high priests are missing in most Catholic church histories - like so many black sheep!")

#### THEY COME ALL THE WAY HOME, THEY MURDER AND FALL INTO THE SURPRISE

From the time of Charlemagne onwards, whose total forces comprised tens of thousands of cavalymen and an even larger number of foot soldiers, the prelates gradually appeared more and more regularly on campaigns and battlefields. During Charlemagne's attack on Pavia, his army included the bishops and abbots of the realm as well as the clergy of the court chapel, who even marched ahead of the king. And<sup>7</sup> Archbishop Angilram of Metz and Bishop Sintbert of Regensburg fall victim to his

Avar offensive. In the q. century, military service (hostili- cium) by the high clergy was almost a matter of course. Even under Louis the Pious, when the prelates became increasingly involved in politics and political factions, military service was common. Indeed, at the time when Archbishop Hinkmar of Reims( 4f-\*), following Augustine, always called for war for the glory of God.

bishops and abbots are so active on the battlefield that Franco of Liège asks the Pope to give him two choir bishops for all spiritual functions, as his hands all too often stained with the blood of the enemy. "These were not exceptions, but it was like this everywhere (Hauck). And it was not even rare for clerical warhorses to die a hero's death.

In Italy, Emperor Lothar equipped particularly active warriors among the prelaris with an abbey. Louis II issued even stricter regulations on clerical military service in 866. Only

A valid reason, such as old age or illness, exempted them. As far as we know, only one Italian bishop, Ansovin of Ca-merino, was exempt from the Cricgsdiensr at the time."

However, the clerical lords not only went into battle, they often commanded entire armies, such as 8i7 tgar vOn Eichsrätt, 8yz Liutb,ert von Mainz or Arn von Würzburg.

Chief Shepherd Arn (8y§-8qz), a particularly active warrior, inherited

7• kills 644 horses, among other things, in a raid on the wedding procession of a Bohemian duke's daughter. The following year, together with the Fulda Aht Sigehard, he commands a force against the Bohemians; but he is sent home with heavy losses.

4 he wins as commander-in-chief at the head of an East Franconian army against the Normans. gq he invades Bohemia again on his own initiative, but the Sorbs kill him with most of his troops, appropriately enough, in vain,

• while he sang Mass. As befits a bishop, he first let "all his companions precede him in martyrdom" and then, together with the holy hosts, "offered himself to God the Father" (Thietmar). The bishop, comments Siegfried Hirsch, demonstrates with his - moves to the borders of the heathen ... the task of the bishopric ... so rightly.....". Well, at least

he had the burnt-down Würzburg Cathedral rebuilt and nine churches erected, probably also with the help of a number of war profiteers. And at least as late as the i8th century. In Franconia, the fierce fighter was still venerated as a martyr (feast of i). July). Arn's successor, Bishop Rudolf, who according to a contemporary chronicler was noble but quite stupid (licei nobilis, stultissimus tamen), waged devastating feuds with the older Babenberger (V 354 ff.). He falls qo8 against the Hungarians, who, a decade later, qiq, also confronts Archbishop Heriveus of Reiiins with i yoo

armed men.

No less contentious than the Würzburgers: their neighbor Archbishop Liutbert of Mainz, whose treacherous change of front at the Imperial Assembly in Tribur deposed Emperor Charles III.

with (V zq i). The ecclesiastical lord attacked both the Fr an k s and the Normans, marched to Bohemia with an army, defeated five of their dukes and devastated the country. In 883, he also fought against the Normans and killed many of them. His successor, Archbishop Sunderhold, fell in 91 as the leader of a Frankish army at the Geulenbach near Mecrsen." The bishops Jgius had fought against the Normans schOfI 54 of Orléans and Burchard of Chartres Ships and soldiers sent. The deacon and abbot of S. Amand, Karlmann, a son of Charles the Bald, marched against them in 80S. Bishop Wala of Metz became ßdz their victim. Bishop Franco of Liège and Abbot of Lobbes (856-q03) attacked them according to his own confession in "many wars. Atich Gauzlin, abbot of Saint-Amand, St. Germain-des-Prés, St. Denis, since 8ß4 still bishop of Paris, was a troop leader against them, struck down the devils with his own hand - occasionally - after a triune prayer to Our Lady - and thus "helped the Christian people in every way". (His nephew was the abbot Ebolus, who is said to have killed seven Normans with a single arrow and then humorously ordered them to be taken to the kitchen). Only after a victory over the godless enemy did Bishop Gauzlin consider them worthy of the Holy Mass for the Virgin Mary. His successor, Bishop Askerich of Paris (8Sä-qio), is famous for having slaughtered six hundred Normans under her protection with God's help."

Of course, it wasn't just diabolical enemies of the country or Christian laymen who bit the dust. In fact, no fewer than ten bishops remained on the battlefield at the time. The high spiritual leaders not only provided their troops for the military campaigns, but also participated themselves "as members of the sword nobility in the campaigns" (Prinz), indeed they fought at the head of their own army contingents (Störmer) - while later (nothing can stop us!) they only let others die for them. 88o Mark wnrđ of Hildesheim and Theoderich of Minden fall, 8hz Wala of Metz (against the Normans), 8iiy Wolfher of Minden (against the Slavs); Sqj Sunderold of Mainz; 8qz Arn of Würzburg. On July 5,m7 die at Pre8burg on the

Enns (against the Hungarians) the Bavarian metropolitan Thietmar of Salzburg and the bishops Udo of Freising and Zacharias of Säben, qo8 Rudolf of Würzburg falls.

However, the prelates also fought against each other. In September qdö, a German army, including the archbishops of Mainz and Trier along with other ecclesiastical princes, forced Archbishop Hugh of Vermandois to withdraw from his episcopal city. And soon afterwards, Lorraine's chief shepherds conquered Hugo's lair, the castle of Mouzon, and destroyed it.<sup>13</sup>

Under the Ottonians, the imperial church was, so to speak, in full war paint, armed through and through. The total number of armored riders (*loricati*) of the -Regnum Teutonicum- was estimated at around 10 000, of which around 6000 were the secular feudatories, 3 on the church and 1000 of the king, plus the *troi*. Almost all bishoprics and abbeys were had considerable military potential. And it was not uncommon for them to make up the strongest contingents of the imperial armies; in Otto II's contingent, compared to the seculars, even in the ratio  $x,y : i$ . During the longest period of his reign, bishops were involved in all actions. For example, in the siege and destruction of the fort of Boussu in the west (January qyç). Or four years later during the retaliatory campaign for Lothar's raid on Aachen (V z8), where Bishops Notker of Liège, Dietrich of Metz and St. Wolfgang of Regensburg were caught up in the emperor's forces, as were, as usual, quite a few field priests.

Notker of Liège (s7\*-OO8), a typical representative of the Ottonian imperial ecclesiastical system, to which he gave, among other things, the counties of He not only fortified his episcopal city, but also had the castle of Chevremont destroyed in its favor<sup>7</sup>, which had long been a thorn in his side as well as that of his clergy, and he proceeded with true perfidiousness. As he cannot take the strong fort by force, he declares that he will hear confessions and consecrate the holy oil at the castle on the approaching Maundy Thursday. With joy



They agree to this. Norker, however, smuggles in his confidants with weapons under their clerical robes, immediately throws the garrison out of the castle - although not without spilling blood (stag) - and can now collect lands and tithes from neighboring villages. And the method pleased the high lord. Under the pretext of administering the holy sacrament, he once again invaded other people's property and bloodily took possession of it - a bishop who allegedly constantly read the Holy Scriptures. And whose pupils at the celebrated Liège cathedral school became well-known representatives of the imperial episcopate: Adalbold of Utrecht, Ruthard and Erluin of Cambrai, Heimo of Verdun, Hermann of Toul, Gunther of Salzburg, Durandus and **Wazo** of Liège."

In the Ottonian period, all imperial bishops had troops, including perhaps the bishoprics of Brandenburg and Havelberg at the beginning of their existence. The prelates, especially in Lorraine dioceses and monasteries, preferred to have their troops commanded by relatives. However, the rulers themselves often had to provide their own soldiers. Under Otto I, for example, Bishop Dietrich of Metz was in Italy in the imperial army for five years without interruption, as was Bishop Adaldag of Hamburg for almost as long. Bishops Lantward of Minden and Otker of Speyer were sent to the south twice in succession, where they spent a total of more than seven years. Under Otto III, the Christian leaders of Constance, **Worms** and Würzburg were almost constantly on armed service. When the Romans rose up against this emperor, Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim not only blessed his troops, but also plunged into the first ranks of battle himself with the holy lance ("signifer ipse cum sancta haste in prima fronte aciei egredi parat") - and has been a saint of the Catholic Church since 1000, feast of 20. November. However, St. Bernward also took part in St. Henry's campaign to Flanders 1000/1001. Because: -The war for the empire is holy KGeg- (KÖLe) .

Of course, prelates were outraged with their heaps of violence at the time.

sometimes also against the king, such as the bishops of Lorraine

Gauzlin of Toul, Adalbero of Metz and the extremely bellicose Bernain of Verdun. For as little as the nobility ever acted as a unified block of interests, almost as little did the church, in which episcopal, monastic churches and prelates could compete and form strongly rival factions.

In the East, the increased mission to the Slavs during the Othonian period was also associated with increased participation of the clergy in military service, especially under Otto III, who personally led one campaign after another: qqz against the Hevelli and, in the same year, one against the Elbe Slavs, qq3 against the Liutizi,

995 against the Abodrites and Wilzes, s97 \$°zϕ the Hevells. However, Otto allowed further campaigns against the Slavs to be carried out without himself. Even his predecessors were not lazy in the east. Even

Bishop Thietmar writes that the archbishopric of Magdeburg, which was obviously founded in a strategically important place (like the diocese of Meissen, which was established at the same time), serves not only the hope of eternal reward, but also the "protection of the common fatherland" (*defensionemque communis patriae*).

Gisilher of Merseburg, who became archbishop as a favorite of Otto II, fought in the east, as did the bishops Milo of Minden, Hildiward of Halbersradt, Eiko of Meissen, Gebhard of Regensburg and Gottschalk of Freising. Bishop Ramward of Minden rifi, -powerfully driving to battle" (Thietmar), his Westphalians to the slaughter with a cross in their hands. - Undoubtedly, the religious character of the Slavic wars contributed significantly to the involvement of the spiritual princes" (Auer). And in the later q. Under the pressure of the times, the exemption of the lower clergy from military service was generally abolished in the later q. century. Now, as in the Hungarian Wars, lower clerics were also involved in the military campaigns in the east, indeed clergymen were often standard-bearers there; the standard-bearers of the Verden and Bremen vassals, a deacon and a priest, fell qqz against the Slavs.

After all, the church itself has changed in the course of the 10. century its

attitude to the military service of Christians, to the rank of soldier,  
still changed insofar as the rank of warrior, as it were

-has been "Christianized", not to say "ecclesiasticalized". This bloodthirsty profession, this legitimized murder, was now given a direct ecclesiastical purpose, in that war in the service of the church or the weak was regarded as holy and declared a religious duty not only for the king, but for every single **knight**" (Erdmann).

It was Henry II who most frequently called the chief clerics to war, as his reign, obviously befitting a saint, was "the clear high point in the mobilization of the high clergy for military success in the West and East" (Auer). And just as spiritual leaders had appeared as battle commanders throughout Europe before the Ottonians, so now, under them and their successors, princes of the church commanded army groups or entire armies: the archbishops of Cologne and Trier in the west, where, among others the three Saxon bishops Bernward of Hildesheim, Thiedrich of Münster and Meinwerk of Paderborn were also involved in hostilities; the archbishops of Magdeburg (who undertook thirteen campaigns between 983 and 1017 alone, as did the bishops of Halberstadt time and again) in the Slavic wars; the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Archbishop of Milan, Archbishop Heribert of Cologne, -a man of great sanctity- (he was actually canonized) and -famous for many miracles- (Hermann of Reichenau), in Italy, where in particular Bishop Leo of Vercelli (908-1026), one of the leading supporters of Henry II., on whose policies he had a not inconsiderable influence, repeatedly acted as general in bloody battles for years. He captured the castle of Orba and Arduin at Sparrone **Castle**, fought with the bishops of Pavia and Novara against Count Ubert, and even managed to reconquer his own bishopric after a temporary loss, but then left the world in blessed peace as "a very wise lord" (Wipo).

There were certainly protests from high clerics against the clergy's warmongering.

Cardinal and Doctor of the Church Damiani, with his characteristic passion, believed that the prelates should

It was not their priests who followed, but warriors with weapons at the ready.

"There he rides ahead," he writes of an Italian bishop, -like the prince of a heathen band of warriors, in full armor; the bands of shield-bearers and lancers press after him." The Doctor of the Church Damiani was an avowed opponent not only of holy wars, but of all wars.

And before him, Bishop Fulbert of Chartres (1006-1028) had also accused the bishops of being tyrants and thugs. They understood war better than the secular greats, indeed, it was almost their main pleasure to organize troops and shed blood. Fulbert does not reject the war of the secular world, but every war of the clergy, including the so-called just war.

But in the male era, Bernard of Angers was enthusiastic about a prior at Conques who regularly rushed "into the field" at the head of his men and kept his weapons in his cell, of course "only out of zeal for God, in defense of the good and for the protection of his monastery". And in the same century, Archbishop Burchard of Vienne was glorified on his tombstone as a glorious church warlord, even by the mouth of the Holy Spirit - just behind the Martyrs, the clerical military, complete with palm of victory, entered heaven."

#### DAG GOOD BISHOP OF THE PAST

Of course, the high clergy's warfare was possible not least because the popes, contrary to their own church doctrine, agreed to it and were themselves involved, indirectly and directly, in leading land and sea battles.

Gregory I (590-604), the only Holy Father with the Nicknamed "the Great", he commanded the Roman garrison in times of crisis. He recruited men from monasteries, took care of military facilities, troop bases, fortifications and the

He recommended back attacks, hostage-taking and plundering during military operations (IV i9o ff.). He became a saint and Doctor of the Church. His disciple Honorius I. i6z3-638 j, as a true disciple of Gregory, not only urged an intensified fight against the Jews, but also appointed a magister militum for Naples. Although Pope Honorius was officially cursed by his own church (the anathema ratified by Pope Leo II, a saint, f'8i: IV 336 ff.), but gewifi not as an anti-Semite or friend of soldiers, but as a - heretic".

Hadrian I, this extremely land-hungry man (IV 43s ff.), had already led the first papal war of aggression with his own army at77 . Pope Leo IV accompanied his warriors at4s . 77 John VIII defeats the Saracen fleet at Capo Circeo

(V i6 ),9 i John X. the Saracens at Garigliano (V 844 ) tiffid boasts in a letter to Archbishop Hermann of Cologne that he personally fought against them twice. Benedict VIII.

defeated roi6 at Luni on the Ligurian coast - while Christian potentates, including bishops such as Athanasius of Naples, often sided with the Arabs (V z67 f.). And Leo IX (-°4P-- 54), a German count of Egisheim, was the first Holy Father to wage war in the name of the Church (p. \*97 )“

### THEY ALSO PRACTICED KILLING

Most monasteries, imperial monasteries, royal monasteries and other monasteries belonging to spiritual and secular lords, had a well-trained militia. For like the bishoprics, many monastic houses were also obliged to feed the lord's hunger for power, under the leadership of the abbot, with fodder, with church vassals (milites or homines ecclesiae), as soon as the king needed them. And how often did he need it! Even female monasteries were liable for military service and had to provide troops. Monasteries without soldiers, however, sometimes had to provide foreign troops. And as early as the io. Century were smaller, the

Monasteries that did not provide assistance with weapons were generally given or loaned out.

Since Carolingian times, abbots have often been confidants of the ruler, influential functionaries who carry out more or less important tasks within his policy, depending on the rank and importance of their house. Last but not least, like the bishops, they went to war for the king. "3

In the Carolingian period, for example, Abbot Achivus hostilicium, also abbot of Ermenland, performed his duties reluctantly but, according to the report, quite excellently. Fardulfus, abbot of St. Denis, fights against the Saxons on one of Charlemagne's military expeditions, carrying relics with him to aid in battle - killing and praying ...

The emperor orders Abbot Fulrad of Altaich in 806: "On 20. May you and your men are to come to Staßfurt on the Bode, ready to fight in any part of our realm we designate. You shall arrive with weapons, equipment and all the clothing and food required for warfare. Each rider shall have shield, lance, sword, dagger, bow and quiver. In your carriage you shall carry spades, axes, picks and iron-tipped poles as well as all the equipment needed for the troops. The rations should last for three months - "

Yes, only one thing is necessary!

Helisachar, Abbot of St. A ubin, commanded 7 warriors to put down a rebellion in the Spanish Marches. In the Battle of Angoulême in 844, Abbot Hugh of St. Quentin, St. Bertin and Lobbes, a son of Charlemagne, and R ichboto of St. Riquier were all killed; in addition to several bishops, Abbot Lupus of Ferrières was captured (V i 36). Three abbots were also killed in the Battle of Prefiburg. And at the time of the Saxon

Emperors accompanied the German monarchs on their campaigns in Italy alone, as far as is known, by abbots.

During the Hungarian invasion, monastery militias also rushed against the invaders. Sometimes even monks went out armed against enemies of the country, towns, knights; indeed, monasteries fought each other.

side battles. The monk gradually became the monk-knight. And on the war belt of the monk knight - the remarkable metamorphosis of the ancient "wrestler of Christ" - hang bow and quiver, pincers, hammer, sword and an oak club. The monastery workshops were probably already producing swords and other weapons around the turn of the q. century. Century already produced swords and other weapons,<sup>3</sup> '

Of course, the strongholds of the ascetics - as in the Spanish Civil War or in Croatia towards the middle of the 20. Century - also served as military bases. For example, the monastery of Elten, which belonged to the diocese of Utrecht, whose bishop Ans(rid, a powerful aristocratic cricketer, trained in military matters under the archbishop and frequent military leader Brun ( 430 ff.), probably owed his spiritual dignity not least to these skills.

However, many monasteries were already converted into fortified buildings, real castles, in the early Middle Ages, as were many episcopal towns. The prerequisite for this was the permission of the king, the granting of the Burgbann, which was often granted to newly founded monasteries; this means the right of the lord of the castle to call upon the surrounding (free) people to carry out all work on the castle in exchange for their right to find protection there in times of need.<sup>13</sup>

#### )mALATe ANd CtRaCk BURGHs ArISE

Castle building is older than has long been assumed. In the Frankish Empire, it dates back to the 6. In Europe, it generally began at the end of the 7. century. It was used in particular to secure plundered territories, as a starting point for further raids, for feuds and to protect supply routes.

The castle (lat. burgus/burgum, goth. baurgs, ahd. burg, fre. bourg, old slav. grad), also called arx, castellum, castrum, ge-



ultimately belonged to the aristocratic lifestyle and therefore also to the church. After all, the high clergy came from the nobility and lived like the nobility. The phrase "-castrum cum ecclesia" in *Herrscherdiplomeri* expresses the close relationship between castle and church. Just as the Slavic word

"castellum" became "costel" as a church in the 5th century."

As early as the 6th century, Bishop Venantius Fortunatus mentions the merits of his colleague Vilicus in building the fortifications of Metz. He also praises Bishop Nicetius as the builder

a castle on the Moselle. In the 7th century, the bishops Desiderius of Cahors and Leodegar of Autun surrounded their city with defensive walls. In the war against the advancing Arabs, Pope Gregory IV (830-844) fortified Ostia with a mighty castle, which he modestly named Gregoriopolis after himself. His successor, St. Leo IV (473-484), expanded Rome's defenses and thus became the creator of the *Urbs Leonina* (V \*76). In Bavaria, all five bishoprics were founded in the 8th century. Century fortified. After all, they were real bishop's castles, the defense of which was the responsibility of the bishop's vassals. 5 Even in the late Carolingian period, prelates sometimes owned a town or the right to fortify it. Around the turn of the millennium, episcopal city rule replaced the count's rule in Germany."

Some abbots were also given the authority to fortify their abbey as early as the later 8th century. Since Charlemagne the Bald, there have been more and more reports of monasteries being militarily fortified, albeit always under the control of lay abbots.

Pfäfers Abbey in Rhaetia, founded around 731-40, was built on rock that was difficult to access and virtually unassailable above the Rhine Valley, not least for politically strategic reasons. the. A Carolingian imperial monastery since 806, Pfäfers was of considerable importance for the major pass roads and was also able to control the route from Lake Constance to Chur and the Alps thanks to its properties in the Rhine Valley. The abbey of Peterlingen (Payerne), founded as early as the time of Bishop Marius of Avenches and restored in 961/96, had to provide, among other things, a safe and secure place to live.

grant access to the Great St. Bernard. -The monastery estates are lined up like road stations on the route to the important Alpen Pass (Büttner)."

In Italy, too, the monasteries founded by the Lombard and Frankish kings, either with their support or on their own initiative, were usually of strategic importance in addition to their political and economic significance.

Defensive monasteries or regular monastic castles in the 9th century include St. Philibert, St. Quentin, the large imperial abbey of Corbie, St. Vaast in Arras, St. Berin, St. Médard in SOISSONS; 10th Century St. Martin in Tours, St. Hilaire in Poitiers, St. Martial in Limoges. It is no coincidence that castles were often converted into monasteries or monasteries were moved to castles. Some monasteries also owned castles, such as St. Maximin Abbey.

Bishop Dietrich of Metz (967- 984) built Fort Epinal together with a monastery. Archbishop Fulco of Reims (884-900) and his successor Heriveus (900-922) also loved building castles and fortresses, the foundation and actual status symbol of the knightly world and feudal power. They thus protected their own episcopal city, 'but also had fortifications built in Omont (near Sedan), Epernay on the Marne and elsewhere, of course an old and long-lasting spiritual tradition'.<sup>2</sup>

Notker of Liège (925-990) was no different, who incidentally secured his episcopal battlefield by leaving him a third of the entire church property, a well-considered acquisition of early participation - almost a pioneering act. Notker was not only the first to surround Liège with a wall, but also created new fortifications in Thouin, Fosses and Malines (Mechelen) in addition to the diocese's existing fortifications in Dinant and Huy. In this way, he smashed the local feudal nobility, including the power complex of the reginars - the basis for a princely position.

Even the authoritative representative of the Lorraine Reformation, Bishop Waso of Lüttich, without allegedly having the

He swore an oath to bear arms, swore knights to fight, broke the birgeren, led the defense of his city, in short, commanded military units.

Burchard I of Worms (rooo-rozy), whom Henry IN. greatly favored, also restored the city walls of Worms and fortified the bishop's seat. And the prelate immediately had the Salian castle of Otto -of Worms", the Duke of Carinthia, demolished, the candidate for the throne 100z, who, as the grandson of Otto 1, was closer to the late emperor than Heínricfi 11, a great-grandson of Heínrích f. (p. 6).

Even St. Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim, the educator

Otto III, who immediately began his reign as chief shepherda Mt 99a with military campaigns against the Normans, built two fortresses on the northern border of his diocese, Mundburg on the Ockermün- dung and Wahrenholz Castle on the Ise, which he gave to H1. Lambert

entrusted to him. And he also surrounded his own episcopal city with walls and towers, just as Bremen was surrounded by a curtain wall at the time. Or as in it. Or how the increasingly rich and powerful prelates created their defensive systems in the 15th century, such as Meinwerk von Paderborn. The building enthusiast by no means only erected sacred buildings or a bishop's palace for himself, but also had the freedom of the cathedral remaiied and the city fortifications improved - a necessary measure against the threats to which the bishop's churches were increasingly exposed as a result of their deconcentration of power (Ban- nasch).

Recently, Stefan Weinfurter explained in a very enlightening way that the bishops of the Salian period developed a new kind of self-image: "They not only created an ecclesiastical center, but also the seat of a spiritual prince who surpassed the majority of the nobility in the empire in terms of power and influence. In their documents, coins and seals, and even in their ceremonies and court etiquette, they began to imitate the forms of rulership previously reserved for the king, and they eventually set about subjecting their people to ever harsher burdens on the basis of this new understanding of rule.

At the same time, the increasing density of official rule was secured by castles, either by having them newly built, such as in Hamburg-Bremen on the Süllberg or in Bamberg with GöBweinstein, or by seizing them from a worldly prince, such as the Ezzonian Tomburg in Cologne on the Aachen-Frankfurt army road, in all cases not for external defence, but for internal stabilization. These castles were no longer intended to protect the population, for example as refuge castles, but were now given permanent garrisons to represent the interests of their lords."

After all, thousands of churches were built as castles in the Middle Ages. In his "Fortified Churches of Lower Austria", K.

Kafka mentions lit churches with fortifications that are still recognizable today in the district of Lower Austria alone and lists others that have since disappeared. However, there were even churches that were not only fortified, as was often the case, but also turned into veritable robber's nests, for example in the ii. century in the Reims church province. At that time, the development of the spirit of reform led to conflicts with the imperial power, to refusals to serve in imperial wars, this whole succession of the high clergy, which had become a cult under Henry II the Holy, from whom we started. and to which we are returning."

**EQUAL xAcii HEINRICH'S NUMBER OF WARS**  
**i SWABIA AND SICKNESS**

Henry II. the saint - room German king, root king of Italy, ior4 Roman emperor -, the "great peacemaker", who, if one believes the army of his mostly ecclesiastical apologists, was first and foremost concerned with peace, with peace policy, the establishment of peace, peace efforts, justice, Reconciliation, who is still praised today on the Christian side for his special love of peace, this strange saint, who in fact often commanded and invoked peace, barely escaped wars and feuds, bloody conflicts with Catholics, throughout his life: with the Catholic Poles, with the Catholic nobility in the empire, in Alsace, Lorraine, Burgundy (three campaigns here alone), with the Catholic nobility in Swabia, Saxony, with the Catholic aristocracy of northern Italy, with the Catholic Romans, with Catholic relatives and Catholic bishops. And in all this, especially in his great war against the Poles, Henry was as little guided by a "German national feeling" as his nobility. Yet murder and killing were, in a sense, among the main tasks of a Christian king, and the terror and fear he spread were his most important means of government. He had the power of banishment, he had the right to punish, to take possession and to take life. He practiced subjugation, expulsion and extermination. -He is to be feared by all-, is written in the ot- toxic coronation ordo of the "Pontificale Romano-Germani- cum-, -and is loved ... -

What wonder, the empire was teeming with disturbances and unrest,

The yearbooks of the government of Heinrich II. are full of deeds of disgraceful violence and impudent breaches of the peace, against which the emperor fought incessantly, but only in the last years of his life with visible success: again and again we hear of plundering and robberies by the powerful against the powerless, by the laity against the churches, whose impunity the writers of the time lament" (Brefilau).

Immediately after his election, Henry II, one of his first acts in power, devastated the land of Duke Hermann II of Swabia, who himself hoped for the crown, was initially also the candidate of many of the Grobiers. And Hermann conquered and plundered Strasbourg, which had fallen to Henry with his bishop Wernher; the Swabians robbed the cathedral and even set fire to it (p. 102). As the king was already planning a military campaign against his rival to the throne for the spring, the latter submitted in the fall and died just a few months later, in May 1023, whereupon Henry himself took over the government for his underage son Hermann III. He too died, no doubt to the relief of the ruler, in 1024, in good time before he would have reached the age of twelve. And three years later, Duke Ernst I of Swabia, also still young and of dubious gentility, was killed while hunting by a shot which, it is said, was aimed at a hind.

Another civil war, a continuation, as it were, of the bloody Babenberg feud a century earlier (V. 1024), Henry II led the Northern Gau against Margrave Henry of Schweinfurt from the Babenberg clan.

The saint, initially still in a pre-catholic position in the struggle for the crown, had promised the powerful margrave the vacant duchy of Bavaria before his election, but then bounced him. (So why, in parenthesis, should a Catholic politician keep election promises today when a Catholic emperor kept none a thousand years earlier - and still became a saint? The history of the Christiani is full of such school examples).

When Henry became king, he fobbed off the inquiring margrave with excuses, which he did not lie8. After all, Henry had long since **promised** him the duchy and therefore "faithfully supported him in his efforts to become king". According to Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg, a cousin of the Schweinfurter who was himself a son of Count Berthold, Otto I had installed him in the Bavarian North Gati after he had defeated the Bnyern duke.

Eberhard for good (IV 4\*\* f.). The counts of Schweinfurt thus commanded a bridging position between

North and South Germany, they had expanded their territory and, in addition to the ancestral seat, had a state castle ring

- Banz, Kronach, Creussen, Ammerthal, Hersbtuck - secured.

After the king's words, who probably feared the power of Bavaria on the south-eastern flank of the empire, the margrave, who had Henry reminded of his promise in vain by the most excellent men, withdrew from him and approached Boleslaw Chrobry, the ruler of Poland and Bohemia, who ~~refused~~ to pay homage to Henry for Bohemia. Both lords, allied with the Babenberg Ernest of Austria, the cousin of the Schweinfurter, and with the king's own brother Brun, rose up in early summer i 3 because of the still

regents who are by no means firmly in the saddle.

Thietmar reports of a widely ramified network of conspiracies, and initially Henry also suffered a defeat at Hersbruck, but then - field cry: Kirieleison! - the entire land of the count with war -'and destroyed most of his castles- (Hermann von Reichenau). For "establishing peace and unity was the ruler's primary goal throughout his life" (Guth). It went blow by blow. He took one castle after another from the Franks. Ammerthal, the residence of the margrave, not far from today's Amberg, was burnt down, the town ruined, the Polish garrison captured there distributed among the victors. Creußen on the Red Main is surrendered, Crana Castle (Kronach) is burned to the ground on the orders of the desperate margrave before he temporarily flees to Duke Boleslaw.

The drama is brought to a close by two high-ranking priests. The saint sent Bishop Henry of Würzburg - whom he was also supposed to kill - and Abbot Erchanbald of Fulda (who was always at the monarch's side in every war and conflict, which is why he was appointed Archbishop of Mainz) to destroy the fortress of Schweinfurt. Both shepherds did this in the most gentle manner. After all, they made

--blow the city walls and buildings to the ground and even promised Count Henry's mother Eila, Thietmar's aunt, who would rather burn in the castle than leave it alive, to have everything restored if the king's mercy allowed it ... Henry's biographer, Adalbold von Unrecht, who was made bishop as court chaplain in 1010, welds the whole tragedy together. The king had broken all of his opponent's fortified villages, devastated all of his own estates, and taken away all of his offices and fiefdoms, a large territory. He then celebrated his triumph at Bamberg Castle, where he celebrated the September 8 - the feast of the Nativity of the Mother of God in festive joy", recovered from the exertions of the "campaign" during the autumn hunt in the Spessart and announced an invasion into the Milzenerland for the next winter.

To the count crawling on the cross before him - dressed in buffalo clothes - he tearfully confessed all his heavy guilt (Thietmar)

- he was imprisoned in the Giebichensteini, which sometimes served as a prince's prison. There, guarded day and night, he once sang the Psalter on one day, among other spiritual exercises, while kneeling on his knees - after all, the Magdeburg Archbishop Tagino, a youthful companion of the king who vacillated between outbursts of rage and asceticism, kept him under arrest. And after his release, Henry of Schweinfurt remained politically completely disempowered, but in September

- -7 quite generously buried in Schweinfurt by three bishops (from Würzburg, Bamberg and Trieste) - "outside the church near the gate", as he remarkably put it.

se wished. And Henry the Saint is said to have "deeply mourned" (*multum doluit*) the death of this ornament of East Franconia.



However, he favored the Schweinfurter's relatives more than almost any other family with huge grants of property in the Bavarian Ostmark, the Duchy of Swabia and the Archbishopric of Trier - not to make amends, but to strengthen the noble house for the fight against the Salians and the Conrads, his most ardent enemies. All in accordance with the principle of divide and rule, he sought to destroy the Saxon-Conradine party, which he pursued with fierce vengeance without being able to prevent their victory.

### HEINRICH OF THE HELIGER WARS IN TESTING

In May/June 1007, the king attacked the West Frisians with a campaign across the Ziiidersee - prepared during the holy season of Lent; supposedly a war of revenge for the battle death of Count Arnulf. Of course, he had already died ten or twelve years earlier. Thus the moderately successful attack on the

Westfriesland probably rather favored the growing power of the bishops of Utrecht and Arnulf's widow, Liudgard, a sister of Henry's wife Cunegonde. The bishopric of Utrecht had belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Cologne since Charles I, encompassed most of what is now the Netherlands and enjoyed flourishing trade as far as Saxony, England, Denmark and Norway. The coins minted in Utrecht (coinage law since 936) were distributed as far as Scandinavia and the Baltic states. And the extent to which the bishopric was active against its Frisian neighbors can be seen in the Frisian campaign of 1018, in which the bishop's troop contingents were larger than those of the temporal princes.

Just one year after his Friesenheerfahrt, Heinrich again in the west.

The Emperor Otto II had erected forts along the Schelle, which apparently threatened the French crown vassal Balduin IV the Bearded, Count of Flandre (988-1037). The latter sought to dominate the Schelde, the Grenzfluss. Thus Henry

against Baldwin in August 1006, an alliance with the (miraculous) King Robert II the Pious of France (q8y/ 996-103x), which included none other than Bishop Notket of Liège.

(p. 4y f.) had arranged. And third in the group, Duke Richard II of Normandy (qq6-1020); he is also celebrated in the sources as a "model of virtue, guardian of peace and patron of the Church" (Renoux). However, despite such a triply godly association of the saint, the pious, the patron of the church, it was precisely the latter who caused not only the usual looting in the region of Arras in the late summer of 1006, but even a battle for the monastery of Mont-Saint-Eloi, which the monks defended in vain; the "house of God" was completely looted by the attackers. As the advance was nevertheless unsuccessful, Henry resumed the battle the very next year. His troops - including St. Bernward, Bishop of Hildesheim, at the head of a large contingent - raided Holthem Abbey and its church. They conquered Ghent and devastated Flanders, whereupon Baldwin was forced to take hostages and submit in Aachen in October. The

-The "first and most certain gain from the happy campaign" (Hitsch), however, was made by the diocese of Cambrai; it also received the county of the Cammerichgau in addition to Aachen.<sup>7</sup>

Even with the brothers of his holy wife Kunigunde, daughter of Count Siegfried I of Luxembourg (Lützelburg), Heinrich II waged long-standing civil wars in Upper Lorraine, a land shaken by feuds (1008-1017). Of course, the relationship with his own brother, Bishop Brun of Atigsburg, was not good either - he chased him into exile twice, 1007 and 1014.

The Luxembourgs had expanded their position over the royal brother-in-law. They ruled most of Upper Lotharingia, but also wanted to expand eastwards and gain a foothold on the middle Moselle, which was too much for Henry. Two of Kunigunden's 5 brothers were clergymen. They were burning with ambition and sought to win the vacant bishoprics of Metz (1005) and Trier (1008), two dioceses in their sphere of influence.

Initially, in 1006, brother Dietrich 11th had allegedly made himself Bishop of Metz. However, after the death of Adalbero II, he was probably given the vacant Metz district at the beginning of 1006 with the help of his brother-in-law Henry himself. According to the sources, the king also seems to have promised the archbishopric there to his brother-in-law Adalbero, provost of St. Paulin in Trier. In any case, after the death of Archbishop Liudolf of Trier, Adalbero, Cunegonde's youngest brother, a proven church robber, was canonically elected as his successor. However, the ambitious relatives now became too strong for the king and, contrary to the urgent pleas of his beloved wife and other Freiiinde- (Thietmar), he transferred Trier to an opposing bishop, the Mainz chamberlain Megingatid (zeo8-rot J). It was no longer unusual for him to buy warriors for church property, but the already duly elected bishop refused to allow him to enter the Moselle metropolis. And now the rebellion broke out, which encompassed a large part of the Lorraine nobility, at times also their Dutch relatives on the side of the Luxembtirs, as well as the Count Palatine Ezzo, the Salian Conrad, the later Emperor Conrad

II and others, a war that kept people on tenterhooks for a decade with ever new arson attacks and atrocities.

Henry, here called "Invasor regni", usurper, led three campaigns against his enemies. Archbishop Adalbero defended himself heroically in Trier for sixteen weeks in the palace, which had been specially fortified with walls, towers and trenches. But while the saint had the city's houses demolished in order to build siege towers from the stones, the besieged set fire to them again, turning Trier into a pile of rubble. And then, in August 1008, Henry was able to conquer it, expel Adalbero, excommunicate him and have the J'vlainz chamberlain Megingaud consecrated. But later Archbishop Adalbero was able to move back into Trier, while Archbishop Megingaud had to reside in Koblenz until the end of his life. The next summer, in the middle of the Second Polish War, the king installed Duke Henry V at a **Regensburg court meeting.**

of Bavaria, kept Bavaria (until 1017) in his own hands and once again advanced against his relatives, who now fought him decisively: Archbishop Adalbero of Trier, Bishop Dietrich of Metz, Duke Henry of Bavaria and Counts Frederick of Luxembourg and Gerhard of Elsass. However, the holy king besieged Metz with an army that included not only the bishops Berthold of Toul and Heimo of Verdun, but also, curiously enough, pagan, Liutician troops, who completely robbed St. Martin's Abbey, which was located outside the gates. The abbot of Moyenne-moutier also made great efforts on behalf of the king, with the advice of his diocesan bishop Berthold of Toul. The abbot provided Henry with a large contingent of troops and considerable sums of money and thus also came into possession of the Bergheim estate, which had been granted to him by hereditary right, but only for one year. Then, through a trick, his diocesan bishop took it from him, and the deceived man is said to have

died of grief.

Bishop Dietrich had strengthened his army with generously distributed church property and was also able to hold his own in Metz, but it was severely battered and, above all, the whole of Upper Lorraine was completely plundered and devastated by Henry's soldiers; towns were razed to the ground, almost all villages burned, fields devastated, vines and trees destroyed with their roots. For, reports the *vita* of Bishop Bernard of Hildesheim (himself also known to be holy and proven on many military campaigns - p94/qq5 against the Elbe river, 1000/1001 at the capture of Tivoli and the defeat of the Romans, 1004/\* 7 on the campaign to Flanders): - "Wherever the wise ruler turned his sanctified face, if he discovered discord, he instantly brought reconciliation" (Thietmar).

Those locals who did not die by fire and sword in the battle against the Luxembourgers succumbed to hunger or the plague. Countless people also fled the fury of war or tried to escape from hunger and other hardships, 800 friars from the Metz Cathedral Abbey of St. Stephen alone. For a quarter of a century

Germany had not seen such a civil war since. And in the fall of 1024, the king approached a third time and, after Dietrich, determined to break all resistance, had once again besieged Metz and pillaged the region, forbade him to exercise the office of bishop in Koblenz on November 11. At the beginning of 1025, the Schrägers "nudis pedibus", barfuß, asked the Holy Emperor for mercy, but the dispute continued and was only finally settled at a princes' convention in Aachen in May 1027 ended, whereupon Henry V of Luxembourg regained the Duchy of Bavaria."

The Luxembourgers were undoubtedly also so bitter because Cunegonde had renounced her inheritance, Bamberg, in favor of the new bishopric, which deceived her brothers, who were expecting a rich inheritance.

### **The Bishopric of Bamberg is Created by the Royal Villainy**

Henry the 11th tightened the net with which the German dioceses had long covered the country by founding the diocese of Bamberg, where he is still particularly revered today.

The establishment of this bishopric is often regarded as his most important ecclesiastical achievement, one of his "most beautiful acts" (Wetter/Welte). And it is said that the king, who "loved Bamberg from an early age", says Thietmar, "especially", had wanted to establish a bishopric here, naturally for the salvation of his soul. His marriage was childless, and God was to be his heir. A very personal motive, but one with which the church had an early -This was a thousand and one thousand times proven priestly deception: Henry's childlessness, so it was said through the ages, was the result of a vow of ketosis, Joseph's marriage to his then likewise sanctified wife Kunigunde.

Of course, there can be no question of this, no matter how much has been preached and written about it and thus two saints, two ascetics have been imposed on the world. Even the learned, relatively sober monk Frutolf (d.

ca. 1030) of the Bamberg monastery of Michelsberg; "As many testify, he never recognized Queen Cunegonde, but loved her like a sister. Even in the second century, the clergy spread the word: "They led a truly angelic life together.

(van Aerssen). Still in the 10th century one offers with imprimatur the "church prayer. O God, who on this day (July) transferred your holy confessor Henry from the highest level of earthly dominion to the kingdom of heaven, we humbly beseech you: just as you supported him with abundant grace and helped him to overcome the charms of the world, so grant us that by imitating him we may overcome the vain pleasures of this world and approach you with a pure heart. Amen.

The oldest news about this completely chaste covenant, which conquers the charms of the world, comes from the early 12th century and only go back to oral tradition, which Leibniz already recognized as implausible. Presumably St. Gatrin of the Holy Emperor, sensibly venerated as the patron saint of pregnant women and children, was no less active in the Belt than in political life, in which she took an active part. For example, when the Holy War was being waged in Burgundy, she intermitted her brother Henry as Duke of Bavaria. She organized the defence of the country during her husband's absence.

And the church then organized one miracle tale after another about them. Yes, countless miracles happened at the tomb of hl. According to the testimony of a spiritual chronicler, the deaf, the mute, the paralyzed, the blind and the sick were healed in every illness. Dust from the tomb of the saints was

-often transformed into grains-, as Pope Innocent III decreed in his bull of canonization of 5 April 1200, where it is also testified that through them "the blind lost their weight, the lame their walking ability".

The emperor's wife even reports three awakenings of the dead - which deserve all belief- (Donin). The emperor's wife even reports three awakenings of the dead, -which deserve all belief- (Donin).

A chronicler also avoids: -We saw with our own eyes that the dust collected from the tomb of the Virgin Mary was transformed into fragrant cratite or incense. The domestic animals that had been stolen or carried off by predators were returned to their stables after a vow with an invocation to St. Kuni gunda. It is impossible to enumerate how often this happened, as it was indiscriminate - a hanged robber was released from the gallows after invoking the saint. A stolen child was also brought back by the evil wolf, "unharmd and with a friendly smile", of course. Another child, already dead, was brought back to life on the grave of the saint. - All of Bamberg is a witness" (Looshorn).

And many centuries have borne witness to the fact that generations after generations have been unbelievably condemned with this and similar, library-filling, monstrously reason-stretching steps, but not least because of this, they have been spiritually constrained.

But a Joseph marriage - back to the glorious Pfaffenflunke rei - is refuted by the king himself. Did he - the "seemed unsuitable for various reasons, who was perhaps already ill at an early age - indeed with his own niund at the great church meeting of i. November 1007 in Frankfurt, attended by 37 bishops, chief shepherds also from Burgundy, Hungary, Italy and the Queen! November 1007 in Frankfurt am Main that he had given up hope of having children! Bishop Thietmar, possibly present in person, reported that he confessed verbatim: -For the sake of future retribution I have told Christ to be my heir, for I can no longer hope for descendants.-- And the Sydonal protocol also contains the reference to the king's futile desire to have children. In contemporary documents issued by the king himself (e.g. for the Kaufungen monastery founded by Cunegonde), the king's wish for children is still mentioned.

The word "qui duo sumus in carne una- (we are two in one flesh), the meaning of which was also clear in the Middle Ages, to say nothing of anything else here."

Much more important than the ruler's salvation, however, was in all probability another Grund for the creation of the new bishop's see, which could of course be linked to it: the destruction of the Slavic pagans who had been living there for a long time. - Heinrich himself was convinced that Wendish paganism must finally be eliminated. He saw the foundation of the Bamberg diocese as a means to this end" (Hauck). And it did indeed seal the defeat of the Slavs on the Upper Main, in the Fichtelgebirge and in the neighboring Bohemian regions.

While still at the Frankfurt Synodc, Henry invested his chancellor Eberhard with the new district. And the Frankish count, presumably related to the king and also endowed with the count's jurisdiction, still found time as Bamberg's chief shepherd (1007-1040) ' mmertly more than a year-tithes to be Archchancellor of Italy from 1010 to 1014. First Conrad II replaced Eberhard in this office, whereupon his influence on imperial politics declined and he devoted himself to his diocese.

The land around Bamberg, called Radenzgati or Slawenland, was full of Saxons, Wends and was still semi-Slavic, as many place names with the 5 syllable Wind (wind) remind us to this day. The whole area around Bamberg, said Bishop Heinrich of Würzburg at the time, was inhabited by Slavs (totam illam terram ferc silvam esse, Sclavos ibi habitare). It is true that Charlemagne had already begun to Christianize the Wends around the Upper Main, Rednitz and Wiesent, and that there had been around three dozen, albeit far-flung, Taufkirchen up to the Fichtelgebirge and Frankeiiwald since Carolingian times, It is true that around Bamberg, at the confluence of the rivers Main and Regnitz, there were a particularly large number of priests, which is why the name is occasionally derived from Papenberg, Pfaffenberg, under all sorts of more or less learned combinations.



However, the Slavs there had not given up their language, their customs or their old beliefs for two centuries. They often still lived as pagans or half-pagans. And even if they were already Christians, they continued to be called

"Pagans", "barbarians", "false Christians". Despite being baptized, they were not convinced by Christianity. On the contrary, they rejected it, they avoided the priests. They did not celebrate Sunday, did not observe any other church customs, apparently even ignored canonical marriage law and preferred to bury their dead on some hill, in an open field, rather than in a churchyard. -The payment of tithes was completely out of the question; they were also demanded in vain before the episcopal transmission. The traditional sacrifices to the old gods were offered unabashedly" (Hauck). Even in the later left century, people were still complaining about the Slavs, the heathens of the region, and the founding of the Cistercian monastery of Ebrach (i\*\*7) was still associated with the "idolatry" that was rampant all around. Thus, a more intensive conversion mission seemed appropriate to the advocates of conversion. After all, the minutes of the Frankfurt Synod themselves stated that the paganism of the Slavs was to be destroyed and the name of Christ was to stand there forever in solemn remembrance. From Bamberg, however, this was undoubtedly easier, just as the people all around gradually lost their Slavic and pagan character as they became German and Christian.

was.

Of course, the Slavs could expect no leniency in this process. They had been despised for a long time. St. Bonifatius, the apostle of the Germans, did not even want to missionize them. For the monk Widukind, they were nothing but "Barbareh-, -Barbari"; for Bishop Thietmar foolish, despiser of God, unreliable, easily corruptible, false and cruel, -worse than unreasonable cattle-; people who brutally rule even their own, who are beaten with sticks if they merely contradict them in the people's assembly, whose possessions are burned to ashes if they openly defy them. It was basically no different among Christians. But Wenden, teaches

the bishop, had to be herded like a bull and whipped like a donkey. "Wends and Germans", writes Albert Hauck, "only hated each other", which is why the German side proceeded on the principle that only force and harshness could be used against them. Even if the clergy and monasticism were therefore also involved in missionizing the pagans, this was, as usual, not very effective. So soon there was no longer any thought of getting the Slavs around by spiritual means, through teaching, preaching, special care and attention and new Christian temples. Rather, as the resolutions of the Bamberg Synod in 1032 make clear, an appeal was made to the secular arm: "Contradictors should be banned from the church and driven from their estates by their masters" (v. Guttenberg)."

However, the conversion of the Slavs, the ecclesiastical motif, is linked to a no less relevant motif that can hardly be separated from it: the geographical, political and strategic importance of the Upper Main region, the Bavarian Northgau, for the empire. For as the empire advanced far to the southeast and northeast, the center lay very much in the rear, and Bohemia, the "terra Slavorum", penetrated the region like a wedge. The central eastern flank of all places was somewhat unprotected and without a fixed center. The imperial rulers had fought the strong local aristocracy there in their own selfish interests; it was only under Louis the Child, through Archbishop Hatto of Mainz, the most vile scoundrel of his time, that the Babenbergs were brutally and treacherously conquered.

(q. 1. 354 ff.); then, a century later, overthrew Henry of Schweinfurt, the Margrave of the Bavarian Nordmark, and robbed the defeated of all their possessions.

Next, however, Henry II intended to eliminate the power vacuum between the Steigerwald and Franconian Forest following the Ottonian example by creating an imperial bishopric and thus strengthening his own royal power on the Upper Main. After all, Bamberg was also a link between the north and south,

the Elbe-Saale region and the ruler's native Bavaria."

But how did Henry create the bishopric? Where did he get the land he needed?

Bamberg and its castle, the old castrum Babenberg, had been royal property since the Babenbergs were extinguished in 906.

II. to the Bavarian Duke Henry the Quarrelsome, Henry's father, in 73. (The first cathedral consecrated in Bamberg replaced the former Babenberg castle church and its cemetery). Now the king watched over the founding day of the Bi-

In addition to these estates and villages from his own possessions in Bamberg's surroundings, he also acquired estates as far away as Swabia and what is now Upper Austria. He also gave six monasteries, three men's and three women's houses to the new parish, which was not very popular there. Towards the end of the 10th century. In the monastery of Kitzingen (Gau Gozfeld), people did not want to know anything about the emperor, who had long since been canonized. In Stein Abbey in Hegau, too, his favorite bishopric was considered to be the recipient of unjustly collected goods from all over the world. Henry issued more than two dozen deeds of donation on the day of the foundation, November 1000; they gradually increased by dozens.

More recent historians speak of "whimsical ambition", "un-Bless generosity"; even Benedictine Romuald Baier-reiss hardly knows of a church foundation of such lavishness. But since the saint always combined the religious with the useful in the most beautiful way, the revenues of the Bamberg diocese also served -at times- the royal court at imperial diets (Prinz). The far-sighted prince had therefore not granted the diocese any of the immunity privileges that otherwise guaranteed the inviolability of ecclesiastical institutions. Furthermore, Henry gave his creator a considerable portion of the large properties stolen from the margrave of Schweinfurt; indeed, perhaps the robber had already taken them with a view to the foundation of the diocese.

Interestingly, the first references to Bam-

Berg's appointment as bishop's see dates from the period immediately after the end of the war against Schweinfurt. Henry II wanted to finally destroy Wendish paganism with the help of the new bishopric. The counts of Schweinfurt, however, had pursued a particularly Slav-friendly policy. Above all, in contrast to the harsher demands of the church, they granted their landowning peasants, both Germans and Slavs, as well as the new colonists, tangible tithing relief when settling on cleared land.

The main part, however - Bamberg received as much on the day of the foundation alone as other dioceses in decades - was taken away by St. Henry from the Würzburg diocese, which until then had covered the whole of East Franconia, a large part of the Radenzgau and a piece of the Volkfeldgau, the part between Aurach and Regnitz; Würzburg lost about a quarter, about 5000 square kilometers.

The king had "repeatedly pressed Henry, the bishop", who was very close to him and whose district apparently received the largest part of the loot so bloodily obtained after the destruction of the Babenbergers, with his "heart's desire". And finally, the Würzburg bishop also agreed to the great loss of territory, as the "most kind and most gracious sovereign", according to the imperial bishops at the time, "Henry the Great and Peacemaker", promised him the pallium, the elevation to archbishop, in a secret agreement, as well as the subordination of the Bamberg bishop as suffragan. However, this "secret treaty" amounted to pure deception, as its sole purpose was to procure for the king the consent of the previous lord of the bishopric over the future territory of the bishopric, which was unavoidable under canon law - an attitude on the part of the ruler that was all the more disgraceful given that the Würzburg bishop had vigorously supported Henry's claims to the throne from the outset, earlier than most. (And then it was not the bishop of Würzburg but the bishop of Bamberg who received the pallium through Leo IX. dead 3).

But the monarch's promises are never mentioned again later; the princely crook did not make any effort to

least about it. Why should he! Did he have something to reproach himself with? A big scam? Outright fraud? Had he acted like a little commonplace swindler, he, the emperor\* A saint? Never and never. For what might have put others behind bars or on the gallows was simply a tactical move on his part (Wolter), proof of his art of governing. The betrayed Würzburger, however, who became extremely upset and broke off all contact with the king and his colleagues, withdrew his consent and protested officially and vehemently through an emissary, the chaplain Beringer, before the synod, which was held on

i. November in Frankfurt. He protested to such an extent that even the synod members, eight archbishops and 7 bishops, wavered seriously and the king, in a dramatic meeting before

He repeatedly went down on his knees or perhaps even, unusually even at the time, on his stomach, whenever his cause seemed to be failing."

Of course, all these poses of the regent were part of the medieval style of communication, they were also part of those formulaic behavioral patterns that Gerd Althoff calls, in general, a substitute for the extensive renunciation of verbal argumentation in public discussion. In this way, consideration was given to the "honor- High-ranking people, perhaps even to their spirit. Especially under certain circumstances, a matter was approached much more emotionally than rationally. And anyway, who knows whether the whole gestural scenario, whether everything hadn't simply been agreed from the outset.

Whatever the case, once Willigis of Mainz and Tagino of Magdeburg, the two metropolitans, had arranged the supreme scandal, they ended the synod in Frankfurt. The saint had, of course, backstabbed the bishop of Würzburg as well as the margrave of Schweinfurt. The emperor soon came to an agreement with the latter, and Würzburg and Bamberg rivaled each other for centuries.

Even later, however, hardly any time passed during Henry's reign. a year when he wasn't in front of the eyes of smirking, envious pre

lates for the enlargement of the Bamberg district. Even in Carinthia, with the main towns of Villach and Wolfsburg, he received land grants, namely property that obviously also served strategic purposes, securing important eastern Alpine passes and the crossings over the Julian Alps. Bishop Eberhard of Bamberg and his diocese alone received 83 of Henry II's diplomas."

Finally, ioi6 Eichstätt also had to make assignments.  
make.

Local bishop Megin- gaud had refused all his life to give even the slightest contribution to the endowment of the newly rich neighboring diocese. Even a man such as Henry II was up against granite. Megin- gaud, who was related to the emperor and also older than him, occasionally did not even stand before the majesty while all his fellow bishops stood up, but rather was the only one to declare that he was her relative and that both pagan and biblical scriptures demanded that he honor his age.

This bishop, an enemy of fasting, a friend of long tables and short masses, does not seem to have been so intimate with Christianity. Even during the most solemn Easter service, he cried out, "you singing is killing me with hunger and thirst". He cursed like a reed sparrow, was able to consecrate clerics "in the Würzburg forest", met a royal messenger with a whip, called the king's brother, Bishop Brun, the "devil of Augsburg", and even said of the king himself that he had "lost his mind". In short, the stern ruler did not come to Megin- gaud. He had to wait until his death and then appointed a successor, Gundekar 1st, who soon paid for his elevation by giving up the Eichstätt territory between Pegnitz and Erlangen-Schwabach."

ARDUIN OF IVREA, THE LAST NATIONAL KING  
OF ITALY BEFORE VICTOR EMANUEL (1861),  
IS DEFEATED

At the center of events in Italy when Henry came to power was Margrave Arduin of Ivrea and King of Italy, the head of the anti-Ottoman party; a "lawless impostor", as he was called, who, capable of nefariousness and shameful deeds, wanted to deprive the Germans of their kingdom, in short, someone who was accused of being power-hungry. But power-hungry! Wasn't Henry 11th that too! Wasn't the entire corona of princes? And every Italian magnate! Didn't they all want more power, didn't they all want to increase, consolidate and round off their possessions? Didn't they all, like Arduin, seize the opportunity?

However, as the Margrave focused particularly on the beneficiaries of

He supported and overthrew the church property, the mostly extensive estates of the clergy, moreover almost always endowed with the freedom from levies, with jurisdiction, at least never any, he came into conflict with the priests, whereby he could take a hard line. During a controversy, for example, he once took Bishop Adalbero of Brescia (qq6-70), once the Italian chancellor of Otto II and Otto III, by the hair and threw him to the ground like an "ochcenknecht" (Thietmar)."

Even more serious was a dispute with his main and probably most dangerous opponent, Bishop Peter III of Vercelli, a pugnacious gentleman who literally defended German interests.

Now in the 10th. A particular mismanagement was rampant among some of Vercelli's married prelates in the 10th century, as they seemed to be more concerned with their wives, favorites and the squandering of church property than with their parish. Bishop Ingo, for example, whom a diploma from Otto III (for Leo of Vercelli dated November 1000) calls the worst abuser of the diocese, which is why it annulled all the contracts he had agreed. A capitular of 20. September qq8, so

It sounds unbelievable that all subsequent lease agreements concluded for churches and all earlier laws and customs detrimental to the churches and their property were declared null and void. Documents were also annulled in Vercelli, for example the aforementioned chief canon Leo as well as the Canons.

The local bishop Peter played a truly tragic role. He was taken prisoner by the Arabs in the great battle of Capo di Colonne (V §36 ff.), but the infidels let him live. However, when he happily returned to his diocese years later, the Christians killed him. Margrave Arduin took action against Peter in the fight for his county rights, supported by the archdeacon Vercellis and many others.

the little people struggling for their freedom. A> -7 MÄ^^997 they invaded the city, killed Bishop Peter and burned his body with the church. (In the dispute with Bishop Warinud of Ivrea, the margrave was also supported by the small number of vassals and the bishop's legacy together with the inhabitants. The bishop was repeatedly forced to flee).

When Arduin defended himself at the Roman synod in St. Peter's in April qqq, he confessed his participation in the liquidation of the prelate. In the presence of the emperor and the pope, he was condemned as a murderer of bishops, ostracized as a public enemy' his possessions and those of his followers confiscated in favour of the Church of Vercelli. She was the main beneficiary of this condemnation. She was given the property involved, the county rights of Sradt and the county of Vercelli, and the county of Santhi5 on top of that. The bishoprics of Ivrea and Novara were similarly privileged at the time.

The synod, which was mainly attended by Italian bishops, also imposed a severe penance on the count personally: "he .shall lay down his arms, eat no flesh, kiss neither man nor woman, wear no linen garment, tarry no longer than two nights in one place while he is well, receive no more of the body of the Lord until the end of his life, and retire to a place where he can repent.



not harm any of those who had testified against him  
or enter the monastic state'.

However, although Arduin had already been excommunicated several times, he was released just three weeks after Otto III's death on

February 15, 1002 in the old coronation city of Pavia as King of Italy (1002-1004).

The bishops of Asti, Como, Cremona and Lodi, most of them richly endowed by him, adhered unconditionally to the episcopal murderer, while those of Milan, Brescia, Piacenza and Pavia at least played along. Bishop Peter of Asti (1002-1004), apparently an immoral rascal of the worst kind, whom Pope Sylvester II summoned to a council several times, had traveled to Germany immediately after his ordination in order to have Otto III confirm the possessions and privileges of his see. Immediately after Otto's death, however, he switched to King Arduin. Bishop Peter III of Como

(1002-1004), Archchancellor of Italy under Otto III, immediately became Archchancellor of Arduin after Otto's death. Bishop Odelrich of

Cremona (1002-1004), showered with favors by the Saxon emperors, with ruler's charters and placita, with municipal revenues, estates, mills, ports, customs duties, fishing rights, etc., etc., seems to have been his supporter when Arduin came to power. And the clergy of Ivrea apparently stood by him just as firmly as the rest of the population of the Margraviate, especially the simpler people, who probably hoped that he would improve their circumstances, above all by loosening the secular power of the clergy.

However, although Arduin now made compromises, "Councils in the style of Otto III" (Fasola) to the bishops, and individual clerics stood by him even through tribulation and persecution, that same year Leo of Vercelli, the head of several prelates loyal to the empire - including the politically and militarily committed Bishop Othbert of Verona (1002-1004) - rushed to Henry II with rich gifts to drive him against Arduin.

Heinric, curre, propera, te expectant omnia, Numquam sinas te principe Harduinum vivere.- (-Hurry, Henry, hurry! Everyone

is waiting for you. Don't let Arduin live while you are king!-)

Thus, on November 1, room Leo, as spokesman for the Italian opposition, harassed the king in Regensburg. With all his fervor, he called on him to destroy Ardiun - the language of a shepherd of souls who also played a decisive role in the condemnation of the then terribly mutilated Pope John XVI Philagathos, who was left blind, speechless and almost deaf to his fate without eyes, ears, nose, lips, tongue (V y6 ff!).

Leovon Vercelli (pq9-ioz6), a member of the imperial court chapel since 996, was the most important imperial bishop in Italy under Otto III and Henry II, the typical, according to the sources, "episcopus palacii-, -episcopus de palacio-, who was much less concerned with his spiritual office than with his position at court. He wanted an all-powerful German leader who would rule especially with the bishops and, of course, make them as strong as possible. For the sake of the Holy King and Emperor, he was even able to attack the Holy Church, such as the Abbey of Brenne or the Bishopric of Ivrea, which he tried to usurp and deprive of its means of power.

But the prince was just as ruthless and as intent on his own advantage as the bishop. Indeed, he managed to proceed at the expense of Leo, his most loyal companion in Italy, who was completely devoted to him. After all, he deprived him of the power base with which Otto III had generously endowed him - against the rebellious Arduin - in order to increase the military potential of the Margrave of Ivrea as a counterweight against Margrave Odelrich-Manfred of Turin."

The first attempt to tame Arduin with an expeditionary force under Otto von Worms, Duke of Carinthia (r7a-'ah "d 995-*tool*), resulted in a severe defeat in the upper Brenta Valley at the beginning of January 1003. Arduin, a devout Christian who had just celebrated Christmas, proved to be far superior. The Germans, complains Thietmar, were "unfortunately largely routed, massacred and robbed of the honor of victory". And Arduin was soon able to attend the consecration of the basilica of Fruttuaria Monastery by the saintly Abbot Wilhelm.

On the other hand, the pious Henry, especially requested and expected by the high clergy, including Bishop Otbert of Verona, ordered a new war to be waged now 14, which he then waged mainly with bishops and bishopric officials.

their contingents, as he also did on his further

Italy were mainly accompanied by prelates. He went to Magdeburg in advance to implore the help of St. Maurice, the hero of the Thebaic legion and still famous imperial saint (cf. p. Q3), was then courted and entertained by Bishop Siegfried in Augsburg and, almost exclusively accompanied by Bavarian clergy and nobles, after an arduous march across the Alps, he went on a journey to the Bavarian capital.

q. April rood in Trent on Palm Sunday. Here, where the bishops were evidently once again shaming him, although most of them were more concerned with their own advantage than that of the crown, he concluded a prayer fraternization with his followers in order to make good progress.

First, Arduin's crew was defeated in the Brenta Cliffs (near Primolano), partly by fleeing and partly by being thrown over the steep slopes into the abyss, where they perished in the raging waters of the Brenta. Then Henry solemnly celebrated -on the banks of the Fliissc ... the Last Supper of the Lord, the consecration of the holy oil, suffering and Holy Mass. (Thietmar) and earned the special praise of his biographer Adalbold of Utrecht because he thus stopped the shedding of blood during Holy Week.

Many prelates now immediately went over to Henry, even those who were hardly politically active, such as Bishop Sigefred of Piacenza or Bishop Landolf II of Brescia, a brother of the Milanese archbishop Arnulf II (qp8-i0r8). The latter, first a partisan of Otto 111 and then apparently of Arduin, whom he at least hypocritically supported, now also changed sides again. He met Henry in Bergamo and crowned him on

u. May rood in Pavia as -rex Langobardorum" - in the same old coronation church of San Michele in which Arduin had been crowned two years earlier.

The triumphant day of celebration was followed by a devastating massacre the very next night. After all, the locals had risen up - with servile insolence - and besieged the Palatinate. The king, who had to jump out of the window, allowed the Franks, Swabians and Lorraines, most of whom were outside, to storm the city, causing a gruesome bloodbath.

"It is impossible to describe the scale of the slaughter" (Loos-horn). The young Giselbert, brother of Queen Cunegonde, also fell. In short, the grandiose festival was horribly drowned in murder and fire. The Pavesses were slaughtered, the corpses plundered and most of the city incinerated.

But after Pavia had been subdued -with fire and sword- (Hermann von Reichenau) and the uprising had been defeated "in a sea of blood" (Holtzmann), the saint became very mild and gave strict orders to "spare the rest". Indeed, Henry the Good even refrained from taking revenge "immediately ... because the Polish War had already begun" (Hlawitschka). He went to the fortified monastery of S. Pietro in Cielo d'oro, humbly begged the remaining Pavese for mercy and accepted the homage of the remaining Lombards at a court meeting in Pontelungo. He then went to Milan "out of love for the most holy Bishop Ambrose", celebrated the most holy feast of Pentecost near Lugano and commemorated the birth of "the most venerable forerunner of Christ" in Strasbourg, where "the Lord worked a miracle through him". He then traveled to Mainz,

-where he entered the threshold of St. Bishop Martine, the patron saint of the city' -prayed and celebrated the feast of the apostles in honor. But in Saxony it again seemed high time for the saint, to speak again with Thietmar, to summon his vassals in his care and in the care of Christ to go to war in mid-August".

After Henry had returned to the north in the early summer of 1044 for almost ten years, Arduin is said to have been completely defeated by Leo of Vercelli, who took possession of more than one hundred and fifty of Arduin's followers - Capitane, Valvassoren, ludices - have taken home. In any case, the German 5page

praised Bishop Leo as the one who had deprived Arduin of his crown - the last national king of Italy before Victor Emmanuel (Re Galantuomo = King Ehrmann \* 7)! Ruined and from the emperor's followers were increasingly forced into a corner, the humiliated, completely disempowered, already sickly and with a razored beard, in the monastery of Fruttuaria, which he founded, last dressed in a monk's habit and died 4 December 1044.

But the Italians had also had enough of St. Henry. (According to his death, the Pavese burned down the royal palace, the traditional site where the Lombards, the Carolingians and the Ottonians had once enjoyed their festivals, victories and triumphs). And none other than Bishop Leo of Vercelli soon wrote to the emperor that the German cause was worse off after Arduin's death than it had been during the opposing king's lifetime."

Things were not good for the German cause in the East either, in Bohemia and especially in Poland, where Henry II introduced a completely new policy.

### **HEINRICH'S HOLY WARS AGAINST THE CATHOLIC POPE**

Between 1040 and 1056, the king, who saw his main task as the subjugation of the East, also undertook campaign after campaign against Poland. There were three long campaigns, which the Holy Emperor with interruptions due to other activities, one and a half years occupied almost his entire reign. And which astonished and angered a part of the Christian world, as they were directed at a Catholic country, even a prince, Boleslaw I Chrobry (992-1025), who had continued the successful pro-German policy of his father Mieszko I (963 f.) and whom Henry's predecessor, Emperor Otto III, had recently proclaimed the friend and ally (*amicus et socius*), brother and collaborator in the empire (*frater et cooperator imperii*), on whose head he symbolically placed his own crown.

had. Boleslaw wanted to work hand in hand with him and the Pope to

"Ostmission-" (V 68 ff., esp. i7 -). And he had also been personally fighting the pagan Liutizi and Abodrites side by side with Otto since qq.

But now he was suddenly (made) the main enemy of the Holy Emperor. -The Slave received the usual yoke again for shame, so that he serves with tribute as he used to do," rejoiced Bishop Leo of Vercelli. But Boleslaw soon resisted more and more successfully, and he acted as all other princes do when they can act in this way: he used the opportunity to increase his own power. After all, both the Pole and the German wanted the same thing: an offensive great power policy and, to consolidate it, the spread of the Good News, which made the East a theater of war for fifteen years.

Boleslaw Chrobry had already tried to bring Christianity to Pomerania, not least in order to gain access to the sea. And after he had imposed supremacy on the Pomeranians, missionary work began immediately, the diocese of Kolberg was founded and the German priest Reinbern was appointed bishop. He not only destroyed the pagan sanctuaries, but even cleansed the sea, which was heavily polluted by the old faith, the idolatrous sea, by sinking several stones smeared with chrism into it. But he died in prison before he had removed the one through the other delusion. The bishopric of Kolberg, annexed to the Polish archbishopric of Gniezno by Otto III, also gave up its evil spirit. And Pomerania continued to be adorned with splendid, rich temples for a long time, indeed the inhabitants are said to have adhered to Christianity and looked down on its confessors."

Further west, Henry's rival to the throne in the north, the powerful Margrave Ekkehard of Meißen, had kept the Slavs at bay and subjugated the Milzeners in what would later become Upper Lusatia. But no sooner had Ekkehard been treacherously killed during his campaign (p. i8 f.) than the Polish duke Boleslaw seized the opportunity. He immediately stormed, devastating everything, until

to the Elbe, taking thousands of prisoners with him, seizing the important castles of Bautzen and Strehla, and then the *Margraviate of Meilen*, He saw *himself in the right*, partly due to close relationships - his daughter Reglindis was married to Margrave Ekkehard's son Hermann, his sister to Ekkehard's brother, Margrave Gunzelin of Meissen; but also as a 'collaborator in the empire', in the planned renewal of the Roman Empire, for which Otto III. made him in Gnesen in the year 1000 ( J7\* )

Heinrich understandably didn't have time to intervene.

But when the Saxon princes paid homage to him in Merseburg on July 2 room, Boleslaw was also there. Otto III's partner was now even rewarded with a part of what he had just invaded and occupied, the Margraviate of Lusatia and the Milzen Land (near Bautzen). However, Henry did not give him the Margraviate of MeiBen with its strategically important castle, nor did he support the Polish church. And Boleslaw almost fell victim to an assassination attempt in Merseburg, where the archbishops of Bremen and Magdeburg were also staying, along with many of their brother bishops. Before his departure, a band of armed men, "probably Bavarians", sought to slay him, while the king stood idly by (Fried). Several Poles were seriously wounded, many were robbed. It is no wonder that Boleslaw suspected the ruler himself as the perpetrator of the prank, that on the way back he burned Strehla Castle, dragged a lot of prisoners with him and called for apostasy from Henry, who in turn ordered him to "watch out for the Slav's secret machinations."

Boleslaw Chrobry, one of Poland's most important politicians, quickly became increasingly powerful and was the first to envision a pan-Slavic empire completely independent of Germany. Truly scandalous circumstances in Prague, known as the turmoil on the throne, came to his aid.

The Bohemian Dukes of Boleslav, father, son and grandson, were all three are good Catholics and all three are good murderers.



Boleslav I the Cruel killed his brother Wenceslas (V 403 ff.). His son Boleslav II the Pious allegedly had twenty churches built and, on the 111th Abodrite Field, raided Libice Castle shortly before the feast of St. Wenceslas (zS. September) and killed all the members of the Slavnikid dynasty present, his rivals for dominance in Bohemia. Boleslav II of the

The pious son, Boleslav III, not only ensured the liquidation of Burgrave Rikdag von MeiSen "from ambush" (V 3q ), but also persecuted his Catholic siblings. He tried to suffocate his brother Udalrich in the bath and then drove him and his mother out of the country. Both fled to Bavaria in the summer of room to Duke Heinrich, the future king. Boleslav had his ßrtider Jaromir (= 'famous for his strength')

III; and later, io3q, the emasculated man was forced upon Udalrich as co-regent by Conrad 11, and under him was blinded and imprisoned, io3i murdered.

Duke Jaromir, Henry 11's ally, had provided the German king with "valuable military assistance" (Hilsch) on four campaigns against Poland. However, when he was overthrown and expelled by Udalrich in the middle of the war, Henry kept him in Utrecht as a possible means of pressure against the new duke. Udalrich, Boleslav the Pious' youngest son, was also brutal. He left ioi4 a Polish peace delegation under his blood relative Boleslaw's son Mieszko was thrown into prison and the foremost ones killed. Indeed, he himself allegedly plunged a sword into his relative's brain and stabbed the rest of the guards with his playmates.

Polish prince Boleslaw had not remained inactive during the turmoil on the throne in his neighboring country. In January• 3 , he invaded Bohemia, chased away Duke Jaromir and his brother and mother, and then also withdrew from the kingdom. Boleslav III from the market. He had initially supported him. But when this "deceitful man of blood" split his brother-in-law's head open with his own hands in the spring of i--3 -' in a massacre among his grandparents - "on top of that, during the holy Lent".

time - (Thietmar) - when the Piast prince summoned him to his court. Although he received the Bohemian kindly, he had him attacked and blinded the very next night and then imprisoned the blind man in Christian mercy for 34 years, until his death.

(\* 371. at a castle in Poland. He himself resided 1003 on Prague's Hradcany, also took over the dukedom there (or, in modern terms, the responsibility of government) and now, almost suddenly, ruled over a large area from the Baltic to the Carpathians, from the Warta and Vistula almost to the Dorian. Bohemia

ntir became Polish until 104. Moravia until 1094." This neighbor, under which the early feudal country was increasingly seemed too powerful for St. Henry. However, it was difficult to take action against this. Even Henry's own brother, "the Episcopal Teiifel of Augsburg", was on the side of the Polish duke. Imperial princes also sympathized with Otto III's recently allied Catholic partner. Some were allies of the Pole, and the Ekkehards were even closely related to him. The desire for war, however, was limited, especially among the East Saxons, who had to fight it for the most part; especially since the landscape, impassable, rich in forests and swamps, was not very suitable for fighting for the German armies and the Poles were then very skillful in their tactics, resorting to small-scale warfare, raiding trophies and cavalry troops, but avoiding open field battles."

Thus Henry, the most Christian king, sought allies before he thoroughly overturned the alliance concluded in Gniezno and the grand concept of Christian Ostpolitik and struck out against Catholic Poland and its prince, Otto's "cooperator mundi". And he found them in the pagan Wends, who had previously fought so fiercely and who now threatened the Duke of Poland and Bohemia's expansionist policy.

According to Thietmar, the king made the Liutices and Redarians compliant with him through "abundant friendly gifts and pleasant promises". He received their envoys on the very feast of St. Easter 1003 and concluded the pact with them against the Christian Piasts, which ended the previous cooperation in the

Osren, prepared the war and raised the prestige of the pagans. Henry II forbade the mission to them: With his express approval, Liutizen and Redarians remained pagans! The reconquest of the lost territories was abandoned for the time being, as was the restoration of the bishoprics of Brandenburg and Havelberg.

The change of alliance, perhaps Henry's most important governmental decision, was by no means universally approved of. Quite a few were shocked, especially many Saxon grandees, who naturally hoped to collect tribunes from the Liutizei and expand their possessions at the expense of their neighbors; quite apart from the fact that they had forged kinship ties with Polish feudal lords during Otto's pro-Polish course.

Some church circles were also much less keen on war than on new tithing income. Others rejected the Polish campaign more or less radically for religious reasons; they wanted to proselytize, to convert the heathens.

Wigbert of Merseburg, made bishop (root-into) by Henry in the greatest haste just before the outbreak of the battle and repeatedly bestowed with gifts, several times with the levy of the merchants "and unbelieving Jews", preached incessantly to dissuade the idolaters from their vain delusion. The "excellently educated man", as Thietmar, his successor, writes, knew no mercy - he **completely** destroyed the holy grove of Schkeißen, which had always been held in divine esteem by the local inhabitants and had never been violated since time immemorial; in its place he erected a church for the holy martyr Romanus.

However, no one coveted the mission to the East more than Bishop Brunon of Querfurt, the Saxon "of the noblest lineage" and former court chaplain to Otto III, a tireless proselytizer to Hungary, the Pechenegs and Prussia. He particularly wanted to "illuminate the barren soil" of the latter with "divine seed". But the ungrateful made him a martyr, and Boleslaw bought his body from them. A veritable saint, then, like Henry himself, through whose Polish war he was, of course, made a martyr.

his own ambitious plans, ranging from the Pechenegs to Sweden, especially his favorite project, the Liutizen mission.

In a letter at the end of 1008, he accused the ruler of harshness and cruelty. He was waging war in three theaters at the same time, i.e. not only against the Slavs, but also in Lorraine and Bavaria. It sometimes sounds very pacifist what the -chosen among the children of God- (Thietmar) puts forward. In reality, however, the saint only wants to incite the saint against the pagans. He rebukes the king for fighting Boleslaw, who gave him, Brun, many goods, who also wanted to help his Prussian mission with money and goods and all his strength. --This Boleslaw assures you-, he writes to Henry II, -because he will not renounce it for ever, that he will always support you most zealously *in* the subjugation of the *heathens* and will gladly serve you in everything.

Again and again the king's bishop rebukes war against Christians, and this on the side of pagans. -How does Christ agree with Belial? What is the fellowship of light with darkness?" he rails. -Is it noble to persecute a Christian and have a pagan nation as a covenant partner?" Crying woe over the wretched times in which no king fights the pagans anymore and his own honor is higher than the advantage of Christ, he passionately desires war against them. For only if Henry *forces* the Wends to believe by force of arms will he act according to the words of the Gospel: compel them to come in! (After all, according to St. Augustine, one of the most accomplished propagandists of hate and violence, many like it when they are forced!- Ergo: cogite intra- re . . . 4 ff!) St. Henry, according to St. Brun, was supposed to come in with make peace with the Christian Poles in order to work together with them to defeat the Liuticans in order to force them into the church and turn them into Christians by force. No one before the Crusades had demanded war against paganism more passionately."

"\X/as above make the Catholic legendary history of the

The opposite of this battle of St. Henry and the pagan Liutizen against the Catholic Poles!

Still in the second half of the 11th century stands so in P.M. Vogel's "Life Descriptions of the Saints of God" (with "Approbation of the Most Reverend Episcopal Ordinariate of Regensburg"): "His war against the then still pagan peoples in Poland, who devastated Merseburg and burned down many churches, is particularly remarkable. He went to battle against them, invoked St. Lawrence, St. George and St. Hadrian for protection against the unbelievers, vowed to restore the bishopric after defeating the enemies, had the whole army receive the holy sacraments on the eve of the battle, performed his devotions in the same way, and lo and behold, the three saints appeared at the head of the imperial army. Horror seized the pagans; they fled and surrendered without resistance.- Henry's catholic opponents, the Poles, were turned into counterfeit pagans.

"Unbelievers - and there is no mention of his pagan comrades-in-arms, the Liutizi!

As late as 1886, however, the Bamberg folklorist Klaus Guth wrote in the "St. Otto-Verlag" that the Emperor, who waged war for almost his entire life, had realized a peculiar ethos of responsibility and concern for peace. But a peculiar one. The ethos of a saint. Even before Charlemagne, Henry was canonized on 11 July 1046 by Pope Eugene III, i.e. by that (- 7-) beatified -blood- (according to Arnold of Brescia, Abaelard's successor at the University of Paris}, who

only a few months earlier called for the completely unsuccessful second crossing.^

In February 1040 \*• King Henry invaded the Milzenerland. However, heavy snowfall and a sudden thaw hindered the German invaders, otherwise, according to Thietmar, -the  
The whole country has become desolate and deserted. God, doesn't that sound pitiful? In any case, the saint had to reluctantly abandon his plan.

That summer, however, he marched with his faithful followers from Saxony, Bavaria and East Franconia towards Bohemia, where, according to the

Boleslaw now ruled Poland and disputed Henry's feudal sovereignty over the country. The royal army was accompanied by the exiled Bohemian Duke Jaromir and, it seems, by many prelates: Gottschalk of Freising, Walter of Speyer, Wibert of Merseburg, Hildward of Zeitz, Wido of Brandenburg, Hilderich of Havelberg, Tagino of Magdeburg. At times, the archbishops of Magdeburg bore the brunt of Henry's attacks on Poland. After all, they were

"-pugnax Saxonia", the warlike Saxony (Leo of Vercelli), which at that time had more archbishoprics than any other German region, peppered with castles to the east.

On the way, the king attended the festive consecration of the new Nienburg monastery church near Calbe an der Saale at the beginning of August and, in view of the forthcoming Polish spectacle, gave Abbot Ekkehard, one of his relatives, several estates in Lusatia for the sake of certain victory.

It became almost a principle of Henry II to take part in church consecrations before offensives. Thus before the military expeditions to Poland in 1010 and 1017. Thus at the consecration of Mainz Cathedral before the march against Burgundy. Yes, the three church consecrations in anno

in Quedlinburg, Merseburg and Bamberg was seen as part of a spiritual preparation for the Italian campaign" (Guth). This is also known as "political piety". Is it a coincidence that Henry most frequently visited Saxony, 3rd, as far as is known, that seven of the church consecrations honored by him took place in Saxony, on the Cirenze to the east, in this "Päradiesian flower garden in safety and abundance" (Thietmar)? In general, no organized major slaughter, even by Christians, could take place without Holy Mass! And so it was still in the 20th Century ...

The first Polish War began from Merseburg. The holy warrior pretended to hesitate against Poland, but invaded Bohemia completely unexpectedly, where the population of Saaz opened the gates to him and, according to Bishop Thietmar, gave him - free support- in what Loosfiorn later called a "horrible massacre- in which the Polish army was slain. An-

Apparently, there were also brutal mutilations, emasculations, etc.; at any rate, Henry's biographer, Bishop Adalbold of Utrecht, recalls this. However, the king was so moved by the atrocities that he once again ordered, full of mercy (cf. his order hei the massacre in Pavia: p. 8a), to spare the surviving remnant.

They then marched to Prague to capture or kill Boleslaw, "the poisonous snake", according to Henry's instructions. However, the snake escaped from Jaromir's advancing army to Poland, while Sobebor, the eldest son of Prince Slavnik of Libice, a brother of St. Adalbert (V yi f.), died in battle on the bridge near Prague. In September, the Premyslide Jaromir, Boleslav III, reigned again. brother, in the city (a bishop's see subject to Mainz since s73) and paid fealty to Henry. Sratt of the Poles the Czechs were now dominated by the Germans."

At that time in Prague, on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mother, September 8 (root), the king - with the permission of the local bishop - commanded Bishop Gottschalk of Freising to preach to the people. And he - not only, nominally, a -servant of God-, but of course also one of the king - immediately called o n everyone "to hold fast to two bonds of love": "namely obedience to God and reverence for the authorities - the pillars of our society that have proved so beneficial for two millennia.

They then marched into Upper Lusatia - in infinitely difficult circumstances - and performed many heroic deeds against the Polish occupation of Bautzen Castle. A truly marvelous miracle also happened to St. Henry. For when he drove his loyal followers to storm against the Catholic defenders, "divine providence" protected him from an archer's arrow and killed a vassal standing close to him. "The king lifted up his heart in humility and praised God, who had revealed his care and love to him as always, without any merit on his part. Or, as Nietzsche says: A religious man thinks only of himself. -"The

But the castle", Bishop Thietmar regrets immediately afterwards (cf. his note on p. 90), "would have gone up in flames if it had not been prevented by an unfortunate order from Margrave Gunzelin." No, what a pity again. Luck and bad luck. But a lot of Christian Catholic sentiment shines through here and there."

In order to win over the Saxons, who were unwilling to go to war, the saint once again took refuge in God. He also entered into a prayer covenant with many, especially prelates, which guaranteed a considerable memorial benefit in the event of death, a high spiritual return, so to speak. And then in the summer, during one of the terrible years of famine -

"Fames magna facta est-, so laconically the lame monk of Reichenau -, continued the Poleian War under the special protection of St. Thebaean hero Mauritius.

From early on, Henry held this hero in high esteem, a legendary figure, but one who played no small role for Otto I (V q&q f.), indeed, he was already highly revered in the Merovingian gangster regiment (later sometimes depicted with three Moorish heads, patron saint of the infantry, helpful against gout, earache, horse ailments - everyone was supposed to need him: blacks, whites, butchers, civilians, even animals; they, of course, only because of their use for the crown of creation).

In the 10th century, a Mauritius mass almost became fashionable. And under Henry II, Thebaeus, his patron saint and that of Magdeburg, moved to the top of the list of soldier saints. What were thought to be relics were kept in the royal chapel. And according to old sources, St. Mauricii or whose remains were always buried in February 14 \*'a--- hand and barefoot through snow and ice to Magdeburg Cathedral. The house itself was dissolved and destroyed at the time of the Reformation.

Magdeburg, a much-supported base for offensives into Slavic lands since Otto I's foundation, was apparently intended to be very similar



under Heinrich, who repeatedly expressed his sympathy for Saxony and the city and wanted to continue the work of his - 'great- predecessor. "

They gathered on i6. August in Leitzkau. Strategically located (to the right of the Elbe, east of Magdeburg) - with a courtyard belonging to the Bishop of Brandenburg - it often served the **Germans** as a meeting point and base of operations at Eastern Europe, under Otto III against the pagans, under Henry the Saint against the Catholic Poles (who probably then destroyed the site with the bishop's courtyard, whereupon it quickly became a forest wilderness again. io3o the Poles took the Brandenburg chief shepherd Lictzo prisoner).

The day before the meeting in Leitzkau, the holy king had celebrated "the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God" in Magdeburg, heard Holy Mass the next day, then crossed the Elbe by ship together with his holy wife. With conscripts from all over the empire, including the soldiers of Bishop Arnulf of Halberstadt and Archbishop Tagino of Magdeburg, who himself rode and kicked, they fought their way to the Oder in a series of fierce battles. There, the fighters of Christ met the Liutians with their banners. Flags with pagan and Catholic idols now fluttered side by side in beautiful harmony. And the pagans publicly carried out their Satanic service. But even Bishop Thietmar accepted them as auxiliary troops, of course:

-Pray for your community and your cult, dear reader!

Under orthodox emblems and those of the devil, they penetrated deep into Poland, further than a German army had ever gone before; not without hardships due to long marches, poor rations, exhausting hunger and other miseries of war. Hot on the heels of the fleeing enemy, Henry's men were often defeated, especially during their dangerous attempts to gain a foothold. The warlord himself sometimes honored an abbey, celebrated the feast of the Theban Legion, sometimes made a rich raid, then "with clergy and all troops loudly sang the praises of Christ" and as usual "devastated everything around" (Thietmar). Before Posen, his army was ambushed by

further considerable losses. And so, without being able to force Bole-Slav to pay homage, he ended the undertaking in Posen. According to the Quedlinburg annalist, Henry had brought home the corpses of his own and a -bad peace-, and perhaps that is why nothing more is known about it.

But Bishop Unger of Poznan, a German, attributed Poland's salvation to the help of new martyrs, the "five holy brothers", who soon no longer protected him at least. For

7 Henry kept him in Magdeburg until the end of his life, while Archbishop Tagino, a close confidant of the monarch since they were brought up together in Regensbur- gurg, remained in his charge.

The monastery (p.94) St. Emmeram\* in Posen was integrated into its own ecclesiastical province by means of forgeries, apparently in consultation with the Holy King.

After the First Polish War, however, Henry left the vassal Brunkio in Merseburg - his main palace with 25 stays - and also some of his most distinguished Slavic opponents and their followers in Fallersleben. "His cheerful countenance", praises a contemporary lament on his death, "proclaimed the goodness of his heart." As Vogel's episcopally approved "Holy Gortes" {"With encouraging doctrines and spiritual German) knows, his whole life was sacred and a bestial preparation for death" - above all - for the death of others.

Just two years after the peace treaty, when Boleslaw attempted to win the Liutizen over to his side - "with words and money", according to Thietmar - Henry 17 began the second, six-year war. years of the Polish War. He terminated the peace alliance, and Boleslaw declared to the royal envoy, the Margrave of the Milzenerland, Hermann (husband of Boleslaw's daughter Reglindis): -Christ, the all-knowing, be my witness that I will unwillingly do what I must do!- And devastated the Magdeburg region, beat the inhabitants to death or took them prisoner, dragged them away in chains.

Yet he had only just been admitted to the cathedral chapter in Mag- deburg a year or two earlier, with him -'fraternitas-

closed, fraternization. Now the local archbishop Tagino led the military counterattack, a man who said mass every day and sang the Psalter, generally lived like 'a real monk' (Thietmar), which is not easy to understand. For Archbishop Tagino appears rather arrogant, loved noblemen (whose prebends, monetary payments, he increased) and kept lowly men away from him.

As a favorite of Henry II, he often stayed at court, where he was gladly consulted and received at least eight royal deeds, including, in addition to several castles (Arneburg, Prettin), the royal court and the Frose fort near Calbe; even if such donations imposed more duties on the archbishopric, duties above all of a military nature. After all, it was precisely under Tagino, who was heavily, almost constantly, occupied by warfare in the east, that Magdeburg - from a missionary center - became a focal point of military resistance against Poland.

•Other areas of his activity are less clear from the sources" (Claude).

However, the archbishop, who had the king's full confidence, assessed the threat posed by Poland as less serious and behaved accordingly ambiguously, which undoubtedly weakened German resistance. Just as the second Polish war, in which Boleslaw advanced as far as the Middle Elbe and also took the highly important town of Bautzen, was far less favorable for Henry than the first. This was because the Saxons showed little desire to do so and were much more hesitant, especially as they believed that the king had started the war deliberately. And they themselves were torn apart by feuds between secular and ecclesiastical lords.

They also acted almost as if they were in enemy territory while still peacefully on their own soil. This was the case in Belgern (near Mühlberg on the right bank of the Elbe), on an estate belonging to Margrave Gero II of the Saxon Ostmark. -We all--, noted Thietmar at the time, -I must not single out anyone, behaved like his enemies, not like friends, by spoiling everything with the exception of his people.

some even by arson. Even the king neither provided atonement nor sought to protect him.

After all, the rulers were used to eating up the land around them, so to speak. This was part of their travels, their incessant wanderings, part of their normal "hospitality duties", the ruler's entitlement to board and lodging. Exemptions from this obligation to provide food and lodging, which was generally regarded as a nuisance, were rare and are difficult to prove before the 11th century. The court was packed with up to two thousand people, knights, priests, maids, oxen drivers, devouring whole herds of cattle, pigs and pigs. Sometimes hardship moved in, the prince moved out. And occasionally there was refusal, resistance. Bishop Megingaiid of Eichstätt ( 7 ) cried out when Henry II demanded "a full servitium" from him, "as it would have terrified even an archbishop. "You nasty fellow," he shouted at the royal emissary, "your master has lost his mind! - You knew why you wanted to have the king as a friend - but not as a guest."

During the war, of course, things looked a little different, occasionally, as in the Second Polish War, traitors were hunted down and pillaged just to stay in practice, so to speak. Bishops such as Arnulf of Halberstadt and Meinwerk of Paderborn, who had already fought against the Liixemburgs the year before, now also found time to ravage Central and Lower Silesia. Despite frequent and heavy downpours, they inflicted "heavy misfortune" on their Catholic enemies and waged a completely haphazard war of plunder, basically just a demonstration of their own presence. -Only after everything around them had been devastated did the Bohemians return to their country, while ours returned cheerfully through the Milzenergau to the Elbe (Thietmar).

A cheerful Christianity again. Meinwerk von Paderborn, who had only been a bishop since 100q, received a count's shah as the first fruit of his war service for the ruler twice - the beginning of "a long series of royal gifts" (Bannasch).

In the midst of the Polish War tor z, in the year in which the saint sought to conquer his adversaries in the east and west through two synchronized campaigns, Archbishop Tagino "did not go to his death, but joyfully crossed over to Christ" on June q. June, as the chronicler puts it, "not to death, but joyfully to Christ."

His successor was the cathedral provost Walthard - not without a bit of simony, in addition to a benefice - "zo pounds of silver as a pious gift" for his livelihood. As Thietmar, the reporter, also confesses to having obtained his own high office in a similar way - not through money, but in return for a gift of land to my uncle. Having risen to the rank of archbishop, Walthard of Magdeburg was given the supreme command in a new invasion; after all, the German armies that had previously attacked Poland came from this region.

Walthard, who unlike his predecessors had never served at court and had never belonged to the court chapel, which is why he had to swear an oath of allegiance to the reluctantly approving king as the first chief shepherd of Magdeburg when he was appointed, led the campaign casually. Indeed, after only a brief advance he abandoned the undertaking, albeit in agreement with the nobility, who were once again unwilling to go to war, but contrary to Henry's intention, whose offensive policy he disliked. And the prelate responsible for the attack was soon accused of having planned many things against the king.

Unfortunately, we do not learn any more details. But Thietmar, who always mentions that the archbishop was treated very courteously and given rich gifts during the peace negotiations with Poland, even though they failed, does everything he can to exonerate him. The famous chronicler, who often met the dead (V 3q ff.), was also shown -the most reverend Marine himself on z8. October xoiz in Meifien. And since he "knew the dead man", he asked, as was only natural, "how he was doing". And, of course, the dead man was fine, fine; he was, after all, "not guilty" of the specific accusations, his alleged plans against the king! And later, our historian even learned - as always - from credible people - that Archbishop Walthard was "not guilty".

still -have been honored to appear before the face of God on All Saints' Day'- . - You're lying through your teeth! But after all, the venerable shepherd atich did not shy away from a bit of deception; for example, he tried to get hold of the diocesan rights over two burgwardens belonging to Zeitz by means of a forged royal charter!

In the same year, the Polish prince won Lebusa Castle on the Fläming (north of Schlieben).

King Henry I had conquered it after a long siege and burned it down, whereupon it lay desolate until ioiz. Then Henry II, with the help of Bishop Thietmar, had it rebuilt, reinforced and protected by a thousand men. Immediately after Walthard's death, however, Boleslaw, who was lurking in a nearby ambush, ordered the fortress to be stormed and, "still sitting at breakfast", watched himself as they took his men in the first attack, shedding much blood and losing many of his own men. -This miserable bloodbath took place on zo. Auguste, notes Thietmar. -The enormous booty was distributed and the castle set on fire-; whereby the Pole ioiz did the same as the German king q3z - the bloody power games of the princes: -... then the victorious army went home with their lord, joyful- Already joyful again.

It was only through the efforts of the Pole, who sent his son Miesz- ko to Magdeburg in winter ioiz/IO\*3 >with rich gifts, where he became a vassal of the king, that the Peace of Merseburg was signed at Whitsun ioi3, which was not very successful for the empire. The bishopric of Mei Ben was even torn into a German and a Polish part. Although Boleslaw formally submitted again, also declaring himself a vassal, he effectively retained the parts of the Ostmark and the Mark Meiflen that he had occupied.<sup>2</sup>

In the summer of ioiy, Heinrich opened the third, still He left Magdeburg to fight the Polish War, which lasted almost three years, after humbly asking the Christian knight Mauritius for help in overcoming his stubborn enemy Boleslaw. The Pole was as Christian and Catholic as he was, and just as unyielding.

In response to Henry's demand for the return of the imperial fiefs, he confidently declared that he would keep what was his, and that he intended to carry off as booty what did not belong to him.

And so it happened.

With three armies, the largest contingent since the beginning of the Polish offensive, the imperial army advanced separately but simultaneously from the north, south and center. The Hafi between the fighting men grew, and sometimes even women, as in Meissen, defended the fatherland. Here too, the town, now less fortunate, fell victim to the flames, while the Vesté itself, with a lot of luck, was barely held. (After all, the location was so unsafe that Bishop Eido, who died in Leipzig in December, forbade himself to be buried in Meissen until the hour of his death).

Many prelates, Eido himself, Archbishop Gero of Magdeburg, Thietmar of Merseburg, joined in, along with large pagan organizations. And again, according to old custom, they also devastated their own soil, once again harassing the people and land of Margrave Gero in the Saxon Ostmark (he himself fell against Boleslaw in the same year, on October r. ioi5).

On August 3, the day of the discovery of the first martyr of Christ, the Holy Emperor forces the crossing of the Oder through considerable bloodshed. He beat up the Poles - terribly" (Thictmar). A lucky day, comments historian Siegfried Hirsch, and because there is more luck to report, this time from the siege of Bautzen: "Here too, the result was brilliant: the city went up in flames ..."

Yes, laurels are pinned to the united Christian-Pagan standards, sometimes 600, then 800 enemies are killed, no less than 1000 men are taken prisoner, plus women and children. But on the German side, too, "zoo of the most excellent knights", including several counts, are occasionally stabbed and plundered. It is the rear guard of Archbishop Gero of Magdeburg (io\*^-\*\*3). Wherein the prince of the church himself can escape and convey the dreadful ktinde to the emperor. Such a bloody failure, however, always requires a particularly noble explanation. The

The Quedlinburg annals even recognize the "spirit of a religious war - against Catholics! \*The Magdeburg knights found bodily death in the following of Christ- (Clau- de). And Bishop Thietmar still wishes a merciful God for pastoral care.

So the world comes back to order, the slaughter continues. They ravage the land, burn castles, shed tears. A lot of "highwaymen" (multi latrones) are hanged,

"after they had been convicted (!) in the duel of Fechterri" (Thietmar). The emperor celebrates from the feasts of Christianity, the Nativity of the Lord, the Apparition of the Lord, the Purification of the Blessed Mother. In short, one prays, one kills,

takes away the loot - and in 1046 Pope Eugene III proclaims at Heinrich's canonization that he had 'not given imperially, but spiritually'.

In 1016 there was a remarkable death. On October 6, a man of great value to the country was murdered, the Count of Billunger \Vichmann 111, and, as Thietmar reports, "at the instigation of a second Herodias". This lady, however, was none other than the mother of the Paderborn bishop Meinwerk, who, like her, also pursued a virtuoso, unscrupulously pervasive policy of giiter, fleeing all classes of the population insofar as they owned their own land - and is generally regarded as the most important Paderborn bishop of the Middle Ages.

Noblewoman Adela von Hamaland (d. 1028), of Carolingian descent via her mother, allegedly had her elder son, Count Dietrich von Hamaland, 1019 assassinated, although this is doubted today. Rumors also claim that her older sister, Abbess Liutgard, with whom she was involved in a fierce inheritance dispute, was also poisoned at her instigation. In any case, Adela usurped her father's inheritance. And in any case, she saw to it that Count Wichmann was killed and also took part of his inheritance. The Billunger, who had long been involved in feuds with Adela's second husband, Balderich, Count of Drenthe, became involved in the latter's



House poisoned, then backstabbed. One thing is certain - think of the first papal murder (V \*71), which obviously set a precedent here.

Bishop Dietrich of Münster, who was a friend of the murdered man, called for revenge, also took revenge and burned himself in the land of the fugitive Balderich, who found the protection of Archbishop Heribert of Cologne. Meinwerk's murderous mother, however, was later buried in front of Cologne Cathedral; but it is said that her body was dug up before an impending storm and thrown into the Rhine. Whatever the case, the mother's engaging nature undoubtedly contributed considerably to the wealth of the bishop's son."

In the meantime, the emperor sought to revise the last peace, but suffered almost nothing but defeats and losses. And even when he undertook a combined invasion, again with a sizeable group of prelates in his army, together with Grand Duke Yaroslav of Kiev - the first joint action by Germans and Russians against Poland - they were completely defeated. After all, Christian Europe was already fighting each other from the Dnieper to the Tiber so as not to go any further south. Henry was only able to retreat with very weakened forces, while the Poles took a lot of prisoners, even crossing the Elbe and conquering German land as far as the Mulde.

Bishop Thietmar resümiert: -Who could describe the hardships of this march and the losses suffered by all? If it was already almost impossible to force our way into Bohemia, it was even more difficult to get out again ... And what the enemy could not do to us at the time, they did to us later for the sake of our misdeeds. I would also like to complain about an outrage committed by Boleslaw's vassals between the Elbe and Mtilde. They had hurriedly set out on the orders of their lord, took more than 1000 prisoners there in the country on 1q. September they took more than 1000 prisoners with them, plundered far and wide and returned home happy!'- So they, too, were happy ..."

When devastating diseases were already spreading in the imperial camp

When the raids began, they besieged Nimptsch Castle (Niemcza) on the Lohe (south-east of Zoben), one of the oldest places in Silesia. However, all German-pagan assaults were futile. Finally, curiously enough, the enclosed Poles had placed a high crucifix at the exact spot on the rampart where the Liutizi were attacking. The annals record only one success for the imperial side: a companion of Margrave Hermann pierced the image of a Polish goddess on a field marker with a stone throw - and Henry paid his outraged comrades-in-arms in pounds of silver as compensation, so to speak."

Although the Emperor had also started the last two wars and had come up short each time, the Pole, as before, offered him peace, which was concluded in Bautzen on January 30, 1018. And again Boleslaw kept Lusatia and the Milzenerland around Bautzen as a German fiefdom, as he had already done 1013 at the Peace of Merseburg, and gained full independence for Poland. It was a less than glorious peace, complains Thietmar, "not as it should have been, but as it was possible at the time".

Boleslaw Chrobry's early Polish empire soon fell again. But the "Great-Polish-Piastic" concept survived and even triumphantly culminated in the early modern period in the Jagiellonian idea, when the Jagielloneri for 1500 Poland, Lithuania, dominated Lithuanian Rus', Bohemia and Hungary. Yes, these This idea still lingers in the political consciousness of the Poles of the 20. The idea of a Poland from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, a "Poland from sea to sea", persists.

The Polish War was immediately followed by a double slaughter in the east.

First, the Liutizi expelled the Christian Abodrite prince Mistizlaw, whom they accused of not having fought with them in the war. Most of the Abodrites had become pagans again. They had -withdrawn their necks from the gentle yoke of Christ- and once again submitted to the -burdensome weight of the devils-.

dominion" (Thietmar). Throughout the land of the Abodrites, the Wagrians, all the churches were burnt, the crucifixes smashed, the priests slaughtered like cattle (Adam of Bremen). A cross was cut into their scalps, their brains were opened and they were dragged through the Slav towns until they died.

In Nijmegen, Bishop Bernhard of Oldenburg (in Wagria) alerted the emperor, who in turn first informed Knud "the Great", ruler of Denmark and England (p. 103). Knud, bent on destroying the resurgent paganism in his neighboring states, also severely defeated the Abodrites and Wagrians in the year 1014. And in the following year, they were finally overpowered again and made liable to pay taxes - the joint work of Bernhard II, Duke of Billung in Saxony

1034 and Archbishop Unwan of Bremen (1033 bis 1034), a relative of Meinwerk of Paderborn.

The Billungers extended their power in the various Slavic wars of German emperors and kings as well as through their own offensives against the Abodrites. And Archbishop Unwan, the former chaplain of Henry II, to whom he owed his episcopal see, fought incessantly against the pagan marsh peasants, had their still revered sacred groves chopped down and churches built from the wood in order to eradicate the other faith, the "irrational madness of idolatry".

Of course, the Billung and the metropolis supported by the emperor also fell out more and more, and finally, writes the Bremen cathedral scholar Adam of the Duke of Saxony, "he also stood up against Christ and had no hesitation in attacking the churches of his fatherland, especially ours, which at that time was both richer than the others and was further from the protective hand of the emperor."

Even further away from the monarch, at least initially, were Italy, Rome and the papacy.

## ÖAPST SERGIUS SCHWEINSMAL ISSUES THE FIRST KREUZZUGSAUFRIED

Henry, the pragmatist, unlike Otto II and especially Otto III, had concentrated on the "Regnum Teutonicum" and followed Otto I as far as possible. Although he was not German in the national sense, he was the most German of all his predecessors (Fried).

Henry was certainly as reluctant as they were to relinquish his rule in the south or even have it restricted. However, he had only expanded his power in the empire and therefore had far less contact with Italy than the Ottonians. And since the German regiment had largely collapsed on the other side of the Alps, the Crescentians immediately regained power in Rome, the dynasty that had more or less

(VII 4 ff.), imperial popes were followed by Christian popes dominated by the nobility, first the Crescentian and then the Tusculan popes, whose era only came to an end with the great schism of the Synod of Sutri 1066.

Gerbert of Aurillac, Silvester II, the first French pope appointed by Otto III, died on 23 May 1053, perhaps violently, perhaps of malaria. And already on 16 May he was succeeded by John XVII. But he too died in an unknown manner just six months later. The seventeenth John would probably have liked to make contact with the new German king, but was prevented from doing so by John II Crescentius (also known as Crescentius III). The latter, who ruled over large areas of central Italy and allegedly sent Henry II gifts on an ongoing basis, came to an understanding with him and

kept him away from Rome.

The Crescentian was the son of the rebel Crescentius, whom Otto III had had beheaded and thrown down on the Zinrien of Castel Sant'Angelo a few years earlier, 1058, in breach of his word and under the direction of Pope Gregory V (V y y' esp. 5q). As Patricius Romanorum, his son 1053 took the reins even more firmly into his own hands. He dominated as absolute commander

the city, the ecclesiastical state, the popes. They were completely dependent on him, and John XVII, presumably his relative, disappeared from the scene on November 6, 1003."

Towards the end of the year, the Roman Johannes Fasanus followed as John XVIII (1003-1009), perhaps another relative of Crescentius, certainly his candidate, his puppet. In any case, Rome's strong man consolidated his position through a well-calculated clan policy. He made the sons of his sister Rogata, Oddo and Crescentius, counts and rectors; he elevated the elder son of his sister Theoderanda, John, to the position of lord of Spoleto and margrave of Camerino, the younger, Crescentius, to the count; apparently another relative of the same name was appointed city prefect.

Like his predecessor, John XVIII would have liked to meet the king in Rome, but again the Crescentier, who, remembering the death of his father, had probably had enough of German rulers, refused. The Pope gave his blessing to the foundation of the diocese of Bamberg (p.7) and ended up, it is said, as a monk in S. Paolo fuori le Mura; whether voluntary or forced remains an open question,

The exact circumstances are not known.

How his successor Sergius IV (1009-1012) rose to power is also unclear, but he may have been a creature of the patriarch John.

Sergius, son of Peter the shoemaker from Rome, was himself called Peter (with the nickname Os or Bucca Porci, pig's mouth, pig's snout). He was bishop of Albano for five years and also maintained relations with the German king, although the latter would not have been able to move to Rome.\* Perhaps this is why the Pope allowed his thoughts to wander even further afield. For Sergius Schweinsiiial (as Bishop Thietmar also called him) is said to have been the first Holy Father to issue a call to crusade.

It happened after the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem 1009 or 1010 by the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim (996-1021), who persecuted his own followers, and his son,

Caliph al-Tahir had the ruined church rebuilt, but this was concealed in the West. According to two French chroniclers, the Jews of France were accused at the time of having leaked slanderous reports to the Muslims about an imminent crossing into the Orient, thereby provoking the caliph.

The copy of the first papal crusade manifesto from the 11th century was discovered by the royal intendant Nicolas-Joseph Foucault in the Benedictine abbey of Moissac (Languedoc province) in the 18th century. And in 1857, Jules Lair discovered and published this exciting document in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, which is undoubtedly significant for the prehistory of the First Crusade and has been preserved with the full text.

Since then, however, the appeal has been highly controversial, with prominent researchers declaring it to be inauthentic (e.g. Julius Pflugk-Hartung, Paul Comte de Riant, Johannes Haller, Harald Zimmermann

and others), other prominent researchers for authenticity (such as Jules Lair himself, Paul Fridolin Kehr, Adolf Waas). Ulf Erdmann finally sought authenticity in order to finally confirm it.

And Hans Martin Schaller summarizes after an in-depth analysis of the document: "Not a single formal or substantive argument against the authenticity of the encyclical has proven to be valid - "

In the circular letter, which is as miserable logically as it is linguistically, Sergius IV calls on the whole of Christendom to make sacrifices, to donate for armaments, to follow Christ and to take revenge. He calls for weapons and ships (the Italians still wanted a thousand ships).

"in isto anno- equip), indeed, he himself wants to go to Syria to propose the Muslims. After describing the demolished Holy Sepulchre, he again and again praises the merits of the upcoming war, the "battle of the Lord". It is not about a miserable kingdom, but about God and the battle against the enemies of God, about the salvation of souls, the kingdom of heaven. And, of course, he promises all fighters victory and eternal life. It can hardly go fast enough for him. -Venite, filii, defendite Deum et regnum

acquirite aeternum! Spero, credo et

certissime teneo, quia per virtutem domini nostri Iesu Christi nostra erit victoria ...- Comment by a Catholic papal historian: "A peaceful, charitable pope who called for the first time - in vain - for a crusade."

It is remarkable that the cry for war was accompanied by a call for peace; for a general peace among Christians, among all churches, countries and believers, since God is a God of peace, and through peace, of course, war, the holy grave and eternal life are to be won. A wonderful moral! But nothing came of the whole beautiful thing, perhaps because the -unbelievers- were quicker. Probably aware of all the pious preparations, they attacked Pisa, the Christian military center, and destroyed the city."

**POPE BENEDICT VIII WHOM ST. HEINRICH  
'UNDERSTAND AND RESPECT - EONNTE**

The almost simultaneous deaths of Sergius IV ann ii. May and Patricius John II Crescentius ann i8. May ioix and the immediate election of a new pope from among the rival dynasty gave rise to the suspicion that Sergius and Crescentius had been the victims of a crime. In any case, power in Rome now passed to the counts of Tusculum (near Frascati), the descendants of the notorious clan of Theophylact, with whom the "Roman Whore Regiment" began in earnest (V 481 ff.). From their almost impregnable nest, older than Rome, the ravenous lords of Tusculana had been stalking the city for years, just waiting to finally get their hands on it. They saw this moment coming with the death, the double death, of Patricius John and Pope Sergius."

As early as zt. On May, they elected Theophylact, the second son of Count Gregory of Tiisculum, making him, it was claimed, from layman to pope in a fast-track procedure. Also



to the et Simonist, but passed resolutions against simony at joint synods (ioi4, iozo, ioiz) with Emperor Henry.

Not so unusual, however. And half a millennium later, Julius II (IIj—\* 5\* 31, father of three -natural- daughters, whom he fathered as a Cardinal, only through the most lavish

Simony Pope. And he did so after he had sought the deposition of his predecessor Alexander VI on the grounds of simony. Just as he himself, the Simonist, decreed the invalidity of simony elections by means of a bull.

Theophylact was grateful for the Vergat'e of the Pallium enormous

amounts. And when, to please a large family, he approved the establishment of the Bisulduno diocese against all ecclesiastical law, he decreed that a sum of money should be paid to the Holy See every time it was occupied in the future, declaring unabashedly that no one would come to the Pope empty-handed.

What's more, the new pontiff was once again a proven military -but in this difficult time it was entirely up to Manny (Cartellieri). So he was soon considered legitimate. He called himself Benedict VIII (ioiz-roch) and opened the line of the infamous Tusculan popes: his brother Romanus followed as John XIX, both nephews Theophylact as Benedict IX. None of them were priests!

But first there was a brief schism.

For the Crescentians, who had ruled Rome in the last decade and had provided three Holy Fathers, now elected and inthroiized a certain Gregory (VI). After all, each of the two rapacious families apparently regarded the incriminating papacy as their private property. Thus, although, as already mentioned, they belonged to the same clan, they initially fought each other by force of arms, with Pope Benedict, a brash daredevil who had forcibly seized Laieran, also taking their rivals' castles in the mountains in June-July by personally leading the militia.

In Rome, where his brother Alberich had gained power as the most illustrious consul and duke, Benedict, with the help of further

Related his position. Thus Brother Romanus, the subsequent pope, was soon given a clearer insight. But the Crescents' man, Gregory (VI), was chased away. He hurried to Germany and appeared at Christmas row sm Henry II's court in Pöhlde in full papal regalia. Perhaps he had been duly elected. But when he demanded his recognition and installation, Henry forbade him to wear papal insignia, stalling him, promising a decision after a canonical investigation in Rome - one of the saint's many promises that were nothing more than sound and fury.

For since Benedict VIII, which soon reached Germany, "ruled before all his predecessors", since he had also confirmed the foundation of the Bamberg diocese and offered the king the imperial coronation, the latter recognized the Tusculan, the victor, who was also more agreeable to him, and definitively abandoned his rival. When he returned to Rome a year later, there was no longer any talk of the legal situation, of a judgment. The judgment had long since been pronounced by the opposition' the antipope had left the scene of history without a trace."

But Henry, "the glorious king by the grace of God" (Thletmar), now made haste, especially as he had already reckoned with the imperial crown. He cleared his back in the east, ended - for the time being - the Polish War and, while the Luxembourg feud (p.4 ff.) had also subsided, he crossed the Alps for the second time in the autumn, despite the unfavorable season and flooding of the Ge- birgsf)üssc. He was accompanied by the Gatrin and a number of prelates, including Eberhard of Bamberg, Henry of Würzburg, Burchard of Worms, Erkenbald of Mainz, Mein werk of Paderborn, Eido of Meifien, Egilbert of Freising, and other bishops and abbots joined them in Pavia.

Arduin, who had fled to the mountains of Ivrea, offered peace, recognizing German sovereignty, and even promised to resign the crown and take his sons hostage if he was left a county,

Heinrich refused. He avoided any compensation. On the other hand, he conspicuously favored the high clergy, predominantly at the expense of the female magnates, which made them as much his enemies as the others.

In Rome, the king was honored by the pope, the clergy and the people. festively welcomed him. And on I4 FCÖficacy I\*4 Benedikt crowned him VIII in 5t. Peter was crowned Emperor with the usual pomp and Kunigunde Empress. On this occasion, the monarch received the golden orb adorned with a cross - the first evidence of the use of an "imperial orb", a well-known component of the imperial insignia that had been collected over the centuries, the possession of which indicated the legitimacy of the reign (cf. p. i6 f.). Before the coronation, however, the regent had to vow to always be a reliable "patron a n d protector (patronus et defensor) of the Roman Church and faithful to the Pope and his successors in everything; whereby He n r y even renounced his traditional supremacy."

The sumptuous celebration and a glittering banquet were followed just a few days later by the bloodshed - a ritual that had been almost a standard part of an imperial coronation since Otto I's time. For when Hein- rich in disputes between Farfa(4• m north of Rome, one of the richest abbeys in Italy in the Middle Ages) and some Crescentians in favor of the monastery. the Romans and were beaten up by the Germans, whereby -not a few fell on both sidesi only the night finally separated them" (Thietmar).

The imperial crown thus had the bloody aura that befitted it, and its wearer no longer dared to seriously oppose the Crescentians. With his pants barely full but his coffers full, he quickly left the Holy City, procured the office of bishop for his half-brother Arnald in Ravenna, founded a bishopric in Bobbio, celebrated "the resurrection of the Lord" in Pavia and returned in May•°•4. - laden with curses and treasures alike.

Italian cities- (Gregorovius), back over the Alps; confirm- Even the Quedlinburg amateurs openly admitted that Heinrich had

"scraped together an enormous amount of money in all places".

had". This did not detract from his holiness. In the "happiest and most glorious" way, the prince re-entered -our friendly country- and then celebrated -the feast of the Lord's birth- in Pöhlde. Of course, other German rulers had always fleeced the Italians in a similar way, even if the chroniclers seldom mention this, but instead they often took prisoners, hostages, exiles, who were dragged across the great mountains - often never to be seen again - just as this time the Holy Emperor had a large number of them. chained central and northern Irish earls'.

Naturally, it did not suit these people when a king or emperor from beyond the Alps was repeatedly placed in front of them. Especially as the Germans - who, interestingly, experienced and understood themselves as Germans for the first time in Italy - obviously wanted to belittle and humiliate the foreigners in order to feel on top, which went so far as to sometimes call the French stupid and the Bavarians all clever: "Stulti sunt Romani Sapienti sunt Paio- ari. Even for Bishop Thietmar, who praised "our friendly country", "neither the climate of Italy nor its people, i.e. its moral quality, are in keeping with our arts: -Unfortunately, there is terrible deceit in Roman Italy and Lombardy. Those who come there are met with little affection. The guests' every need has to be paid for, they are cheated, and many die from poison. "\*

At the time, Benedict VIII, on Henry's orders, had assigned some of the to restitute properties seized by the Crescentians to the good imperial Farfa. For many abbeys attracted the attention of the powerful, the surrounding secular and ecclesiastical lords, and not only at that time. They were particularly keen on the monasteries that were lavishly endowed with estates and rights. And here, in contrast to his German policy, the king often took the side of the monks to the detriment of the bishops.

Benedict, however, sometimes compared to the warlike Renaissance Pope Julius II, now led two campaigns against the

Crescentier, first i -4 against the castle Buckinianum, a year later against the fort Tribuccum, both of which he took despite large superiority could only be conquered by starvation and returned to the monastery. And violence suited this pope very well. In the six years that followed, he undertook many military campaigns in and around Rome to consolidate the Papal States and his power, not at all to increase Tisculan power, but to expand the Roman Church" (K.-]. Herrmann). This is how he operated in the Roman Campagna and in Roman Tuscia. Thus, allied with the maritime cities of Pisa and Genoa, he fought the Saracens, who, since their conquest of Sardinia iOI§ under their emir Mudjahid, had liked to attack northern Italy, but had already repeatedly conquered and even destroyed Pisa years earlier. The very next year they won the rich port and trading town of Luni on the Gulf of La Spezia "and abused the women of the inhabitants", whereupon the Holy Father called on "all rulers and protectors of Holy Mother Church" to "destroy these brazen enemies of Christ ... to destroy them with the help of the Lord.

The triumph over them (not least thanks to a furious sea-storm, which dashed one after another of their ships on the beach, where the Christians stabbed the battalions) -so full that allegedly -not a single one of them remained and the victors were unable to count the number of the slain and the booty.

The queen also fell into their hands, but out of pure justice she was immediately "beheaded for the iniquities of her consort (!)". The Holy Father had ordered this "of blood" and then took her golden headdress studded with precious stones. -The theologian Albert Hauck confessed just a few pages earlier that St. Henry could understand and respect such a man. And he also received the headdress of the decapitated. (After mentioning the pope's booty, Hauck reminds us that the same representative of Christ also had Jews executed; after all, they had been killed by

their mockery of the cross had a powerful, Roman people unleashed a terrifying hurricane!)

Once the increase in assets had been distributed - the emperor's share alone was estimated at a thousand pounds - the "gladly returned home and sang songs of praise in honor of the Victor Christ- (Thietmar). - In principle, Muslim expansion has been painted in the darkest colors by Christians since its beginnings. But for a long time they, the Christians, embodied the intolerant side, the side hostile to dialog. And once the Saracens had been chased out of Sardinia, they did not return; even before<sup>6</sup> the Catholics themselves fought each other there, Pisans and Genoese fought over the trade monopoly on the island.

But the pope, who took part in the battle against the "infidels- personally took part in the battle, and immediately afterwards also fought against the Byzantines in the south. Yes, Heinrich could understand and respect such a man."

#### THE HOLY EMPEROR, THE HOLY FATHER AND YOUR CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHRISTIAN BYZANTIUM

In Byzantine Lombardy - in this ancient legacy of the gigantic war of Belisar, Justinian and the papacy against the Goths ( 4-4 ff!, 438 ff!) - several cities had defended themselves against foreign rule under Emperor Basileios II.

rose. However, this long-prepared uprising was previously believed to have been motivated more by patriotic reasons, whereas it was more likely to have been caused by local aristocratic struggles and, in particular, by bitterness over the increasing tax burden as a result of the Byzantine Bulgarian War (i--4-- 4)-.

In any case, the papacy, which the Goteri once held in that gray-The Roman Empire, which had been wiped out by the full genocide together with Byzantium, now fought against Byzantium.

Benedict VII). apparently favored the rebels because of the

extensive curial possessions and claims to ownership in the south. Thus he blessed Norman knights, the murderers of an Iorman count who had fled to him, whom *he* procured for the most important notable of the Apulian rebels, the baptized Jew Meles (Ismael) of Bart, who had also fled to Rome. And he left his rebellious brother-in-law Dattus a fortified tower at the mouth of the Garigliano for raids on the Byzantines.

However, after initial victories and defeats, Meles was defeated in October 1018 in the decisive battle at ancient Cannae (where Hannibal once defeated the Romans) by the Eastern Roman catepan Basilios Boioannes, an accomplished strategist and organizer. And while Meles fled to Rome and, ordered by the pope, went to the German imperial court, the Eastern Roman, supported by the abbot Atenulf of Monte Cassino, took the papal tower at Garigliano by surprise and had Dattus thrown into the sea sewn into a sack as a traitor from hei Bari. The defeat at Cannae, which at times decimated the Normans, but above all restored the old ownership structures, was complete and also affected the pope. In the spring of 1020, he hurried to Germany, ostensibly invited by the emperor, but in fact to gain his military help, as Stephen II had once done, which had also meant war (IV 37 ff!).

Henry received the Roman with four choirs of priests, two singing praise on the other side of the Regnitz Bridge, one singing joyfully at the city gate, one at the cathedral. Cheers and prayers all around. And when Benedict had celebrated mass every day, when St. Stephen's Church was consecrated at Easter, when all the people had been liturgically stimulated and intoxicated, business began, the Holy Father received the coveted help. The spiritual spectacle was little more than a "cover" for the forthcoming campaign. First a pompous church consecration with stupendous gifts of relics to crown the papal visit to Bamberg - then a huge expeditionary corps for the war in southern Italy against Byzantium, which was expanding northwards.



Not to forget the so-called Heinricianum, "not a mere formality, but a matter of prestige for the pope" (Wolter): a literal rewriting of the notorious privilegium Ottonianum of qsz (V 4q8 ff.), which Otto III had already recognized as a forgery. The Holy Father even had the regent present him with an extended version (including the territories of Narni, Terni and Spoleto). Indeed, the pact also handed over the monastery of Fulda to the Roman, including the right to consecrate abbots, and placed the diocese of Bamberg under his protection, for which he demanded an annual white horse as interest. Significantly, Meles from Bares was also staying in Bamberg at the time - quite obviously in agreement with Benedict - and Henry gave him the title "Duke of Apulia", with which he laid claim to Lower Italy. The Ottonians had already attacked here, and Otto II, expressly defending ecclesiastical claims, had conquered almost the whole of Italy at Capone.

German army lost (V 36 ff.).

Meles died on 23. April and was laid to rest with princely honors in Bamberg Cathedral. However, the emperor also prepared for the war in a typically "spiritual" manner: on 24. September through his participation in the feast of the Theban Legion with Bishop Arnulf of Halberstadt, at 4. September through his presence at the consecration of the new Quedlinburg Cathedral, on 1. October on the occasion of another church consecration in Merseburg and on November 2 with a third church consecration in Bamberg. And on top of all this, there was a prayer meeting.

The German army, mainly Bavarians, Swabians and Lotharingians, set out from Augsburg in November and, after crossing the Brenner, was reinforced in Verona in early December by the force of many northern Italian prelates, including the bishops of Aquileia, Verona, Verceil, Piacenza, Parma, Treviso, Ceneda, Feltri, Belluno and other "worldly" lords. The festival of peace, Christmas, was still celebrated in Ravenna, then the heads of Western Christendom advanced with strong forces against the Byzantines - who were also entirely Christian - in three military columns: under the

new Archbishop Pilgrim of Cologne, previously Chancellor for Italy, in the west via Rome; under Patriarch Poppo of Aquileia in *central Italy*; under *St. Henry* and the Holy Father himself with by far the largest troop units along the Adriatic coast.

Abr Atenulf of Monte Cassino, who was in pact with Byzantium, was glad to see the Cologne merropolitan approaching with a pile of documents and monastery treasures in his luggage and drowned with all his companions in a shipwreck on the way to Constantinople. His place was taken by the pro-German Theobald. (And the emperor attributed the healing of his bladder ailment on Monte Cassino to a very personal intervention by St. Benedict, which again benefited the monks of the monk father and especially the reform monasteries).

There were also other minor rays of hope from the westerners, including

The rise of the nephews of Duke Meles to counts and vassals can be counted, albeit only to a very limited extent. However, the border fortress of Troy in northern Apulia, between Benevento and Foggia, was captured after weeks of siege by the emperor. It was not conquered, but surrendered (and was back under Byzantine rule two years later). There was no battle at all, no significant turnaround. The clever Bojoannes waited for the hot season, the effects of the climate, the outbreak of devastating diseases in the enemy camp. Several Magnars fell victim to the plague, including Bishop Rudhard of Constance and Abbot Burchard of St. Gall. And for hundreds of years, monks from St. Gallen made pilgrimages to the abbot's burial site and reported the miracle stories back home.

The return march had already begun in the summer of 1020 and, among others, the brother of the drowned abbot of Monte Cassino, Prince Pandulf of Capua, was brought across the Alps in chains, robbed of his land. And barely a year after his departure from Germany, Henry held another court meeting in Quedlinburg; behind him a campaign with heavy losses of life and money. Byzantium, meanwhile, had lost its power

position in Lower Italy against Western Christianity.

However, the knights from Normandy had already been fighting since

- 7 on the papal-imperial side on the Apennine peninsula, the new power from the House of Hauteville, which, taking advantage of various regional and supra-regional rivalries, soon took over Sicily.

lia, Calabria and Apulia and was to establish an important empire."

On the way back from the war, a momentous synod with the emperor and pope took place in Pavia in August 1020.

Dix SvXODE VON PAVIA I OLG -  
**G1'4ADELESS KxM pr AGAINST THE PROPERTY K LERUS  
 OUT OF PURE ATTENTION AND PROFIT**

It was about the marriage of priests, celibacy; more precisely about the safeguarding of church property through the celibacy of the clergy and the enslavement of the sons of priests belonging to the church.

Tradition has long spoken of celibacy. But nowhere in the New Testament is it mentioned. On the contrary. The *Bible* teaches that bishops and deacons must be married (*unius uxoris vir*) and expressly warns against false teachers who forbid marriage. The early apostles still took their wives with them as missionaries, and the oldest church did not require them to be unmarried anywhere. The majority of the early Christian clergy were married, and for centuries the clergy were family fathers.

However, in the 4th century the synods of Ankyra in Gaul, Gangra in Paphlagonia and others advocated the marriage of priests. Even in the 5th century many bishops fathered children. Even the church teacher Gregory of Nazianzus was a bishop priest.

In the entire (theologically leading) Orient, celibacy was not imposed. In England in the 8th and 9th century the marriage of bishops was common. And even in Rome

there are in the io. In fact, some popes were the sons of popes, such as **Pope**

Silverius ( 36-yy7 ) or Pope John XI (q3i-g3y). And as late as the middle of the t r. Century, the celibacy of a clergyman is for example in the great Biscum Mailarid - *an extremely rare exception.*

men (Hirsch)."

On the other hand, however, there had long been a party focused on asceticism, misogyny, increased prestige, power and profit, which relentlessly fought against priestly marriage. Of course, it was not the *cvltical* motivation, the purity mania stemming from paganism, that tipped the scales, but the pecuniary, financial policy: celibates were cheaper for the church than family fathers; even more important was the constant free availability of the hierarchs over an unfeminized clergy. As a result, Gorre's servants were soon guarded and harassed day and night. A wide variety of coercive measures were used against them: Fasting, fines, excommunication, declaration of infamy, torture, imprisonment for years or for life' incapacity to inherit, enslavement. Married clergymen were robbed of all their possessions *and* even killed again and *again - r i g h t* up to *modern times.*

Melanchthon still testifies that "honorable priests are murdered because of pious marriage".

Their women, however, who were gradually only regarded as "notorious concubines", were whipped, sold and enslaved; they passed all their property to the bishops and also lost their inheritance rights. Likewise, their children were increasingly disenfranchised as antiquity drew to a close. Thousands and thousands of priestly families were ruthlessly dragged into misery by the -reforming- Ecclesia solely for the sake of its rule and wealth, and even resorted to fire and sword in the process."

As early as the ninth Synod of Toledo in 655, not only did it decide that all children of priests were ineligible to inherit, but they also had to

-belong forever as slaves to the church to which their fathers, whom they shamefully produced, were employed" (in servitutum eius ecclesiae decius sacerdotis vel ministri ignominio nati sunt

jure

pcrenni manebunt). Thus, even at that time, all descendants of clergymen in the West-Gothic territories, whether conceived with free or unfree women, no longer had any inheritance rights and were enslaved to the church for life.<sup>3</sup>

This common disenfranchisement of the children of the clergy for the material benefit of the church was also decided by the Synod of Goslar under Henry II in the year 1019, with the Holy Emperor as co-chairman. The synod members, Archbishops Gero of Magdeburg, Unwan of Bremen, the bishops of Halberstadt, Oldenburg, Minden, Münster, Schleswig, Hildesheim and others, discussed the question of whether a priest of unfree status who was married to a foreigner should be allowed to use his office "for the shameful pursuit of profit" by seeking to alienate the offspring of his marriage from the service of his own husband. Of course, the pursuit of profit should only be in favor of the bishops and the church.

After all, the prelates in Goslar deliberated for a long time until they stood up under the process of Henry II and declared that the children of such a marriage were subject to the same yoke of bondage as the priest himself and added that the ruling, which had been made with imperial authority, could never be overturned by any law.

The much-discussed Synod of Pavia took up the same topic again on August 1019, whereby five of the seven canons alone concerned the sons of clergymen belonging to the church - and of course they met with the same result. For the high clergy could never have little money and power and therefore never enough slaves and serfs. The lower clergy, on the other hand, were descended first and foremost from the unfree and were therefore not allowed to own any free property; on the contrary, everything they acquired or saved belonged entirely to the bishop, who therefore had the greatest interest in the inheritance of the priests' children. The offspring of ecclesiastical slaves, however, were free to inherit; the prelates could dispose of them as they wished, which is why they did not dislike it at all when a cleric married an ecclesiastical slave.

However, if unfree clergymen married free women, their children were free, they were entitled to property and inheritance and were protected by the law. A terrible shame for Mother Church. "Even the clerics," complains Pope Benedict, "*who are from the thread of the Church*, if they can still be called clerics, produce children from free women, since they are deprived by the laws of any right to have any wife, and *avoid the slaves of the Church* (!) only for the fraudulent purpose that the sons, produced by the free mother, may also be free, as it were. These are they, O heaven, O earth- (Mi sunt, o caelum, o terra), laments the pope, "who rebel against the Church. There are no worse enemies of the Church than these (Nulli peiores hostes ecclesiae quam isti). No one is more ready to plot against the Church and Christ than they. While the sons of the servants, as they falsely pretend, remain in freedom, the Church loses both the servants and the goods. Thus the church, once so rich, has become poor.""

The Holy Father then compared the disobedient prelate servants to jumping stallions and Epicurus' pigs, and even rebuked them as proof of the highest corruption - this is how Rome breeds hypocrisy! - that they did not "cautiously" (caute), but "publicly" (**publice**) fornicated. {Just as the medieval Spanish synods deal only with the public concubines of the clergy, not mentioning the secret ones at all -

-what happens in secret has not happened, only what cries out is a sin:- Panizza) And finally Pope Benedict commands:

-All sons and daughters of the clergy, whether produced by a slave or free woman, by a wife or concubine - because none is permitted' nor was permitted (!), nor will be permitted - shall *be scfaren of the church in all emigfeit-* (servi suae erunt ecclesiae in saecula saeculorum).

The fourth canon of the Synod of Pavia threatens the judges:

-Whoever declares sons of such clerics, who are slaves of the Church, to be free because born of free women, is anathema because he robs the Church.- Chapters five through seven forbid

The law prohibits all church members from acquiring goods from freemen under threat of flogging and imprisonment: "No servant of a church, be he cleric or layman, may acquire anything in the name of or through the agency of a freeman. If he does so, he is flogged and imprisoned until the church receives its documents back. The freeman who helped him must pay full compensation to the church or he will be cursed with the church thieves. The judge or notary who confiscated those documents will be anathematized."

Emperor Henry II elevated the decrees of Pavia to imperial law in a modified form, for which the initiative apparently came jointly from the pope and the synod. However, the ruler not only confirmed and approved the decrees but, more pontifically than the pope, made them even stricter. Thus judges who declared priestly descendants free were deprived of their property and banished forever, the mothers of such children were flogged on the market and likewise exiled, notaries who certified free birth and the like for clerics lost their right hand. "I, H(einrich), by the grace of God Emperor Augustiis, have enacted and confirmed this eternal law on the advice of the Lord Pope B(enedictus) and numerous bishops by the command of God (!) and have decreed its eternal duration and implore and request that the great ones of my realm confirm it.

In contrast, a Sicilian law passed by Frederick II, the great free spirit and opponent of the Pope, expressly granted the children of priests the right to inherit. And when in Spain, for example from the

q. As concubinage, barragania, became very widespread among the clergy from the fifteenth century onwards, during the flourishing Moorish culture (p.479 f.), the sons of such marital unions were often free until the 13rd century. Century free. ^



z. KA Pf TEL

KAISER KONRAD II. *oz4 -x0 q)*  
RECORD OF THE SALIAN  
CENTURY

-You are the Vicar of Christ (vicarius es Christi) in this world  
- Archbishop Aribn during the funeral Mass for Konrad in  
Mainz Cathedral'

-In the outer po)icik he h9rre the grögl:cn Erfo]gc ... Everywhere  
MfandüchDcutxhbdimVordingen.- AlhxtH\*"ck'

-This king was vigorous in the war ..., the Christian  
Faith completely devoted - Bishop Orco of Freising'

-Like his predecessor, Konrad also supported his rule  
on the Reict5kirchc, - Tilman Struve-



## THE SALIANS

With the death of the childless Heinrich V in 1024 of the Palatinate of Saxony near Göttingen, the Ottonian dynasty in the male line was extinguished. This was because Henry's biological brother Brun, the episcopal -devil of Augsburg-, retired as clergyman for the succession. Due to their lineage, however, the eponymous

Cousins Konrad the Elder and the Younger; both relatives of the Ottonians, descendants of a dynasty that was particularly wealthy around Worms and Speyer and the Salian dynasty here.

The name "Salier" first appears as an epithet (*rex Salicus, reges Salici*\*) at the beginning of the late 15th century. Presumably coined by the historian Otto von Freising in memory of the Merovingian Clovis (IV 31 ff!) for the most distinguished families of the German-speaking Franks on the right bank of the Rhine, it was later applied to Conrad II and his descendants. However, their historically certain ancestor is only Conrad's 11th great-grandfather, the Lotharingian Duke Conrad the Ruler (V 26 f...), who fell in the Battle of Lechfeld in 955, who was married to Liutgard, a daughter of Emperor Otto "the Great".

The Salian dynasty (1024-1125), which produced four German kings and emperors in four generations, led from Conrad II in an unbroken line of sons via Henry III, Henry IV to Henry V and, in accordance with the dynasty's notorious obstinacy and ambition, to various heights of power politics. However, it was also during this period, which changed almost every aspect of life, that the whole of the evening began to be stirred up.

and a struggle between emperors and popes that influenced the centuries to come.

When Henry V died childless, the century of the Salians continued through Duke Frederick I of Swabia, Henry IV's son-in-law, and their heirs, the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

### KöxIGSWAH L AND bURGER WARS

The election of the new ruler took place after a vacancy on the throne lasting almost two months on 6. September 1024 on the wide plain between Worms and Mainz. They met on the right bank of the Rhine in Kamba, a now defunct town opposite Oppenheim. The bishops, led by the powerful Archbishop Aribos of Mainz (1023-1031), a relative of Henry II, were conspicuously well represented, especially from the Rhenish region. The ecclesiastical prince acted as electoral officer, also claimed the first vote and campaigned for the elder Conrad.

**On the other hand, the** Nette Aribos, Archbishop Pilgrim of Cologne, who was in dispute with the Mainz monarch over the privilege of the coronation, the consecration of the king, favored the twenty-year-old Conrad the Younger. However, as he renounced, perhaps as a result of inter-family agreements, and was the first of the secular grandees to vote for his rival, his followers left. The older Conrad, already the father of a son, was then unanimously elected "lord and king" and anointed and crowned by Aribos in Mainz Cathedral on September 8. "You are the representative of Christ (vicarius Christi) in this world", the archbishop proclaimed to Conrad II during the coronation mass - and received his arch-chaplaincy and arch-chancellorship for Germany the very next day.

Jahr still the one for Italy. However, Aribos - for reasons that are still unknown today - refused to crown Conrad's wife, which he paid for by losing the right to be crowned in Mainz.

Conrad II (1024-1039) was little known before his accession to the throne.

influential and hardly made a name for himself. Although he was the grandson of Duke Otto of Carinthia, who died in 1004, he had only a small share in the family's extensive estates, he had little influence on the family.

The title of duke or even that of count. Indeed, apart from his origins, the son of a poor nobleman did not have anything that could be called a house power, and perhaps that was just what the prelates needed. He was and remained unlearned and uneducated throughout his life; he did not understand the Latin of his own diplomas, but knew what he wanted.

Attention was first drawn to Conrad when, after the early death of his father Henry 1016, he allegedly abducted and married Gisela, the twice widowed daughter of Duke Hermann 11 of Swabia, a granddaughter of King Conrad 1 of Burgundy. The Conrachine, who was around 26 years old at the time and whose marriage to the Salian was considered uncanonical due to their close relationship and common descent from Henry 1, was not only clever, beautiful and rich, but also enormously honorable, a woman who sought the highest prestige for her men and repeatedly intervened significantly in politics.<sup>7</sup>

There had initially been reservations, even resistance, to Conrad's election. However, he definitively asserted his rule with the homage of the various princes at the - in the early Middle Ages obligatory - concluding ride, the -king's ride -, iter regis per regna. Gisela was also presented on 21. September 1024 in Cologne by Archbishop Pilgrim; it helped to preserve the right of coronation for the metropolitan of Cologne for centuries after the temporary supremacy of Mainz. And 1025 Konrad was firmly seated, the new dynasty was secured.

Neither the repeated revolts of his stepson Duke Ernsr II of Swabia from the House of Babenberg in ElsaB and Burgundy nor the simultaneous revolt of Conrad the Younger, called Duke of Worms, and the wealthy Swabian Count Welt II changed this. The latter defeated

The king's cousin Konrad was also held in custody, then pardoned, but his main castle was razed. Konrad, the king's cousin, was also held in custody, then pardoned, but his main castle was razed. And Duke Ernst, who devastated Alsace and Burgundy, and finally the large possessions of the monasteries of Reichenau and St. Gall, lost his duchy, was imprisoned on the Giebichenstein and, after a reconciliation with the king (1028), refused to fight his only remaining vassal and friend, Count Werner ("of Kyburg"), was deposed again, ostracized and his possessions and those of his last supporters confiscated. The prelates excommunicated them, and Ernst's heart was given to his younger brother Hermann, who of course came under the guardianship of Bishop Warinann of Constance. And his people killed the two friends on 17 August 1030 on the Baar, the highlands between the southern Black Forest and the Swabian Alb; legend and poetry they soon become glorious. But the Salian himself comments venomously:  
 -Biting dogs rarely have young.

#### LORD OF HIS CHURCH AND - IMONIST°

Conrad II was a 'realpolitiker' who assessed the possibilities of his power well, avoided risks and preferred to follow the line of least resistance. By annexing Burgundy in particular, he further expanded the hegemony of the empire and finally turned it into the Imperium Romanus. He was generous where it suited him, jovial where it was useful, unscrupulous where it seemed necessary.

Not at all a comfortable gentleman, he allowed free expression of opinion in religious matters. He had a Jewish personal physician, lived in a forbidden marriage and was perhaps also personally not very pious, even 'not firm in his faith', a 'souverain sans foi- (Fliche).

Today, however, the assessment is different. Because tough Konrad

Although he hardly had much sense for monastic renewal, he was not inaccessible to it, which was of course also politically motivated. He and his wife Gisela, a murderess of the clergy, were accepted into the Eichstätt Cathedral Confraternity of Prayer and the confraternities of other monasteries and convents. He regularly attended mass and entered Christentempel with bishops and abbots on high church festivals, apparently more often than most German monarchs. He founded the Limburg monastery and also laid the foundation stone for a church more monumental than St. Peter's in Rome, the largest of all cathedrals at the time, the Speyer Cathedral, his burial place and finally his monument.

But whether Conrad was the "full-fledged layman", the most unspiritual of all German emperors, as nationalist historians of the 19th century. Whether or not, as many now believe, he insisted undiminished on his ecclesiastical sovereignty, indeed, he used the clergy more safely for his purposes than the Ottonians, even as Henry II.

Even more than them, he saw the church as an administrative apparatus serving the interests of the empire, which he controlled and even commanded. He made regulations on fasting and church holidays. He had Archbishop Bernard of Lyon imprisoned in 1016 and he was not released during the emperor's lifetime. He also imprisoned other prelates or expelled them from the country. For him, as for his predecessors, bishops were first and foremost servants of the state, and he punished them like feudal vassals if they resisted. He also imprisoned Aribert, the powerful archbishop of Milan, as a traitor, as well as three other prelates who had offered the crown of Italy to Count Odo of Champagne by the decision of a princely, not an ecclesiastical court.

On both sides of the Alps, the regent also intervened vigorously in the appointment of bishops, with Gisela even influencing this on occasion. Like Henry II, Conrad appointed the bishops, men of the high nobility, in part from his immediate family.

The canonical election was deemed to have been fulfilled through the co-equalization of clergy and laity. He thus arbitrarily made Azecho bishop of Worms and appointed German clerics in Aquileia, Ravenna and Tuscia. He was guided by secular criteria, not ecclesiastical ones. The spiritual suitability of the lords was of little concern to him, the more so the political matters, whereby he, the head of the imperial church, remained within the legal framework.

Of course, Conrad had the property of the imperial churches and monasteries at his disposal, hardly much more than an imperial reserve of assets. But he also favored them. After all, as has only recently been precisely proven, the vast majority of charter recipients in his era consisted of ecclesiastical monks.

•44 The German and Italian dioceses, monasteries and abbeys (which were preferred in terms of numbers), which together received 260 surviving diplomas.

Konrad was quick to demand money when filling rich bishop's chairs, just like his holy predecessor, which is why he soon gained a reputation as a Simoniist.

-Simony, a core problem of the investiture controversy, had been known since antiquity and was widely practiced, albeit forbidden, in the Church of the early Middle Ages. However, if it originally - according to an event in the Acts of the Apostles - only meant the purchase of ordination, this restriction was then abandoned. In both the north and the south, people traded in so-called spiritual goods and paid for the acquisition of ecclesiastical offices with material benefits. So Konrad also sold them as a matter of course. After all, asks Aulo Engler (for whom this king was "a pure man of the world"), "how was the sraat to exist if the largest landowner, the richest after the emperor, was to be tax-free?"

A number of bishops played a major role at his court: Aribo of Mainz, for example, Bruno of Augsburg, who was regarded as the regent's foremost advisor, Werner of Straßburg, Egilberr of Freising, Meinwerk of Paderborn, Pilgrim and Hermann of Cologne, Bruno of Toul and others.



The change of reign also took place without any other break with the previous system of rule, whereby Conrad was able to consolidate and expand the yacht of the empire won under his predecessor. Although he ceded the territory between the Fischa and Leitha rivers to the Hungarians, this spared him the long, costly Hungarian campaigns of his son Henry III. Although he ceded the Schleswig Mark to Knud "the Great", this secured him the friendship of his powerful neighbor. But he also subdued Italy, won Burgundy, conquered Lusatia and completely destroyed Poland.

There was therefore also a lack of wars under the first Salian, the -Christie, not: ioz6 he goes to Italies, iozq against Poland, io3o against the Hungarians, io3i against Poland, io33 to Champagne, Io54 to Burgupd, told against the Liutices, io56 against the Liutizi, still at the end of \* 3\* after Itallën, io38 after Bur- gtind. io3q he dies. A life full of wars and feuds.

Conrad II never missed an opportunity to increase the empire's possessions, often through confiscations due to political processes. -He worked tirelessly for the greatest possible benefit of the empire", praised the chaplain and historian Wipo, who died soon after ioA6 and was probably a Burgundian, who described the ruler's reign in his "Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris" and himself took part in several of his military campaigns, He himself took part in several of his military campaigns, such as the campaign against the Liutizi, of whom he reports that the emperor had them slaughtered after the victory as "avengers of the faith" (ultor fidei) because of their wicked paganism."

## ÏVIÄSSAKER UNDER SOUTHERN TON

### POMP AND COMEDY OF AN IMPERIAL CORONATION

As far as Italy was concerned, the Ottonians had once paid quite different attention to it: Otto II paid particular attention to the south (against the Arabs and Byzantines), Otto III mainly to Rome, Henry II only a little.

The first Salian was primarily active in Upper Italy, the actual German power base on the other side of the Alps, and he insisted on all the rights or legal claims of his predecessors. Of the total 386 days of his reign, it has been calculated that he spent at least 35 days in Italy; it was therefore hardly a mere "secondary country" for him.

In general, as under Otto III, the 'Roman' character of the Empire was again emphasized and the imperial bull was given a new legend: *-Rorna caput mundi regit orbis frena rotundi* (Rome, the head of the world, holds the reins of the earth). The phrase - *Imperium Romanum* - also became commonplace for the Western empire.

After the death of Henry II, however, the German regime in Italy collapsed here and there. A tougher time was dawning here, an era of social change in which the lower and middle classes of society gradually demanded more attention. And just as after Otto's

After the death of Conrad III, autonomy, an Italian kingship, was once again longed for, and the royal palace in Pavia, the old capital, was once again destroyed - allegedly, as the Pavians later justified, because the king was dead; whereupon, of course, Conrad advocated a new transpersonal understanding of the state: *-If the king is dead, yet the kingdom remains, just as a ship remains whose helmsman has fallen.*

It was only on June 6, 1024 that the Archbishop of Milan, Aribert, had invited Conrad to Constance with a delegation of mostly ecclesiastical princes from the imperial territory south of the Alps on a military journey to Italy and swore under oath to support his accession to power there. Immediately after the change of power, several Italian Magistrates had taken the lead in an uprising, and female grandees in particular had turned against the bishops loyal to the empire, on whose strength the German leadership in the south was primarily based.

Thus Conrad, who designated the eight-year-old Henry as his successor in the event of his death and entrusted Bishop Brun of Augsburg with the guardianship and regency of the realm, drew up a plan for the succession.

The clergy had a strong presence in the army:

Among others, the archbishops Aribio of Mainz, Pilgrim of Cologne, Poppo of Trier, Thietmar of Salzburg, Hunfried of Magdeburg, the bishops of Unrecht, StraGburg, Augsburg, Paderborn, Constance and, for the ailing Bishop Hermann of Toul, the young cleric Bruno of Egisheim, who later became Pope.

In Italy, where numerous other prelates joined him, Conrad gradually broke the resistance of the opposition nobility and some towns, such as the "wretched Ravennates". The Germans, writes Wipo, finally "surrounded them from front and rear, cutting a clear path for themselves with devouring swords and leaving a trail of dead, wounded and fleeing behind them". And the next morning there was a humiliating scene, which will of course be repeated many times in "Imperial Italy", when Ravenna's citizens appeared "in hard clothes, barefoot and with bare swords before the king", who had slept through the entire battle in the Palatinate the previous day,

-and paid in full the bu8e they demanded.

At the beginning of 1027, Conrad took Pavia, the old capital of the Lombards, which had been completely reduced to ashes under Henry the Saint (p. 82), but had already wreaked "serious havoc" in the surrounding area by destroying it.

of fortified places, numerous places of worship and even defenceless people. -Many churches", reports Wipo, "and many castles all around were burnt down, and the people who had taken refuge in them died by fire and sword. Fields were devastated,

vineyards cut down. The king blocked the exit and entrance, captured the ships and made all trade impossible. In this way, he tormented the Ticino people for two years until they fulfilled all his demands without delay." On his first journey to Italy, Conrad

received (according to a not entirely authenticated tradition) in Maiiand from the hand of the power-conscious and ambitious

local archbishop Aribert II.

*the Iron Crown of the Langobardcn. And on x6. MÄf'z\* \*7• - the holy day of Easter - he and his wife Gisela, the one-*

the purpose of this visit, the Tiisculan pope] ohann XIX put on the imperial crown in St. Peter's. Even two kings, both of whom were very friendly to Cle- rus, Knud the Great and Rudolf III of Burgundy, glowed in the assembly, as well as many secular princes, including over fifty archbishops and bishops from Germany and Italy. It was one of the most magnificent coronations in medieval imperial history and probably the most splendid imperial coronation ever seen in Rome, although it was not without embarrassment.

The Holy Father himself was already a nuisance. St. John XIX had bought his elevation to the papacy with a great deal of money, and had also received all the necessary ordinations from layman to pope in a single day; not to mention the large and suspicious sums he demanded for the conferral of the pallium ii. a. And additional trouble was caused by some of the leading prelates, the most reverend lords of Milan and Raxenna, between whom a disgraceful dispute of rank broke out over who would be allowed to lead the future emperor to the coronation, an honor claimed by Archbishop Aribert of Milan. But his Rennatic rival, Archbishop Heribert, clasped the hand of the future emperor and thus entered St. Peter at his side. However, there were such protests that the king turned back and went outside the church to repeat his appearance with Aribert of Milan. But the latter, deeply offended, had already left. So the king now took the hand of Aribert's most respected suffragan, Bishop Ardericus of Vercelli, and entered St. Peter's once again. Now, however, there was an exchange of words between the entourage of the two rivals, then a wild brawl, and finally a formal attack by the Milanese on the Ravennates, who chased them into their quarters, where they beat everything they did not plunder to death. "Archbishop Heribert himself was in danger of being martyred and could only be saved with difficulty from the fury of his opponents" (BreBlau). On 6 April, the great coronation synod settled the dispute in favor of the Milanese.

In the religion of humility, people have been jockeying for position, for labels, throughout the centuries. And so, just to mention these

Parallel, at a synod led by Clement II. \*<47 a very similar dispute between the church princes of Milan, Ravenna and Aquileia, in which all three had to condemn the marriage.

The archbishop claimed the seat to the right of the pope, which otherwise belonged to the emperor. However, as he was absent, the Archbishop of Milan attempted to seize the imperial seat after a heated exchange of words, but according to a precise document, Ravennate was victorious this time.

Easter, the feast of the Resurrection of the Lord, was not yet over when what we already know from Ravenna and Pavia happened in Rome. The accidental squabble over a cow's skin led to serious riots between guests and hosts, with

-Countless of them lost their lives" (Wipo). However, there were repeated bloody massacres between Germans and locals in Italy. On Conrad's second Italian campaign, not only were many killed again during the uprising in Parma (1038), but also "the city was consumed by fire" (Hermann von Reichenau), sensibly on the feast of the Lord's birth-, on the most holy day of Christmas - whereupon the emperor -after the conflagration had a large part of the walls torn down" (Wipo), so that all that remained of Parma was a smoking heap of rubble.

But a little wall-grinding, plundering and bloodshed did not bother the pious rulers of those centuries in the slightest. It was part of their business. That's what it was all about. Hagen Keller remarks on the history of the Salians:

Even for medievalists, the never-ending (!) series of territorial conflicts and feuds can be tiresome." But that is precisely what it meant to "rule" not last, no, first! It consisted - and does it not still consist - in the exercise (or exertion) of power? Did any state bandits of the 20. Century the smoking ruins of bombed residential areas, if they were only those of the "enemy"?

Even the technically somewhat handicapped emperors of the Mit-

The lords of the Middle Ages hardly had a look of pity on smoking cities, depleted fields, prisons covered with corpses, dungeons filled with common criminals. Nor did it irritate the lords to see the conquered before them on the batch, trembling, naked-footed, the free with a bare sword around their necks, the unfree with willow rods around them, "as if they wanted to be hanged" (Wipo) - - while the flame of the still burning sradt illuminated their pale faces - (Gregorovius)."

At that time, when Conrad also hanged the -violent Thasselgard", the Count of Fermo, he briefly advanced into Apulia, subjugated various cities and lost -very many soldiers and famous princes (Otto von Freising) on the return march along the Adriatic due to the unhealthy climate, including two dukes, the latter of course, as always, in the **grass** at Grofie, a particularly bitter loss.

In southern Italy, Conrad had confronted the Normans with the task of securing the border with Byzantium, thus legitimizing their rule there - a mistake that was not easy to foresee but had serious consequences from the point of view of imperial policy. And like Henry II, Conrad hardly intervened in Roman affairs, tolerating both the regiment of the Counts of Tusculum and the Tusculan Pope John XIX.

### "CONSTITUTIO DE FEUDI S ' AND ÜRZBISCHOF ARIBERT II OF MnILAND

In contrast, his interest in Upper Italy, both administratively and militarily, was considerably greater than that of his predecessor, to whom, however, he certainly drew on here as well. In doing so, especially at strategically important points, strategically important places, he preferred to rely on the prelates, who he also privileged in other respects and who were the actual beneficiaries of this policy. To secure the Brenner Pass, the main traffic route between the two kingdoms on either side of the Alps, he gave the

County of Bolzano to the Bishop of Trento, the county in the Inn Valley to the Bishop of Brixen. He took a similar approach in the ecclesiastical province of Ravenna and in Tuscany. After all, it was the high clergy in Italy who made the most sacrifices to the king.

However, unlike H1. Henry, he also endeavored to make the secular grandees subservient to him, indeed, in accordance with the changing circumstances, to win over not only the feudal lords, the Valvasores *me@ces*, but also the Valvasores minores, the sub-vassals of the capitans, the lesser feudal owners (behind whom the Valvasini, the peasant feudatories, still ranked). In fact, the start of his second Italian campaign (iO36-1038) was a widespread uprising of the smaller valvasini against the tyranny of the magnates, "against their mostly ecclesiastical feudal lords" (Struve). Since the hereditary nature of their fiefs did not yet exist, their freedom was under constant threat from the bishops (Gregorovius).

However, this uprising was by no means the only one of its kind. The Cremonese, for example, tried to escape the economic pressure of their very rich overlords as early as the thirteenth century. And they also rebelled again in the early 1930s, ruining the fortified bishop's **city**, destroying the old town, chasing out their harasser Landulf and "no longer granting him any authority within his house".

The rebellion of Milan was also mainly directed at a church prince, Archbishop Aribert, as well as some secular grandees. But while the emperor, says Hermann von Reichenau, "devastated castles, villages and everything around them", including the church's castles and estates, he was unable to take the city, which was protected by three towers. He thus took account of the social transformation process, the surge of innovation or, to paraphrase Chaplain Wipo, the "unheard-of turmoil caused by the conspiracy of the people against their princes" in a different way. While Milan was still under siege, he issued z8. time 37 the famous "Constitutio de feudis" and guaranteed

In it, the smaller valvassors were granted unrestricted ownership and hereditary rights to their fiefs.

Of course, this guarantee of status, which could only be withdrawn by the feudatories themselves, had not been granted by Conrad entirely voluntarily; it had been forced upon him when the northern Italian Valvassorians revolted 'against the stronger seignorial grip of the princely (above all imperial-ecclesiastical) feudal lords' (Hagen Keller) and were even victorious in a bloody meeting at Campo Malo near Milan, with many on both sides being forced to accept it.

including Adelrich von Asti (1008-1034), who had once been appointed bishop by Henry the Saint. But the emperor also needed the loyalty of the lower classes, not least their militant potential.

However, this put him at odds with Archbishop Aribert II of Milan (1018-1041), who also wanted to further Henry's career. II and initially also maintained good relations with Conrad. He took part in the conquest of Burgundy as late as 1034. Afterwards, however, he and other feudal prelates became enemies with the ruler, who harassed several bishops: Peter of Piacenza, Hubald of Cremona, Ardericus of Vercelli (at whose hand he once walked to receive the imperial crown:

p. 134) They were arrested and banished by him without trial. His main opponent, the Milanese metropolitan leading the capitans, who had rebelled - against the law - against the emperor, his lord (Bishop Otto of Freising), was also arrested and imprisoned at a court session in Pavia in the early year of 1037, deposed without a synodal judgment and finally excommunicated by the pope - a procedure that caused a huge stir and aroused great bitterness against Conrad in Italy. In 1037, however, Aribert offered the Italian royal crown to Count Odo II of Champagne - the same Odo whom he had fought side by side with Conrad just three years earlier! And three years later, 1040 he had reconciled with Conrad's son and successor Henry III, he again led an army against Count Odo, whom he had wanted to make king of Italy three years earlier. In a new civil uprising, Ari-



bert was expelled from Milan along with the nobility and died soon after his return.

The metropolitan also knew *no* pardon towards "heretics". In the diocese of **Asti**, for example, he suppressed heretics whom he had (probably *ioz8*) tracked down at Monteforte Castle, including the countess. The whole circle, whose more prominent members, summoned to Milan, quickly gained a larger following there, rejected the increasingly dangerous power of the Church, its hierarchy and its sacraments. The "heretics" were also strongly ascetic, practiced sexual abstinence even in marriage and were burned at the stake if they refused to renounce."

However, Conrad II achieved his greatest success with the acquisition of Burgundy, which was of course prepared long in advance.

### KxISER KoxnnDS "MUTIGE ATTACK" THROWS THE FmNZOSsx OUT OF BURGUNDY

The importance of Burgundy for future history is sometimes underestimated. Together with the kingdom of Germany and Italy, this triad formed the emperor's own domain in the High Middle Ages, the

"Roman Empire". It is true that Burgundy's cantonal possessions had largely been thrown away, that the king's position was very limited due to the strong position of the high aristocracy, that his sovereignty over some territories was only nominal, and that significant military help could hardly be expected from there. Nevertheless, Burgundy, which encompassed the Rhone countries with Provence and a dense network of Roman towns stretching from the foot of the Vosges to the Mediterranean, included no fewer than seven archbishoprics and around 30 bishoprics. The possession of the land was therefore relevant to the primacy of the German emperor, was economically and, above all, strategically important. Here lay the

The most popular passes in the Western Alps, the Great St. Bernard, Mont Genève and Mont Cenis, the PaB of Kings. Whoever ruled Burgundy also controlled the trade route through the Rhone Valley, which was already important in Roman times and was the shortest link between the trading cities on the Rhine and Moselle and the Mediterranean. In particular, however, the possession of these passes ensured the domination of Italy, denying France access to the Apennine Peninsula for centuries."

Burgundy, due to the collapse of the Carolingian Empire and the Li-  
quidation of Lotharingia, was granted to Henry II the Saint, his nephew, by his king Rudolf III 993 32) in the Straßburg succession treaty 1016. However, this led to a conflict with Ott-Wilhelm, the Count of Burgundy and son of King Adalbert of Italy.

Ott-Wilhelm had had several bad experiences with church circles. In his youth, he was only able to escape from monastic custody by running away. Then his uncle, Bishop Hugo of Chalon, robbed him of a large inheritance, that of Duke Henry I of Burgundy, his mother's second husband, who had adopted him. As the prelate had declared his opposition to Ott-Wilhelm, Henry's nephew, King Robert II the Pious of France, seized this inheritance, albeit after long disputes and a war lasting several years. The -Fromme-, who could only make wounds disappear by raining on his hands and striking him, harmonized well with Henry the Holy, who was also unable to take Ott-William's castles through a campaign; on the contrary, the latter ruled Burgundy beyond the Saône until his death 1020."

At the same time, Henry II had left nothing undone in order to obtain his "inheritance". He had already seized the root of Basel, the gateway to Burgundy, as a kind of pledge to the empire, had his succession confirmed 1016 in Straßburg, 1018 again in Mainz, and at the time also made a futile war journey to the Rhone region, where the succession was decisively rejected, especially of course by Rudolf's relatives.

The Burgundian king or, as monk Hermann von Reichen-

au says that "the indolent little king of Burgundy", bearer of the title only, of the crown, not of power, actually ruled only nominally for the most part and was so beset by various princely dynasts that he had to lean closely on Henry. However, when the latter, who would so gladly have inherited the childless uncle, who was plagued by domestic politics and for which, according to Wipo, the saint "always and repeatedly spent enormous sums (infitam pecuniam)", died unexpectedly before Rudolf, he no longer saw himself bound by the agreements with his nephew. Rather, he now considered the contract null and void and felt free to make new decisions.

Henry's successor, however, took a different view. However, he only had a meagre right of personal inheritance through his wife Gisela (\*7). She was the daughter of a sister of King Rtidolh, i.e. his niece. Conrad could therefore hardly lay claim to Burgundy, did not want to inherit its king privately, but as the successor to Henry under constitutional law, so to speak. Understandably, he was not interested in the right of blood, to which Conrad himself owed his elevation to the throne. On the other hand, he pursued the constitutional aspect with diplomatic and military means. And just as his holy predecessor had already taken Basel in a coup d'état 1006, so after the Burgundians had returned it to Burgundy, 1025 Conrad also invaded it and held a court meeting in the city. And just as Henry 1006 had immediately put himself on good terms with the church and granted all kinds of privileges to Basel's Bishop Adalbero 11, so now Conrad immediately invested Basel, where Adalbero had just died, with a new bishop as he saw fit, the noble priest Ulrich, who paid him and the queen immense sums in return (immensam pecuniam: Wipo). And even though Conrad later made a vow not to grant any more bishoprics or abbeys for money, he only kept to it to a certain extent, pene bene.

Rudolf was surprised. After Henry II's death, he believed all obligations expired. He appeared to sympathize with the activities against Conrad in France, indeed, he was

apparently regained power over Basel, which he had lost to Henry II. However, he finally attended Conrad's coronation as emperor at Easter and, through the mediation of the empress, his niece Gisela, conferred the succession to Burgundy on Conrad II in the Treaty of Basel in August.

However, many Burgundian grandees, probably most of them, denied the German ruler this possession, above all the nephew of the Burgundian king, Count Odo II of Blois-Champagne (9Q6-1017), the next *in* line of kin, lord of a vast territory, a man who rose as breath-takingly as he fell. He was supported by a considerable following among the temporal nobility of the country, who were anxious for independence, as well as by a group of Lombard prelates, especially Archbishop Aribert of Milan (p. i 38). In contrast, Conrad and above all Rudolf found strong support in the Burgundian episcopate.

The succession took place on September 6, 1032. Count Odo marched at the end of the year. He established himself in the west of Burgundy and took several castles and towns by force or treachery. When he besieged Vienne, Archbishop Leodegar acceded to him on the condition that he allow himself to be made king in the city. But Odo hesitated too long. He burned villages, churches and monasteries and returned laden with booty after terrible devastation, while Conrad II 1033 invaded the west twice, once on a winter campaign during which the horses' hooves froze to the ground at night. And on February 2, 1033, he was elected and crowned king by his followers in the monastery of Payerne (Peterlingen).

Count Odo suffered a further setback in early summer when Emperor Conrad made a pact of friendship with the French King Henry I. The masterminds behind this alliance, Bishop Bruno of Toul and Abbot Poppo of Stablo-Malmedy, had an even easier time of it as Odo had taken sides against Henry I in the great unrest following the death of King Robert I (107).

In the summer of 1033, the emperor invaded Odo's country itself, the

-and devastated it with fire and destruction.

Robbery" (Hermann von Reichenau). And the following summer, with two strong troop contingents, he made a decisive advance from Germany and Italy against Odo's Burgi Indian annex. He subdued many castles, and also subdued Archbishop Burkhard of Lyon - 'a capable man of noble birth', but also, as Hermann von Reichenau calls him on another occasion, 'a godless church robber and bloodthirsty adulterer', whom Conrad deposed in 1036 and treated like a gallows rope of the worst kind.

Archbishop Aribert of Milan, who had once intended to give Odo the Italian royal crown, was once again in command of an Italian army unit during these operations! So the clerical crooks always rotate with the wind. The German and Italian forces joined forces near Geneva, and Odo took refuge from the enormous superiority. he fled. x 7 \* he, while the emperor ravaged Italy, especially the area around Milan, with fire and sword, Odo, in a last attempt to assert his hereditary claims, invaded Lorraine and turned towards Aachen, he too na-

Of course, everything was desolate. On 15. On November 5, however, Duke Gozelo of Lorraine - his youngest son Frederick would later become Pope Stephen IX - defeated him in the great battle at the border fortress of Bar-le-Duc, which resulted in heavy losses on both sides. Odo himself was killed along with several counts from his entourage and allegedly six thousand soldiers. The teams of the Bishop of Metz and Bishop Reginard of Liège, who once owed his appointment to significant monetary payments to the royal chamber, also fought in the battle. And after the massacre, Abbot Richard of St. Vannes immediately rushed over and nursed the noble wounded, a "labor of love" that brought his monastery "rich fruits" (Breßlau)."

## CHRISTIAN STABBING IN AND AROUND COLEN

While the German king secured Burgundy for himself, he also continued the wars with the Catholic Poles, a people who, according to Bishop Thietmar, had to be herded like an ox and beaten like a donkey.

At that time, Poland comprised not only Greater Poland, Mazovia, Slavia, Lesser Poland and eastern Pomerania, but also borderlands such as Moravia, Lusatia and the later Ruthenia on the upper Bug and San, This power', which Henry II had already recognized, was a powerful force.

his successor also attacked iozq, toto. 3- and xo3z, according to Adam of Bremen sogat -in every year".

Although the coronation of Boleslaw 1st Chrobry in Gniezno in the spring of iozJ had taken place with the Pope's approval, it had already met with opposition in the empire, as it was believed that King Konrdd's rights had been ignored. When Boleslaw, from the Polish

He was succeeded as sole heir by his son from his third marriage (he had numerous descendants from four unions), Mieszko II Lambert (ioz5-1034), who, in contrast to the German ruler, was educated and even knew Greek.

title of king.

Conrad II, however, now pursued a coalition against the Pole, following the policy of Henry. This naturally included his stepbrother Bezprym, who had been expelled by Mieszko, as well as the Grand Prince of Kiev, Jaroslav I the Wise (\* 468 f.), who was very active in church politics, and Duke Udalrich of Bohemia. However, the Polish prince could also have felt threatened by the recently intensified relationship between the German emperor and Knud of Denmark and England. In any case, the pious Mieszko (also accepted into the prayer brotherhood of the Bamberg monastery of Michelsberg, sponsored by Henry the Saint) sought to forestall the encirclement with a military offensive, with a surprise preemptive strike ioa8 against eastern Saxony. Plundering and murdering, the

He advanced as far as the *Saale*, devastated the territories of the Liutizi, the Hevellians, and disappeared again with a quantity of stolen women."

It was the beginning of attacks with heavy losses on both sides, which also brought the Germans not inconsiderable losses, as the Pole, practicing the warfare he had probably learned from his father, strictly avoided a field battle against the heavily armed cavalry troops of the invaders, taking advantage of the forests and swamps of his country to take them by surprise,

The invasion of 1028 triggered a revenge campaign by Conrad the following year, who of course ran aground outside Bautzen, while Bretislav I, the young son of Duke Udalrich, who advanced from Bohemia at the same time, regained Moravia. Those who did not escape from the Poles were deported into slavery; hundreds of victims were sold all the way to Hungary.

\* 3 But Mieszko II, reinforced by German defectors, invaded the borderlands between the Elbe and Saale rivers again in January with unheard-of atrocities. More than a hundred villages are said to have been burned, atich churches not spared, old men and children slaughtered, women violated and beaten, and over nine thousand men and women led into bondage.

So this is King Mieszko, exclaims the Hildesheim Anna-  
list, that the all too false faith of his Christianity!  
"If you are a king, why are you a robber? If full of imagination and faith, why a renegade and a ty- rann? Why are you, bloodthirsty beast, adorned with a royal crown and golden lance? What communion is there between Christ and the Council? What madness h a u n t s you, you frenzied man, that you have recklessly taken up arms against the empire of Roman valour<sup>3</sup> How pernicious your intentions are, you will realize too late, when your cowardly people, however many of them may arm themselves, will be crushed to the ground by our warriors, who know and are capable of war, as they deserve!

This actually took place through campaigns 1031 and 1032, with the Fulda abbot Richard and the Würzburg bishop Meinhard also staying in the emperor's vicinity. (Ind During an attack by Yaroslav of Kiev on Poland, Mieszko even had to flee to Bohemia. Bezprym was now able to return, offered to submit to the emperor, but was murdered, apparently as a politician of renunciation towards the Germans and Kiev, behind him by a man from his entourage" (Wipo). Mieszko now returned, but had to renounce his kingship and accept a tripartition of his country dictated by Konrad. Poland's position as a great power was thus ended. And the very next year, Mieszko II died, aged just 44. Duke 1014 of Bohemia also passed away. Udalrich, while dining, most likely poisoned. Margrave Dietrich of the Ostmark was also murdered that year.

Now internal turmoil shook Poland's Christian culture" (Bulst-Thiele). Feuds and peasant riots broke out, a great apostasy from Christianity began, churches and altars were destroyed, clergymen maltreated. At the same time, Pomeranians and Russians made incursions. Above all, however, the Christian Bohemian Bretislav I (1030-1055) finally revived the Christian culture of the country by breaking into it.

Since the mighty Boleslaw Chrobry was no longer alive, the Germans no longer needed the help of the pagan Liutizen. Thus the border war on the Elbe soon began again, and the Saxons clearly opened it. The offensives then piled up. As late as 1033, the Saxon Count Liudger and 400 knights were still lying in the field after a lost battle near Werben. field. And when the emperor saw the bloody result through the God's

If the judgment of a duel had to be fought out once again, decided and set right, the idolatrous pagan won again, while the orthodox Christian fell to the ground badly wounded.

1035/1036 Konrad personally led three campaigns against the Liutizen. He is said to have been the first in battle, in a



War, which, as usual in the East, consisted of brutal acts of devastation, the burning down of villages, the desolation of fields, the ruination of crops, in short, a military campaign which, writes Harry BreBlau, was waged with the savage cruelty of a religious and racial war at the same time. And this against a people whose help Henry the Saint once appreciated so much that he paid a fine to the pagan allies when one of his knights pierced the image of a Liutician goddess (p. 103). But when a wooden image of the Crucifix fell into the hands of the Liutizi, they are said to have - shamefully mocked it, spit on it and beat it with their fists-. Not 'enough, they finally gouged out its eyes, cut off its hands and feet. Of course, what the pagans did to the dead wood was done in revenge - now to many living Liutians. The emperor, who could even persecute spiritual and secular princes without mercy, loved to mutilate a large number of captured saints for the one image of Christ in a similar way and kill them in various ways. He had their eyes gouged out, their feet and hands chopped off, and when he returned, he also eliminated -all resistance in the empire with imperial power ..." (Wipo)"

Another good Catholic, much better Catholic ruler, however, used the Polish wars of Conrad, the "Vicar of Christ" (see motto), to invade his country: - the  
"Deputy Gorres-.

**ST.                    TEFAN I, KING OF UxGARN AND  
" REPRESENTATIVE OF GOD IN THE LAI'4DE\***

The first king of Hungary was the brother-in-law of St. Henry and was also a saint in his own right, although his canonization was not, significantly, initiated by the Hungarians, but "on the basis of a papal request" (Deér). His godfather was also none other than Emperor Otto III.

He entrusted his own kingdom and himself to the protection of the Virgin Mary by votum et oblationem and had a basilica dedicated to her at his royal seat, his later burial place."

Stefan I (s97-38) was the son of the Grand Prince Géza of Hungary (s7--ss7) and his wife Sarolt (Beleknegini, "beautiful Princess"), herself the daughter of the Hungarian Prince Gyula of Transylvania. Stefan's father had already prepared his son's reign. From the beginning of his reign, Géza pursued the western-oriented Christianization of Hungary - a Christianity that has never been seriously threatened again to this day - with the support of missionaries from Bishop Pilgrim of Passau, the illustrious forger of documents (V 44\* ff!), among others.

The CroBfürst, who initially called his son Vajk, as Stefan was known, had been baptized at a young age and married t3 995 to the Bavarian princess Gisela, a blessed woman brought up by St. Wolfgang and the sister of Henry the Holy, renounced. He refrained from wars with neighbors. However, he carried out the "conversion" in the country all the more thoroughly. Not least, he exterminated the his own clan almost completely. When he died in the spring of q 7, Hungary was partially Christianized, oriented towards Central and Western Europe and only a single tribe remained in all of western Hungary.

mes prince in power, the Karchan Koppany, leader of national paganism. He was Stefan's uncle and claimed rule and the hand of the princess dowager by virtue of the seniorate and levirate. However, Stefan renounced Koppany's army at Veszprém in western Hungary (north of Lake Balaton) in the year of his Yarer's death and lent the body of the fallen prince in four parts.

Only through war could the saint turn the Hungarians into Christians; only through violence could he bloodily defeat the natives, the unruly old aristocracy, the neighbors and -preach the words of life- (verba vite predica- ret), as it says at the end of the "Gesta Hungarorum", the oldest account of Hungarian history.

However, if we consult a renowned anthology on this introduction to Christianity, the Handbuch der Europäi-

schen Geschichte (3rd edition 9\*) +iefit, however bloodthirsty the Good News came to the Magyars, not a drop 8lut, it merely says: "When Gézá \*'8fib in 997, not only was the succession to the throne secured, but the Un-

The kingdom was Christianized, at least in its upper class, and its ruler was related to the Ottonian imperial house. Stephen also had to assert himself against relatives who disputed his sole rule on the basis of previous hereditary habits, but he was not only able to assert himself, but also to fully realize the Christian monarchy as a political and social principle of order."

Well, not good, not all very <sup>passable3</sup> No more underground people; the upper class is Christian, their king is related to the Ottonians; they assert themselves against relatives and finally have a Christian monarchy as a principle of order. It could hardly be much nicer. Stefan w a s knighted by Bavarian lords before the Battle of Veszprém, his army led by the German Wezelin von Wasserburg. Presumably a significant proportion of the troops were also made up of Germans, Bavarian "nobles", as western priests and soldiers had been streaming into Géza's kingdom for several decades.

In any case, the significance of this battle under the sign of the cross and with the victorious lance can hardly be overestimated, as Duke Stefan was now able to further the "conversion" of his people to an independent Christian state."

In the year 1000, the prince was made the first king of Hungary by his godfather Otto III and his teacher and friend Pope Silvester II; after all, both Christian leaders worked closely together on the "mission", the expansion of the Roman Catholic empire in the Slavic East. Stefan received a royal crown at the time, as at least the bull

Silvester of 7 March 1000, which has been exposed as a gross forgery, but "no one doubted its authenticity and credibility until about 40": Deér. (Also of the known ten documents of the court administration of the

Five or six of the saints are fakes). However, the replica of the Holy Lance sent by the emperor, which he was to carry as a champion of Christianity, was probably genuine. As early as 1003, Stefan's half-German army defeated 'Gyula' of Transylvania, his uncle Gy. III (Procui)', an opponent of Roman-oriented Christianization. The latter later emigrated to Poland, where he was given a castle, which Stefan was only able to take in 1018.

This saint also waged one war after another. He defeated the rebellious prince Ajtony, fought the Pechenegs, fought the Bulgars and also the Bavarians. Bulgarians and also the Bavarians, this so well Catholic people, with whom it came however -to frequent quarrels-, as chaplain Wipo reports, namely by Bavarian guilt; therefore King Stephen of Hungary undertook many attacks and raids into the land of the Norics, i.e. the Bavarians; of course again -the occasion for a powerful military expedition against the Hungarians-, who of course protected rivers and forests by prayers of supplication and fasting decreed by Stephen. Therefore, Wipo continues, Conrad retaliated sufficiently for the injustice done to him by numerous raids and pillaging on the borders of the empire. The tried and tested Protestant attitude. And when 1030 a new war broke out, the German ruler not only took a severe beating, although he ravaged Hungary as far as Raab, but King Stefan even conquered Vienna.

Stefan the Saint, the "representative of God in the land", was also visibly blessed in domestic politics. For example, when several of his courtiers tried to kill him, he had their eyes gouged out, their "sinful hands" cut off and even sent their children into exile. However, all the many wars, feuds and acts of revenge apparently promoted his canonization in 1983 by Gregory VII, who also proclaimed Stefan's son Emmerich, who died young, a saint, just as this pope himself was one of the holiest saints, as will be documented in detail.

In a royal mirror, a treatise on state philosophy,

the first monument to Latin literature in Hungary (from this or a somewhat later period), the king admonishes the young prince, -The "highest honor" was to be given to the bishops for the adornment and protection of the crown. If a high-ranking cleric misbehaves, the prince should first admonish him privately three or four times and only report him to the church in the event of continued persistence. Indeed, according to Stephen's Code, which of course is full of spiritual falsities, a secular person cannot complain against a clergyman at all, but the layman should be prepared to sacrifice his life for the priest!

Around 1013, Stefan appointed the former abbot Gerhard to educate his son Emmerich (Imre), who was the only one of the king's *sons* to reach manhood. The king *himself* was *also* significantly advised by Gerhard and made this intimate devotee of Mary, 1013, bishop of the diocese of Csansd (Szeged; today Cenad, Romania). He soon became just as holy as Emmerich. And the latter, as befits a saint, commanded the royal army and figures in his father's "admonitions" as "the hope of future succession". However, as he had a childless marriage with a Croatian princess, the legend of the Ia. This is very reminiscent of the chaste St. Henry (p. 67 ff.), whose analogous story of lies may have influenced Emmerich's.

However, it was the same scam here as there. And when the son 1013 died in a hunting accident, the holy father acted *gatz* holy again. For since, according to ancient scephalic law, his brother's sons, the descendants of Géza's brother Michael, *w e r e* entitled to succeed to the throne, Stefan made his cousin, who was still inclined towards paganism, but perhaps also towards Byzantium, thoroughly fit to rule. The saint, who had converted his entire people to faith in Christ many years earlier, established many churches and bishoprics ... (Hermann von Reichenau), had *t h e* eyes of the wicked plucked out and lead poured into their ears.

three sons fled to Poland and Russia. However, the apostolic king, whose so mild right hand was then found "unharméd" in the grave and whose cult probably began early on, appointed Peter Orseolo, the son of his sister and the exiled Doge of Venice, as his own successor. However, Stefan's biographer also openly admits that his body did not work wonders for forty years. He was only recognized because of his "heroic virtues" (Deér), canonized in German because of its use for Catholicism."

Stefan's first order was universal baptism. He gave his kingdom, in which the number of unfree people was increasing as a result of continued wars and feudal conditions were flourishing in the most opulent manner, a constitution that in many parts was similar in thought or word to the

elds, which were becoming more and more prevalent in Hungary. Stefan's laws were primarily aimed at the consolidation of Christianity, the consolidation of kingship and its jurisdiction as well as the consolidation of private property - and he punished anything that was not compatible with the Christian faith and the laws of the church. Stephen 1 founded two archbishoprics and eight bishoprics, established Christian temples and monasteries, made St. Mary his patron saint and the Catholic prelates the first class of the country. He ordered taxes to be paid to the clergy, imposed worship, fasting, confession etc. on the people and was fully rewarded for this by the clergy, who gained more and more influence on politics and ousted the Hungarian grandes from court.

supported.

iii Hungary, the villages had to provide for their own parish priests by order of Stefan. The inhabitants had to build the church and provide the priest with two serf families with a **house**, a stallion, a mare, two cows, six oxen and thirty head of cattle. Stefan also ordered the payment of tithes, tithes from livestock, grain and other produce, tithes from any kind of income; even every tenth child belonged to the church service. Offenses against the church laws were punished by the bishop per disci-

plinas canorum and the punishment was repeated seven times in the case of contradictions, then they were handed over to the king's court. The king, defensor christianitatis, presided over the mixed synod, was surrounded by an apostolic nimbus, was also given the title of apostolic king by the pope, indeed, he was regarded as the -ste11- representative of God in the country and the executor of supernatural justice (Bónis).<sup>12</sup>

Not only in the East, but also in the North, such representatives and executors of supernatural justice became increasingly Christian.

**THE MoRDERS' CoNJcz KNun "nER GROSSE\* AND  
OLAF THE SAINT:  
STRITER FOR CHRIST AND AGAINST EACH OTHER**

Knud "the Great" (d. 1035), a member of the brotherhood of Christ Church in Canterbury and later of the brotherhood of Bremen, was also "faithful to the church" (Handbuch der Kirengeschichtie) and traveled in England, lying on his bare feet, as well as through half of Europe from place of grace to place of grace. And what Knud, son of the Dänen king Sven Forkbeard, who was elected King of England, and a daughter of the Polish prince Mieszko, thought of the Christian priests can be read in his ecclesiastical laws: -Let everyone who wishes or cares understand that what the priest has to do for the salvation of the people is great and important. Important is the consecration that casts out devils and causes them to flee, as often as he consecrates the host. And holy angels hover around him and protect the actions and assist the priests with God's power as often as they serve Christ according to law." And from Rome he wrote to the north, thanking God that he had granted him to visit the churches of Peter and Paul and all the shrines that he could explore in the city; for the wise men had told him that Peter was the priest of the Holy Sepulchre.

and that it would bring the greatest profit to have him as a patron".

In fact, it brought the greatest profit - but for the

- For example, Knud strongly advocated the punctual payment of St. Peter's pence (denarius S. Petri; Rom- peni, Romescot or similar), a voluntary financial contribution made by Anglo-Saxon kings since the gothic period. Century. And until Alexander II anno x06z, the donation remained purely voluntary. But then efforts were made to convert it into a fixed tax and to draw further consequences from the payment (Seegrün). Now the matter developed from a religious motivation to a legal title, a dutiful tax, -From payment by the prince to apportionment to the population in the form of a "hearth tax, later a poll tax" (Roberg). Gregory VII also tried to keep the levy out of France, but this was not successful. The introduction of St. Peter's penny in the iz. It was introduced in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland. Of course, the pious Poles and Hungarians donated it all the more. At the time of the Reformation, however, payment was generally discontinued.

Knud -the Great- had ruled the whole of England since the end of ioi6, Denmark since ioao at the latest and Norway since ioz8, understandably not without cruelty and great bloodshed. IOzo, however, he proclaimed in a kind of governmental program, "I will be a lord and will not depart from the rights of God and the right of worldly law". And towards the end of his life, at the beginning of his laws, he commanded his subjects to love one God above all and to preserve one Christianity.

By virtue of the king's power, this also prevailed throughout Denmark. For him, "eradicating paganism" there was a matter of honor (Wetzer/Welte). He initially appointed Anglo-Saxon priests for this purpose, had prelates ordained in England for the new bishoprics on the Danish islands and established the first bishoprics in Denmark. But then Knud wanted to get involved in this grandiose business, pouring his cornucopia over monasteries, churches and monasteries.



and the clergy and also about Pope John Paul II.

XIX, the notorious Blitzkarrieristen (p.341), dOCh preferred to be involved. Unwan, the Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, did not tolerate a Danish national government independent of Germany. church. So he had Ger-brand, consecrated by Aethelroth of Canterbury as chief shepherd of Roskilde, Zealand, seized and imprisoned without further ado. tlnD deprived the brother in Christ of his freedom until he swore the usual oath of obedience for Bremen suffragan bishops. Here Knud finally complied in the interests of his pro-German policy and became a close friend of the metropolitan of Bremen.

In England itself, he had made his way to the throne "through blood and corpses" (BreBlau), which is the way of the -He had had the wealthy executed and members of the royal family killed or sent into exile. For the Catholic handbook of church history, however - thin the way of the "Greats" is always also the way of the Catholic Church - this was still far too little, the "state-destroying forces" should have been fought even more energetically! Knud had his own brother-in-law and lifesaver assassinated in battle because of a thoughtless mockery of his, the king's, flight.

When Knud returned from Rome at the end of iozy, he not only called himself king of all the English, Danes and Norwegians, but also partly of the Swedes. And his vast empire offered the church "very special opportunities for the missionary work in the north" (Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte).

Well, as elsewhere, these very own possibilities consisted primarily in the practice of violence. The mission alone would have perished in the far north in the fury with which the Scandinavian empires persecuted Christianity". Not through the mission, through Knud nden Great came -Christianity was victorious in the Nordic empire (Schöfel). For "teaching" was often brutal in the north, as the sources fully confirm (Kummer). For the Christian, the human being only began after baptism in

'His name' (i hans nafni). Anyone who was not baptized was also demonized here; j u s t as the devil, who did not exist in Hellenism, says Andreas Heusfer, played the leading role in the new popular belief; was more omnipresent than the omnipresence of God.

Almost everything previously sacred was dragged into the mud, the mission was whipped up by secular and spiritual princes. -Die or be baptized: soon the general motto. The great-grandson of Harald Schfinhaar (cf. V Ryo ff.), the Riorwegian King Olaf I.

Tryggvason (qqq/sol-999 -ooo), converted to Christianity on the Isles of Scilly in 994. It happened after military service with King Waldemar of Hólmgard (Novgorod) and after Viking-trips to the North and Baltic Seas, which supposedly taught him to appreciate the new religion. And so he finally introduced it nationwide,

-in part violently" (H. Ehrhardt), indeed using "all means".  
ing, -instruction, gifts ... bloody revenge- (Wetzer/Welte). He destroyed pagan temples and erected Christian ones, but did not renounce polygamy (cf. pp. 4-4)

The Christianization of Norway was then completed with of all Hárte by Kiinig Olaf II. Haraldsson deu Dicken (IOIÖ'-1030), a wild, battle-hardened Viking - and a saint again {Fest zq. July). He had Olaf I. Missionary work, writes the Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,

-sometimes by force- to the abyss and so Norway  
--of the "Christian family of peoples". In the valley, Olaf II completed the subjugation of the lesser chieftains and had the unbaptized destroyed in droves. He attacked, robbed and destroyed those who still came home to their feasts, often as cruelly as he could. Blinding, mutilating, tiites, violating women, everything was permitted under the saint against Hei- deu. Throughout the country he hunted down the "magicians" and "tamers", everywhere he ruined pagan temples and images of gods, including a colossal bust of Thor covered in gold and silver, from which - at least according to the church encyclopedia of Catholic theology - "mice, rats and goblins emerged in abundance".

Olaf's ruthless regiment made it easier for his Christian brother Knud to conquer Norway. 1018 he was able to send him into exile with bribes and, on his return on July 24, July 1030 in a battle against an army of peasants near Stiklestad. Olaf had only taken Christians into his army, marked their shields and helmets with the cross and issued the slogan: "Forward, forward ye strife of Christ ... - which reminds me (semper idem) of the slogan of the Catholic bishop under Hitler: "Forward, Christian soldiers, on the way to victory ...". But the one hsl( is as little as the other.

After all, Fat Olaf, buried in the Kristus Church in Drontheim Cathedral, was canonized for his pious zeal, declared the patron saint of Norway, then the patron saint of all of Northern Europe and from then on celebrated through sagas, legends and lies. Pilgrims from Spain still made pilgrimages to his "miraculous shrine" (Bosl), and even If 47 Green he was awarded the Order of St. Olaf in his honor. After all, the Saints against Knud -continually waged war'-, -their whole lifetime throughout- (Adam of Bremen)."

Emperor Conrad II. WGfi returned to Germany from his second Italian campaign in the summer of 1033 and died the following year, on June 4, June 1039, at the age of about fifty, he died in Utrecht. 5 He left behind a son and successor, an empire with an undisputed leading position in the western world."



## CHAPTER 3

# EMPEROR HEINRICH III (1039-1056), "THE PIOUS BRINGER OF PEACE"

- Henry III, the pious bringer of peace (pius, pacificus), the Linea iustitiae (Line of Justice)-. Chaplain Dipo'

-Under him, the royal tutu seemed to have come closest to the biblical ideal.- J. Fteckenstein'

-Basically, only the bishops represented a support for the imperial power, but the privileging of the bishops also continued, to such an extent that one can speak of a further intensification of the Ottonian system.

Female princes feel the will of a **ruler** intent on constantly defending his royal power.

-Handbook of the ecclesiastical history'.



Conrad II, had prepared the succession of his son Henry, born on October 28. October 1017 s\*-born son Henry in the reign in good time and incontestably. The ten-year-old was already at Easter room in Aachen and anointed and crowned by Archbishop Pilgrim, whereupon the young prince "under the protection and guidance of Bishop Briin of Augsburg, only a year before his death, traveled through the realm and both "were able to conquer all adversaries" (Wipo).

Ten years later, in the fall of 1038, Henry also received the crown for Burgundy, which had been part of the Empire since 1031. In addition, after the death of the Bavarian duke Henry from the House of Luxembourg, the nine-year-old heir to the throne

iozy He was granted the Duchy of Bavaria and also made Duke of Swabia\*o3 . And in the following year, after the death of Carinthian Duke Konrad II the Younger, Heinrich III also seized Carinthia, the land of the Salian, who had once made the election of his father Conrad the Elder possible by renouncing his position as the most important opponent in the royal election in Kamba (p. izö).

With these three duchies, the king united the whole of southern Germany directly in his hands soon after his accession to the throne; a concentration of power that was quite unique in the history of the medieval empire, although it did not last long.

Of course, Henry III (- 39-- J6} was more carefully educated than his father, and of course largely spiritually. First of all through his mother, an assassin of the Church, who was particularly fond of the writings of the monk Notker (III) 'Labeo of

St. Gall was then admired by two prelates highly esteemed by the prince: Brun of Augsburg and Egilbert of Freising, a typical representative of the Ottonian-Salic imperial church who was venerated there as blessed and who repeatedly played the heir to the throne off against his father. And finally, the court chaplain and biographer of Conrad II, Wipo, also influenced the "rex doctus".

### **EVEN MORE BES ITZ AND FUTURE POWERS FOR THE ORIGINS**

As caput ecclesiae, Henry commanded the church like few before him. He appointed the prelates as naturally as his father, and there was no question that their suitability for imperial service was decisive here too. He did not even shy away from deposing a bishop, even if he had it decided by a synod. However, he disposed of the monks just as unscrupulously. He repeatedly intervened in the election of abbots, whereby the right to vote played no role. He assigned three different abbots to the Tegernsee monastery in a single yes hf, IO§z. He also arbitrarily appointed abbots in Weißenburg, Corvey, Lorsch, Limbiirg, Fulda, Ebersberg, Quedlinburg, Gandersheim, Essen and in Italian monasteries."

Nevertheless, it is probably not surprising that this intellectual Given the fact that this intensely indoctrinated, very religious prince, who also tended towards asceticism, indeed, was often in close contact with the Church, including with the representatives of clerical reform, with St. Peter Damiani, the teacher of the Church, and St. Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, whom he even made the godfather of his son Henry (IV).), it is not surprising that this second and most powerful Salian, who saw himself as the Lord's anointed, as vicarius Christi, bestowed his favors especially on the high clergy, the monasteries, and lavishly poured out the abundance of his gifts on them.

Henry III conferred and confirmed bishops and abbots



(occasionally, as in Stablo, in the middle of high mass) any number of im-

munities, benefices, letters of patronage, estates, vassals, sovereign rights to be silvered, lands, forests, game, market rights - a procedure practiced from the Frisian region to Italy.

The princes of the church were more than rich. Patriarch Popo of Aquileia, for example, had over thirty stalls in the market of this city alone and over twenty in the port city of Pilo. In addition, there were property rights on the rivers, on both banks, with the right to fish, build mills, harbors, landing places, crossing points and to collect fees for them, water fees, bank fees, pile fortifications (*aquatica*, *ripatica*, *palifictura*). Almost all the larger water reservoirs in northern Italy belonged to the bishops.

Furthermore, the prelates received entire counties, in the period from Otto III to Henry III, in around 90 years, at least 3y. And how did the highly praised *homo religiosus*, who lavished the church with goods and privileges, compensate his treasury for the deficit (and not only because of this)? Through "brutal confiscations from the laity" (Fuhrmann). In other words, he mostly took from the temporal nobility what he gave to the spiritual.

In return, of course, he had to be assisted in accordance with the *do ut des* principle, like the earlier lords, to perform the *servitium regis* and, for the peaceful, almost constant war service. Pars pro toto again just one example: the nobility-proud Archbishop Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen (who liked to claim to be a descendant of Otto II and the Empress Theophano, but was the third son of the Saxon-Thuringian Count Friedrich von Goseck). -The great man of God, reports the honest cathedral scholar Adam von Bremen, who also praises Adalbert for many noble and good things, not least chastity and temperance, "voluntarily took part in so many military campaigns to all countries with the clean ones in the tail of his face", in war journeys "which the archbishop undertook to Hungary, Slavania, that is against the Liutians, Italy and chats with the emperor ... Each one of them entailed great expense for the diocese and serious inconvenience for the family.

which is why Henry, the peace-loving, pious man, also praised the archbishop's "tireless perseverance" "in times of war".

. admirably praised' (Meyer von Knonau).

But even if the prelates were showered with rights of dominion and property, the enormously elaborate power politics consumed money like a lord. Although, for example, the pilgrims donated so much money to the monastery of St. Trond that the monks could not keep up with the counting - not to mention other gifts, the abbot was allegedly so short of money that he had part of the church treasury (which he still had) melted down in order to buy more property and build castles. Because land and property were to be increased in any case. If the hospitality, the reception of the traveling monarch and the maintenance of the royal entourage also cost a great deal, ambitious princes of the church, intent on increasing their realm and possessions, made such costly royal visits to their residences from at least the 11th century onwards.'

#### THE FRIEDRIKE CRIGER

It is hardly surprising that the Church was sympathetic to the heir to the throne, who was regarded early on as the spes imperii, the "hope of the empire", to Henry III, who was praised all around as God-fearing and powerful, soon - ethically negating any parallels - King David, soon the "great" Charles, soon the "great" Otto. But the men of science also praise him, all in all, to this day, generously acknowledging the ideal basis of his reign, his Christian princely ethics, imparted to Henry by teachers and trailblazers, and this despite the almost complete lack of self-statements on the subject and the paucity of corresponding contemporary voices. However, the guild sees him as being guided by a "sensitive sense of justice" (Boshof), by a -high sense of duty-, -a special ethos ... of Christian kingship- (Handbuch der Europäischen Geschicht-

te), sees him "filled with the ideals of peace (pax) and justice (iustitia) - (Struve), -full of religious spirit (Fleckenstein), indeed no king before -inspired by deeper religious seriousness- (Fuhrmann). Of course he had

"highest reverence ... towards the creations of the Church", an -almost priestly view of the aims of government- (Meyer von Knonau), his "secular lordship of a priestly character" (Hlawitschka) was almost the worst thing a politician could be accused of. Yes, he even made --the religious demand for peace in all its consistency his own- (Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte).

The Catholic work gives an idea of what this means just a few lines later: -Worldly princes came to feel the will of a ruler intent on constantly increasing his royal power - for if a sovereign constantly and perceptibly increases his power, is it very peaceful?

In reality, this rule, which has been praised to this day, is *practically the* same as that of previous governments, and only their handling of power and their use of force are of interest here.

However, this is usually concealed, especially in the case of Henry III. As rex et sacerdos - Heinz Wolter, for example, believes - he based his kingship to a far greater extent than his predecessors on the Christian-sacred roots of his rule, which was not only his mission, but above all his inner obligation. It is therefore no less surprising that the truly new features of the second Salian's ecclesiastical rule are to be found less in his outward appearances and actions (!) - here he largely (!) followed the tradition established by his predecessors - than in his inner attitude to his office as ruler, which is, however, difficult to shed light on due to the nature of our sources.

But if Henry III's tactical policy is - largely - like that of his predecessors, which is, once again, our only concern, then what is his allegedly new inner attitude, especially since it is also -only difficult to elucidate|| on the basis of the sources?

Although the transfer of power - for the first time since 975! - went smoothly. But as undisputed and radiant as the reign of the almost twenty-two-year-old (and IR's 39 years of dying) was. the) and in many respects, at least according to the criteria The fact is that his interests in power collided with the tribal interests of the dukes of Bavaria, Carinthia, Saxony and especially Lorraine, with princes who felt too much pushed into the background, hurt by the autocratic style of leadership and excluded from imperial politics, as did wide circles of the ruling class in general.

This led to protracted internal political disputes in which - despite all the piety and love of peace of this man, which was bragged about by official claqueurs - it was about nothing but the usual power squabbles, the bloody conflict between so-called central and particular powers.

Like the entire noble caste, Henry was used to fighting and war from an early age. After all, he had already taken part in his father's wars. In October 1032 fifteen and thus of age according to Frankish law, he could -now be relieved of the leadership of his spiritual tutor" and -reap his first martial laurels" (Breßlau). Christianity and war merged so directly, so naturally. And his spiritual mentor, Wipo, who had taught Henry in his -Proverbia", the doctrinal sayings for him, a kind of Christian governmental program, he himself came to courtly rites such as military campaigns. Henry was probably already involved in Conrad's war against Poland in September 1031 and in the campaign against the Liutizi in the fall of 1032 (p. 4 . ), but he was certainly involved in Conrad's war. rads invasion of Burgundy in the winter of 1032/1033. Then appeared

He also deployed troops in Bohemia and in 17 1038 to reinforce the imperial troops at the head of a force in Italy.

And even if the third Henry clothed the war even more and more conspicuously with ecclesiastical forms, he may have

He began his advance on Bohemia root with a penitential ceremony of the army, ended the one against the Hungarians on the battlefield at t h e Raab barefoot and in penitential garb by prostrating himself and his warriors in thanksgiving before an alleged particle of the holy cross - stabbed, beaten to death, slaughtered relentlessly. A n d all of this seemingly religious fuss about it, justifying and condoning the state's killing - however seriously the king, mockingly also called the monk, may have taken it - made everything even worse; such things sanctioned the mass murder of Christ right up to the threshold of the year sooo. In the year of his death, io56, the prince, who was so anxious for peace, was apparently still considering a campaign to France.

### BLOODY BATTLES FOR LOTHRINGEN

Due to an extremely problematic, basically illegal succession regulation, a revolt occurred in Lorraine, which had of course already played a special role for a long time (V iq8 ff.), even if the source evidence for all the circumstances there is precarious.

Duke Gozclo I (I3\*\* 441, the emperor-loyal lord of the two dukedoms of Upper and Lower Lorraine, which had been united since iO33, had died ioqϕ. However, when his son Gottfried III the Bearded (Duke of Upper Lorraine io4 q-\*4 Margrave of Tuscian i4-Iodq, Duke of Lower Lorraine io65-io69) as The king sought to break up the ducal power, the extensive power complex, which was not to his liking. He only gave Gottfried Upper Lorraine. Lower Lorraine, on the other hand, was given to his younger brother Gozelo II, who was apparently incapable of ruling and would soon die, and then to Frederick II of Luxembourg (roll-ioSy).

The rebellious Gottfried, however, who was grateful to the king for the duchy solemnly promised any consideration, set

At the court meeting in Aachen, to which the duke appeared in confidence in his rights and arguments, Henry was red-torted for high treason. He was also supposed to have colluded with King Henry I of France, as the author of the *Annales Altahenses*, a monk of the monastery of Niederaltaich, truthfully claimed; incidentally, he was one of the first authors to speak (io38) of a -German Empire-, *regnum Teutonicum*.

Henry III, who supposedly felt deeply committed to the peace program of his instructor Wipo, took all of the duke's fiefs, apparently including his county of Verdun, which was given to the repeatedly favored Bishop Richard.

\* 4' a winter campaign that severely afflicted Lorraine, in which he was supported not only by Bishop Richard but also by Bishop Wazo of Liège and Archbishop Hermann of Cologne.

to end the campaign due to famine. Nevertheless, Gottfried the Bold surrendered in July 1045. Henry imprisoned him on the Giebichenstein, pardoned him 104 and gave him the Duchy of Upper Lotharingia in return for his son being held hostage.

In South Holland too, the counts' interests in power collided with those of the prelates, who, as almost everywhere else, sought to increase their income and expand their territory, which was not difficult under this Salian. The monarch gave Bishop Bernold of Utrecht two counties, including the county of Drenthe belonging to Duke Gozelo. The chief shepherds of Liège (whose citizens are first mentioned around qaeo on the occasion of a revolt against their bishop Everachus) possessed privileges in the most important cities of the Meuse region, and of course also owned rural manors, their own monasteries, large abbeys, and their third county was added in iodo, all of course at the expense of secular lords. And similarly, the shepherds of Metz brought the rights of rule into their hands, they appointed counts, bailiffs, minted coins, ran fairs and exported as far as the Mediterranean. The Bishop of Metz Dietrich 11th of Luxembourg, a brother of Archbishop Adalbero of Trier

and St. Cunegonde, even fought against her husband Henry the Saint (p. 6y ff.). In general, however, the bishops who were favored by *imperial* policy were loyal to *the* ruler, and the latter placed them, as elsewhere, for example in Saxony (- \*79)' consciously as a counterweight against the worldly magnates."

When the conflict with Count Dietrich IV of Holland (io3q-ioqq) and the kingdom, including the imperial church, escalated, the king personally took to the field. He had celebrated Easter in Utrecht, then withdrew a gsu from the margrave and celebrated Pentecost in Aachen. The following year, however, Dietrich formed a coalition with Count Balduin V of Flanders (io35- -°\*7). Henry the Holy was already at war with his father Balduin IV. And he made common cause with Gottfried the Bearded, Duke of Upper Lorraine, who, in addition to other attacks on the king, plundered and burned Verdun in October 1047, including the church treasury and archives.

and the misery was great. However, Gottfried soon compensated the church, which at least had to recognize his claim to the county of Verdun, with lands and other significant gifts. He also paid penance to the church; indeed, he is said to have crawled to the high altar of the cathedral and been baptized there.

Dietrich of Holland struck out against the neighboring bishoprics, especially against Injustice, which, like the other ecclesiastical dominions, enriched itself at his expense. Henry III attacked Holland for the second time, but was driven back with heavy losses. The large imperial palace of Nijmegen, the site of his marriage to Gunhild of England, went up in flames, and various imperial castles and the bishopric of Liège capitulated. Dietrich of Holland, however, was ambushed and killed by the shepherds Bernulf of Utrecht, Dietwin of Liège and Adalbero III of Metz, along with a few other noble knights, in the icy winter of January ioqq near Dordrecht."

Only through diverse support from outside, both military and



Henry III became master of his dangerous opponents. The war finally took on European dimensions. The kings Sven of Denmark and Edward of England provided naval assistance against the Count of Flanders, and Pope Leo IX, who spent several weeks at Henry's side, which was decisive for the war, banned Balduin and Gottfried the Bearded. In the summer of 1041, first Gottfried and then Balduin laid down their arms.

Gottfried was imprisoned until 1044 by Archbishop Eberhard of Trier (who himself was imprisoned a decade later) - and then led the execution of condemned "heretici", perhaps from Lorraine, in Goslar on Christmas Day. And in 1044 he surprised everyone with an unusual coup.

With Henry's approval, he married his relative Beatrix, the daughter of Frederick II of Upper Lorraine and widow of the powerful Margrave Boniface of Tuscany, who was assassinated in the same year, after which Gottfried played a leading role in Italy for a decade, a role that could not be shaken by the king, where his brother Frederick even became Pope as Stephen IX.

Balduin, however, had already struck out again in 1040 and also won Hainaut for himself, whereupon Henry, however, after having acquired the head of St. Servatius in Maastricht, invaded Flanders with a large army and armored it almost to Valenciennes, but even now only temporarily curbing Balduin's urge to expand. Mutual military campaigns followed, with Thuin and Huy initially going up in flames, the emperor

In the summer of 1044, they again advanced to Flanders and, after seizing the important border fortress of L'Écluse, largely destroyed the garrison and then robbed the country's towns.

and incinerated. But all the successes of the imperial peace-bringer (Wipo), the one of deeper religious earnestness (Fuhrmann) than any king before, did not really work. Despite great bloodshed, the long struggle against the count continued, Henry was unable to get the Lorraine opposition, whose historical conditionality he had evidently misjudged, completely under control for the rest of his life, especially as the north remained in the hands of the king.

of the country was an ongoing trouble spot. And after his death, the war came to an end for Balduin, and during the regency of Queen Agnes, his son Balduin VI was enfeoffed with Hainaut."

Even more than the West and its neighbors, however Henry III, especially in the early years of his reign. Regiment, the peripheral countries in the east.

#### WAR AGAINST 14 HOLDING AND BOHMEN Uisfd "THE HONORABLE WITNESS OF THE OLD TzsTAMENT -

Following Emperor Otto 111, Henry sought to incorporate Poland, Bohemia and Hungary into his rule, to maintain the empire's hegemonic position and, of course, to create new military bases.

The strengthening of Poland must have been a constant annoyance to the German lords, the coronation of Boleslav I and Mieszko II in the year iozy an almost unbearable provocation. Henry the Holy had already waged three major wars against the country (p. 83 ff.), including seven campaigns between inne and i -7 ◇-

under his own command. His successor Konrad II was in four years, he personally commanded an offensive against Poland three times, which in thirty years, between room and io3z, involved no fewer than fourteen German military campaigns, i.e. on average an invasion almost every second year.

However, this is entirely in keeping with a Christian tradition that goes back to the Old Testament - for the venerable testimony of the Old Testament - as Chaplain Wipo says - teaches us in an exemplary way through its fruitful endeavors for a thorough presentation of the stories of the early fathers that we must also bring the fruit of new events into the showers of spiritual possession. We realize t h a t Abraham liberated his brother's son Loth in war, we know t h a t the children of Israel defeated many enemies. Before our eyes are the

The battles of King David, the wisdom of Solomon, the wisdom of Gideon and the battles of the Maccabees, for many have written about them." This is written by the same author who, in a kind of royal ethic, praises peace and peacekeeping above all else, the ruler as a friend of peace (*amicus pacis*) and the friend of peace as a friend of Christ (*amicus Christi*), as if it were God's representative on earth - a program to which Henry III "felt deeply committed" (Boshof),<sup>13</sup>

It is therefore not surprising that Poland's rapid rise was followed by an even more rapid end, the abrupt fiasco of the Piast state. Mieszko II, who had almost all his neighbors, the Polish aristocratic opposition and, last but not least, his relatives who had passed over at the change of throne, was encircled from the west and east and overthrown. With the help of Russian troops and those of the German emperor, stepbrother Bezplym now came to the throne and, while Mieszko and his youngest brother Otto fled to Bohemia, immediately proved to be submissive to the German side. He handed over the crown and crown insignia to Conrad II. crown and crown insignia, but was murdered just a few months later. Although Mieszko now returned, he was only one of three partial rulers, two of whom died very quickly before him (cf. p. 14 6).

After the death of Mieszko II, he was succeeded by his son Casimir I.

Restorer (1014-rote) to Duke of Poland, which was now shaken by outrages, crises and wars. The Bohemian prince Bretislav I, who had already conquered Moravia, seized the opportunity and also invaded Poland, at his side def 103Z Bishop Severus of Prague, ordained by Archbishop Bardo of Mainz, who was still in power. stood out in particular. The two lords occupied Silesia and devastated the country as far as Gniezno. They plundered open villages, burned them to the ground, broke down castles and razed larger towns such as Krakow to the ground.

In Gniezno, the bloodthirsty military journey then became a pious pilgrimage. For the tomb of St. Adalbert was in Gniezno (V 3yi ff.), a miracle took place here, hardly without the help of Bishop Severus, people fasted here for three days, prayed, did buffe

and finally robbed - not without the consent of the bribed Pope Benedict IX - Adalbert's relics and those of other martyrs of the year 1040. They were taken to Prague, along with more than a hundred bag-laden wagons and a host of prisoners, all with their hands bound and their necks in iron.

Cosmas of Prague (d. 1132), the married priest and dean of the cathedral monastery there, for whom Catholic Poles and Catholic Germans are "hereditary enemies", counts this grandiose translation of the saints in the first chronicle of his country, the basis and lasting setting of the entire Bohemian medieval historiography (F. Graus), among the most glorious events in Bohemian history. On the other hand, the oldest Polish historiography includes the same translation among the greatest misfortunes of Polish history. And we recognize in it the Christian morality of so many centuries, the perverted thinking of the Western world: how little it meant to its leaders to violently turn thousands of living people into corpses, and how much to its seduced people to have a few who know how old corpses, bones, ankles, if they were only considered -holy-!

Bishop Severus, who also sought to enhance the ecclesiastical status of Bohemia, which had grown in size, sought to have the Tuscan Pope Benedict IX elevate Prague to a metropolitan see. He also sought to create a separate regional church, which would have been tantamount to the Prague diocese being detached from the Mainz Metropolitan Union. But what the Poles and Hungarians had achieved a few decades earlier, the Bohemians failed to do. And when Henry III wanted to avenge Bretislav's invasion of Poland, which was under German suzerainty, Bretislav initially backed down and took his son Spitignev hostage, but then took up arms against Henry by joining forces with Hungary. The German king then advanced against Bohemia with two armies in August of the following year, when great floods cost many people their lives. However, the contingent led by himself and invading from Bavaria suffered a defeat, the loss of many knights and grandees, including a number of royal vassals, Count Re-

ginhard, the majordomo and standard-bearer of Fulda, as well as most of the warriors of this monastery. On the other hand, the troops coming from the north under Margrave Eckehard von MeiBen and St. Archbishop Bardo of Mainz (feast of June ty) had opened the country's passports by bribing Count Prikos, whereupon they destroyed everything in their path with fire and sword."

Bretislaw showed himself willing to negotiate the following year, but the German king insisted on unconditional submission and once again advanced on Prague with two columns of troops, one of which was again led by Margrave Eckehard and St. Bardo. He "ravaged everything with plunder and fire", also attacked Moravia and forced the surrender of Bohemia "through necessity" (Hermann von Reichenau), before which, however, Bishop Severus had already defected to the emperor.

Bretislaw begged, according to the annals of Altaich, for permission "to surrender with his entire kingdom and his own and to seek the mercy of Caesar, as he and his own deserved". Although he was allowed to keep Silesia, he was not allowed to keep his Polish plunder. He had to pay overdue tribute and recognize German sovereignty. He also had to provide five hostages, one son of each of the country's four greats as well as one of his own - and handed them over with the declaration that the king could kill them in any manner of death he chose if the treaty was not fulfilled."

As against Bohemia, Henry III sought to strengthen his power position against Hungary as well.

#### HEINRICH, 'THE FARM PEACE-BREAKER\*', CONQUERS THE CATHOLIC UxGARN

After the death of his son Emmerich, Stephen I had designated his nephew, the son of the Doge of Venice, Peter Orseolo, IO3I as heir to the throne. And after Stefan's death io38

Peter succeeded him as king (1038-1044) and continued in the style of the Holy One. He favored the foreigners, was unjust, ruthless, opposed Bohemia to Henry III. He personally devastated the Bavarian Ostmark in the winter of 1039-40 "with robbery, fire and the dragging away of prisoners" (Hermann von Reichenau) and befleht still Byzantine Bulgaria.

However, as Peter also caused some domestic political turmoil, a palace revolution made Stephen I's brother-in-law or nephew Aba-Samuel king (1041-1044). However, his favoritism towards the common freemen angered more and more nobles and the Church, especially St. Gerhard, Bishop of Csanád, who accused him of murdering many opponents, which could of course have been blamed on countless crowned heads not only of that time. And since Peter Orseolo, who was supported by the church and had been expelled from Hungary, asked the German ruler to intervene, Aba-Samuel, "the Hungarian tyrant", ravaged Bavaria on both sides of the Danube with an army divided in two and took a large number of prisoners with him. However, the part of the army to the north of the Danube was "cut down to the last man" by Margrave Adalbert and the Hungarian leader, who had just managed to escape, was deposed and blinded by Aba-Samuel.

King Henry, "the pious bringer of peace", took advantage of the Hungarian invasion of the Ostmark and Carinthia to take control of the region in three consecutive years, 1043-44, despite two

Frieden offers Abas to wage war on Hungary and to restore this from the empire. It only succeeded, as the Lower Altai monastery annals know, because Henry humbly did not trust in his own power, but in the Lord alone. Every victory was his victory, every battle, according to the chronicler, a judgment of God. And this despite the fact that King Aba sought reconciliation with the emperor" (Györffy).

Heinrich, deeply religious, peaceful and full of ideals, the almost perfect priest-king (p. 14), began his offensives, accompanied by the expelled Peter, in the fall of 1040. He destroyed Hainburg and Bratislava, devastated large areas of the

Land "and caused great bloodbaths ari- (Hermann von Reichenau). Then he returned with the army, praising God for the glorious victory. The very next year, disregarding repeated and far-reaching offers of peace from the Hungarians, he once again advanced into Hungary and received from its king, -who with difficulty obtained a treaty, satisfaction, hostages, gifts and the part of the empire up to the river Leitha". And attacked again the very next year, since the Hungarian prince, at least again the monk of Reichenau, had broken his oath and treaty. German prelates also took part in this third war: the king's particularly bellicose uncle, Bishop Gebhard of Regensburg, Bishop Bruno of Würzburg and Bishop Adelgar of Worms.

Hungarian refugees pass the border huts  
 the German ruler struck a blow on June 5<sup>1041</sup> at Ménfő "trusting in divine help", he put an army of Hungarians to flight at the very first clash and struck them down. King Aba himself was "captured by King Peter and punished with death to atone for his shameful deeds" (Hermann von Reichenau). Peter had his rival beheaded. But the victor Henry III, who sank to his knees before an alleged relic of the Holy Cross with all the princes and other butchers, did not fail to send the crown and gilded lance of the liquidated king to the Holy Father."

A special role, not only in the Hungarian War, was played by the Bishop Gebhard III of Regensburg (1036- 1060), a 5<sup>deep</sup> brother of Emperor Conrad II, a close relative of Henry III, and also related to the later Pope Victor II. In his youth, contrary to his inclination, he was sent to the Würzburg cathedral monastery, from which he escaped, but was then forcibly made a monk. As chief heretic, he fought in the imperial wars in Bohemia and Hungary, here even on his own initiative, a "private war". The following year he also commanded an advancing army north of the Danube and, as the Hungarians did not put up a fight, carried off a considerable amount of booty. However, they then fell scorching and burning into the

However, Bishop Cebhard was also involved in battles, plots and constant property disputes, including fierce disputes with the monastery of St. Emmeram, whose abbot Richolf (Richbold) he expelled along with his monks. Was Gebhard III of Regensburg just a black sheep!

Now, let us take a brief but complete look at his predecessors and successors in the summarized judgment of the Catholic theologian and church historian Ferdinand Janner, who would have preferred to write his main work, the three-volume "History of the Bishops of Regensburg", as can be seen on almost every page, as a history of the saints (and often did). Gebhard I (qy-ioz3): Greed for possessions and rule". Gebhard 11th (IOZ3-ZO36): "... by no means above reproach - About Cebhard III. successor Otto (io6x-io8q): "... We find no trace of care for the diocese; on the other hand, we encounter the bishop as a courtier in a dissolute court camp, as a man of war in various acts of unjust violence - but God let him lead the diocese for almost thirty years! About Gebhard IV (io8q-i ioJ), slain by one of his warriors: -He held the position of shepherd in the Regensburg diocese for 26 years in a wretched manner.-<sup>17</sup>

When Duke Vasul was blinded after an unsuccessful revolt against Stephen the Saint and his three sons, including Andrew I, king since 4 , were banished, the Opponent of Henry III's vassal King Peter Orseolo again Andrew entered the country. He arrived during a pagan uprising\*, first used it for his own purposes and then suppressed it in order to return to the conditions created by Stephen and to side with the German emperor. He had abruptly distanced himself from the anti-Christian revolutionary party and crowned himself King of Hungary by Christian bishops, had some of the rebels executed and outlawed paganism on pain of death, which was entirely in line with German policy. Of course, the Christian king also had his Christian predecessor Perer Orseolo and his sons blinded, whereupon King Peter succumbed to his injuries shortly afterwards."



All of this happened at a time of great economic difficulties, a famine, an unusually harsh winter with heavy snowfall and freezing temperatures. Terrible cattle deaths were rampant, along with a famine that lasted for years,

-Worse than the plague". It affected the whole of Western and Central Europe and cost the lives of thousands upon thousands of people. In Bohemia, according to an annalistic note in Kos- mas, a third of the entire population perished."

As strange as it is to call Henry III's "central motive" concern for the attainment and maintenance of peace (Boshof), if one does not understand it to mean war - as with the very similar-sounding, very well-known, backhanded phrase used by today's politicians and their empires - it is just as strange to refer indirectly to Henry's pacifist endeavors, the so-called peace of God. It was intended to replace the age of violence with a new way of acting in accordance with the preaching of Christ and was glorified by (Catholic) church historiography from century to century and was praised to the skies, for example as 'one of the greatest and most beneficial institutions of the Middle Ages' (WetzerfWclte), while the most recent research sums it up la- conically: -'The effect ... was rather small' (Boock- mann)."

### THE " PEACE OF GOD" - AND WHO IT BENEFITED

This movement came about - strangely enough within a community that proclaimed peace and love of one's enemies - because one was hardly able to cope with the ever more appalling crime and arms dealing, the criminal acts, murders, especially the poisoning and assassinations, the expanding feuds, the castles built on one's own initiative, robbery nests, arbitrarily established ba- ronies by robbers, in short, because one was hardly able to master the feudal anarchy. Even princes were

In those days, secular grandees, under Henry III, for example Boniface of Tuscia (p. xq3) or, in the year of the emperor's death, on May, the Saxon **Count Palatine** Dedo was murdered **by** a priest from Bremen, whereupon the murderer was not even punished because his victim, it was said, wanted to be spared.

But even the king and emperor was not safe from attacks, especially in Saxony, where Henry III chose Goslar, which flourished due to its rich silver deposits - the best in Europe at the time - as his main palace, the "Salian residence", and also founded the cathedral and palatine monastery of St. Simon and Judith. Simon and Judah in order to have his court chaplains trained here; in Saxony, where he particularly favored the church, especially the dioceses of Hildesheim and Halberstadt, almost showering them with donations, customs, mint, court, ferry rights, a series of counties; where he promoted the plans of the ambitious Archbishop Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen (io43-\*wo) against the opposing Billungj dukes.

and finally, not least of all, their own masters.

The Harz region and systematically expanded the imperial estate against the interests of the magnates.

So here in Saxony the regent escaped in autumn 1047 \*tuf

The count, a brother of Duke Bernhard II, was so badly wounded by the accuser, his vassal Arnold, that he died three days later. The count, a brother of Duke Bernhard II, *was* so badly wounded in a legal duel by the accuser, his vassal Arnold, that he died three days later. (A son of the victim then had Arnold hanged by the legs between two dogs and **dragged** back and forth **until he was** dead).

Shortly before his death in the unfinished 3rd year of his life-year of his life, the emperor was once again pursued by a princely

Crown and life, including Duke Konrad I of Bavaria, Duke Gottfried the Bearded (p. Iö7 ) and Bishop Gebhard III of Regensburg (p. -7 .). The uncle of the monarch, who tried in vain to deny it, was brought before a princely court and imprisoned. He

However, he was soon free again, and once more Bishop of Regensburg, while one of his co-conspirators, the layman (!) Richwin, who was gifted in the Ostmatk, was sentenced to death and his goods confiscated."

In this Christian world, wildly torn apart by constant quarrels, struggles for position, feuds and wars, various "rulers", above all bishops, introduced a special peace in the late 10. In southern France, where the terror of the armed classes is said to have been particularly fierce in Aquitaine, a special peace was introduced in the late 10. century. Over the course of time, it was given various names: pax, pactum pacis, restauratio pacis et iustitiae, pax et treva Domini, which then became the abbreviation pax Dei at 4 , God's peace, emerged. But also the forms and times dif

ferierteri, the rooms, the locations, the groups of people. And, interestingly, the clergy now not only relied on the state as a whole, but also entered into direct contact with the chivalry; indeed, a pope like Gregory VII played it off against the state, virtually sending it to war against it." In the first third of the 11th century, at the beginning of the Salian period, the peace of God movement - promoted by the French king, who believed it would strengthen his position - spread from Aquitaine to northern France and Burgundy, and finally to Spain, Italy and the German Empire.

And here, since 41 , it is said to have been based on the "peace measures" of Emperor Henry. rich III, -and indeed in the sense of an increase into a comprehensive 'peace program' (Reinhold Kaiser). However, it only really spread to the empire after info, when it was divided and defeated by constant war.

The well-known Cicero question arises: cui bono?; but always the "core question of criminology about the motive for solving a crime" (Duden). And perhaps the new question will help: who initiated the (divine) cause, the good Heavenly Father himself aside?

Well, there is no doubt that the episcopate, in particular, wanted to protect its huge church estates and save its wealth in the 'disintegrating order'. Whereby, of course

He did not only think of himself, not at all; but also and especially of his dear neighbors, the "inermes pauperes" in particular, the armless heaps of misery. For all the starving, the starving, the downtrodden, the widows, the orphans, the defenceless were always closest to the princes of the church! In short, the *pacta pacis* were originally a *pro-domo* act of the high clergy, a kind of social justice of bishops and bishops, which could easily be explained in a paternalistic way as a pious duty of protection and care of the shepherds for the sheep."

In addition to the hierarchs, the high nobility, especially the ruling principality, of course also launched or enforced the peace of God or the conclusion of regional peace measures, because the so-called secular rulers also benefited from this. After all, the continual "acts of injustice" of the small seigneurs, the subordinate knights of the shrub, whose *pri- vatqtierelen*, so to speak, jeopardized the big-gun actions, their own feuds and campaigns, their own rule of the potentes, the divites. Charles 1 probably already had the Feuds 7 s forbidden, but certainly contained with a capitulary of 80z by imposing the royal ban. In any case the grandees, who not only rivaled with their peers but also with the feuding lesser nobles, only shattered the peace of God in favor of their own lust for power'.<sup>4</sup>

Feuding was the dominant element in the Germanic tribes from time immemorial, as evidenced by the *Hildebrandslied*, *Nibelungenlied* and *Sagas of the Icelanders*, and was a major theme in the public life of medieval northern and central Europe, a basic political principle. Its *8rurt#iJung* fluctuated repeatedly. Even in more recent times, it was often regarded as a "subsidiary legal remedy" (O. Brunner), a legitimate form of self-help, while recently its criminal components have been emphasized again and the socio-economic decline of chivalry in the late Middle Ages.

There is no doubt that the feud gradually became more *and more* widespread as it ruined the opponent, since then ciirers, castles, *townns*, castles, peasants. Admittedly, the clergy sometimes intervened with curses and

Bonn and the Interdict, but failed because he himself waged countless feuds, although this was forbidden to him as well as, initially at least, to the peasants and citizens, not to mention the Jews.

However, the feuding among these people, who all prayed to the same God and all did so in the same church, was widely cruel; it could range from robbery, arson, making the place uninhabitable (many deserts were created in this way) to the merciless extermination of entire families, including the children. Pious knights were also often not content with burning down a castle; they usually let the church or chapel standing next to it go up in flames at the same time. Therefore, instead of a general ban, such use of weapons was at least partially restricted, from Friday evening, for example, until Monday morning, as some French bishops demanded in the year 41. After the weekend, people could then go back to beating each other up.

The extent to which clerical selfishness created this "institution of God's peace", the "treuga dei" (treuga is the Latinized form of the Frankish triuwa, security), is striking. Even the time limit from Friday evening to Monday morning was of course in line with the Sunday ztigut, the church service. The peace of God was then extended beyond the I/weekend to all church feast days, and later also to Advent and Lent. The

The high point came with the Council of Narbonne - 54, which legally only allowed warfare and feuding on around 80 days. Certain rooms were also gradually relegated to the

The clergy were of course particularly concerned with churches and monasteries, where no fighting was allowed to take place. Of course, the clergy themselves did not always respect the matter. In the late 11th century, for example, Bishop Fulco of Beauvais had a certain Hubert, the brother of Bishop Ursio of Senlis, taken prisoner during the so-called peace of God and had his castle robbed.

In the 11th century, the "Pax militias" emerged, diocesan armies that were intended to secure peace, but above all served to secure spiritual possessions and goods, often fighting for the most selfish purposes, with priests also leading the troops.

For example, the Archbishop of Bourges, Aimo of Bourbon (1030--1070) - in the 11th century, a member of this princely house, Charles de Bourbon, was ten years old when he was born.

electd Archbishop of Lyon and confirmed by the Pope - formed a private army together with his suffragans. In addition to milites, it also included a popular contingent, almost a kind of "Volkssturm", in which (this is also reminiscent of Hitlerzeit and the Second World War) children had to fight, all boys from the age of 15. The "peace fighters" not only devastated the country, but also burned down Benecy Castle along with 1400 people. Archbishop Aimo's "Pax militias" were invincible against the small band of robbers. However, when he ventured to attack one of the most powerful lords of Berry, Odo of Déols, with whom he was feuding over the castle of Chateaufort-sur-Cher, he was defeated in battle on 19 January 1038 in the battle at the Cher; more than 700 clerics are said to have perished.

A similar fate apparently befell the diocesan army of Bishop Arnald of Le Mans an age later, a city whose nobility, burghers and clergy were constantly at loggerheads in the 11th century. Moreover, it is clear that this struggle for peace by the Archbishop of Bourges (and his colleagues) ultimately served to secure the archbishop's rule, whereby the non-chivalric population in the archdiocese of Bourges was left to fight for the archbishop's "peace" until the third century (R. Kaiser).

Of course, the prelates did not just recruit armed troops from the clergy and the people. They also immediately levied fees, and of course fees: -pro pace-; since the 12th century the commune pacis (commun de paix), a tax that existed until the late Middle Ages (and, differently named, also in Spain).

The tax, which was levied in the form of a peace tax, was then used to finance troops or fortifications ready for war.

Perhaps most importantly, the peace organized by the church also served the war organized by the church and the warrior metier. For: "The measures often provided for in the peace statutes against those who break the peace amount to nothing other than a new war, this time ordered by the church itself - and a war also led by the church, a "war against war", a war of peace, into which the priests went with their flags and crosses. Here and there, peace-breakers were even expelled from the church.

The papacy, however, to which we are turning over a long period of time, was slow to adopt the peace of God; the first to do so was Urban II iopy - before the beginning of the First Crusade!"

4-CAMTEt

- "A POPE PUSHES HIMSELF  
NEXT TO THE OTHERS ..."  
THE HOLY FATHERS AROUND THE  
CENTER  
OF THE I TH CENTURY

The fish stinks from the head. Medieval  
proverb





## EIX POPE DEALS WITH MARRIAGE PLANS AND SELLS OFF THE PASTURE

After the death of John XIX, the Holy Father who, through enormous bribes, was transformed in a single **day** from a layman to a saint.

Pope [p. H41. was followed by Benedict IX (rode-1045. \*°47 to x0q8), the nephew of his two predecessors, the brothers Johann XIX and Benedict VIII thus safi again, for the third time in succession, a Count of Tusculum on the so-called Cathedra Petri, and again one by virtue of arms and gold, this time of his father Alberich **III**. Yet Roman Clement, as Pope Victor III attests, lived "in boundless barbarism" - like the whole of Holy **Rome; which** Ferdinand Gregorovius thus characterizes: -all roads were besieged by robbers, all pilgrims plundered; in the city the churches lay in decay, while the priests reveled in bacchanals. Daily assassinations made the streets unsafe, and even St. Peter's was invaded by Roman nobles, their swords in their fists, trying to steal away the offerings that pious hands might still place on the altar.

With Benedict IX, another layman had become pope, allegedly one who was only ten or twelve years old, which is not only claimed by early sources, but also by historians of the iq. and even the end of the zo. Century, such as Hagen Keller, claim. And even if Benedict IX was, who knows8, a little older, he nevertheless held the Holy See almost unchallenged for a dozen years, at least in fact, he was the only pope to occupy it three times in succession.

The life of the immature boy whose criminal upbringing

Emperor Conrad had apparently tolerated him benevolently, as he harmonized well with him in general, soon resembled less that of a celibate than a sultan. He was also supposed to conjure up demons with the help of magic books, deal with the devil in forests, use magic to attract women, commit adultery, robbery and manslaughter, according to ecclesiastical reporters.

Perhaps he was not quite as bad as it seemed to Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino, who shuddered at revealing details. After all, the papal chancery sent edifying messages into the world, preaching contempt for earthly lust and longing for the heavenly home. Holiness himself (reilich went about with plans of hatred, asked for the hand of a Roman relative and, after he had consumed everything that could be consumed - while plague and famine martyred the evening country - became the object of a murder attempt. Nobles of Rome conspired to strangle him at the altar, sensibly on the Feast of the Apostles; admittedly in vain. It was not until the fall of 1041 that an aristocratic revolt hunted him down without his

was formally deposed. And after long and bloody factional In January 1041, the bishop John of Sabina, apparently a Crescentian, was elevated to the papacy as Silvester III, and he too had again defeated the insurgents by bribed with gold. But after just a few weeks, around 10 March, he had to flee, as Benedict returned from his castles in the Alban Hills and once again took up his sacred office, naturally also immediately excommunicating his rival. But then the situation seemed too risky for him, a renewed fall too likely, and, unlike many of his predecessors, a resignation from the stewardship of God on earth seemed quite possible to him, even bearable, but only by reimbursing the considerable expenses that his elevation had just cost.

A certain Johannes Gratianus, the aged archpriest of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, the pope's godfather (patrinus; possibly wise confessor) and probably a relative of the rich Jewish banker, was seriously interested in the story.

house of the Pierleoni. The baptized Jude Baruch advanced John a great deal of money (between 5000 and 2000 pounds of silver); the figures vary and the financial transaction probably remains deliberately unclear. However, according to most sources, the pope sold his godfather a large sum of money in a formal deed of resignation dated i. May 1097 to his godfather for a huge sum, especially, as was assumed, for the proceeds of St. Peter's Pence from England (p. 54), the Apostolic See. Even Franz Xaver Seppelt, the Catholic papal historian, does not see this as a lifelong pension, a severance payment, but probably -a downright sale of papal dignity-; a singular case in the papal sector, but obviously accepted all around.

The Christian community had long been accustomed to buying and selling spiritual goods and glory (p. 201 f.). Also to giving away for the purpose of securing dear relatives, a quite human, almost beautiful trait. Duke Richard of Normandy, ancestor of William the Conqueror, who was so encouraged by the papacy (p. 249), bequeathed the archbishopric of Rouen to his son and two bishoprics to a nephew. King Henry I of France, the miracle worker, gave his daughter the abbey of *Corbie*; a count of Toulouse provided his heirs *with* the revenues of the diocese of Albi and the monastery of St. Gilles; the counts of Barcelona provided their heirs with entire bishoprics. A count of Brittany elevated himself to the position of chief shepherd of Quimper, bequeathed the diocese to his son, who married and then handed the episcopal office back to his son. There was a touching urge to provide for the Christian aristocracy everywhere.

Of course, people were not quite so selfless with distant neighbors and sold without further ado. The bishopric of Albi, for example, 1000 for 1000 shillings. For 100 000 shillings, 1016 Count Wifred of Barcelona-Urgel promoted his two-year-old son of the same name to the archiepiscopal see of Narbonne, and the offspring proved grateful and gave his brother the diocese of Urgel for the same sum. "In some countries, especially in southern and western France, regular

right trade transactions with bishoprics vot- (Tellenbach). In the middle of the 11th century, 3 pounds were allegedly paid for the bishop's see of Florence. At that time, however, all bishops in the land of the pope are said to have bought their so-called dignity. and, if the contemporary source exaggerates, certainly not badly.

However, as a result of multiple serious violations of canon law In May 1045, canon law once again had a Holy Father, Gregory VI (i. May 1045 - 20. December 1046), who was generally regarded as very pious and highly esteemed. And also He obviously could find nothing wrong with the trade. Or else, as the story goes, would he have said that he had given his most valuable possession, the celd, for the most valuable dignity in the world?

Even church teachers and opponents of simony such as Petrus Damiani and the monk Hildebrand, who was active in the Curia under Cregor VI and as Pope Gregory VII a fanatical opponent of the trade in ecclesiastical offices, enthusiastically joined the Simonists, perhaps initially without any precise knowledge of the process, but whose pontificate the papal catalog also thoroughly approved of.

## HEI LIGR FATHER - "D IOTS - OR VICTIMS

Everyone seemed to agree, including Odilo of Cluny and France's King Henry I, but not the now reigning German King Henry III, who crossed the Rhine in the fall of 1044 coming from Augsburg with strong troop formations the Brenner and then rani - although or rather because three popes had already graced the apostolic scene: "One pope pushes himself next to the other-, as it was said in an aid to Henry - the Bamberg bishop, the Saxon count Swidger von Morsleben, as Clemens (1045-47) was elevated to summus pontifex on 2 December and crowned emperor by him on the same Christmas Day. Also under Otto III and

Gregory V's papal election and imperial coronation followed each other closely.

Clement was the first of four popes from the German nobility to be appointed by Henry, but only after Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen had declined and proposed his friend, the Bishop of Bamberg, in his place. Henry conferred the parricidal power on himself, which gave him the decisive say in the papal appointment and once again obliged the Romans not to elect a supreme head of the church without imperial consensus. "We confess," they declared at a synod in ROTI on\*4 December, - that we have been incomprehensible enough are to install idiots as popes.

Silvester III. and Gregory VI. had Henry shortly before, on 20. December 1056, through a synod in Sutri, which he presided over, the most beautiful jewel, Benedict IX" was overthrown at the synod in St. Peter's three days later, but Benedict had neither appeared in Sutri nor in Rome. Silvester was formally deposed and sentenced to monastic imprisonment, but was soon allowed to return to his diocese. Ex-Pope Gregory, on the other hand, found guilty of simony and deposed, was exiled to Germany, probably because of his large following in Italy, accompanied by his cape Hildebrand, a young monk who met him in person for the first time and then gained world-historical significance as Gregory VII, and placed under the supervision of the metropolitan of Cologne. However, he died just a few months later, shortly after Bishop Wazo of Liège had demanded Gregory's reinstatement from the emperor, due to an illness that has not been specified (Kelly).<sup>2</sup>

But even Clemens 11 would have been better off never having his Bamberg diocese

which he now left in a bull of 1054 September, homesick and as if plagued by evil forebodings, as -dove" tim-

The most devoted, most loyal daughter", "sweetest bride", from whom he could not bear to be separated. For he, too, pope only because the emperor's first choice, Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen, was rejected and because, as several contemporary sources agree, there was hardly an honorable cleric in Rome

itself.

fqod, Clemens It. størb ball, wat vieczehn Tøge datøuf not. At the beginning of the year, he had accompanied the ruler to southern Italy and imposed an ecclesiastical ban on Benevento, which had denied Henry access.

and died on q. October - 47 in the Abbey of St. Thomas near Pesaro, probably "per pocu- lum veneni". Benedict IX is said to have poisoned him.

The body was brought to Bamberg and buried in Dorn - the only papal tomb north of the Alps. And nine hundred years later, in qqz, when it was opened, not only were magnificent pontifical vestments found, but still, as in the case of of the grave opening -7i\*. "many light yellow hairs", but a toxicological examination also revealed a noticeable lead content in the bones. The old suspicion, which had been circulating since the High Middle Ages, that he had been poisoned' presumably by Pope Beriedikt, seems to be confirmed by this. For the remaining four

-In the case of the three German popes at that time, Damasus II, Leo IX, Victor II and Stephen IX, poisoning is considered unlikely" (Fuhrmann).

Benedict IX, however, reappeared immediately after Clement II. II. emerged once again from his refuge near Tusculum, penetrated the

He entered the city and became pope again on November 8, - 47. Supported by Margrave Boniface, the most powerful Italian prince at the time, he made a third and final guest appearance on the throne of chairs, acclaimed by the bribed people - this time, however, as antipope. (You could be pope and antipope in one person - just not at the same time!) Meanwhile, the emperor designated the Bavarian count Bishop Poppo of Brixen in Tyrol, whom he appointed as his companion.

margrave of Tuscany only after Henry's harsh threat.

The "stony-rich margrave, or rather tyrant of Italy", who was ultimately close to the reformers, who also allowed himself to be baptized, indeed in Mantua with Henry III and Leo IX in the discovery of the

-The precious lifeblood of the Lord was found directly "by a blind man",



of course -by divine revelation-: Hermann von Reichen- au), Boniface of Tuscia was ioyz murdered by poisoned arrow shots from ambush after a long and hard reign. However, Poppo of Brixen was already four years younger, who as Damasus\* II took the cathedra on July xy. July iod8, had already died three weeks later, on q. August, in Palestrina. August, in Palestrina, either from malaria or, according to other sources, from poison, perhaps from the clot of Benedict IX. In *any* case, the latter had threatened him with revenge; likewise his successor Leo IX. However, the power of the Tusculan counts was now somewhat broken, as they had given Rome at least five Holy Fathers: John XI, John XIII, Benedict VIII, John XIX and Benedict IX, five, with at most one exception, hair-raising figures, not to say more or less accomplished criminals.

Of course, between Io4 and Io58, five German popes (out of seven German popes in the entire history of the papacy) also occupied the chair on which Peter had never sat, and which some of these Germans conspicuously avoided. And all of them had astonishingly short, rumor-mongering pontificates of only twelve years in total - a short life explained by Cardinal Damiani with the burden of the high holy office.<sup>4</sup>

Count Poppo, who reigned as pope for only twenty-three days, was succeeded as Leo IX by another German count, Bruno von Egisheim- Dagsburg, a relative of Emperor Henry III born in ElsaB.

### SAINT AND RULER -

Pxrsz Leo IX (io4q-' s4)

The new church shark was handsome, rich, educated, almost feverishly active and rarely in Rome, only half a year out of his five years in office. The pope, who was already very Hildebrand, then his subdeacon and abbot of St. Paul's, enjoyed

publicity as a result of his commitment, his zeal, the long journeys (three times to France, three times to Germany, six times to southern Italy); correspondence also increased, there are more than 70 surviving documents of Leo, but -with a considerable proportion of forgeries- (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche) - an almost hectic activity, which, however, had mainly political purposes.

The emperor's loyal cooperation in frequent and lengthy meetings with the emperor, who was related to him, served the affairs of the empire.

Nevertheless, Leo also organized magnificent church consecrations, canonizations, numerous synods, twelve in total, about twice as many as his predecessors in 25 years. He also took care of the valuation of the remains of the saints, intervening in the relic dispute between St. Emmeram and St. Denis. The Regensburg monastery claimed to possess the relics of the patron saint of St. Denis, St. Dionys - a ubiquitous monastic abuse - out of a pure desire for fame and profit, and therefore put all sorts of alleged authenticities into the world, just as papal and imperial documents were freely forged, for example in the names of Charles "the Great", Louis the Pious, Arnulf, Otto I and others. And since the Holy Pope decided the controversy in favor of Regensburg, he became entangled, perhaps even without knowing it, "in a web of lies", and in any case became "complicit in a pious fraud" (Steindorff), which kept the two monasteries in suspense for centuries.

But because Leo in that time, painted in gloomy colors by all chroniclers, a time in which also and especially the Apostolic See, as it was then called, was the starting point of all evils, because Leo stood up for chastity, order of administration, because he preached against office haggling and priestly marriages, by no means consistently, but sometimes conspicuously conciliatory, his "goodness, holiness and kindness" are still praised today, he is still seen as a pope imbued with the highest legal ethos, one of the "noblest and most distinguished", one of the "purest figures in papal and world history".

history. For Johannes Haller, he was - without any irony - "statesman and warlord as much as priest and shepherd of souls, and both at their best".

The Church has venerated Leo IX as a saint since his death, always

a particularly alarming indication. -No sooner had he breathed his last than the bell of St. Peter's Church rang out of its own accord to announce his death to the faithful, and several credible (!) persons affirmed that they had seen his holy soul ascending to heaven in the midst of the angels (Do- nin). And this not least, as the biographers note, because of his 'pious deeds of war', which he was the first pope to break in the name of the Church.

But even then there were quite different voices, even within the Church. Even the Doctor of the Church Peter Damiani, Counselor of Keos IX, - J 3 wrote: - If no private man may raise the sword for the cause of faith, through which the universal Church lives, how then may a hardened army rush with the sword for worldly and temporary possessions of the Church? How may the Christian murder the Christian for the sake of the loss of miserable goods? ... Has a holy pope ever taken up arms?"

St. Leo stood up like this, but he knew what to do, typically Christian advice. For when the Romans - repeatedly bloodily harassed and robbed by the exiled Benedict and his followers from Tusculum and other castles - demanded one of the usual wars of revenge among Christians, St. Leo did not want to return evil for evil, but to seek peace, quite evangelically, which is why he wanted to "call a synod; whoever obeys it and puts aside error is our friend; whoever does not obey will be punished as a heretic". And just two months after his papal consecration, in April 1054, at a synod in the Lateran, a -reform synod- as they were now called, he banned Benedict IX as well as the other "perfidious- and ordered the Roman militia to fight against them. They promptly destroyed and burned several forts and devastated the area around Tusculum, but were unable to conquer it themselves.

St. Pope, who came from a clan of counts accustomed to fighting - who fought one feud after another, then made rich donations for their salvation and died in a monastery, the Christian path to eternal life - loved war from an early age. Indeed, according to Wibert, his biographer, he was so well versed in military affairs that it was as if it were his only occupation! The twenty-three-year-old canon of Toul commanded the army of his ailing bishop under his relative, King Conrad II, on a campaign in Lombardy, and when the latter departed, Conrad made the cathedral canon and troop leader IOZ7 his successor. successor. And Henry III nominated him as his successor at the end of ioø8 in Worms. Pope.'

But didn't St. Leo, with a small entourage in his pilgrim's garb and bare(ufi Rem, also enter the Apulian Monte Gargano? To this glorious place of grace, of all places, which was closely linked to soldiers and war? and ironically -4 \*. under the sword-wielding Aragonese Ferdinand I. himself was the theater of war against the rebellious barons, of whose regular troops were plundered.

The center of the Gargano, however, was the grotto church at Ehcen of the archangel Michael, this emphatically warlike heavenly messenger, who wears soldierly clothing, spear, sword, shield, who kills the dragon, fights with Lucifer, is also a fairy lord (archistra- tegos) and commands the blessed spirits in the end-time battle. Victories over both Greeks and Slavs are attributed to him, and he is also depicted on the emblem of the Battle of Lechfeld (9ii), that "great gift of divine love" (V d3 y ff., esp. 4is) his image and name. He built up to 800 churches he was given in Italy. Thus Leo IX had the place of pilgrimage, from which also the Baresian Meles (p. i iy f.) the annexation of southern Italy is said to have propagated, was probably the right choice.

However, the Pope prepared for the war, which ended his term of office so ruinously but did nothing to stop his canonization, with further -religious- actions. Thus he stimulated

on Palm Sunday, March 19. March, in the monastery of Monte Cassino, at that time a kind of outpost against the Normans, the monks celebrated him enthusiastically. And a similar visit took him to the Cebiet of Atina.

Leo set even clearer accents in the spring of 1054, when he excommunicated the Beneventans, the "rebels", anew and took sides with the people against the conquerors in Melfi, the capital of Norman Apulia; he also stood up for the clergy and the church property, of course. And in the following year, Leo again agitated in the south, where he was given every freedom of movement by the Normans - and was already determined at the time to wage war against them, to exterminate them together with the emperors of the west and east, with the king of France and his own soldiery. All he lacked was the necessary armed forces.

In the summer, he traveled to Worms to see Henry III, demanded the return of Fulda Abbey and other monasteries and towns, and won the monarch over to his war plan. And even when the emperor, urged on by his chancellor Bishop Gebhard of Eichstätt, distanced himself again from the next pope, Victor II, and rejected the papal policy of conquest, Leo remained unperturbed. He proclaimed holy war - pure pastoral duty. He did everything he could to present the attack as a defensive struggle. With his own resources and the help of his relatives, he recruited warriors in Germany: mercenaries, adventurers, vagrants, some of whom had been commanded by their masters, some of whom were thirsty for booty, whom the holy troop commander even took in "graciously and mercifully", to whom he gave immunity from punishment and offered absolution from their sins, all for the good cause that alone could bring salvation - in effect, an abdication of the cross.

The contingent, in no small part, as well as the As the not uncritical monk Hermann von Reichenau makes clear, a bunch of criminals, moved across the Alps in February 1054 together with the Pope and Frederick, the Chancellor of the Church, where on the one hand further military, especially from the Papal States, joined them, and on the other hand the imperial army by virtue of Bishop Geb-

hnr'd's intervention was soon recalled. Prince Waimar IV of Saierno, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, also opposed the papal invasion and even intervened in favor of the Normans, but was assassinated and his corpse, bleeding from dozens of wounds, was abominably maltreated.

St. Leo, also referred to by modern historians as -He was celebrated as the "adornment of the Holy See", as a man who had been inspired by the ideals of his profession, and he personally led his fighters against the Normans. It is true that there had been warlike prelates, even popes, in large numbers before him. But he was the first pope to wage war in the name of the Church. He was the first pope who fundamentally derived his wars from the religion, harmonized them with the commandments of the Church and duxchdcang the warlike spirit of the army with an ecclesiastical sense (ErdmannL

The Normians, notes the paralyzed monk of Reichenau, "asked for peace, promised him submission and servitude and assured him that they wanted to keep everything they had unjustly usurped and seized through his enfeoffment and grace; the pope refused. After all, the Roman See had wanted Campania and Apulia since the days of Charlemagne. Leo's army was also numerically superior. So the saint ignored the Cluniac peace efforts, ignored the emperor's propagated

-peace of God, ignored its withdrawal of troops, also ignored its own ban on the bearing of arms, renewed at the Council of Reims x 4, on military service for clergymen - everything probably under the influence of his cardinal deacon Hildebrand and his favorite saying: -Cursed is the man who holds back his sword from blood.- Abbot Petrus Damiani warned against the -papal war". But the Holy Father was eager for it, was obsessed with "recuperation". And even before a union with the Greeks approaching from Bari could be achieved, the Normans stood at the f-ortore near Civitate on June 6, iOy5. June iOy5 at the f-ortore near Civitate, a vanished place northwest of Foggia, ready for battle.'

The papal army, which included, in addition to Chancellor Frederick, Cardinal Humhert and Archbishops Peter of Amalfi and Udalricus of Benevento, a German, appeared for the first time with the banners of St. Peter bestowed by Leo. And, blessed by the Pope, absolved of their sins, they went into battle and - after the hidden judgment of God - met their sudden downfall. For although already defeated by the Germans, the Normans surrounded them with reserve forces from ambush. The Italian troops, the reports agree, fled in wild flight at the first onslaught of Richard of Aversa. And the Germans, who had previously boasted of wiping out the Norman "raiders", now died, surrounded and poorly armed, almost all of them. Caught on the flank by Robert Guiskard's lancers, who were only supposed to intervene if necessary, they presumably fell to the last man - while St. Leo and the bishops initially stood on the city wall and watched, in the old military manner.

It was the disaster of his life.

Finally, when the Normans were already storming the castle and the suburb of Gereir was burning, the citizens of Civirore plundered the papal baggage, that of the clerical entourage, even the church treasury they had brought with them, and drove Leo and his cardinals outside the city, where his opponents humbly kissed his apostolic feet and, lying on their knees, reminded him of his priestly mission while he gave them communion, which had previously been forbidden. Of course, the victors also imprisoned him in *Benevento* for eight months, *until the* spring of ioJç, *until* shortly before his death.'

The apologists, however, knew immediately why Leo's why the devilish Normans (who were, after all, also Catholic) were able to achieve such a bloody victory over the Vicar of Christ. And the pope's biographer added a new miracle to the rich world: the pontiff, who prayed for his dead, was comforted by the fact that the corpses of his

warriors unawares, while the eyes of the dead Norsemen were pecked out by the ravens". And then St. Blaise's witnesses, those so auspicious models of future Catholic butchers and sacrifices, continued to perform miracles from heaven for decades.

And what did Leo IX do?

After he had declared all the fallen of his army, truly enough robbers and murderers among them, to be martyrs and saints, "this most gentle man" sent Cardinals Frederick of Lorraine and Humbert of Silva Caneda, his closest confidants, to Byzantium while still in Benevento and called on Constantine IX Monomachus (ioqz-ioy5) to fight the Normans together with Henry III and him. In more than pagan godlessness, they respected nothing sacred, raged against the church and slew the Christians. For he did not lack the will, only the power, to continue the war... The Pope had no conscience (Stein- dorff). He even claimed, contrary to the truth, that a personal intervention by the German emperor in Lower Italy, a campaign against the Normans, was imminent.

Just one year later, in July 54, there was a final break between the Greek and Latin churches. (This involved far more than just dogmatic issues.

social and cultural antagonisms, and superficially also ritual fripperies. In addition, Leo demanded - with decisive reference to the forged Constitutum Constan- tini (IV 3qi ff.) - large parts of southern Italy or rather everything that Constantine and his successors had given to the Church!

Returning to Rome defeated and ill on April 3, the pope called the cardinals, bishops and other clergy to him, exhorted them, according to an old source, -in all goodness to live chastely-, declared once again the fallen warriors of his apu- tical fiasco to be martyrs and died, just fifty, on iq. April IOJ4. Soforr was venerated as a saint and honored with appropriate Miraculous tales entwined.<sup>10</sup>

Since Leo IX in particular, popes have been called reform popes and



praises - by no means only in church circles - this development, which "ecclesiastical reform movement- of the i r. Century, about everything:

"the shaping force of the age - {Schieffer). After all, modern historians are also quite "reform-friendly".

reform. But what does that mean?

### **REFORM? RxxOrUTION! WORLD POWERS ON THE BASIS OF PURE LUG AND WORE**

The term reform is an old one, already common in antiquity. In classical Latin, the verb -reformare- does not have to be associated with a political-social spectrum of meanings, it remains more of a tintinnabulation. Even in the legal language of late and post-classical jurists, reformacio can simply mean

"Expressing 'change' without any directional or value emphasis can rather signal a pejorative connotation, even a turn for the worse.

In Christianity, on the other hand, reform is associated with something progressive and positive, the word radiates an affirmative aura, (re)constructive associations, in short a "reformatio in melius" - as if history has not also known re(ormationes in peius to this day!

Leo's "reforms" concerned simony and celibacy - the preferred objects of the reformers of the time; a fabulous pretext for castigating and rejecting the interference of the laity in the church, although the laity were much less simonistically inclined, while on the other hand one could almost write: -Without clergy there was no simony- (Tellenbach).

And "simony" was old, was practiced throughout the first millennium (p. 13°), was also rebuked and fought against by councils, popes and even worldly princes. But the richer the Church became, the more abundantly simony flourished, just as everything corruptible usually grows with wealth. Quite apart from the fact that, after all, under simi

monie seems to have subsumed more and more. Already in the io. Abbo, the Abbot of Fleury, found almost nothing in the church that was not traded or paid for: Bistromer, priesthood, deaconry, the deanery, the provostry, thesaurary, baptism, burial, etc. Finally, popes and antipopes accused each other of vice, Alexander II and Honorius II, Gregory VII and Clement II I, etc."

However, Leo could not revoke all ordinations granted by Simonist bishops, as the churches would have been deserted. He therefore only imposed the four-decade ban that had already been customary in such cases.

As far as celibacy was concerned, the Pope decreed the dismissal of priestly fraternities. Indeed, in Rome he made all those who lived with clergymen into slaves of his palace in order to prevent heredity in this way. For far more than chastity, if that was the issue at all, or inner reform, it was the money and property that was of interest here, which could all too easily and quickly be "alienated" by priestly marriages and bequeathed to the children of priests. "Essentially, it is only ever about countering the loss of the church's material income - (Tellenbach). "It was not about the internal reform of the church, but about the preservation of church property" (Jesuit Kempf). You don't necessarily have to be chaste: careful! "But make sure that it is done secretly ..." - the written and written-in (un)moral maxim to this day, the hypocrisy as it is written in the book (see my sex story)."

Basically, the "reforming pope", who also organized the papal bureaucracy and laid the foundations for the College of Cardinals, merely repeated older regulations, did not want to or at least could not enforce them strictly, did not eliminate simony, did not enforce celibacy. The relationship with the secular authorities also remained untouched, as did the appointment of bishops by the sovereign, if at least the form of election by the clergy and people had been preserved.<sup>2</sup>

GewiB should be characterized in this and other respects by the

"Reform popes - fundamentally change many things; not through reform, but through overthrow, through revolution.

It is often overlooked or overlooked that the restructuring of the papacy was preceded by important imperial reform measures - under the Frankish and even more so under the Salian rulers - which largely benefited the curial regeneration. Henry II was already much more interested in reform, initially in favor of his power politics of course, than Pope Benedict VIII, for example. Moreover, the German imperial bishops appointed to the papacy by the emperors were the first reforming popes, and it was precisely the German popes who were "the pioneers and forerunners of the Gregorian church reform" (Frech).

Soon, however, the much-vaunted new order degenerated into an unholy power struggle, and the empire, which had pulled the church and the popes out of an almost unparalleled quagmire - that is the particular perfidy of this history of the clergy - became the victim of the church and the popes.

The "reform papacy" did not only fight against priestly marriage, which was eventually replaced by a kind of polygamy of many, indeed most, priests. The reform papacy also fought not only against simony, which was replaced by a colossal spiritual trade of the papal court itself. No, the reform papacy also contested the old right of the laity to occupy the bishoprics, the churches in general. The various reform activities were thus linked to extremely massive material implications, implications which - although by no means always (!) gave the impetus, were never absent" (Miethke).

Above all, however, the struggle for vestiture was soon linked to the struggle of the clergy against the laity, the popes against the emperors, and the claim to lead even the secular potentates "like the soul to the body - no longer reform, but revolution, rejection of the previous political-religious system based on the idea of theocratic kingship. *But* this no longer fitted into Rome's hierarchical, universal concept. And so the popes now pushed into the place of the

Caesars, still far above them, they pursue, with growing independence, their almost overwhelming greed for power, an unheard-of, by no means blt'8 ecclesiastical-political expansion, they strive for global validity, as it were, the leadership of the whole world, by any means, even by force of arms - and all under the halo of supposedly restored after Christian ideals!

Now the gloriole of war was being woven in the service of the church, the "reform" led to a series of monstrous, un "reform" was not a possible crime. Leo IX, who had begun his reign in a spirit of renewal and peace and who still cooperated closely with the emperor, not only served him militarily on several occasions, but also ended his reign with a bloody war of his own - typical of the times to come. And immediately after his death, he was venerated as a saint (FeSt: iq. April), especially as the corpse of Christ's warlike representative was said to have worked miracles. And the great schism in the Church, the schism between East and West, can also be traced back to his pontificate."

All the "reforms" of the i th century were based on old ecclesiastical law. But they did not actually have this right. They referred to conditions that never existed. They relied on gigantic forgeries, on the Donation of Constantine (IV and chap.!) and Pseudoisidor (V z8i ff!), on fictitious documents, false decretals.

A manual of canon law compiled in the i th century by Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida, the influential advisor to four popes, draws almost five-sixths of its material from the great forgery of the q th century. century! By virtue of this pseudoisidoric fraud, it was possible to claim almost unlimited power for the papacy, it was possible to claim that the Roman Curia had received its primacy from God, that all churches therefore had to be governed by it, but that it itself could not be judged by anyone. k)nd all this and much more was already given in the forgery to the old and, so to speak, particularly venerable witnesses of the papacy.

of Christianity, the Roman bishops of the time of the martyrs.

### **VIKTOR II. U1'4D STEPHAN IX, THE LAST GERMAN PXPSTE GOVERNING SINCE ÜLEMEN II**

After Leo's death on iq. April io54, a Roman delegation led by Subdeacon Hildebrand appointed a new pope. There were lengthy debates, then in November ioJ in Mainz the monarch opted for his imperial chancellor Gebhard von Eichstätt, Count von Dollenstein-Hirschberg. The bishop, who had hesitated for almost half a year before accepting the nomination, was once again a relative of the royal family and the last of the four German popes appointed by Henry, a man of great influence on the regent, from whom he had received, for example, the refusal of military aid for Leo's North.

manenkrieg - 53 achieved. Although above all an outspoken politician, Henry was soon appointed Hetzog of Spoleto and Graecia.

fen of Fermo, Victor II (io55-- i7) continued the policy of reform. He enforced the ban on priestly marriage and the purchase of offices and fired six bishops for simony in the province of Lyon alone. However, he also endeavored to enlarge the Papal States with the help of the emperor, but also enforced restitutions on his own authority.

Together with the ruler, he fought his old ruler Gottfried the Bearded of Lorraine, who in the meantime Beatrix, the widow of the io5z murdered (p. i93) Margrave Bonifaz of Tuscany. Gottfried was expelled and his wife taken prisoner. But no sooner had the emperor returned in the fall of io56,

When a famine struck large parts of the population at Bodfeld, Victor was reconciled with Gottfried, who regained Lower Lorraine and Tuscany and, as the most powerful man in the empire, was now to protect and support the pope. However, Victor had already left on x8. **July** io57 -u Arezzo from a fever,

After being entrusted by the dying emperor with the care of his five-year-old son Henry, he secured his succession to the throne in Aachen with considerable skill, as well as the appointment of his mother Agnes as regent of the realm."

The empress dowager took over the guardianship of Henry (IV), but as regent she was completely under the influence of clerical advisors, especially Bishop Henry of Augsburg. Gradually, the German episcopate went into opposition to the apolitical Frati, and the Roman clergy took advantage of the situation.

Victor was succeeded by Frederick of Lorraine, who called himself Stephen IX (1057-1078) and owed much to his predecessor, who had only recently made him a cardinal priest and abbot of Monte Cacsino (after the incumbent Abbot had been forced to resign). Frederick, the youngest son of Duke Gozelo 1st of Lorraine, owed his papacy even more to the extraordinary power of his brother, Duke Gottfried the Bearded of Lorraine, Margrave of Tuscany, who was indeed the most powerful in the empire after Henry III's death (although he, too, was spiritually oppressed, as he believed he had to atone for a terrible sin).

So Stephen, who had become pope without consulting the German court, albeit with the belated consent of the disgruntled Imperial Regent, felt very indebted to his ducal brother and immediately ceded to him the administration of the Principality of Spoleto and the Margraviate of Ancona. In fact, he began thinking about eliminating the central German power in Italy, crowning Gottfried emperor and enlarging the Papal States, for which, according to a rumor, he was to use the money from his former monastery. He allegedly had the entire gold and silver treasure of the monastery brought to him in order to use it politically and militarily in a war against the Normans in the spring of 1088. He detested them, having once stood defeated at Civitate on Leo IX's 5th side and now wanted to extend the "Patrimonium Saricti Petri" southwards in a genuinely apostolic manner and with fraternal help. However, before he could even reach the already prepared

After a pontificate of barely eight months, Stephen IX, already feverish for some time - as the last of the reigning deurrch popes of *Seir* Clemens II - departed on March 9 *in Florence, in the house of his brother, Duke Gottfried*. March in Florence, in the house of his brother, Duke Gottfried, as Lampert von Hersfeld hoped, -from this valley of tears over to the delights of the angels-; it was rumored: by poison. And soon there were miracles at his grave in Florence Cathedral, the news of which spread as far as the Alps."

**BENEDICT X, NIKOLAU II.  
AND THE NEW ÜAPSTWAHLDEKRET**

In Rome, the aristocracy now seized power, above all the Tusculans, this time even in alliance with the Crescentians: two houses that wanted to regain their lost positions in the city and the church. They occupied Rome at night and, supported by all forces hostile to reform, including the Simonist clergy and the married clergy, they made the Cardinal Bishop of St. John the Baptist on April y. On April y, the Cardinal Bishop John of Velletri, a nephew of Benedict IX, was arrested under the name of Benedict X. (ioy8-ro5q) as Pope; again, of course, entirely without the knowledge and will of the German government, but not without bribing the people. Palaces and churches were plundered, the gold and silver chalices of St. Peter were stolen, money was allegedly distributed in every nook and cranny, and most of the reform-minded cardinals left Rome with the most terrible curses.

Benedict X, irregularly and invalidly consecrated, soon began to reign, issued (still preserved) bulls to Germany and England and was also considered a regular pope. However, in December in Siena, the reformers who had been fled from Rome, under the decisive influence of Hildebrand, opposed his candidate, Nicholas II (io 8-io6i), who was also regular. His name was Gerhard and he had previously been bishop of Florence, where the last pope

Born in Lorraine or in French Burgundy, he was the product of an illegitimate or even adulterous union and, as a confidant of Duke Gottfried, apparently owed his appointment in no small part to him. Both advanced on Rome with army power and were still in Sutri,

excommunicate and curse Pope Benedict X at a synod in January - 1099, in the presence of the Imperial Chancellor Wibert."

In the meantime, Hildebrand had stirred up the rebellion in Rome against Benedict, who had initially appeared unchallenged for months. However, Hildebrand managed to win over some of his supporters and did not lack for bribery. Leo, the son of the purchased Jew Baruch-Benedikt, distributed money for Hildebrand. And just where Leo lived, on the other side of the Tiber, the uprising against Benedict X began even before Gottfried's army of five hundred horsemen approached. The street battles lasted several days, and while Gottfried's troops finally stormed the Lateran, Benedict fled via Passarano, a Crescentian fort, to a castle belonging to the Count of Galeria, probably another Tusculan or at least related to them, his special patron.

Hildebrand, however, hurried to Campania and negotiated in the name of the pope with the Normans. He recognized Richard as Prince of Capua by treaty, and the latter swore allegiance to the Roman Church, to Nicholas II, and immediately sent three counts and three hundred horsemen with Hildebrand against Rome's nobility. Together with the papal troops, they stormed the castles in the surrounding area, plundering and burning them, killing many on both sides.

After his rival's escape, Nicholas II, who was entirely dependent on Hildebrand, had already entered Rome on January 4, 1099, acclaimed by the people he had bought. However, as he was irregular, contrary to

Having become pope in accordance with tradition - outside Rome, without the clergy and people of the city, through a group of people who were not yet privileged - he assembled the Lateran Synod of 13 April to consolidate his position. April,



ii3 almost all Italian prelates and immediately issued a new papal election decree. Benedict's election was therefore illegitimate, while his own, equally illegitimate, election was legitimate.

The Bishop of Rome, like all other bishops, was originally elected by the clergy and laity, although the people's right to vote, which was initially genuine, was gradually virtually eliminated by mere acclamation.

Christian emperors and Germanic princes have been influencing the occupation of prelate chairs since the 4th century. From the 7th century, the Roman city aristocracy had a strong influence on the local election of bishops. Anno 82 demanded Lothar I's *Constitutio Romana* (V 66) required every -electus-, every pope to be consecrated, to first swear allegiance to the emperor in the presence of the imperial envoy; this means that the ruler's confirmation of the papal election was again required, and Pope John IX expressly approved this in 898.

The famous decree of the second Nicholas, obviously inspired by Hildebrand, restricted the right to vote, in deliberate contrast to the designations, *de facto* appointments of emperors.

Henry III (1024\*), to the cardinal bishops, who were now to give the final word in the elevation of a pope and finally claim and receive the rank of born princes!

Thus, as so often in church history, the original situation was exactly reversed. For while in the old church the people and clergy elected the bishops, but the bishops themselves could only confirm the legitimacy of the election, now the cardinals, or more precisely cardinal bishops, were given the sole right to vote, while the people and the rest of the clergy no longer had a say. And just as the congregation was sidelined, or rather sidelined, so too was the emperor, who, according to an apparently deliberately vague clause that could be interpreted in different ways by each party in its own interests, was only allowed to confirm the election by the cardinals, only to recognize it; who was merely given a kind of right of consensus or right of honour, so to speak - "without prejudice", as it is said more badly than rightly, "to the reverence owed and promised to our beloved son

Henry, the present king".

and, God willing, future emperors, as against his successors who would have received this right personally from the Papal See." The decree resulted in terrible threats of punishment from heaven and earth against its violators. There was great bitterness in Germany, Emperor Henry III had insisted on the right to appoint the Pope; not a word could be read about it. And never before had a Roman bishop been so elected as this one, who appeared at the church assembly of the time - which for the first time issued a ban on lay investiture, i.e. prohibited priests from acquiring churches from laymen - with a double crown, on the hoop of which was inscribed "royal crown of Cotte's grace" and on the top "imperial crown of Peter's hand". The pope thus placed himself on an equal footing with the emperor, even if the origin of this head covering is uncertain, the tiara, like papal power, being a

It underwent a long development and only reached its final form in the fourth century under Clement VI: three crowns and all three equally spaced - almost carnival prince-like.

The electoral decree was an innovation and was primarily intended to lend an immediate appearance of legality to the pope's recent elevation. It was later disregarded and even branded illegal. "None of the following -reform popes' were elected according to this provision" (Schwaiger). However, the illegal election of Nicholas was thus given the appearance of being legal.

When Cardinal Stephan, a confidant of Hildebrand, traveled to the German court not long after the synod, he was kept waiting there for five days and then sent back without even seeing Henry IV. He brought the papal letter back to Rome under seal. A serious snub, but one that was far more connected to a radical change in curial strategy."

For Nicholas II, who initially also had Benedict X, who was still held in high esteem by the nobility, help from beyond the Alps had become increasingly uncertain and no support could be expected from the immature Henry IV. Thus

the Holy See is looking for new competitors in the general eating and being eaten. And since expediency usually determines the behavior of people in general, but that of the clergy in particular, since the principle of utility (fructus\* utilitas) is de facto paramount for them, a significant change, a complete turnaround in Roman politics now began.

### N@omus II COLLABORATED WITH THE NORMAN'S

The Normans had been pouring into Lower Italy since 1016, without being banned by the German rulers. On the contrary, Conrad II and Henry III enfeoffed them with Aversa and Apulia. The church, however, soon fought them, cursed them and tried to destroy them by all means. They were called Agareni, equated with the Arab robbers, the enemies of God\* who ravaged Italy for centuries. Like them, the Normans respected neither church and monastery property nor that of the Pope. They robbed Monte Cassino and occupied Benevento. They had become ever more powerful, had become masters of further cities and territories since Leo IX's debacle, who had wanted to expel and exterminate them, had conquered Capua and Troy, and had occupied most of Apulia and Calabria. Nicholas could not destroy the Normans. They were too strong for that, and the papacy's previous allies against the Normans, the German and Greek dynasties, were not strong enough at the time.

Certainly, Richard of Aversa and Robert Guiscard, the victors of Civitate, were little more than up-and-coming cattle thieves, bushwhackers, bush knights and gang leaders. But wasn't that the genesis of the whole noble species? Didn't almost everything that had already risen, or was still to rise, steal, rob and kill its way up? In any case, the Normans had the best troops. And fittingly, they were joined by their wild

The German Catholic Church, in its current form, was a thoroughly submissive ecclesiasticism, including the obligation to pay an annual tribute to the popes or their messengers at Easter for all land owned by St. Peter. So the Roman church, in whose banti- ray they still stood, now placed them in their service, the pope renounced German Caesarism, as it were, and - a world-historical decision - simply went over to these disreputable neighbors on the lead rope of Hildebrand, who had his sights set on the future, sensed the coming dynasts and Rome's great victory.

In August 1094, at a synod in Melfi, the capital of Norman Apulia, Nicholas II made the previously cursed invaders his vassals, his new warriors. The Pope now enfeoffed - sovereignly respecting the rights of the robbed (the robbed former robbers!) - the new robbers, the descendants of Tankred Hauteville, the small noble family from the Cotentin in Normandy and others, with their Italian conquests. He enfeoffed Richard of Aversa with the principality of Capua; and Robert Guiscard, the Apulian count and successor to his brother Humfred (d. - 57), whose sons he brutally ousted, Nicholas, who had previously He was also banned as a robber of church property, with territories that were not under his control, the Pope, but under the control of the Greek, the German ruler, with the duchies of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, which had been in Muslim hands for at least two centuries and had yet to be conquered - with the help of God and St. Peter, as the story goes<sup>8</sup>. Now the papacy, as greedy as it always was for land, as greedy as it was for territories, was always generous in giving away areas that did not belong to it, especially those completely outside its reach. Probably the most famous example: Alexander VI, this celibate and family man, so rich in children, so fond of children, so vital to incest, once recognized the entire New World ("omnes insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas, detectas et detegendas ...") without further ado in his bull *Inter coetera* of 1493, to the Catholic Hispanics.

In Melfi, however, Mom even gave the Normans, with the exception of Benevento, all the papal possessions they had stolen. According to the Catholic church historians Seppelt/Schwai-ger, these allocations by Nicholas II were "contrary to all imperial law". For none of what the pope and Hildebrand gave away here with full hands, such as Capua, Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, was Roman property - no wonder, given that their legate was rebuffed at the German court at the time (p. zio).

The two Norman princes, however, had gained a great deal; moreover, they were legitimized by the Pope, they received a •Legal title", which protected them from subjects, rivals and envious parties. So they now swore to Nicholas II: "I will do my utmost to assist the Holy Roman Church and you against all men to keep and acquire the regalia and possessions of St. Peter, and I will support you in keeping the papacy safe and honorable.

Both thus promised him and every duly elected pope military aid, military service like the vassals of a prince; whereby, of course, every major manslaughter was given a certain "Crusade character, so as not to confuse them with the usual butcheries of secular rulers. For the future, there was also a special obligation to help elect the pope. And the Norman Oath, doesn't it blatantly show what it was all about? To reform\* To gain land after all. Military power. For the "Principality of St. Peter".

And as much as the Norman gained, the Pope, who apparently invoked the "Donation of Constantine" in this grandiose transaction, gained more. Hildebrand's coup had made him master of the larger half of Italy in one fell swoop; not only master of new and extremely powerful Norman princes, but also master of the lower Italian and Sicilian bishops again."

The huge maneuver pays off immediately. Because still in this year, the year of the momentous turnaround, in the summer of

1054, Nicholas II and Hildebrand once again lead a "crusade" against Benedict X. The area around Rome is cleansed and the castles of the Roman nobility are stormed. Nicholas himself besieged his opponent Benedict in the fortress of Galeria, burned it down, plundered it, and after the submission of his protector, Count Gerard, who had been banished by several popes with terrible curses, the antipope also submitted and resigned. From the walls of the castle, in front of which Nicholas lay with his warriors, Benedict is said to have scolded the Romans, accusing them of having made him pope against his will. And since he was denied his bishopric of Velletri, he withdrew to Rome to a house belonging to his mother near St. Maria Maggiore, but only after three Roman nobles had sworn him security for his person and possessions and against evil deception.

Nevertheless, it was no use. Deception soon followed in the form of Hildebrand. Just one month later, the Cardinal sent soldiers and put Benedict under lock and key. Hildebrand was then promoted to the rank of archdeacon of the Roman church and was assigned the rich abbey of St. Paul outside Rome's walls to satisfy his needs and to furnish his position.

However, the disenfranchised antipope was put on trial. At the Easter Synod of 1060, he was forced to confess to every conceivable offense and was formally deposed once again with considerable drama. It did not help that he claimed that the high office had been forced upon him. Before the victorious concurrent, his papal robes were torn off piece by piece. Then he was made to read out a written confession of guilt at the feet of Nicholas in a degrading posture, a mendacious list so full of atrocious sins and crimes that he was only able to do so after straining and in tears, while his mother, surrounded by lamenting relatives, tore his hair and mangled his face, and Hildebrand sneered: "Listen, you citizens of Rome, to the deeds of your pope whom you have chosen.- The synod banished him for life to the monastery of St. Agnese near Rom, where he was

cruelly harassed him until he died. After 1077\*, however, Gregor VII, the very Hildebrand who had imprisoned him, gave him *Eastern honors!*

Of course, Nicholas II was soon dethroned, excommunicated and all his measures declared null and void. But before he could actually be removed, he died suddenly on July 1061 in his episcopal city of Florence. He was said to have little gifts, indeed his opponents accused him of ignorance, recklessness and a wild life."

And then a new church split emerged.

### THE CxDALUS-SCHISM BEGINS

Hildebrand had chosen Anselm of Lucca as the next pope, to whose episcopal see he traveled. And at the same time he brought in the Norman Richard, whether or not he was bribed again, as his opponents say, at any rate the mastermind was quicker than the German side, the Norman rode back to Rome and raged with the sword. For Hildebrand and his entourage, almost all the Roman cardinals, hastened to raise their man. The enthronement was initially delayed as the Romans moved the route. But in the night of October 1, the invaders took the church of St. Peter ad Vincula in a tumultuous coup d'état, the Norman count, still "girded with a bloody sword" (Hauck), brought the chosen one to his destination, and the solemn ceremony was "with hands stained with blood from the battle ..." (Meyer von Knonau). And soon the new Pope Alexander II, who was completely dominated by Hildebrand, exhorted him to "be a man of the world".

(1061-71) the believers to turn away from worldly things and towards heaven; and professed certain

as a spiritual government program: "in the time of our ministry, the holy chastity of the clergy will be increased and the opulence of the unrestrained will be crushed with the other heresies."



Yes, everything would be fine and would have been fine without the activities of the evil enemy. Under pressure from the Roman nobility, the Lombard imperial bishops and Chancellor Tibert, the German court (under the regency of Empress Agnes) allowed Cadalus of Parma, the former chancellor, to be married in Basel on October 8. October in Basel, Cadalus of Parma, the former chancellor

Henry III, as Honorius 11th (\* \*-\* 4) - Pope, expressly recognizing the election of the bishop four weeks earlier. of Lucca.

Honorius came from a wealthy Veronese family, had already founded the monastery of San Giorgio in Braida at4 on the Adige, just opposite Verona, and was richly endowed with inheritance. The reform party, however, loved to call the Pope a deadly poison, the devil's herald, -the apostle of the Antichrist", -food for hell", -the stinking dung of men--, "the beast of Parma" etc. As late as the iq. In Donin's multi-volume, ecclesiastically imprinted reading edition, he was still "blessed", as the Lexikon für Theolo- gie und Kirche praises him, but - making no claim to scientific thoroughness - the - AkerpapSt Honorius". He was accused of simonistic heresy and great bloodshed, the armed usurpation of the papacy. And basically accused Alexei II of the same. After all, he had only been made pope in the night with the help of Norman soldiers through bribery and bloody fighting and without cooling his heels with the German court."

Honorius II moved to Italy in the spring of 1062 and, supported by the Lombard episcopate with money and troops, appeared before Rome in March. -After you, " sneered Petrus Damiani, -You draw a camp that is armed with gold rather than iron, and so the coins are brought out of the compartments rather than the swords being swung out of the scabbards." The swords were obviously more to the liking of the holy Doctor of the Church. "According to the common saying, you break through the iron wall with a golden fist."

But the situation in Rome was basically no different. The baptized Jew Leo again agitated for Hildebrand, the or-

ganizer of the whole thing. They had armed themselves, recruited warriors, and on April 4, the second Sunday after the Resurrection of the Lord, Hildebrand set out with supposedly a thousand men. The army of Pope I-ionorius invaded the city of Leost with his army. Hundreds of corpses already covered the Neronian field (between Castel Sant'Angelo and the Vatican), and many were floating in the Tiber. Honorius conquered the &terskirche, but not the Wteran despite fierce punitive battles, as Hildebrand had mobilized new warriors with new funds."

In addition, Cadalus' further advance was halted by a subsequent serious event in Germany.

### **ST. NNO AND HIS COUP D'ÉTAT OF KAI SERSWERTH**

After the death of Henry III, his widow, the Empress Agnes, initially ruled for the still underage but already crowned Henry IV. On the one hand, she continued the late monarch's measures of centralization directed against the high aristocracy; on the other, she wanted to bind leading princes to the central power by awarding duchies; both in succession. As usual in transitional phases and under weak governments, secular and intellectual circles capitalized on this, or at least tried to, and Agnes found herself in the wake of her advisors. According to Lampert von Hersfeld, this particularly included Bishop Henry of Augsburg, with whom the widow cooperated very closely.

"That's why she-, reports the anti-royal monk

The suspicion of lewd love could not escape her, for rumor had it that such an intimate relationship could not have grown up without indecent intercourse."

There were uprisings in Saxony, Swabia and on the Lower Rhine, and revolts by the Frisians and the Liutizi. Important positions of the

crown were lost. Last but not least, the clergy sought more power and privileges. Although the German Pope Victor II, the former Bishop Gebhard of Eichstätt, had asked Henry III, who was still dying in front of the assembled court, to support his son, he loyally stood by the regent and brought about a reconciliation with Gottfried of Lorraine, Henry's staunchest opponent (p. 20 f.). But then relations with the papacy deteriorated and his successors were elevated without the cooperation of the imperial government. Stephen IX, backed by the immense power of his ducal brother, did not announce his investiture in Germany for months, Nicholas II sought and found the support of the Normans and issued his anti-imperial electoral decree. Finally, Agnes' regency was ended by the coup d'état of the ambitious, property- and territory-hungry metropolitan of Cologne.

This veritable saint, Archbishop Anno II (1076-1154), possessed, as Lampert von Hersfeld praises, "every kind of virtue in the richest measure", "deep piety", "great generosity", "great clemency" etc.; for modern church historians he is still the pious, the human-friendly prince of the church (Schreiber, Fleckenstein).

And in reality!

Like uncalled popes and bishops, St. Anno also pursued obligatory family politics to strengthen his influence. His nephew Burchard, a sister's son, had 1076 become bishop of Halberstadt (and remained so until he died in 1108). In Magdeburg, Anno 1113 was able to have his brother Werner elected archbishop, where he remained for fifteen years. However, Anno's attempt in 1066 to obtain the Trier archbishopric for his nephew Kuno after the Cologne cathedral see failed. The diocesans of Trier, led by the bailiff of the Trier church, Count Dietrich, toppled Kuno from a rock during his enthronement near Bitburg, robbed him of his rich treasures - and soon miracles took place at the grave of the martyr, who was the patron saint of Tholey Abbey and, like his uncle, a saint.

The Steußlingers, from whom the lords descended, and the lines related to them provided no less than three bishops and three archbishops in just under eighty years.

It was no coincidence that Chief Shepherd Anno, who had particularly revered the patron saint of knights and horsemen, the dragon slayer George, since his time in Bamberg, was also a member of the Bamberg Brotherhood of St. George. He fought with the Abbot of Stablo over the possession of Malmedy. He fought with Count Palatine Henry, whom he captured when he set out to reconquer his former position in the Archbishopric of Cologne, and made him a monk in Gorze Monastery around 1039. When the Count Palatine broke out of the monastery and attacked Anno again, he locked him up in Cochem Castle and had him bound and imprisoned in Echternach Abbey."

The people of Cologne hated their shepherd and saint so much that they rose up against him - a remarkable early mutiny by German townspeople. ("Nevertheless," consoles the latest edition of the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, "descriptions of his life ... a sacred memory". And at least an official canonization!)

Anno had celebrated Easter with Friedrich von Münster in Cologne and wanted to provide his colleague with a suitable cat ship for the return journey. This was probably against every right, violating an "ancient merchant's privilege" (Steh- kämpfer). Emperor Louis the Pious had already ordered this, -not to take away their ships for our use. The archbishop's servants, however, seized a vessel, an already loaded one at that, and had it unloaded. But now the shipowner's son, who had been summoned, fought back, repulsed Anno's men and the town bailiff who had rushed over, and finally the entire citizenry rebelled, with many, such as Lampen von Hersfeld, - seeing the instigator of this rage, the devil himself, running before the frenzied people, helmeted and armored, with a fiery sword ...-. Anno's dioceses, "the vessels of the devil-, demolished and plundered his pa-

The enemy, the chapel, smashed -all worship equipment with zealous, no, slaving thoroughness", even attacking the enbishop himself with a -cloud of bullets". He hid in the cathedral, in the "Church of St. Peter", and was then able to leave the city in disguise at night through a hole in the wall, with four horses under his body for himself and his companions.

While the people of Cologne are calling for help from the king, their saint is already approaching with an army that wants to "lead him back to his episcopal see over piles of slain men" if necessary. But the citizens plead for peace, and Anno promises forgiveness on the condition of sincere repentance, but after a solemn high office, he makes everyone crawl before him barefoot and in penitential robes and announces an atonement for the next day - for the monstrous crime in accordance with canonical regulations. During the night, more than six hundred merchants flee, the bishop's soldiers plunder the houses of the culprits, put down resisters or put them in chains. Anno, the man of admirable holiness (Vita Bennonis), has some of them sheared, scourged, mutilated, blinded - "arbitrary acts of revenge" (His) - and all of them punished with severe financial penalties. In addition, the people must swear to defend him against everyone and always regard the fugitives as their worst enemies until they have satisfied the archbishop. -Thus the city, writes Lampen, was almost completely deserted ... "

The Archbishop Udo of Trier, however, asked Anno - flehentlich- to make his ban against the rebellious people of Cologne, the -verun- reinip;the rebellious Cologne flock, so that they would not be defiled by the leprosy in the excommunicated, but that you would chase these people away from your borders and drive them away, so that the speech of those who creep like cancer would not move your own, so that they would be pleased to do something of this kind against you.-

How fitting that Gregory VII of all people, yet another saint, assured St. Anno just a few months later,

Of all the churches in the German Empire, the Church of Cologne was certainly "the dearest daughter" (*diilcissima*)

Of course, in view of his death, the noble Anno then gave back to all those he had expelled "not only the ecclesiastical communion, but also, if it is true, all the goods he had taken from them" (*benignissime restituit*). Anno was, as lamps also report, a man who - the glorious double gift and grace of this clerical species - went about his business during the day more successfully than any of Cologne's bishops since the city was founded, "but devoted the whole night to the service", indeed, "preached the word of God so impressively, so gloriously", -that his sermon seemed to be able to remove tears from even the hearts of stone . . .".

The Brutalist had been close to the reformers for years. He opened his monasteries to them from Cologne to Saalfeld; Siegburg in particular, which soon spread miracle stories about him, radiated the -reform- far and wide. And presumably in Siegburg, where even today - no-one cites! - Anno's relics -in the precious Anno shrine- in the parish church, a clergyman around 1080/1081 also recorded the Middle High German -*Annolied*-, which at least describes the end of his life as an "*imitatio Christi*-, probably to promote his canonization: As a lion he sat before princes, as a lamb he walked among the poor.- And around the same time, the *Vita Annonis* shows the dying shepherd faithfully anxious for his bishop's seat until the end: "Holy Mary! Help quickly the servants, help quickly Cologne, help quickly the city that will soon perish." Still in the 12th century. However, the people accused Anno of robbery, injustice, and declared his alleged power and holiness to be "*figmenta*" and "*falsa*-. Rome hesitated a little with the canonization because of the complicated political situation (*Beisse*1). But the memories of the actual Anno were gradually suppressed, all disturbing, burdensome

stendend, embarrassing results were suppressed, but the legends were cultivated all the more. After repeated insistence by Abbot Gerhard von Siegburg, he was canonized in 1083 by Pope Lucius III, the initiator of the Inquisition (p.54\* f.). He was,

--Like no one before him, the possessor of rights and possessions of the Cologne church" (Steinbach), although his  
 -Ultimately, his "episcopal monastery policy" only served to "strengthen his own power and expand female rule" (Erkens). Like countless prelates, he not only indulged in unscrupulous nepotism, but also a no less unscrupulous acquisition policy (he acquired three monasteries in 1067 alone) in the interests of his diocese and his family, generously squandering imperial rights and estates on ecclesiastical and secular greats.

However, he was able to do this not least thanks to his Kaiserswerth state strike.

The Metropolitan of Cologne, the leading bishop of the empire alongside Adalbert of Bremen, had invited the empress to the island of Kaiserswerth on the Rhine at Easter in early April 1067 and then insidiously persuaded the eleven-year-old Henry IV to visit a ship in order to abduct him. The young king, realizing the archbishop's intention, threw himself headlong into the strong current and would have drowned had not one of the henchmen, Count Ekbert of Brunswick, saved him at the risk of his own life. However, the abduction to Cologne, including the imperial insignia, the cross, the Holy Lance, etc., succeeded, and Cardinal Hildebrand enthusiastically congratulated the episcopal kidnapper, just as Cardinal and Doctor of the Church Peter Damiani had nothing but praise for it, while the empress, without any attempt at punishment, allowed herself to be robbed of her power, took the veil and later went to an Italian convent.

After his initiation, his coming of age, Henry IV would have loved to hunt down the rogue shepherd with "fire and sword"; and he never forgave his deceitful behavior, which left him with a deep mistrust throughout his life. For the time being

Of course, Anno was the real lord of the empire; "certainly not an unworthy bishop", writes Albert Hauck, but, according to the same page: proud, domineering, splendid-loving, favoring friends and relatives in the most unobjectionable way, not without violations of the law and irreconcilable hatred, yes: his life -was a mistake - nevertheless: not unworthy, one of our "great men". (If even outstanding historians forget their intellect, because Hauck is serious about this, the historiography of the majority of Zunh can hardly be alienating; although historiography - unfortunately an almost utopian postulate - should be more than a matter of intellect, a manifestation of intellectual honesty and not pseudo-scientific ass-kissing)."

However, St. Anno, who had effectively taken over the leadership of the empire through the coup d'état of the emperor, came to terms with the cardinals in Rome - another serious loss of power for the Salians.

### THE END OF THE C nALUS SCHISM

After all the bloody clashes between the warriors of two Holy Fathers, a truce was reached there. Duke Gottfried was able to persuade the popes to evacuate the city. Alexander returned to Lucca, Cadalus, who seemed to have run out of money, returned to Parma to await the decision of the German court, where both continued to operate. Peter Da- mñani, however, insulted Cadalus again, apostrophizing him as a "lying bishop", as a "Vesuvius spewing forth the flames of hell" and heaped the most atrocious curses on his head in a very Christian manner: "O that thou hadst not been born, or that thou wouldst soon fall ..." (Here, in the Fathers of the Church, in Christians from the New Testament onwards (I -4i ff!), one can learn - and study this! - what Hafi is. Nowhere is there worse. Nowhere is it so common. And nowhere is it so



hypocrites!) But even the bishop who had enthroned Alexander II, allegedly following the force, declared that he had seized the apostolic see by bribing the Normans like a thief and robber who had entered ...

Under Anno's influence, the German episcopate now turned to Alexander, another villainous act by the saint. For although judgment had been withheld at the Synod of Augsburg at the end of October 1062, Bishop Burchard of Halberstadt, Anno's nephew, who had been sent to Rome, recognized Alexander II in the same year in the name of the German king they had betrayed, which settled the Cadalus schism in Alexander's favour. In return, Burchard promptly received the pallium as well as other privileges, a vesting cross, riding regalia and mitre, and St. Anno was appointed Archchancellor of the Roman Church. In addition, the German bishops had probably also been bribed with gold.

On so. April 1063 his rival Cadalus in the Lateran Basilica in front of more than a hundred prelates with the ban. fliich for simony, multiple mutilations and murders. Cadalus then banned Alexander before an assembly of bishops and clergy in Parma. He, Honorius, was the shepherd rightly appointed by the king, while his opponent was only chosen by the Normans, the enemies of the empire, with wolfish deceit and after the manner of thieves. And, supported above all by numerous Italian bishops, he threw himself at Rome again, first overcoming the obstacles placed in front of him on mountains and in forests, gathering more troops on the outskirts of the capital, buying off the counts, and a second city war broke out. During the night, Honorius conquered St. Peter's and took up residence in Castel Sant'Angelo, while Alexander and his Normans defended the Lateran. And after Hildebrand had prayed, as it was said, for three days, he drove the Normans to attack the - Parmenians-, the troops of Cadalus.

They were on a par with each other, murdering and robbing, scattering plenty of money and plunder among the butchers, horses, armor, furs, valuables. The streets raged for more than a year.

battles. The pagan art, which had been in ruins for over a century and had been transformed by the Christian cultural pioneers into towers, bridge weirs and small pesfungen, *was* of particular benefit to the Catholic dialog, while both popes bribed lavishly, prayed, sang masses and cursed each other many times and solemnly, with the clergy on each side also intervening helpfully.

Despite all their murderous efforts, no progress was made. So even Alexander agreed to let an imperial council decide. But Honorius left the Lombard army because his money had deserted him, while Alexander had the seemingly inexhaustible resources of the Jewish new Christian Leo at his disposal. Still fleeced by his protectors, Honorius, whose position in the castle of Engelsburg was beginning to resemble imprisonment, left after receiving 300 pounds of silver at the beginning of 106q, disguised as a pilgrim. His opponent may have been disappointed enough, as he had hoped, in true Christian fashion, "by the mercy of God", that Cadalus "could not escape from there in any way but until he had made just recompense for all that he had presumed by his unworthiness against St. Peter ...".

He himself, Alexander, was recognized as pope in MH Z 4 << -a synod in Mantua, at which he presided and, in the popular procedure, cleared himself on oath of the accusation of simony and other charges, Honorius II was once again recognized as - Ket-cursed". A final raid that he unexpectedly made on Mantua at that time, breaking into the church with great fanfare and shouting that Alexander was a heretic, narrowly failed.

So Cadalus withdrew to his diocese and continued to serve God the Lord as bishop of Parma, saying masses, ordaining priests, sending out letters, all "according to the custom of the apostolic see" (more sedis apostolicae: Lampert), while the victorious Alexander now reigned undisputedly as pope. And much now changes again more majorum the

Front, like that Hugo, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, once brought to Rome by St. Leo IX of Lorraine, who first passed from Alexander II to Cadalus, then from Cadalus back to Alexander, whereupon he worked as his legate in Spain and France, is said to have been openly convicted of simony by the monks of Cluny and various bishops, but apparently without any consequences."

Alexander II, however, was born in southern Italy, Sicily, Spain and active in England.

### **PRELUDES TO THE CRUSADES IN SICILY AND PANIA**

In the year 1064, the pope took the Norman William of Montreuil, son-in-law of Richard of Capua, into service as a vassal. He apparently had to defend the entire south of the Papal States, carrying the vexillum sancti Petri, the flag of St. Peter that was emerging at the time. Hildebrand was often instrumental in the use of this symbol, to which the popes soon attributed a more religious, more legal or more political meaning, depending on their needs, although perhaps not exactly its creator. In any case, it gave the papal wars a special consecration from then on, as well as a crusading character."

The attack on Sicily, which began in 1060/1061, arose from the expansionism of the Normans and the papacy, but was dressed up in religious terms. Robert Guiscard shouted to his knights that it was about liberating the Christians from Saracen bondage. He wanted to release them from their yoke and avenge the insult inflicted on God.

According to Amatus of Monte Cassino, the historian of the Normans born around 1010 in Salerno (for a time bishop of Capaccio-Paestum), the Normans had come to Italy primarily because of the Sicilian War. And the Normans

Chroniclers portray the war as a crusade from the outset, as it was also waged as a crusade, more so than any previous pagan war. - We hear repeatedly that the warriors confessed and communicated before the battle, that the leaders' speeches were largely religious, that the spoils were offered to the church after the victory or that churches were immediately built or solemn masses held in the conquered places (Erdmann).

At the Battle of Cerami (1038), St. George, the later patron saint of the crusaders, appeared for the first time on a white horse, a white flag with the cross in his hand. And after the battle, Roger I of Sicily, a son of Tankred of Hauteville, sent some of the spoils, including four camels, to Alexander II. The pope then granted absolution to his soldiers, sent them a consecrated flag and encouraged them to fight the Saracens with confidence in St. Peter.

The Sicilian War was unquestionably fought for the Curia, indeed on its orders. The Normans, who sometimes fought each other in bloodshed, almost completely conquered Sicily through Robert Guiscard and his brother and vassal Roger Sicilieri, thus making the Pope their feudal lord.

made "superior owner of the land" (Haller). 1061 fell Messina, whereupon Robert declared that from here he could sell all the heathens.

drive. - 7- he also took Palermo. According to Amatus, the number of Saracens killed and sold into slavery was beyond comprehension. And when, after "complete säu-

When Robert Guiscard celebrated a solemn mass in the cathedral, one believed to perceive supernatural splendor and choirs of angels. 1061 fell Noto. But before that, Robert Guiscard himself had fallen in 1085 while realizing his last goal, a war against Byzantium, which was nevertheless entirely Christian.

Roger, Great Count of Sicily and Count of Calabria, who even had Muslim auxiliaries and a Muslim commander when he liberated the island from the Muslims - like

nine centuries later, the fascist Franco led his Christian crusade with Muslim Moors (who castrated their victims) - Roger promoted clergy and monasteries in Sicily, awarded bishoprics to priests close to him and built "a network of ecclesiastical bulwarks on the borders" (Tramontana).

War and church were inextricably linked. Mari profited from this, land was gained, horige won, camels gained, such and such. In the battles around Palermo, the Pisans hauled away their booty on six large ships stolen from the harbor and used it to start building their thorn in honor of the holy Virgin."

Also noteworthy in this context is the spania crusade of 1144, the capture of Barbastro.

A Muslim Spain had formed on the Pyrenees peninsula (SR 704 (IV 30j f.)). The North African Moors, summoned by parts of the Christian Visigoths in disputes over the throne and supported in the decisive battle, had been in power since their

Landing 711 - soon conquered almost all of Spain, initially founded an emirate dependent on Damascus, seir qzq the politically independent Caliphate of Cordoba, which, after its splintering in the 11th century, was annexed to the Christian Recon-

quista (42 ff.). However, the high level of administration in Moorish Spain, the cultural flourishing (of science, literature and architecture), the great Tolerance towards Christians (Mozarabians) and Jews, the social system aimed at reducing social tensions and, last but not least, an economic prosperity that the country has not experienced again until modern times" (Meyers Taschen-Lexikon Geschichte).

In the middle of the 11th century, the Spanish Christians increasingly attacked Islam, and in the early 12th century Ramiro 1st of Aragón and his son-in-law Count Ermengol III of Urgel launched the conquest of Barbastro, an important fortress city in Aragón (province of Huesca). The king fell, but the city was taken, although it was already lost again. When

On October 18, King Peter of Aragón, it had two mosques, a Mozarabic church and a synagogue,

However, troops from other countries also fought in the Spanish Crusade of 1066, above all considerable bands of knights from France and Burgundy, and the Arab chronicler Ibn-Chaijan even called the leader of the foreign crusaders in the raid around Barbastro "commander of the cavalry of Rome". Whatever this means, the pope had also helped to prepare this campaign, had not only sent Cardinal Hugo Candidus to Spain via southern France, when he was already preparing for the invasion there, perhaps as a kind of "crusade legate", but had also proclaimed a bull, the first papal decree known to us in its wording, for the participants in the bloody undertaking. Ergo, he waged the war as a holy war against the pagans in order to "subjugate them to the Christians", as Amatus of Monte Cassino writes. -And they invoked the help of God, so God was present to support those who asked him. So the believers were victorious in battle and a large part of the Saracens were killed; and they thanked God for the victory he gave to his people." (Vgi. p. 4g f.) Significantly, this was helped by a "peace of God", signed by the Catalan bishops and Princes who announced that they wanted to wage a war, which is why they, participants like Da- should keep peace with each other!"

One year later, in March 1067, King Henry IV was put to the sword, and the following year, at the age of 16, began the independent rule of a ruler whose life was probably more eventful and turbulent than that of any of his predecessors. And this was mainly due to the conflict with one of the most famous Piipste of his times.



J. KA FITEL

## HEINRICH IV (1063-1106) AND GREGOR VII { \* 1073-1103 }

-For the king's licentiousness had no **aim**, neither **his** reason, nor **his** increasing alchemy, nor the censure of any friend; he grew much worse from day to day, tore apart all ties of religious, not to say Christian, protection, and plunged headlong into every crime  
... - Lampri of Hersfeld'

-It is unheard of, and has been unheard of for centuries, that popes want to divide the kingdoms of nations so lightly that they shatter the dignity of kings ... through sudden homilies, the anointed of the Lord, as often as they like, put them in the status of landlords, order them to give up their fathers' farms, and punish them with a ban if they do not agree immediately.  
*Scholuscik es Wetirich from TrirN*

-But you say: "Of course I am fighting in defense of the Church of God, which is being devastated, attacked and confused everywhere. You must truly be answered that you yourself are kindling this fire; therefore, to extinguish it, you do not bring water, but multiple fires, incessantly holding the torch to the fire ... So why are you sitting on the chair of the Prince of Apostles, who instead of proclaiming the gospel holds the biblical sword in his hand to strike?  
The Ravennatian Just Petrus Crassus'

-However, novelties were undoubtedly introduced by those who gave permission to perjure themselves against the rules of the guardians, thereby shattering the bonds of unity and harmony, instigating riots, stirring up divisions, and giving the church and to the kingdom everywhere murder and fire, robbery and **sacrilege** and evil without number. So Hildebrund undoubtedly introduced these two heretical evils, which are hostile to Christian salvation.  
Bishop Widri of Osnshriick-



-Pope Hildebrand became entangled with many Christians, by causing a conflagration almost everywhere in the Roman Empire, so that King Henry would not claim the empire - Since then the Church has matured, and the bishoprics of the Church have also been divided, and all sorts of troubles have arisen; since then a severe and long-lasting war has spread ...  
Liber de unicare ecclesiae conservanda'

### RZG I RRUNGS BEGINNING HEINRICHS

Henry IV was born on 11. He was born on November 1060, probably in Goslar. **IOJ 3**, barely three years old, he was elected king after his father's death and was consecrated and crowned by Archbishop Hermann of Cologne in Aachen the following year. -Lampert von Hersfeld writes that the king's upbringing and the entire government lay in the hands of the bishops, among whom the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne were of paramount influence. The young king's behavior was said to have been reckless and unbridled, characterized by wild desires, if we may trust the sources, which also call him "of beautiful body and tall in stature".

When Henry was six years old, his father died. At the age of eleven, he was struck by the coup d'état at Kaiserswerth (p. Z\*7 -) At fifteen, when he girded his sword, he came of age under the old law At sixteen, he began to rule independently and married Bertha of Turin on 13. On July 1066, he married

Bertha of Turin, who had been betrothed to him in Zurich since 1057; at the age of nineteen, he demanded a divorce from the bishops. In contrast to many princes, Henry was honest enough to confess that he "could not accuse her of anything that would justify a divorce", but was "able to consummate the marriage with her"

(Lampert). Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz, bribed by tempting promises, also agreed, but Rome's legate Petrus Damiani opposed this at a Frankfurt synod in October 1066. An apparently complicated psyche and the disfigurements of his

The events of his early youth made his already anything but easy reign more difficult, during which the Church, reformed and strengthened under his father and predecessor, fought him, Henry III's son, to the death. For 'what the Germans had hitherto regarded as the most sublime thing, that their king was both king and priest, was now regarded by Rome as the most pernicious thing' (Hauck).

The young rex initially sought to vigorously stop the encroachments on crown estates and sovereign rights, a "formal plundering of the realm" (Epperlein), which had been forced by the high nobility during his mother's regency. It was first Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen, who became the young monarch's special confidant and, according to Lampen, -seemed to acquire almost sole rule in the joint government. Of course, he too had squandered colossal sums of money on favorites, had sold off bishoprics and abbeys for enormous sums of money and committed raids on monasteries with complete lack of restraint. Henry, faced by the princes with the alternative of dropping Bremer as his advisor and co-ruler or abdicating, abandoned Adalbert.

Presumably due to his selfish whispers, however, Henry consolidated his royal power in the Saxon-Thuringian region from the late 1060s onwards, with the Harz Mountains at the center. Through recuperation, the recovery of usurped crown lands, the expansion or new construction of palaces, imperial abbeys and castles, he created complexes of rulers directly subordinate to him, mainly through ministerials, most of whom came from Swabia.

This was a social group that had emerged since Conrad II, but was particularly promoted by Henry IV and gradually formed more and more, consisting of functionaries with important areas of service within politics, the economy, the military and the judiciary; it was a qualified, yet dependent circle of people who, however, did not pay any personal dues, had their own legal status, their own sense of status and were later often involved in the political, economic, military and judicial systems.

The rise of the royal ministeriality from the (lower) nobility, the knighthood, to the bourgeois ruling classes was a peculiarity of the German Empire and its western border region, an upwardly mobile group that played a formative and not entirely bloodless role in the society of the High Middle Ages, whereby the royal ministeriality stood out strongly from the ministerials of secular and spiritual princes.

The magnates feared that they would gradually be pushed back by the ministerials and deprived of their influence; they reviled them as "vilissimos homines", "riff-raff", "therefore-laissez-faire", "ear-blowers" and "have-nots" and formed the opposition.

-The king-, noted a monk of the monastery of Niederaltaich who was loyal to Henry, -had taken the mighty all in contempt, but he lifted up lowly people and did what was to be done according to their advice, while he seldom consulted any of the great for his secret plans; and because many things were done against order, the bishops, dukes and other princes of the realm withdrew from the king's business.

This led to more or less serious clashes between the king and the nobility, and not coincidentally, of course, especially in the East, where Henry also attacked the Wends in the winter of 1068/IOd9, ruined their sanctuaries and burned countless villages, He killed or dragged away the pagans in droves - nothing but a continuation of the usual wars of plunder and devastation, such as those waged by Duke Ordulf of Saxony in particular, more persistent than successful, not unlike his comrade-in-arms Bishop Burchard II of Halberstadt, the Anno-Neffe, who himself later fell in an uprising.<sup>7</sup>

## HUMBLE STATEMENTS OF THE HIGH CLERGY

Tensions and conflicts did not subside in the kingdom either, leading to both embarrassing and bloody confrontations. For example, between the followers of Abbot Widerad of Fulda and the servants of Hildesheim Bishop Hezilo. The prominent cleric, whose relatives included the bishops Poppo of Paderborn and Kiino of Brescia, had been a member of the court chapel under Henry III and Ioy3 Chancellor for Italy before he was promoted to Bishop of Hildesheim the following year. As such, he sat in the midst of the Salian

• Like other leading clergymen, Anno of Cologne and Adalbert of Bremen, he shamelessly used the transitional phase under the underage Henry IV to his advantage. He was hardly able to extend his power enough, and the way in which his ambition or his humility occasionally unfolded, the forms they could take, may be shown by the dispute at Pentecost 1063 in the church of Goslar, in front of the altar and in the presence of the young king.

As early as Christmas 1062, the two prelates had already At a provincial synod there, when the bishop claimed the seat of honor next to Archbishop Siegfried I of Mainz, a scuffle broke out between the bishop's chamberlains and the abbot when the seats for the Holy Vespers service were being set up, with fists and pews being swung. The abbot seems to have prevailed at the time and taken a seat next to the archbishop, his predecessor in Fulda, while the defeated Hildesheim man quickly disappeared.

At the next Whitsun feast in the royal palace at Goslar, both lords, Bishop Hezilo and Abbot Widerad, appeared with enough soldiers just in case. And the bishops immediately took up position under Count Ekbert of Brunswick (p. 333) in a consecrated place, behind the altar of the collegiate church of St. Simon and Jude, to lie in wait for the things that were to come. For as soon as the bickering and squabbling of the chamberlains over the seats in front of the altar began again,

the bishops, who were hidden behind them, rushed at the 'surprised servants of the abbot, beat them first to the ground and then out. From there, however, they quickly returned with their bitter swordsmen. And while the canons and clergy were already raising their voices piously for the evening service in the choir, the two mobs raised their weapons, the cries of the fighting, wounded and dying mingling with the psalm singing, the blood running through the cathedral and splattering the altars, while Bishop Hezilo whipped up his helpers from an elevated (and probably somewhat safer) position, the position of commander-in-chief, not without deserved success, to fight for the good, God-ordained cause and later even denied the souls of the fallen opponents the communion of the church, even excluding the survivors from it. The young king, who received a first-class visual lesson on the subject of clerical humility here, on the spot, so to speak, live, managed to reach safety by the skin of his teeth. But all sorts of other things fell by the wayside; on the monastery side, among others, Count Reginbodo, Fulda's banner trier, and probably Count Wignand too. In any case, writes Lampert von Hersfeld, "many were wounded, many were killed, many were laid on God's altars.

-gruesome victims slaughtered-, flowed through -everywhere Streams of blood poured into the church, the wounded and the dead were carried away, and only the night separated the fighters. However, the alleged main culprit, Widerad, is said to have only retained his abbatial dignity through bribery, by squandering Fulda's monastery property.

And all out of pure humility (cf. 34 )

BloB a few years later, ioyo, the following argued in Hildesheim of the king with the people of local Bishop Hezilo, only this time neither at Christmas nor Pentecost, but on the holy feast of Easter, whereby many of the bishops were killed and other agitators were put in chains by order of the king. (Bishop Hezilo was apparently initially an opponent of Henry, but went over to his side after his military successes).

CIVIL WAR BEGINS IN GERMANY

However, a far more significant clash took place in the same year with the Duke of Northeim, who, repeatedly condemned and pardoned by Henry, changed fronts from time to time.

Orro commanded a considerable territory, partly his own property, partly inherited through his marriage to Richenza, daughter presumably of Duke Otto of Swabia (her son Count Henry the Fat became the father of Empress Richenza:

p. ii q). And although rewarded by Empress Agnes 1061 with the dukedom of Bavaria\*, Otto took part in the Coup d'état at Kaiserswerth. However, 1064, 1066 and 1068 he was active on Henry's behalf in Italy and also took part in the war 1065 against Hungary, 1066 against the Liutici.

7 but the king initiated high council proceedings against the duke.

Henry IV probably never got over his deep dislike of Otto for his complicity in his abduction. And it is also possible that envy played a role in the process, rivalry due to territorial politics, especially as Otto of Northeim was constantly seeking to consolidate his position on the western and southern edge of the Harz Mountains and increase his power - in the immediate vicinity of the Salian royal house.

However, a certain Egino, a sinister figure with a particularly violent reputation, accused Otto 1066 of having repeatedly induced Ztlf to murder the king through many pleas and promises, thus committing high treason. And since Otto evaded proof of his guiltlessness (in the duel), the verdict was passed on the Saxon in Saxony by Saxon grandees on August 8th, Otto was declared peaceless, the Duchy of Bavaria was taken from him, but his own property was left to him.

But the king did everything he could to make the duke give up. In Saxony, where he was superior, he had Otto's castle Hanstein on the Werra destroyed to the ground and had his possessions devastated,

The king was plundered and burned to the ground, and in the course of this, his peasants and farmers were also slaughtered, and allegedly even churches that he had built at his own expense were not spared. In Westphalia, too, where the king moved on to, many extensive estates, the sumptuously furnished estates of Otto's wife Richenza, were burned and, as at least the notorious enemy of the king Lampert claims, women and children were also badly maltreated, completely unburdened, innocent people - "by their own king, since they could have suffered nothing harsher, nothing more gratuitous from barbarians".

In return, according to Lampert, Otto raided the rich royal courts in Thuringia with 3,000 experienced men practiced in all the arts of warfare and distributed their treasures to impoverished peasants who flocked to him, and even more to his warriors in order to bind them to him. At Eschwege, on September 1st, he won what appears to have been a particularly bloody battle against a Thuringian army, after which he spent the rest of the year raiding royal and episcopal possessions in Saxony, supported by the son of the Duke of Billung.

Ordulf, the young Magnus (- 7\*---06). However, both had to capitulate the following year.

In the summer of 73, the turmoil swept through Saxony. neut.

Henry IV, like his father before him, preferred to stay in the he was in Saxony and Thuringia, whether for hunting or church festivals or whatever, which entailed certain burdens (cf. p.97) He had also started building castles in Saxony and Thuringia.

and it was hard to miss the fact that these could not only serve against the heathens, the enemies of the country, but also for the glorification, enslavement and exploitation of the Saxons and Thuringians. In addition, the king was still holding the Billunger Magnus prisoner at Harzburg Castle, whose father, Duke Or-

dulf, had already died in the spring of i 7- without Heinrich would have reoccupied the duchy.<sup>0</sup>

Otto von Northeim did not initially join the conspirators. However, he was encouraged to take this step by



Hezilo of Hildesheim, who exhorted him to "possess the spark" and to do "in a brilliant way" what you very clearly threatened to do while you were at **home** ...-. Hezilo explains to Otto how he is to carry out his threat, warns him not to go along with it and also entices him with "kind promises" from Bishop Burchard II of Halberstadt. The nephew of Anno of Cologne was one of the leaders of the Saxon uprising, but rebelled for no other reason, says Lampert, "than out of zeal for God and mere consideration for the common good". Only a few years earlier, he had commanded a military campaign against the Liurizen and had repeatedly received Henry's favors.

IV. received.

Duke Otto, however, soon agreed with the Saxons' accusations, accusing the king of "imposing the yoke of the hardest servitude" on them, building forced castles, "throwing garrisons on every mountain, publicly exposing the wives and daughters of the Saxons to his troops for lust, even desecrating the whole of Saxony "through unheard-of inventions and crimes that no Christian mouth could utter. All according to Lambert von Hersfeld, of course, according to whom the king "lusted for the extermination of the entire Saxon tribe-.

The rebels, among whom the prelates had also sworn a solemn oath against Henry, armed themselves almost before the eyes of the unsuspecting man, who had ordered a campaign against Poland and considered the rebels' activities to be preparations for it. Obviously embarrassingly surprised, he moved his court from Goslar to the far safer Hamburg, where he was soon surrounded by a larger army and could only escape in disguise and by night with a few loyal followers, together with the imperial insignia, which had already been sent ahead. The bishops of Minden, Münster and Paderborn now apparently also openly rejected him, while those of Zeitz and Osnabrück, Eppo and Benno, accompanied and advised him. But he found few friends. The southern German princes also refused to support him and he was struck down by a serious illness.

Then the citizens of Worms, who had expelled their chief shepherd Adalbert, opened the gates to him, a rich, heavily fortified city after all, where he found help, gathered troops, rewarded the Wormsers, freed them from customs duties and praised their behavior (and his) to the other cities. Meanwhile, in Saxony and Thuringia, Henry's castles continued to be besieged, hundreds of them, bribed, conquered and ravaged. And finally, the king marched to Thuringia with an army and a whole number of bishops in a severe frost that turned all the rivers to ice and concluded a compromise peace with the rebels in Gerstungen in February kw4, which obliged him to destroy his castles, for which he had started the war in the first place."

The most difficult thing for him was to raze the Harzburg. So he only had the walls torn down, which of course pleased the Saxons, aroused all their suspicions, their fears and their anger.

Without consulting their greats, they invaded Hamburg, ruined the remains of the walls that were still standing and all the other buildings, including the church, and even destroyed the princely dungeons there, in which members of the royal house lay, a younger brother of Heinrjch, his elder son, and some of the remains of saints, which they mockingly threw around. The whole world was horrified, even Saxony's magnates distanced themselves." Just a few months later, the king used the Gerstungen compromise peace for an invasion of Hungary, for which, it seems, Geisa was better prepared, while Henry's troops, inadequately provisioned and generally poorly supplied, were quickly decimated by hunger and epidemics, and almost all the priests perished miserably. Only the sad remainder returned in the fall.<sup>3</sup>

YOU I LAUGH AT HOMBURG -  
 "FORGETTING ALL CHRISTIAN FEAR,  
 SLAUGHTERING PEOPLE LIKE CATTLE

The court celebrated Christmas ioyq in Strafiburg with great pomp and with quite a few princes, presumably from Upper Germany. The birth of the Lord was probably less important than the preparations for the campaign against the Saxons, which the king pursued intensively but which the Saxons feared. In numerous and humble pleas to Henry and those close to him, the Saxon grandes tried to prevent the war. The king, however, had emphatically rebuffed all peace efforts, offers and concessions, celebrated the Feast of Pentecost and set out on June 8 with a crowd of bishops and priests in his army." On q. June ioy5 the battle took place at Homburg on the Uristrut, where the Saxons apparently fought with the courage of desperation, which is why Henry's troops "suffered heavy losses. Indeed, it seemed that the Swabians and Bavarians would flee when the king's forces, including "the warriors of the Bamberg church" (Meyer von Knau), managed to escape a n d the Saxons, the great giving way to superiority, scattered on all sides.

The worst fate befell the "less practiced -vulgus pedest- re" who were in the camp during the battle of the horsemen. Against this people, Lampert reports, "the enemy's inhumanity raged so beyond all measure and all bounds that they, forgetting all Christian reverence, slaughtered people like cattle. A large number of them also drowned in the Unstrut when they plunged headlong into it for fear of the impending sword." The booty in gold, silver, valuables and food was extraordinary, which is why the enemy camp was still being plundered when the night had long since ended the staking out; including, incidentally, "the departure of many of their own comrades, whom they considered enemies" (Lampert).

Nevertheless, the king, the monk continues, "returned

After sunset, he returned to the camp, cheerful and exuberant with joy, as is customary, amidst congratulatory shouts from his warriors, as he had already experienced his worst *Feinde* was victoriously defeated, and his warriors boasted everywhere that they had slain these and those of the first princes of Saxony with their own hands.

Admittedly, the heroes became more meek, indeed "all joy" and "The jubilant chant - on a blitacker, after all, with uncounted dead Catholics, dead Germans, with slaughter pots, which they had just killed - turned into the opposite when they found their own friends and relatives. -The whole camp echoed with wailing and cries of pain." But the strongest - pain, grief, remorse, according to our chronicler - who thus opens a magnificent view into these Christian minds! - when it turned out that the great men of the opposing side, whom they had supposedly massacred, were all still alive, down to the last man ...

No, what a pity! You think it couldn't get any better or worse - and yet it did. After all, the Hersfeld man has now handed down the metropolitan of Mainz's admission, which is worthy of considerable attention. Lampert first reports that it was particularly difficult for Henry's people to bear that they had stained their hands with the blood of blameless people behind such great sacrifices of their own without the slightest benefit to the realm. -The king himself greatly feared that his warriors would refuse further military service out of remorse for the rivers of uselessly shed blood, citing religious concerns, which they could not perform without sinning and offending God. The Archbishop of Mainz used a most evil defense against this most evil situation. After consulting with some of the king's confidants, he suddenly appeared before the public and, without the canonical summons to a synod, without a hearing before it and without an investigation according to the laws of the church, he imposed an ecclesiastical ban on the Thuringian princes by a hasty verdict on the grounds that they had banned him in the previous year in Erfurt during the collection of the

He was attacked with drawn swords at the synod held in the church on the occasion of the tithe. And so that no one could reproach him for having attacked unfortunate people, who were currently involved in such inextricable difficulties at such an unfavorable time, contrary to canonical regulations ..., he claimed that he had received permission from the Pope to expel them from the church by means of a legally valid curse on a day that seemed favorable to him, without the legal deadline and without judicial inquiry. However, no reasonable person could fail to see what this action was primarily aimed at, namely that the king's men would be more willing and confident to fight against the enemy in future if they believed that by killing them after their excommunication they would not be guilty of any sin or fall victim to the punishments that the laws of the Church inflict on murderers."

This text deserves special attention because, as is usually assumed today, it is not credible. If it is not, it is bad enough, which needs no comment. But if it is, it is rather worse, as it shows how unrestrainedly spiritual historians lied about it when it seemed useful to them.

After the battle, the victor advanced into Saxony, ravaging everything as far as Halberstadt. The greedy members of the cavalcade are said to have hoarded riches "to the point of oversaturation". Indeed, one Saxon source speaks of women who wanted to store their most precious possessions in places of worship, but were then defiled and mutilated there and burned along with the churches. Archbishop Werner of Magdeburg even assumes that if laymen had been alone in Henry's army, they would not have raged against churches and church property; that this happened precisely because "a great many priests" were involved, who therefore, how can I understand, had less reverence for churches than laymen!

After the Battle of the Unstrut, which allegedly claimed thousands of lives, the entire area - within a radius of two or three

miles were soaked with the blood of the slain and filled with piles of corpses (Lampert).

A beautiful experience of success for the victor, which, as Pope Gregor told him, he owed -to Almighty God and St. Peter-, -above all to them-! Ergo, the king should -atifgrnd the benefits granted- show himself to be more -surrendering- ..."

The pope transfigured the sacrifices into charitable deeds, and that is how he really thought. That's how many popes thought. And this one is not just one among others, he is one of their greatest.

#### APOSTLE GREGOR V) . - THE "HOLY \$ATAN" STEPS UP

Alexander II had died on si. April io7i. And, according to Bishop Bonizo of Sutri, a partisan of Gregory VII (who was then blinded and mutilated by his oppressed diocesans in Piacenza), he had announced his death with the words: "I am now being sacrificed and the time of my dissolution is near, announced his death with the words: "I am now being sacrificed and the time of my dissolution is near.- Another bishop, Benzo of Alba (Liguria), classically educated, poetically gifted, but Gregory's bitter opponent, actually claimed that Alexander had been forcibly removed from life by Hildebrand: "Those whom the archdeacon had planted, including this last of his papal predecessors, he had, like diirres **Cras**, allowed to exist as long as he wished, removing them when it suited him".

This is generally considered to have been dictated by the Party Hafi. However, the time in which curials, including popes, killed an impressive number of popes was not so long ago (V 47s ff!).

Also, the

Alexander fell asleep remarkably quickly, the very next day, his successor was brought to the papal throne no less quickly, on the very same day. Hildebrand himself describes the matter thus: - suddenly, when our aforementioned Lord Pope was consigned to the tomb in the Church of the Redeemer, great commotion and noise arose among the people, and they rushed in like

madly at me; without giving me opportunity or space to say anything, to advise anything, they dragged me violently to the place of apostolic rule ...-

After all, no pope has ever pushed his way to this place; never one who took a seat there and then stuck to it. No, before, before, everyone felt and feels too weak, too useless, simply unworthy, it seems, and yet, as a rule, they are all too worthy of it! But the dithering, hesitating and playing coy through the ages is part of their -gtite- tone, their stuffy, plump conclave hypocrisy. Even Hildebrand, who had already served his way up to archdeacon, pushed his way up, with the sole intention of becoming pope, naturally also did not want to bear the burden, the burden that was imposed on him, as he so often claimed (for this reason alone) - God is witness - "against my will and with reluctance", "with violence".

Again and again, the man thus compelled comes back to this, he submits to all possible lures, -how I was almost forced by the fierce urging of the brothers to take upon myself the burden of leading the universal Church. But it only led to "bitter, inner pain and extremely sorrowful fears", and he wished his soul "rather the peace of dissolution in Christ than a life under such dangers". (And then still wanted to work -day and night under many dangers, ta until death, in the pure mountain of the Lord- - out of pure responsibility, pure government responsibility!) Anyway, everything went as fast as possible. -Do you like it\*" -You like it- -Do you want it- - "We want it- -Do you applaud it?" "We applaud him." So laconically the election protocol. There must have been little time for mourning, least of all for the Electus."

Hildebrand had undoubtedly been his own best pacemaker for a long time, but the direct author of his election was none other than Cardinal Hugo Candidus (the White) of St. Clemente. A remarkably sinister, very agile personality, who first worked for Popes Leo IX and Nicholas II, then, with

The German court passed to Antipope Honorius 11, then to Alexander II, to Gregor VII, who finally, when he scolded him for opposing Khmer's fJl. (Wiberf) İp Akrion mat, three times excommunicated, -blower and comrade of heresy-, "apostate and heresiarch-, at the Lenten Synod

7 declaring: -We deprive him of every episcopal office, thus prohibiting him from entering and dignifying the said church as well as other churches on the basis of an eternal and irrevocable judgment ..." Under the "antipope" Clement III, to whom thirteen cardinals defected, Hugh was appointed to the Carthusian see. dinal bishop of Palestrina - after IOq9 his trace is lost."

During the funeral ceremony for Alexander II in the Lateran Church, Hugo Candidus recommended Hildebrand as a man who had already proven himself since the days of Leo IX, a man who had been tried and tested in all things--, whereupon cardinals, bishops and priests cried out:

"St. Peter has chosen Pope Gregory!" and he was immediately enthroned in the church of St. Peter ad Vincula. And he, the exalted one, then showed his "beloved son", his fellow brother Hugo, his favor - until he excluded him<sup>8</sup>. Incidentally, the whole procedure, as no one knew better than Gregory, violated all the rules, especially the papal election decree of Nicholas II of ioyq."

Gregory VII (iO7i—• 8J), already over fifty at the time of his appointment, was a peasant's son from Tuscany, small, unprepossessing, even unattractive, and therefore mocked by his enemies.

But his spirit was powerful and violent, his power of expression often concentrated, sometimes captivating. You only need to read a little and you soon have him completely, his sharpness, clarity, passion, his thirst for revenge, his hatred. Although full of stormy impetuosity, he restrains, tames himself, even if only for the sake of his purposes, goals, even if only to finally strike, sooner or later to strike unrestrainedly, to destroy, if one resists, dares to resist him.

This man has no patience. Imagination is alien to him. Versatility is stranger than everything. He had only one goal, almost theirs



Everyone's goal: power, power, power. But he wants more power, more than all of them, wants world power, and wants to act out his visions of power personally in the middle of the arena, at the front line, at the focal points of loud sandbox games, as it were. Because, ironically, he never got the chance. Neither to the campaign in the Orient at the head of more than fifty thousand warriors nor to Spain as admiral of a war fleet, time to teach King Alfonso the proper rhetoric.

Yes, everyone is apostate, depraved, he laments with the psalmist, -none does good, not even one. Good things happen for this Holy Father - but that is often the case in his church, almost common - when the enemy's blood is spattered, including the blood of Christians, of course, it doesn't matter, the main thing is to die for them, to die in their favor. "Where is the help-, he apostrophizes Duke Gottfried von

Lorraine on y. April 1074. "you promised, where are the knights you gave us in honor and support of St. Peter?

promised to supply?" Yes, he speaks like a bloodsucker, where is the cannon fodder, the cattle for the slaughter, so to speak? And only if the heart of St. Peter - for it is about him, not the Pope! - keeps his promise, then "we will hold you as a dearly beloved son, and you will have in us, even if we are unworthy, a tender father". This pope was in love with war, and it is hardly a coincidence that one of the oldest detailed testimonies, if not the oldest such document of all, to the belief in Gregory VII's help from heaven, refers precisely to war: namely to the belief of Christians that the pope would protect his followers from heaven in battle and send the archangel Michael and all the Elysian armies to His

the.

Hildebrand, who had already played an increasingly important role under his predecessors, also helped bring about their military alliances. For example, the momentous Norman alliance. The battle against Pope Cadalus, where he incited the Romans with speeches and money and then as pope himself

about "what honors and triumphs he had achieved in fighting that dispute. As archdeacon of the Roman Church, he administered the Papal States and commanded the Roman militia like a general, according to Landulf of Milan's probably pointed remark, residing in the Lateran Palace. Carl Erdmann summarized Hildebrand's military involvement in his pre-papal period, especially under his immediate predecessor - there was hardly a dirty deed that did not involve the fingers of the saint, whether this concerned the recruitment of Erlembald for the military leadership of the Pataria in Milan or the war of Count Ebolus of Roucy against the Muslims in Spain - in honour of St.

Peter - or the English conquest of 1066 under William of Normandy, to whom he later wrote himself: "You know with what zeal I worked to see that you attained royal dignity. For this I was reviled by some brothers, who rebuked the fact that I had worked so hard for such a bloodshed. "

William's raid, in which he appeared on the English coast with the banner of St. Peter, was declared a holy war. But the same banner, blessed by the church of course, had also been given to Erlembald to fuel the fighting in Milan. And the same papal sign had been given to the Norman count Roger at the beginning of Alexander's conquest of Sicily. And friend and foe knew that Hildebrand stood behind the pope, that Hildebrand gave the suggestions, the directives.

Gregory showed a great interest in weapons and war from an early age. His papal letters are peppered with appropriate references. More than any other "representative", he uses martial jargon, invoking the sword and throwing weapons, wounds and death, the militia Christi, militia s. Petri, christiana militia, etc. He speaks of the "able soldiers of Christ, the "royal warriors", by which he means "the holy bishops"; he speaks of the "shield of faith", the "sword of Christ", the "sword of the divine word", the "sword of the general

my ban", from the sword of apostolic vengeance, which "wounds incurably from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head". His already quoted motto from the Bible recurs again and again: - Cursed is the man who keeps back his sword from the blood. --

However, many terms from military and war language are used both in a literal and spiritually figurative sense, and sometimes the interpretation remains unclear, vacillating, perhaps even deliberately scholastic. Of course, Gregory declares the use of arms *contra justitiam* to be sinful, but the use of arms in defense of the law to be permissible, especially in defense of the divine legal order."

#### THE ST. GREGOR THE PAST NG ORDER WRONG

Of course, what he understands by law, justice, divine order, is nothing other than what benefits him, as the advantage for the papacy and the church. Whatever was favourable to the Roman Church system, came within the definition of *justitia* - (Emerton). Or as McCabe says of Gregory: "He cared not in the least whether a man's claim to a kingdom was just or unjust, he accepted the Pope's consecrated banner and became his vassal." Gregory was therefore not interested in the current law, but in its opposite, not in upholding the prevailing legal order, but in overthrowing it. Ergo, what he called injustice, --centuries of recognized law" (Hauck)."

This cunning fox knew, of course, that he was turning the lowest to the highest. Because he basically had no use for the past, for the existing law of states and peoples, because he wanted something completely different: the papacy not as an equal partner or even servant of emperors and kings, but as their master. That is why he polemicized so fervently against the hereditary. "If you are against it," he instructs

Bishop Wimund of Aversa, refers to the origin (consuetudinem), it should be noted that the Lord says: 'I am the truth and the life'. He did not say: 'I am the origin', but 'the truth'. And gcwiB, to use the words of St. Cyprian, every custom, no matter how old, no matter how widespread, is to be put behind the truth in every case and a custom that is contrary to the truth is to be rejected ..."

Here the man lets the cat out of the bag. Otherwise, it coldly states the opposite, he explains to Henry IV that he is attacking -to the decrees of the holy fathers, without determining anything new, without determining anything on the basis of their own invention-

-He also writes to Bishop Henry of Liège: "We preserve and defend their statutes when we have passed or are passing judgment in ecclesiastical matters; we do not bring forward novelties or things that are not our own (nova ant nostra), but rather we follow and carry out what has been brought forward by them through the influence of the Holy Spirit."

He insults, heretizes and demonizes his opponents among the prelates, the dissenters. Turning the tables on them, he says that they, seduced by Satan, not only abandon the law of God, but do not refrain from fighting it and overthrowing it with all their might.

In reality, he is overturning, at least, and that is the sole point here, the previous, the former order of precedence. For he wants to take the place of the princes, wants to rule over them, which is why he reviles and belittles dukes and kings, accuses them, in a letter to Bishop Hermann von Netz, of arrogance, robbery, disloyalty, murder, "crimes of almost every kind, at the instigation of the devil, the prince of the world"; and claims that they want to rule people with blind greed, with unbearable arrogance - exactly what he (also) wants!"

All the popes' claims to primacy, however, only emerged over a long period of time and became more and more pronounced in the process; the ambition and lust for power of these humble servants of Christ, these -servants of the servants of God-, *knew* hardly any limits in the end.

ces. However, for more than two centuries they never insisted on an appointment by **Jesus**, they never insisted on being successors of Peter. In fact, the early church did not recognize the honorary and legal primacy of the Roman bishop established by Jesus. In fact, such a primacy is in strict contradiction to the teachings of all the early church fathers, even the most famous ones (II yj ff!). However, what were blatant innovations and what were based on forgeries and lies (II rz§ ff.) were finally passed off as having existed for a long time.

But even Leo I, who was not accidentally given the epithet "the Great" urid the rare title of "Doctor of the Church", like only one other pope, even Leo I., who, in a time of political collapse, could not push papal supremacy high enough, who also, to recall in passing, could not disparage and condemn the Jews enough, could not persecute the "heretics" enough and praised the religion of love to the emperor because it made the power of arms insurmountable (!), even this -great- Leo bickers before the emperor, indeed, ascribes to him infallibility in faith and the duty to proclaim the imperial faith (II, y. chap.). Nevertheless, already under Leo I the empire of the pope theoretically coexisted with that of the emperor.

Only a few decades later, aqy, Gelasius I formulated the so-called doctrine of two powers, probably the most quoted papal phrase for over a millennium, according to which -two things" (quippe) govern the world, the episcopal authority and the royal power (IJJ 3>9 ff.), and also s u b o r d i n a t e d the episcopal power to the imperial power: - it was fabricated from the fictions of his predecessors. And, of course, it strongly contradicted the real distribution of power. Throughout antiquity, the popes were subservient to the emperors, dependent on them. And even under medieval monarchs, under Charlemagne, the Ottonians, under some of the i i th century

They are no more than the recipients of orders from their masters.

Jent, however, after having b e e n a self-inflicted quagmire thanks to the emperors, did not go under in its own corruptness.

After becoming more powerful with imperial objections alone, Gregory VII now also wanted to make the emperors submissive, aiic,h the emperors absolutely subordinate. Now he does not hesitate to turn things, the laws, the history, the hierarchical realities upside down, for which he either has no evidence at all or takes it from great clerical gau- ner pieces, especially the notorious Pseudo-Isidorist Decretals, the "most consequential forgeries" of all time (V i8i If!).

**THE ŪAPST, THE ĞNDERLORD OF THE KAI SER,  
MAKES HIMSELF HIS LORD  
AND WILL RULE THE WORLD**

The secular potentates are de- graded by Gregot according to Kräfren. He explains kingship, based on Aiigustin, as an invention of human arrogance, created at the instigation of the devil. But it would become benevolent if it subordinated itself to the clergy. The king# must obey the priests, especially of course the pope, the successor of Peter, who is lord and emperor next to God. -He who is divorced from Peter," Gregory VII claimed, "can find no victory in battle, no happiness in the world. For with steely rigor he destroys and blows to pieces whatever opposes him. No one and nothing is beyond his power."

The peasant descendant atis der Toskann *can* hardly emphasize enough -how much" royal and episcopal dignity differ, how much, he instructs King William I of England on 8 May 1080, -the royal power next to God is governed by the apostolic care and guidance" - what a - distance of the higher rank from the lower! But while he still concedes to the English king that "Almighty God" has "assigned the apostolic and royal dignity, which *transcends* all others, to this world for its guidance", he writes - clergymen

among themselves - to Bishop Hermann of Metz, the royal dignity had invented the "human Hoffarr! On the one hand, it came from Almighty God, on the other from human hope. The episcopal dignity, he tells the bishop, -invented divine mercy.

The former constantly pursues vain glory, the latter constantly seeks to attain heavenly life." In reality, bishops and especially popes, especially one like Gregory, seek nothing more than power, power, power. And doesn't he himself report elsewhere about the bishops (only about those who don't suit him)? -But the bishops ... almost completely ignore the law of God ..., strive only for worldly glory by means of their ecclesiastical dignities ... - like the arrogant kings? And his own vanity, craving for glory, his megalomania are hard to beat. -He threatens the -cleric- Tedald, named Archbishop of Milan by Henry IV IO7i forehead, -that the power of kings and emperors and all the efforts of mortals before the apostolic right and the omnipotence of the highest God- -which can only be realized after the apostolic right and the omnipotence of the most high God- -which can only be realized after the apostolic right and the omnipotence of the most high God.

Law ranks - like ashes and chaff."

What impertinent peacock arrogance!

But Gregory VII was dominated by a fixed idea, which was specifically his idea: that the pope was the master of the world. For he, the former monk who so often denounced the lust for power of others, is more domineering than all of them. Everyone should obey and serve him, bishops and kings. The pope alone should have precedence over all, precedence and privileges. Basically, he despises everyone and wants to be respected by everyone.

His exorbitant megalomania is most concentrated in the infamous "Dictatus papae", in those undated but xoyy originated - 7 nappen, disorganized Pseiido laws, which presumably formed the basis of a new collection of laws.

should. The most significant of these:

"VII That it is permitted to him (the Pope) alone, according to the needs of the time, to establish new laws, to form new

congregations ...



- VIII. Since he alone can use the imperial symbols of power.
- IX. **That aHe F "rirren a)lein de' Papsres Füge k Sssen.**
- XII That he is permitted to depose emperors.
- XCIII Since his judgment may not be revoked by anyone and he himself is the only one who can revoke the judgments of all.
- XIX That he may not be judged by anyone.
- XXI That the Roman Church has never fallen into error and, according to the witness of Scripture, will not err for ever."

Although these dictations are largely derived from earlier texts, especially forgeries, most of the sentences (quoted here) were completely new and revolutionary. Gregory, whose authorship is undisputed today, spun them out of himself and even made the claim of hereditary sanctity or

A mong the popes' sanctity(•31 -Every legitimately installed Roman bishop is undoubtedly canonized by virtue of the merit of Saint Peter (the Church itself, however, has not canonized most Roman bishops, but has canonized the illegitimate one). mäfiig, in contradiction to both old regulations and the latest electoral regulations of io5q elected Gregory VII).

The pope, then, who, if canonically elected, becomes unquestionably holy, is the only one who may revoke all judgments, while no one may revoke his judgment, just as no one may judge him. fir can even depose emperors, he alone can use the imperial emblems of rulership, all princes must kiss his fife. And such Pharisees preach courage to mankind!

5apienti sat.

Of course, there is virtually no historical evidence for such escalating hyperbole. Most of these hypertrophic impertinences are derived from largely falsified traditions, especially from Pseudoisidor (V i 8i ff!), and probably a rather exaggerated reaction of Gregory to the dispute with the German king and episcopate. Not from un

he had written to Henry IV shortly before, -> December 7, i 74, - that you will only truly realize your royal power when you have demonstrated the sublimity of your rule to the King of kings, Christ, f o r the restoration and defense of his church."

The king of kings? Gregory and his kind! But you can't always make history with his kind, not over the millennia. But you can with elysian ghosts. The light knows that. Whether it believes in ghosts itself is completely irrelevant as long as it can make others believe in them.

However, Gregory not only wanted to subjugate the German ruler, but also others, preferably everyone.

In fact, Gregory wanted nothing less than to subordinate the entire world to his command. While the pope had originally been subordinate to the emperor, then secondary, Gregory now wanted to subordinate all rulers to himself in ruthless pursuit of papal primacy, preferring to resort to forgeries. Emperors and kings were only supposed to be protectors of the pope, henchmen of the clergy, no longer owners of churches with the right of investiture as before, but rather the bishop of Rome's Shiite lords, functionaries of his will. For Gregory, even the lowest cleric was above all princes, dukes and kings, who could only subjugate "through lust for power, robbery, murder, in short through almost all crimes". However, Gregory saw justice embodied in the Roman Church and the **Pope as** the only legitimate lawgiver within Christian society. The sacerdotium came before the regnum. For Gregory, this was quite properly the "libertas ecclesiae" and "justitia-.

Accordingly, he writes to King Sven II of Denmark I j: -"The voice of the Roman popes was heard in more countries than that of the Roman emperors, and those who were once commanded by the emperor were now commanded by Christ." Not enough: Gregory lied to the Irish king Terdelvach that Christ had given Peter authority over all the kingdoms of the world.

(super omnia mundi regna constituit), so he wishes for Peter and his successors all power -'in saeciilo-. -The whole universe must obey and venerate the Roman Church." Similarly, he clarifies - 7 King Alfonso of Castile:

-To St. Peter, Almighty God has given all principalities and the powers of the world.

At one time, even the power-conscious Milanese bishop and Doctor of the Church Ambrose insisted on the primacy of the clergy only in religious matters: -"In matters of religion, the bishops are the judges of the Christian emperors, not the emperors the judges of the bishops." Gregory now also claims supremacy over numerous countries, and this with the most varied justifications. Over Bohemia (where the people and clergy had already rebelled against Gregory's envoys in 1073 ), because predecessor

Alexander II. granted Duke Wratislaw the use of a mitre conceded! About Russia, because an exiled Grand Duke had his land taken in fief by a son of St. Peter. About Hungary, because it was the property of the Roman Church, a gift from King Stephen to St. Peter. Saxony was supposedly given to St. Peter by Charles the Great. Corsica, which he actually incorporated into his sphere of power, also belonged to the "Carolingian gifts". Furthermore, the Pope claimed Spain as ancient papal property by virtue of the forged Constitutum Constantini. He also claimed feudal sovereignty over Sardinia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Poland, Denmark and England, all of which he claimed as ancient possessions of St. Peter. He declares to King Philip I of France that his kingdom and his soul are in the power of St. Peter and threatens the rebellious monarch with excommunication.

However, when Gregory asserted feudal sovereignty, he usually demanded ecclesiastical concessions or military service, and also repeatedly demanded interest, a feudal interest.

Thus the Normans paid a pensio, Demetrius-Zwonimir of Dalmatia a tributum of zoo gold pieces annually, Count Peter of Melgueil and other counts a census.

Of course, the papal bag of tricks did not catch on everywhere.

tailoring. Gregory was unable to subjugate Sardinia, although he frightened other princes by carrying out his threats and alleged intentions of conquest. The Danish king and King Solomon of Hungary also turned him down. In Spapia, too, Gregory was unable to extend his dominance beyond Aragon. The saint also had no luck in France, where, based on forged testimonies according to which Charles "the Great" had collected 1000 pounds a year for the pope, he demanded an annual tax from every house without any sense of what was possible!"

But let's take a closer look at the Holy Father's wishes, claims and lies.

**POPE GREGOR VII. STRIVES FOR THE  
ÖNI GS HEADQUARTERS fROm uRANCE,  
HUNGARY, SPAIN U. A.**

The French king Philip I (x0So-i 108) cared little for the papal cravings, admonitions and threats. He carried out the investiture of his prelates himself. He protected the Bishop of Orléans, against whom Alexander 11 had already taken action. He had the bishop of Beauvais, on the other hand, chased out by the faithful. Gregor thus called the king a despot who lent his ear to the devil. For him, he is "the charming wolf and the righteous tyrant, the enemy of God and religion", whom he accuses of "destroying the churches", "adultery, the most nefarious robberies, perjury and all kinds of fraud". In the year 1074, Gregor once again showed mercy to Philip if he submitted, if he showed himself to be a lost and found sheep.

-But if he acts contrary to this, which we do not want, then we promise him that God (!) will undoubtedly become his enemy and the Holy Roman Church, at the head of which we stand, albeit unworthily, and we ourselves will fight him to the best of our ability and in every way." But due to a lack of mili

tary power, the Pope had to make do with an interdiction, as he also began to fight against the more powerful German king.

In the bishops of France, who were loyal to the king, Gregory saw at the time -dogs that dare not bark- and demanded that they, -exhorted and obliged by apostolic authority-, should "completely renounce allegiance and communion with the king and forbid all public worship throughout Francia". If, of course, he did not want to come to his senses again through such an excommunication, -it should be

-such is our will- be hidden or doubtful to no one, that we will try in every way to wrest the kingship of France from his possession with God's help-. Gregory does not forget to remind us that the man is cursed who does not sheathe his sword. If, however, the prelates stand by the king, he will deprive them of their episcopal office, even as comrades and accomplices in his crimes, and thus inflict the same punishment.

It is typical for Gregory - as for his church in general - to persuade the whole world that opponents of the church are little more than slaves, completely unfree and perish, whereas - of all people - the faithful can show by confessing the Pope and Christ "that you have a free spirit and free speech and thus - like addicted soldiers of Christ - will be raised to the summit of present and eternal glory".

While Gregory wished to wrest the kingdoms of some monarchs only when they became sovereign, he claimed others from the outset.

in. Thus he teaches arri z8. October -w4 the successful wars against Byzantium and the Pechenegs.

Hungarian King Solomon: -For as you can learn from the great men of your fatherland, the royal dominion over Hungary is the property of the Holy Roman Church, which was once offered by King Stephen with all its rights and powers to St. Peter and reverently handed over to him.

A hoax and a lie. Because there has never been such a legal

The relationship between Hungary and the Roman Church, even if the Pope constantly claims this anew, is also half a century old.

He later declared to Duke Geisa of Ungatn (ieimeg, not to say insolently) that "in truth" the kingship of Hungary was the property of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles. Geisa also makes it clear what this means. "St. Peter" is derived from the solid rock that breaks the pillars of hell and destroys and scatters with diamond hardness whatever opposes him, whereby the Holy Father, who is increasingly favoring Geisa, who is increasingly harassing Solomon, assures him of his most intimate and vicious inclinations and, albeit somewhat diplomatically hidden, encourages him to strike out against Solomon. For Hungary was to remain completely free, not subject to any other kingdom, only, of course, to the supremacy of its holy mother, the Roman Church. Of course, after defeating his cousin, Geisa no longer attached any importance to papal feudal sovereignty and had himself crowned with a crown sent by the Byzantine Emperor Michael, thus thwarting Gregory's claim to sovereignty.<sup>2</sup>

Of course, he did not have the heart to conceal from the princes of Spain that they were subject to St. Peter and the popes, that Spain belonged to the Roman Church.

But before that, in a long epistle from 28. Jun' 77, Gregory first emphasizes the futility of earthly existence, the conditionality of man, which is the same for kings and the poor alike.

is-. "Do not place your hope in the uncertainty of earthly goods - no, not only that! Rather, the Roman advises, "get yourselves a better and lasting possession, where you will spend eternal life. For here we have no abiding place ... And indeed, you yourselves see daily how frail and frail is the life of mortals." So: "constantly" think of the last, of the future dangers, of the strict -constantly be aware of the bitterness with which one -must separate from the present world, which is no good (!), and return to the rottenness of the earth and the dirt of the dust.

After such a forceful preliminaries, Gregory comes to the real point: -And furthermore, we wish to bring to your notice what is truly not within our discretion to declare ..., namely, that the kingship over Spain has been conferred by ancient statutes upon St. Peter and the holy Roman Church by right and ownership.

Of course, the Pope does not provide any evidence for this fantastic claim. The ecclesiastical right of ownership over Spain, he says, has

"but so far has concealed the disfavor of past times and a certain negligence (*neglegentia*) of our predecessors. In his megalomania, he does not even shy away from accusing the popes themselves. But now that God has granted the Spanish princes victory over their enemies, they must also

"for the restoration and restitution of the right and honor of St. Peter and his holy and apostolic see"; they must show themselves "compliant and generous to the honor of St. Peter and your holy mother, the Roman Church"; they must know - how much you owe to the holy apostolic prince Peter. And that always means the same thing: do not use your weapons, means and power only for worldly pomp" (which is of no use anyway), -but for the honor and service of the eternal King. ""

Arms were always the most welcome thing for this pope, if he liked them. That is why he also sounded out the Danish king Sven Estridsen in January 1071: "Moreover, in the event that the holy Roman mother church should need your help in terms of soldiers and the secular sword against the wicked and the enemies of God, we would also like to know by reliable message what hope we may place in you." In return, he offered something in return, something that did not belong to him. In this case, he probably offered the Dane Dalmatia as a fief of Peter, continuing: "Not far from us by the sea there is also a truly rich land" (*provincia quedam oppulentissima iuxta mare*) in the possession of cowardly heretics, in which we wish to make one of your sons duke, prince and defender of Christianity, if you, as it were, would make him a duke, prince and defender of Christianity.

a bishop of your country as your consideration, together with a detachment of fighters devoted to him, to the apostolic rtif for military service.

As the Dane did not respond at all, the Pope loyally wrote to him again in mid-April without any of the displeasure with which he was otherwise often at hand. He only complained in general terms about current kings and rulers of the earth who did not show the necessary respect for the Church, indeed, who showed her disobedience bordering on idolatry. And after some wooing of the Dane, he comes to the point: the right of protection to which St. Peter was entitled for the Danish kingdom, which was to become a fiefdom of the Roman See.

At the same time and with similar intentions, Gregory VH intervened in Russia. And the Great Prince, who had been expelled from Kiev, even seems to have asked the Pope in his distress for the transfer of rule over the Russian territory, and Gregory naturally did not hesitate to entrust it to the care of St. Peter."

England, too, whose conquest in Io66 the future Gregor VII, who was the real mastermind, wanted to bring him under his feudal sovereignty as pope. He assured King William of his special affection time and time again, calling him the -pearl among princes-, courting him as the only ruler who sincerely loved God and the Church, the only son of the Roman Church at all (!).

But when William had achieved what he wanted in England, he found papal complicity dispensable, and a noticeable cooling of the initially cordial relationship began. As early as io79, Gregory used the king in a pompous, unashamed and insolent manner. On \*4 April toto he reminded him of the bloody merits he had earned as Cardinal urii William's elevation to the English throne (p. \*49), demanded of him "pious self-abasement" and promised in return that he would -to be prince over so many princes in the glory of the coming kingdom of God-. But Wilhelm was not tempted by the otherworldly prospects. He remained submissive, polite and reminded the Pope,



that he had only promised the Holy See an annual alms, the St. Peter's penny that had long been customary, but never the feudal oath. And when the legate Hubertus actually demanded this oath, ifin briefly rejected Wilhelm. He had not sworn fealty and would not do so any more than his predecessors. In the end, he broke away from Gregory completely, perhaps even becoming an antipope. In any case, Gregory's efforts in England ended in complete failure. And soon the rapid advance of his great opponent in Germany no longer left him enough time to concern himself with the English situation."

A CRITICAL PLAN FOLLOWING THE OTHER, SEARCHING  
FOR BATTLESHIPS OR ^ THE REALIZATION OF GOD'S  
REIGN ON EARTH, . ."

Gregory VII, the great reformer, wanted to turn the papacy into a military power and was a powerful promoter of hierarchical militarism and the hierocratic politics of the Middle Ages in general. Judging by his intentions, however, he could be called the most bellicose pope who ever sat on Peter's throne.

Gregory -1184 beatified, canonized by Paul V in 1606 - not only demanded wars from the secular power for the church, but wars from the church itself. From the moment he took office, he was busy arming and preparing for war. The collections and gifts that constantly arrived in Rome from England to Spain were used by him to create a military force. He was constantly collecting soldiers for his real or projected attacks, and as he always had too few, he declared it the duty of the faithful to join the -militia sancti Petri" (a term he coined). He also sanctioned aggressive war. Indeed, he himself maintained *an* army, before which he appeared on horseback. What a wonder that in

his epistles and synodal decrees did not prohibit clerics from taking up arms! And although he had no claim to the troops of foreign bishops, he did occasionally request them, SO 107 from the Bishop of Trient, so i7 \*am Enbishop Manasseh of Reims. He loved bishops such as the Patriarch of Aquileia, the customary oath of office with the addition: "I will faithfully support the Roman Church, if called upon, with secular war power." Gregory demanded the use of "spiritual and secular weapons" from the French prelates. And as much as he deplored bloodshed - the well-known double standard - he propagated ecclesiastical-papal war.

Carl Erdmann comes to a conclusion in this regard i 96 \$ which, as he emphasizes, has strangely been omitted in previous research, namely: -As far as the publicists deal with the fundamental problem of war - and this is the case to a considerable extent - all Gregorians are in favor of a war of the Church, in favor of the use of armed force for the sake of religion, while all Imperialists are against it-; an observation that is also confirmed in those writings that deal with war only incidentally.

There could hardly be enough martyrs, hardly enough sacrifices for his holiness. "So far, only a few of ours have," he complains to the faithful of the Holy See,

-resisted the wicked to the death, very few suffered death for Christ.- No, how terrible! But there are never enough for Christ recte for the Pope in the iris grass; especially since -worldly warriors fight daily for their earthly ruler and hardly fear to suffer death ...-. So: -Den- ket how many knights die daily for their masters for the sake of a fine reward; but what do we tolerate or do for the highest king3-?

And so the indignant, disappointed pontiff repeatedly asks, admonishes, urges - and of course only "on the part of St. Peter" (ex parre beati Petri) - that the faithful "fight for the heavenly king", for the "heavenly nobility" (celestem

nobilitatem), whatever that means. -Gregory VII," write the Catholic theologians Seppelt/Schwaiger, "wants the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth under the leadership of the Pope.

But the pope heals his butchers and victims more. Since he was counting on the voluntary influx of troops for all his attack plans, cc generously guaranteed heavenly rewards. Thus he lures William of High Burgundy, whom he recruits for the Norman and Oriental wars: -The Apostle Princes Peter and Paul will, as we believe, bestow upon you and all who labor in this campaign a double, indeed a multiple reward." In Henry IV's war against Rudolf of Swabia, siding with the opposing king, the Roman already grants a kind of indulgence: - "But that Rudolf may rule and defend the German Empire, we grant all his followers absolution from all their sins"; which is why Wenrich of Trier wrote that Gregory absolved from sin those who allegedly beat a Christian to death for Christ. In his second crusade appeal, he promises: -For momentary toil (momentaneum labo- rem) you may obtain eternal reward.-In his last appeal after the loss of Rome: -Bring help if you want to receive forgiveness of sins, blessings and grace in this and that life.-And similarly in other endeavors."

One of Gregory's first military measures after assuming his pontificate was to ask his Spanish le- gal to recruit people for a crusade against the Moors in Spain, which he wanted to subject entirely to the Church, as it was the "ancient possession of Peter" and subject to no one but the "Apostolic" See alone. At the same time, he sent Cardinal Hugo Car- didus, also emphasizing -Petri's ancient right of possession" to the peninsula. He was quite obviously referring to the

"Constantine's gift" (IV\*4 ch.). "For what once according to the will of God into the property of the churches in righteousness.

that, as long as the thing remains in existence at all, will be dissolved by the circumstance of the passing time, indeed from its use, but not from its right, cc

Without even remembering the Christian kingdoms that already existed in Spain, Gregory simply decreed the land by virtue of mere assertions.

The northern French Count Ebulon of Roucy (from Champagne) - one of the worst robber barons in the opinion of Abbot Suget of Saint Denis, who had already prepared himself for pious work with Alexander II's blessing - was to invade Spain in honor of St. Peter and take possession of everything, which he had contractually agreed to take from the "infidels". So Ebulon set out with a large army. However, the expedition was obviously a failure; no chronicle reports it, indeed, Cardinal Legate Hugo Candidus, previously a close supporter of Gregory, even the actual pope-maker (5th\*4 .), soon appears afterwards as his passionate opponent."

Hildebrand also fell out with Robert Guiscard in his first year as pope; apparently each wanted more land than the other was entitled to. The Holy Father banished the Norman at the Synod of Lent 74 and at the same time prepared for war against him. He called for help from all sides, and most of them promised it - St. Peter would reward them, he wrote.

## **A CROSS WITH TWO LADIES FALLS INTO THE SER**

Gregory's hunger for war - if, as was the rule with other lords, he did not have his way - was so great that at the same time as he was planning military attacks against Robert Guiscard (possibly also against the French king), he was also considering an invasion of the Orient.

Throughout the year - 74 RiChs, Holiness ventilated nothing less than an elaborate crusade, first against the Turks for the alleged liberation of the Byzantine Empire, then for the conquest of Jerusalem, whereby Gregory also hoped to regain the Eastern Church, which had been separated since 1054. Months, many

He dealt with this for a few years. For, he spread the word that he had learned from many that the people of the pagans had gained strength against the Christian empire and, with deplorable cruelty, had devastated everything almost up to the walls of Constantinople, used tyrannical violence and killed many thousands of Christians like cattle. Similarly

He wrote to Henry IV on December 7, 1071: a very large part of the Christians were being destroyed by the pagans because of their unheard-of misery and were being hanged like cattle in a fott every day.

slaughter and thus destroy the Christian people". For this reason, he wanted to gather 50 000 fighters of the faith from Italy to Denmark and then lead the troops himself as "army commander and bishop" (*dux et pontifex*) (*me pro diice habere*), while Kö- n the meantime, King Henry should take over the protection of the Roman Church - so that you not only guard her as your holy mother, but also defend her honor. No wonder Gregory now urgently declared his sincere love for the king.

In order to be able to wage the war in the Orient, however, the saint not only asserted that the Christians in the East had to live "like animals" (*quasi pecudes*), but also that they were being killed by the thousands, although, according to the Catholic Kühner, "not even the slightest bit of this grotesque assertion was true". In fact, although many Armenians fled from the Turks there, countless Christians converted to Islam (admittedly a reason for the crusade!), and later no Christians suffered even after the repeated capture of Jerusalem by the Turks.

Gregory VII, however, wanted to "hold out an armed hand until the  
to go to the Lord's tomb under his own leadership. And of course he also wanted to be a "leader" himself; practically the same thing. For the "Lord- is always only put forward, and the lords are behind it, they want to shear or slaughter the peoples, and one of the two they always, always want - what they call -pasture". But can sheep document this? And yet: no knowledge is more important here.

In a very theo-logical way, the Pope justifies his projected

Great War with Jesus, for just as he laid down his life for us, we must also lay down our lives for our brothers. (Right up to the First and Second World Wars, the evangelical pacifist was associated in this way, always with equal disgust and without any shame, with the most monstrous slaughter of nations).

Gregory dated his letters, probably a unique case in papal history, "from the field camp" (Data in expeditione). But when his army gathered near Rome in 1074 after extensive preparations, he did not want to send it to the Orient - but against the Normans, whose duke opposed him. In August 1071, Landulf VI of Benevento had paid homage to Gregory, in September Prince Richard of Capua. Only Robert Guiscard refused to comply with his wishes, which is why the wrathful pontiff encircled them, but Robert expanded his empire, subjugated Amalfi, penetrated the principality of Capua and the ecclesiastical state, so that Gregory in 1074 banished him.

The Pope had bragged in an appeal that the troops should not be against the Normans, whom he wanted to deal with himself. However, everything failed in the early stages due to the rivalry between the princes. One after another of the "faithful of St. Peter" dropped out. From Salerno to France, the warriors failed to materialize, and then the rest of his soldiery also ran out."

But at the end of the year 1071 Gregory came back to his crusade project several times and even with great emphasis, he said.

He wanted to go to the Orient as a "military leader and bishop" and had two ladies at his side, remarkably few: the old Empress Agnes (perhaps as a chaperone?) and the still quite young Margravine Mathilde of Tusciana, the comitissa et ducatrix, who was just 28 years old at the time and so devoted to his holiness throughout her life that both were clearly accused of ambiguous relationships, including many bishops. Later Christian actors, on the other hand, almost turned the twice-married woman into a nun, or at least a virgin.

It is probably clear that the Pope is also very fond of what he calls the

says, -glorious Beatrix" of Tuscia held, the mother. He repeatedly states -how strong is the love with which we are closely bound to you. After all, the two "dearly beloved daughters of St. Peter" not only possessed a colossal territory, but also commanded corresponding military power. And Gregor's love - thank heaven - was anything but one-sided. No, the ladies, he himself testifies again, "labored day and night to support us". Their devotion "often" reminded him of those Bible women who sought the Lord they believed dead in the grave - especially the younger ones in a wonderful blaze of love."

Mathilde of Tiszien (ioq6-i i i ), daughter of the ioyz liquidated Margrave Boniface and Countess Beatrix of Tuszien, was married to the Duke of Lower Lorraine, Gottfried IV the Hunchback, Henry's most loyal supporter. However, the marriage turned out to be a disaster. From - 7- Mathilde lived permanently separated from him and childless on her extensive Italian lands - for which then the whole iz. The duke was so preoccupied with his domestic affairs 'that he hardly visited the Italian march once every three or four years' (Lambert). The Pope, however, did not mediate between the two, but deepened the rift. And when Gottfried became his opponent, shortly afterwards, in February io76, he was a corpse, gruesomely assassinated on one of his campaigns - and the lousy man, the presumed perpetrator of the murder, remained the pope's -in Christ's beloved son-; like the young Matilda, the -in Christ's beloved daughter- or "faithful handmaid of St. Peter-, also called - the most precious and faithful daughter of St. Peter-.

Mathilde already had a tight political and social life with her mother.

He had led a militant regiment, which also promoted the papal war plans against the Saracens and Normans (io74), had, as Gregory himself confessed, supported the Roman Church "completely and utterly" (penitus - an adverb closely related to penis, literally meaning deep down, to the innermost parts).

And when Matilda's mother died, in the same year in which Matilda's husband died so brutally (p. 280), she became one of the Holy Father's strongest supporters, politically, militarily, as well as always. For perhaps the fatherless woman did not only see the holy father in the fascinatingly imperious hierarch.

And perhaps not only her father. (It was only after Gregor's death that she entered into a politically motivated marriage of convenience with the seventeen-year-old World V, 27 years her junior, at the request of Pope Urban II).

In Gregory's time, Matilda lived, the Hersfeld monk tells us, -in a kind of widowhood- and kept herself by the pope's side as his inseparable companion and revered him with extraordinary affection. Since a large part of Italy was under her rule and she possessed far more than the other princes of the country in all the goods that mortals value as the highest, she was always quick at hand when the pope needed her help and eagerly provided him with her services like a father or lord. For this reason, she could not escape the suspicion that she was in love with him, for the king's supporters, and especially the clergy, whom the pope forbade to marry without permission and in violation of the canon laws, were everywhere shouting that the pope was shamelessly wallowing in her primal embraces day and night, and that she was so bound by her secret love for the pope that she refused a second marriage after the loss of her husband. But it was so clear to all reasonable people that these accusations were false."''

Of course Lampert has solid proof of this.

First of all, the Pope himself. For his "so pure, so apostolic life" - the apostles were known to be married and still took their wives with them on their missionary journeys -, -the sublimity of his conduct-, that was above suspicion from the outset; especially since the Holy Fathers, we may add, lived as celibate a life as their clergy for centuries. Furthermore, a relationship at court and "in the populous city" could not have remained hidden at all;



for such things, especially with a pope, always take place in public. And finally, our monk insists on the signs and miracles frequently worked by Gregory, his fervent zeal for God and the Church; no, all this secured him -in time against the poisonous tongues of slanderers".<sup>9</sup>

Matilda was celebrated by the Gregorians as miles s. Petri, as a Deborah and Jael. And even if she did not give herself to the Holy Father, who, for his part, wanted and loved her in every possible way, she nevertheless gave him or the Roman Church her entire vast estate in Italy and Lorraine in exchange for zo8o, even if she retained the full right to dispose of it.

Not uninteresting is Gregor's letter to Mathilde of December• 74 Here he writes how he "blushes with shame" to tell anyone how much he brought and wished to cross the sea in order to avoid being killed by the pagans like cattle. to come to the aid of slaughtered Christians with Christ's favor. But why does Gregory blush? He dares not confess it to anyone - only to Matilda. But I do not hesitate to tell you this, O dearest daughter full of love; how much I expect from your zeal and wisdom, if possible, you yourself could hardly put into words." And begs, -let it be your deepest concern, as far as you can, to grant help to your Creator - . Matilda's mother must I would like to stay at home to protect the common interests"; but -many warriors-, he believes, would come with me and also the Empress for the sake of prayer. And he would -very gladly cross the sea in the adornment of such sisters, to lay down my life for Christ if necessary, together with you, whom I wish to be always united in the eternal fatherland. And urges again at the end: -Let it be your concern to answer as quickly as possible what you think about this matter and your coming to Rome.

And while the pope, Matilda and his soldiers in the Orient war, King Henry IV is to defend the papacy at home.

Protect the Church! -Until now you have fought bravely for ephemeral rewards," Gregory calls out to the -ultramontani" in particular, "now fight more bravely for that praise and that glory which surpasses all desires.

### Bxcixl'4ENDER      CHTKAMPP AND OLD METAPHYSICAL \$CHMIERENTHEATER

Pope and king were initially interested in peace. Gregory clearly expressed his benevolence, and Henry recognized Gregory's election, even though the king's rights had been disregarded and he had neither notified the king of his accession to the throne nor asked him to confirm his election. And the way in which Gregory pursued church reform in Germany could only worsen relations, even with the majority of the high German clergy. While the pope was still openly inciting the clergy to disobey their bishops, they were resisting his own instructions.

In addition, there was the sharp conflict between the king and the Curia over the archbishopric of Milan. The archbishop appointed by the king, Gottfried, and the archbishop appointed by the Pata-

Atto, i.e. Gottfried lived almost forgotten in the Lombard province' Atto was under papal protection in Rome. In Milan itself, things were very heated. In

In the spring of - 7i, a conflagration allegedly started by the Patarnes destroyed half the city and the cathedral.

opponents of the Pataria and asked Henry IV to intervene. He had the imperial ban pronounced on the Patarnes and invested the royal chaplain Tedald as the new archbishop, while the pope held on to Atto, even rejecting the royal appointment of bishops in principle.

Nevertheless, some time ago Gregor had received -words of full sweetness and obedience" from Heinrich, as they -we-

which he himself and his predecessors had communicated to the Roman bishops. Not enough: Henry confessed to being a simonist and alienated from church property, if only because of the civil war situation in Saxony. After all, Gregory also made certain concessions, not sending words full of obedience across the Alps, but, on y. December 1074.

-Greetings and apostolic blessings to the glorious King Henry expecting -with certainty- that God would reveal that he loved him -with sincere affection". However, the mistrustful and power-hungry pope also made it clear from the outset -how much we can benefit him and how much we can harm him if we withdraw our helping hand ...".

Sure, the German king only had to dance to the Roman tune ... - If he listens to us, we will rejoice in his salvation no differently than in our own ..." If he agrees with our exhortations and advice ...-. Yes, if! -'Against him', writes Gregory 1073, 'we must not and would not wish to practice hatred, unless - which is far away! -, he wanted to prove himself an opponent of the divine religion.-4'

The pope revealed more and more traits of his imperiousness. Not only did he want to abolish simony and introduce celibacy, he also sought the investiture of the clergy, which he expressly forbade all laymen, including the king, at the Lenten Synod of 1075. However, as investiture was associated with the disposal of the temporalia, the entire property of a church, all rights and goods that had no direct spiritual character, the king also lost the disposal of the entire church property if he lost the investiture. This property was not property in the strict sense of the word, the bishops only had a right of use, the bishop's property was in reality imperial property, transferred by the kings to the prelates for more than a century. If the investiture (and the feudal oath associated with it) by the king thus ceased, the bishops were independent princes, they no longer owed the king Submission, obedience, but only to the Pope.

Heinrich, who couldn't put up with this, who had the in

vestiture all the more resolutely than his predecessors had handled it unchallenged, he did not protest against the papal ban, he ignored it. As always, he invested the bishops Huzmann of Speier, Henry of Liège and Ruotpert of Bamberg. He also appointed new abbots in Lorsch and Fulda, where, according to Lampert, they "competed with all their might" in the election of abbots: -one promised golden mountains, another immense fiefs from the Fulda possessions, a third extraordinary services for the realm, and all did not keep faith nor aim in their offers - until Henry put an end to the candidates' ambition in short order.<sup>42</sup>

And then the German king intervened in Italy, on the most sensitive point for Gregory.

The pope had initially waited and was probably all the more hesitant as Henry had only defeated the Saxons at the beginning of June.

(p. \*4\* >-). when their arrogance, as Gregory writes to him in September, -has been crushed by you according to God's judgment-. Painful indeed for the Holy Father, - because the blood of many Christians was shed"; but for Henry's sake it fills him -with joy. However, as in Germany, the Salian also appointed and invested new prelates in Italy, not only in the north, in Milan, but also in central Italy, in Fermo and Spoleto, just a hundred kilometers from Rome.

Gregory's reaction became increasingly unfriendly. He threatened the king that it was difficult "to oppose the holy Roman Church, which must always obey her like a mother". He interrupted the coronation negotiations, issued an *Arbitrium* and already hinted at the possibility of Henry's deposition. The investiture dispute, the power struggle between kings and popes that had lasted almost half a century, thus gradually took on a more divisive form.

This can be seen in a letter from Gregory dated December 8

- 7f (the dating is not entirely certain), in which he admitted to the "King Henry's apostolic blessing - sends, but with the addition, - if otherwise he obeys the apostolic see,

as befits a Christian king" (ut christianum decet regem). However, he did not do this, but -knowingly kept company with excommunicated persons- and therefore also had to -pay appropriate penance for this guilt-. Although the king sent him "numerous letters full of devotion", including envoys who sounded very similar, he proved to be "brittle in the matter itself and in his actions ..., reluctant". By transferring even the churches of Fermo and Spoleto, he was inflicting "wound after wound" on him and would have been well advised to "look with some reverence to the leader of the Church, namely the holy Apostle Prince Peter. If you belong to the bowls of the Lord, you have been handed over to him by the word and power of the Lord, so that he may shepherd you ... "; he had to be careful not to refuse "due reverence" to us, but to the almighty Christ. And as in every one of his letters, he quotes the Bible as he needs it: "He who hears you hears me, and he who despises you despises me.

For the pope, like all his peers, effectively builds up God, Christ and St. Peter behind him, thus multiplying his weight, his validity infinitely, as it were. Every disobedience of the king, he suggests to him, does not affect him, Gregory, but -'the Prince of the Apostles, the Master of the Church, St. Peter'. And towards the end he exhorts the king once again, in fatherly love, to recognize the lordship of Christ over you and to consider how dangerous it is to put your honour before his honour . . . -.

The Roman hierarchs always build the "higher" around themselves

up. For it is not about them, no, it is about St. Peter, Christ, about God himself! The old metaphysical smear theater that was played on the peoples and their leaders (not only in Rome) through the centuries - read the miserably grandiose blackening of Pippin by Pope Stephen 11 (IV 38i ff., esp. y86 ff!). Of course, it was not only the times that had changed somewhat. Henry rejected the papal legate - with fierce insults - (Lampen) and in public proclamations he spread the word that the pope had told him that

either he, Gregory, would die or he, Henry IV, would have his life and kingdom snatched from him.

**'DESCEND, DESCEND YOU  
ETERNALLY DAMNED ONE!'**

The king's reaction took place at the Diet of Worms on 4- January - 7 And at the Imperial Synod meeting there at the same time. In addition to twenty-four German archbishops and bishops, the majority of the German, largely anti-Roman Gregory's fanatical opponent, Cardinal Hugo Candidus, had also appeared at the event, along with many abbots, and he fired up those gathered with all kinds of possible and impossible, credible and implausible stories about the Pope (and not least Mathilde).

The prelates, among whom at first only Adalbero of Würzburg and Hermann of Metz resisted, finally, under the direction of Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz, all of them no longer recognized their -Briider Hi(debrand- as pope and renounced obedience to him, which all of them had to certify not only with their own signatures, but also each individual with an additionally documented consent.

In a lengthy letter, the chief shepherds heaped accusation after accusation on the pope. He had acted against law and order, had begun his office with a violation of the electoral decree of 1059 and with two serious perjuries, above all that of never winning the papal dignity himself, and had spread the consequences of the discord through the countries "with furious folly". For the "crime at the beginning" of his pontificate was followed by "a far worse progression" in decrees and deeds. The Synodals clothed him with "profane innovations", "fierce cruelty and cruel arrogance, frenzied madness". He had called the bishops "sons of bitches" and, as far as it was possible

He was able to "take away all power", but veins were racing, "giving up the entire administration of the church to the mob".

-Finally, you have filled the whole Church with the stench of a very bad scandal because you live with a woman and are more intimate with her than is necessary. Our sense of shame suffers more from this than our cause, but this is the general complaint that is heard everywhere: every judgment, every decree at the apostolic see is written by women, and finally this new senate of women rules the whole Church."

-A century ago, the Catholic church historian Janner wrote that "this after-synod (!) deposed Gregory VII under the most trivial pretexts and the silliest accusations". However, apart from the accusation against Countess Matilda - perhaps unjustly - the bishops' accusations were no more trivial and silly than those of Henry himself. Gregory had been raised in the tumult, the papal election decree of 1059 had been disregarded just as much as the right of the German king guaranteed therein. On the same day as the prelates, he sent the pope a decree of deposition, calling him the most pernicious enemy of his life and reign, agreeing with the verdict of the bishops who denounced Hildebrand's submission and obedience, no longer considering him to be the pope, and denying Gregory "every right that you seemed to have to the papacy until now". And also on the same day, Henry appealed to the Romans: - 'Arise therefore against him, most faithful, and let the first in fidelity be the first to condemn him. But we do not say that you should shed his blood, since life after deposition is a greater punishment for him than death."

Less than a 5 year old king was involved in the action against The German episcopate, which was then followed by the Lombard episcopate at a synod in Piacenza, also unanimously renounced Gregory. And the king, who accused Gregory of seeking his rule and life, demanded that he vacate his chair."

As Henry's envoys, the bishops Huzmann of Speyer, Burchard of Basel and Count Eberhard of Nellenburg, the be-

When the Synods of Worms and Piacenza were read out in the Lateran on February 1st before the Lenten Synod attended by over a hundred bishops, numerous abbots and lay people including Empress Agnes, they were not only mistreated by the pious fathers, but almost killed in the church. The Pope, who is said to have saved the half-dead from the worst, excommunicated the Metropolitan of Mainz, the chairman of the Worms Synod, along with the Lombard prelates.

He pronounced the ban on Heinrich himself - a hitherto unprecedented, hugely riotous action against the -Anointed of the Lord-. Although a Catholic king had often deposed a pope, a pope had never excommunicated a Catholic king. Two generations later, Bishop Otto von Frei- sing, a grandson of Henry IV, still marvels in his chronicle: - "Again and again I read the history of the Roman kings and emperors, and nowhere do I find that one of them was excommunicated by a Roman bishop before this one.

Gregory gave the whole thing a bombastic background, placing himself and his sentence in a cloud of metaphysics by including the verdict most effectively in a prayer to the Prince of the Apostles, Peter, with whom he almost put himself on a par. As his deputy, he had the power from God to bind and loose in heaven and on earth, and so, based on such power and authority, he -denied King Henry, the son of Emperor Henry, the government of the entire realm of Germany and Italy, I release all Christians from the oath of allegiance they have sworn or will swear to him, and commanded that no one should serve him as king. And since he has disdained to be obedient as a Christian, since he has not returned to the Lord, whom he has forsaken by associating with excommunicates, by committing many wickednesses and by disregarding my admonitions, since he has divorced himself from your church by trying to divide it, I bind him in your place with the bond of the curse. Yes, trusting in you, I bind him, so that all nations may know and understand.



confess that thou art Peter, and that upon thy rock the Son of the living God has founded his church, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it... -

Henry's mother, the Empress Agnes, who was completely devoted to Gregory, listened to the condemnation at the feet of His Holiness in a nun's veil. But although the ban, which meant exclusion from the community of believers and from all sacraments as well as forbidding any contact with the excommunicated, sought to bring the king to the brink of ruin and then did s o , Henry was still in good spirits.

First, on the holy feast of Easter - 76 in Utrecht, he cursed and deposed the man who had previously been prayed for at every mass, and at the end of June he banned him in Mainz. He also declared in another open letter to "Hildebrand, no longer the pope but the false monk", that the king could only be removed from the throne because of apostasy. And he apostrophized Hildebrand, now for his part drawing not only Peter but also Paul, the dissident, to his side: "You, then, condemned by this curse and by the judgment of all my bishops, come down, leave the apostolic seat you have assumed, and let another ascend the throne of St. Peter, who does not give violence the mask of piety but teaches the sound doctrine of St. Peter. I Henry, King by the grace of God, with all my bishops say to you: D e s c e n d , descend, you eternally damned!"

Henry had thus deposed the pope, but without being able to carry out the decision, a process that was just as unique in German history as the excommunication of a Roman-German king, a -Gesalbt of the Lord-, even if there was no formal dismissal of the ruler, whose theocratic self-image was entirely in line with that of his predecessors, entirely in keeping with tradition, whereas Gregory's attacks had a revolutionary character.

But the king, who was at the height of his power, quickly lost ground.

Some externalities, which were not perceived as such at the time, helped his opponents. The sudden death of Bishop Wilhelm von Unrecht, for example, who died extremely qualUoll dIT\*7- Apfil 1076, the proclaimer who was the only one of the prelates present had even dared to read out the anathema against the Pope. For the Gregorian side naturally interpreted the bishop's death as a final example of heavenly punishment. And perhaps the assassination of Henry's most loyal supporter, Duke Gottfried of Lower Lorraine, in February ioy6 in the encampment near the coast on the northernmost arm of the Meuse, which had taken place just a few weeks earlier, was something similar. "One night, when everyone was asleep, he had gone off to attend to a natural need when an assassin lying in wait plunged his sword into his buttocks and left it stuck in the wound, after which he hurriedly made his escape. The duke survived the wounding for barely seven days (it was not so unpopular in noble circles to stab your opponent while he was fecalizing: cf. BtWä Ü 3 ) Even Lampert, an enemy of the king, called the king's friend, who had been so horribly killed, a powerful, strong pillar of the German empire, for although he did not seem to command much respect because of his small stature and his hump, he was, as already mentioned, far superior to the other princes of the empire in terms of splendid wealth, the number of brave warriors, mature wisdom and finally in terms of behavior in the whole conduct of life.

The assassination of the prince was an irreplaceable loss for the king. And it was a stroke of luck for the pope, namely the -The removal of a serious obstacle to the plans envisioned by Gregory VII. And Mathilde, the then thirty-year-old widow of Gottfried, who was at most a few years older, was now in a position to "do everything she could for the victory of Gregory VII" (Meyer von Knouau), who of course often prayed for the salvation of the murdered man, even at Mathilde's request. It sounds like a legend of a saint.

The front of the German episcopate, however, now softened, as Gregory had expected. The majority, overwhelmed by two papal legals with evidence "from falsified history and invented documents in abundance" (Halter), fell away from the king. One after the other gave in, first Otto of Constance, then Metropolitan Siegfried of Mainz, followed by the chief shepherds of Kamerijk, Liège, Münster and Speyer, as well as many abbots. Some, such as Bishop Hermann of Metz, released Henry's high-ranking Saxon prisoners. Others, such as Bishop Pibo of Tom and Hiizmaiin of Speyer, even crawled to Kreut in Rome. The opposition of the princes also grew, especially in Saxony; however, the dukes of Swabia, Bavaria and Carinthia also declared that they would no longer recognize Henry as king unless he was soon released from the ban. Princes and princes of the church sought contact with the pope, who was already considering the election of another king, who was becoming more and more on top of things, becoming more and more brusque with every success, directing the hooliganism, even wanting to travel to Germany himself the following year to pronounce an arbitrary judgment, which, as things stood, could only result in Henry's deposition or total submission. At the same time, as he assured "high and low in the German empire", the reprehensible Gregory was willing to accept adversity, even death if necessary, "for the freedom of the holy church and the well-being of the empire" without hesitation.\*'

### Ca+OSSA

At this extremely threatening moment, the king decided on a surprising coup, one of the most famous princely ways and means of escape in world history, to flee forward, to prevent the Pope's visit to Germany by releasing him from his ban and readmitting him to the Church. In mid-December, Henry set off from Speyer and, as the princes Rudolf, Welt and Berchtold had closed the Alpine passes to him, traveled to Germany.

He then crossed the Mont Cenis in the middle of an icy winter, accompanied by his wife, his not yet three-year-old son Konrad and relatively few loyal followers, sometimes crawling rather than climbing, the queen and her wives allegedly pulled on ox hides. Most of the horses died.

The German greats had asked Gregor several times to them, most recently until cum z. February 1077 at a Reichstag scheduled for August.

The Pope had hurried as much as he could, accompanied by his young friend, the Tuscan margravine. But when he had already reached Mantua, he evaded Henry's approach to Matilda's castle of Canossa, an impregnable mountain fortress on the northern slopes of the Apennines (near Reggio), of which only ruins remain today. The king immediately moved into nearby Bianello Castle, also owned by Matilda, his cousin, and opened negotiations with the pope, which were then continued at the neighboring castle of Montezane. As the matter, the course of which was shrouded in darkness, did not progress, Henry appeared, uninvited and unsolicited, on January z .

•1077 'in penitential garb in front of the inner gate of Canossa, came back on the following two days and finally, mediated mainly by the king's relatives, the castle mistress Matilda, and Abbot Hugh of Cluny, Henry's papal companion and godfather, after settling the terms of release from Gregor, who had been pressured by his surroundings. However, it was not only the king who was formally accepted back into the church community, but also the others who had been released from the ban: Archbishop Liemar of Hamburg-Bremen (1077\*-1101) - one of Henry's most reliable and energetic followers throughout his life

IV (who calls him -nominis nostri precipuus amator- like no other German prelate) -, the bishops Werner von Straßburg,

Burchard of Lausanne, Burchard of Binsell, Eberhard of Naumburg. The pope gave them the kiss of peace in the castle chapel and the king communion, which once again proves his readmission to the church.

Canossa - unquestionably one of the most famous names in German history, one of the best-known keywords and buzzwords in it, a worldview buzzword almost without equal, constantly quoted, for example Bismarck's "We won't go to Canossa", constantly thematized in plays, novels, poems, right down to the verses:

-In the castle courtyard at Canossa  
stands the German Emperor Henry,  
Barfufi and inn BüBerhemde,  
And the night is cold and not raining.

Peeking out of the window above  
Two figures run the moonlight  
Gregor's bald head flickers over  
and the breasts of Mathildis.

Of course: Heine. And already in the third line of his six-stanza namesake "-Heinrich" comes the word around which Auto Engler recently wrote a gauzy book, so to speak: -Canossa. The Great Deception", in which he wants to show that everything was very, very different from what the world, including historians, has believed for almost a millennium. And what is written in Engler's book does not seem to be so completely wrong, in fact it is essentially convincing, despite some of the inaccuracies it contains - like any work of history.

Canossa ... What is reflected in the minds of countless people from so many centuries at the sound of this name is the image of the German king crawling to his cross before the Pope: three days of penance in ice and snow like the last bastard.

Can it be that way?

Let's take a look at the most famous contemporary annalist, Lampert von Hersteld, who wrote about this process. He writes: '- The king came as he was commanded, and since the castle was surrounded by three walls, he was taken into the second ring of walls, while all his entourage remained outside, and here, after taking off his royal robes, he stood without any insignia of royal dignity, without displaying the slightest splendor, barefoot and sober from morning till evening, awaiting the pope's judgment. So he behaved on the second day, so on the third. Finally, on the fourth day, he was brought before him, and after many speeches and rebuttals, he was finally absolved from him under the following conditions . . ."

Apart from the fact that no precise details can be ascertained, that we certainly do not know where Henry or his entourage were, and apart from the fact that the king did not come on the orders of the pope or anyone else - Henry came, comments Wolfgang Dietrich Fritz, "during or after the negotiations, but in any case not by order, but of his own volition". But all this aside, the Hersfeld monk claims that Henry stood before Canossa for three days "barefoot and sober from morning to evening (*nudis pedibus ieiuniis a matutino usque ad vespertinum*), awaiting the pope's judgment".<sup>4</sup> Although Lampert's annals describe "a high point of medieval historiography" (Struve), they are in part quite fanciful and, above all, decidedly hostile to the king. After all, there is hardly a shameful act that he can accuse Heinrich IV. does not trust or attach. -For neither reason, nor his increasing anus, nor the censure of any friend put a stop to the king's licentiousness; he became much worse from day to day, tore apart all bonds of human, not to say Christian, timidity and plunged headlong into every crime ..."

Accordingly, Lampert now shows Heinrich as undignified as possible, barefoot in the snow for three days from morning to evening

and ice. It was January, the middle of winter. And what a winter! A winter of the century, so to speak. Lampert himself reports that the Rhine was frozen over and passable for pedestrians from mid-November until almost the beginning of April. But not only Germany, the whole of Europe froze over. Italy too. The Po was also closed. But Canossa was six hundred meters above sea level. And Heinrich was supposed to ...? And a judge at that! And for three days? He would hardly have lasted an hour or two without serious damage. That's what Aulo Engler insists on, although it should be so clear."

Of course, it was not only Lampert who spread the word, but also our main source, the Pope, who was even more hostile to the king. For as soon as Henry was no longer useful to him no longer seemed to be his "most excellent son" (*excellētissime fili*), as he had been in July 7i. or his "most beloved son" (*fili karissime*), as he had been a few months earlier, when he no longer wrote to him, -how much I love you-, but as Heinrich suddenly -compensated good with evil-, committed -unheard-of wickedness- and Gregory himself, as far as possible, became even more obsessed with power, he painted a picture of the king's wretched humiliation to the world and in particular to all his -loves" in Germany, in his own measured, well-considered form, all of course, as he emphasizes, -in unvarnished truth . And this brief account has shaped the scene and history of Canossa to this day.

Even before he entered Italy, says Gregory of Henry, he sent -submissive messengers to us in advance and offered to make amends to God, St. Peter and us in everything, and promised to maintain complete obedience for the betterment of his life, provided he only deserved to obtain absolution and the grace of the apostolic blessing. And in Canossa, the pope claimed in January 1077, apparently immediately after the incident - to all archbishops bishops, dukes, counts and other princes of the Kingdom of the Germans - still *GruB* and apostolic blessing before -, in Canossa "he spent three days in front of the gate of the castle without any royal splendor on pitying

He did not cease to implore, with many tears, the help and consolation of apostolic mercy, until he had moved all who were present there, and to whom this news reached, to such mercy and compassion that all turned to him with many entreaties and tears, and were truly astonished at the unusual severity of our disposition; But some complained that in us there was not the firmness of apostolic severity, but, as it were, the cruelty of tyrannical savagery.

In the end we were conquered by his constant contrition and such entreaties of all those present, finally loosened the bonds of anathema and received him back into the grace of communion and the Church of the holy Mother Church, after we had received from him the certainties which are listed below."''

Pope Gregory VII. was thus the first to subject his opponent to the three-day unshod (dis- calciatus) procedure before Canossa in those extremely icy January days, during which he experienced the help and consolation of apostolic mercy amidst numerous tears, until finally all the others wept too, "all who were present there", until "all interceded for him with many pleas and tears", until the -permanent contrition- of the wicked but so harshly penitent king softened the pope, who had everything in his hands.

A bit thick, isn't it\*

In any case, it did not correspond to the situation, neither climatic nor political. The king certainly needed papal absolution if he did not want to risk his throne and empire and perhaps even more. But Gregory, the priest, had no choice but to absolve the penitent sinner so as not to lose all credibility in the eyes of the Christian world.

Moreover, the Pope did not have much to say politically in Italy at the time. The paradoxical situation had arisen that, in Germany, where Henry was facing ruin, he had almost all the trump cards.



but the German king now dominated Italy far more than his opponent. Everything here was friendly to the king, and he soon had a sizeable force at his disposal. Even Lampert admits that as soon as the news spread in Italy that the king had arrived, "all the bishops and counts of Italy flocked to him, received him with the highest honors, as befitted royal dignity, and within a few days an immense army gathered around him. They had longed for his appearance in Italy from the very beginning of his reign, because the country was constantly troubled by wars, uprisings, raids and various private feuds, and because they hoped that everything that nefarious people did against the laws and rights of their ancestors would be stopped by the intervention of the royal authority. Moreover, because I had spread the rumor that he was rushing in anger to depose the pope, they were extremely pleased that they would be given the opportunity to take revenge on the one who had long ago excluded them from the church community for their dishonor."

And on i. October Gregory himself confesses -to all the faithful of St. Peter in the German Empire:- "All the Latins, as many as there are of them, with the exception of very few, applaud and defend Henry's cause, while they accuse me of excessive harshness and cruelty towards him."

#### RUDOLF VOM RHEINFELDEN BECOMES COUNTER-KING

Although, in the medieval view, the Book of Canossa, like every church book, was not a disgrace, the weakness of kingship vis-à-vis the papacy was obvious, its theocratic splendor was severely tarnished, and Canossa was without doubt an epochal event, which is precisely what the usual "bodies of the pope were intended to signal.

Heinrich had played the role of the poor sinner, the hardened Gregor even shed tears, which he did almost daily as needed, especially at Mass. Were they tears of emotion? Of joy? Royalty had humiliated itself to the dust before him, and this defeat was indelible and momentous, the pope's claim to be able to depose the king was recognized in principle. On the other hand, however, his pitiful kowtowing, at least in the short term, proved to be a de facto advantage; not a "stroke of genius", but a good move, a bold coup. He had given Henry a lifeline, made him capable of action again and prevented the Augsburg Diet, Gregory's threatening meeting with the anti-heretics in Germany; indeed, they now had no moral justification at all, especially as the pope had, at least in fact, recognized Henry as king and dismissed him with his blessing. Some of the princes thus sided with him again.

Only one radical group continued to resist, among them many prelates, the chief shepherds of Mainz, Salzburg, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Worms, Würzburg and Passau. They, Otto von Northeim and the southern German dukes elevated the Swabian duke Rudolf von Rheinfelden to king on March 1, 1077 in Forchheim. The election, which took place in the presence of two papal legals, was primarily a clerical election, the high clergy clearly formed the majority, they also voted first, and Archbishop Siegfried 1st of Mainz, who had switched from the royal to the papal party the year before, presided over the matter. On 26. March, Rudolf was crowned by Archbishop Siegfried in Mainz, again in the presence of the Roman legates, and a few years later Siegfried crowned the counter-king Hermann of Salm in Goslar.

Even if Gregory would have preferred a postponement of the election and avoided official recognition of Rudolf, the new king was generally regarded as a candidate of the Church, he was very close to its reform efforts, promised obedience to the Pope and guaranteed the canonical election of bishops.

However, he did not relinquish the investiture as such. Favored by the episcopal regency government (**1063**) through the transfer of the *abbey of Kempteri 'zui Reichskostert*, he had repeatedly exchanged fronts. And although related to the Salians and supported by them, he was accused of multiple attacks on the king. Although he reconciled

He left him in 7\* Hud 1 74 It, but rejoined the princely front that closed the Alpine passes to Henry, and then undoubtedly sought the crown himself, even though he was

was apparently only forced to make the obviously well-prepared choice. In reality, a crown had already been made for him in the monastery of Ebersheimmünster, presided over by Abbot Adelgaud, a relative of Rudolf."

Together with the rebellious Greats, the Pope had brought the civil war to Germany and had the advantage of being safe from German intervention in Italy as long as the papal party kept King Henry in check. The schism ran through the entire empire, separating bishoprics and monasteries; bishops and antibishops, abbots and antiepiscopal abbots stood opposite each other, the 'royals' and those loyal to St. Peter. The German people, however, at least the lower classes, especially peasants and townspeople in the south and in the Rhine region, but also the lower nobility, probably even some of the lower clergy, predominantly stood by Henry, apparently hoping for peace and security from him. Some prelates also took his side, such as the Bamberg bishops Hermans I and Rupert.

During Rudolf's coronation ceremony in Mainz, on March 6, '77. March ' 77. there was an armed uprising there by the citizens who sympathized with Henry. Their attack was concentrated on the Palatinate and in particular the cathedral, with quite a few courtiers being killed,

but above all over a hundred townspeople are said to have died. The carnage continued for the next day. Archbishop and counterking had to flee. Worms closed its gates to Rudolf, Würzburg fought back desperately. In the end, he retreated to Saxony, his future power base. And Henry deposed him at a court meeting in Uim at the end of May - 77 As Duke of Swabia.

abdicated. Dukes Welf and Berthold also lost offices and fiefs and were sentenced to death. Both were given established opponents by the king. Double occupations were not uncommon in bishop's chairs either. As one reads in a certain comedian, complains a contemporary chronicler, "We are all doubled, so the popes are doubled, the bishops doubled, the kings doubled, the dukes doubled!"

### CITIZEN WAR IN GERMAN LAND

Swabia, where the supporters of the two kings were closest to each other, suffered the worst at first.

According to the opposing sources, Henry's military campaign there was accompanied by all kinds of hostility, robbery, murder, fire, public rape, especially by the Bohemians, who raped women in churches where they saw stables or dragged them away as prisoners. In Wiesloch, more than a hundred people were killed in the burning of a Christian temple in the fight against the kings. Many villages and their churches went up in flames. For miles around, the land was full of smoke and fires; feuds, broken castles, no end to the looting and burning, atrocities on both sides.

Bishops Werner of Straßburg, Burchard of **Basel** and Burchard of Lausanne, in particular, ravaged the possessions of the anti-king in order to subjugate Henry's entire country. Bishop Wernher of Straßburg, who lived with a woman whom he had bought at a high price from one of his knights, died suddenly in the king's war camp, still in his armor, when, according to Hirsau tradition, he was about to attack this monastery.

But outside Swabia, too, they ravaged, besieged, attacked and put one of the papal legates, Abbot Bernhard, under lock and key for half a year after he had been robbed. The local Bavarians were particularly hard hit by Henry's

Wrath. From the extremely fierce winter of 1071 to 1072, the kings raided and burned castles here, *allegedly* eight, and above all devastated the *Crebiet des*

**Bishop** Altmann of Passau, who belonged to the Pope and was opposed by his own diocesan clergy for the rest of his life, a blessed man who had two opposing bishops, remained confined to the eastern part of his diocese and is still venerated as a saint from Passau to Vienna without being canonized (feast of 8 August).

At that time, Abbot Udalrich of St. Gall also took up the sword against Abbot Eggehard of Reichenau, which dragged on for some time and was not even finished when Udalrich left St. Gall in doubt" and Abbot Eggehard of Reichenau successfully stormed the opposing monastery three times in the year 1008, the last of which was on Christmas Day.

In the meantime, the war had been carried to Franconia, the main battleground for the next few years, where Rudolf had invaded with Saxons and Swabians in spring 7, and in August 7, a long, back-and-forth battle took place near Schweinfurt, Mellrichstadt, without any real decision. -St. Peter is our Lord!" was the field cry of the Saxons. And among the first to take to the bushes on their side were **Archbishop** Werner of Magdeburg, the brother of St. Anno, and Bishop Werner of Merseburg.

On the same day, the deposed dukes Welf and Berthold destroyed a royal Frankish peasant army on the Neckar River, a total of twelve thousand men, some of whom were killed and some of whom were emasculated with inhuman hardship, as reported by a reporter.

-a milder punishment". In revenge, the Upper German peasants hunted down fugitive Gregorian prelates, captured Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz, who was almost hanged, and the Bishop of Worms, completely plundered Wernher of Merseburg and killed Wernher of Magdeburg together with the clergymen accompanying him. The Saxons, however, probably too weak for a strategic offensive, returned to Thuringia, plundering it and once again praising God for the victory with songs of praise and

thankful for many tears, to their homeland. In the process Rudolf burned the town of Schmalkalden.

Henry IV held Swabia harmless in late autumn and practiced the Good News there in his own way, if the opposing main report is to be believed, although the royal camp partially confirms it.

So the Gotreshäuser once again attracted a lot of attention. They were often robbed of everything by the worst and most inhuman robbers, burned down, the altars smashed, the relics stolen; after all, people knew how to value the most sacred things. Of course, a great deal of other sacred property was also carried off. Nearly a hundred churches are said to have been p r o f a n e d , demolished, even turned into positions, into battles. (This is reminiscent of similar, albeit - and this is progress - far more extensive, violent actions by the Catholic Croats against around three hundred Serbian Orthodox churches during the Second World War).

In Germany, however, Catholics were pitted against Catholics at the time. Priests were beaten, kicked, stripped of their vestments, women were defiled (ad usque mortem constuprando) in holy places, even with fatal results, or led away in men's clothing. And all of this was permitted or even participated in by the bishops who stood by Henry. Among them was Archbishop Udo of Trier, himself a Swabian by birth and Count Nellenburg. And if divine vengeance befell him immediately afterwards during the siege of Tübingen Castle, a sudden death<sup>3</sup> - he lives on in the history of the diocese as a 'very venerable man'."

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## ÜAPST GREGO R OPENLY TAKES THE SIDE OF THE OPPO<sub>i</sub>(ON KING

While the civil war was raging in Germany, the Pope seemed to be keeping himself central. His German followers, obviously part of the bishops, were not sparing with their accusations against him. They all felt like "sheep led to the slaughter" while he looked on. Where was his "highly praised diligence", asked mau and suspected he had been soothed by "the soft persuasion of trusted persons". But they demanded revenge, demanded his action "in the name of the Lord Jesus" against a man whose fame was only feces and worms.

Hildebrand was pained to hear at the beginning of April ioyq -King Rudolf and all those who defend the Christian faith with him", allegedly wrote that he saw "the German Empire - today the most noble of all the empires in the world - now devastated by fire, murder and robbery, deeply shaken and even perishing". But he bore it bravely and was impartial. For one day he wanted to go to Germany, "for the sake of his salvation, of course - with or without the king's consent", and decide the dispute over the throne there. He was only interested in one question: who would obey, who would submit completely to Rome and who would only appear to do so. Time, however, did not suit him. He met with no great sympathy in any camp, but with undisguised suspicion in all of them.\*

According to one annalist, after the Lenten Synod in7 the Pope sent the two participating bishops of Henry IV without Rudolf's envoys, albeit with great caution.

He returned with his apostolic indulgence and blessing. In the same year he also sent his legates to Germany and declared that whoever resisted them would feel the vengeance of the Almighty God in all his affairs, would have no strength in all battles and no triumph in his whole life. For Gregory, who was already spreading the idea of holy war, believed in the use of weapons, even saying

-in defense of justice according to the counsel of pious



Bishops- (consilio religiosorum episcoporum pro defendenda iusritia).

In the winter of i 7sf8o, Henry unexpectedly advanced into Saxony, Rudolf's main support. However, on zy. January Io8o at the Battle of Flarchheim, south of Mühlhausen. And now, after Henry's d e f e a t , Gregory felt the time had come to abandon even the last semblance of neutrality. His German followers presented him with a complaint at the Roman Lenten Synod xo8o that did not leave a good mark on Henry IV. He had invaded the empire, indeed his own, against the papal commandment -in a tyrannical manner-, had "devastated everything around with iron, plunder, fire", h a d begun "countless acts of violence", had burned "very many churches", had destroyed them completely, had killed many thousands of people and had the bishop Adalbert of Worms tortured in captivity. "Archbishop Wernher of Magdeburg w a s also piously killed by his tyrannical activities" and others.

Thus, at the Lenten Synod of7. March io8o, Gregory solemnly recognized the antikings and cursed Henry for the second time, declaring him deposed, claiming that the apostles Peter and Paul had the power to give and take kingdoms, principalities and possessions of every kind on earth. He released Henry's subjects from their oath of allegiance and promised his opponents a spiritual reward. And again he effectively pushed heaven in front of him, this time additionally invoking St. Paul: "Saint Peter, leader of the apostles, and you Saint Paul, teacher of the Gentiles, will you - I pray - lend me your ear and hear me graciously. Since you are disciples of the truth and love it, stand by me so that I may tell you the truth without falsehood - I renounce it completely ... "\*.

They always speak like this, the great self-justifiers, the great word-makers, the great liars. And now he tells St. Peter and Paul and the whole world t h a t his entire ministry under the popes, his entire ascent, happened unwillingly and reluctantly: "against his will" already with Pope Gregory the Great.

Gebirgei "even less gladly" returned with Pope Leo; and least of all, of course, did he himself become pope, was he "very unwillingly placed on your throne as one quite unworthy, with great pain, sighs and lamentations -.

Certainly, terrible for a man like Gregory, probably the most terrible moment of his life. And already the hordes of the devil stood up against him, on one side - the eternal black and white painting of Catholica - stood the members of the devil (*membra diaboli*), on the other "the members of Christ" (*membra Christi*). And the wicked - d a r e d - to "do violence to him to the point of blood". (He is said to have been attacked at the altar, but a dangerous injury was miraculously prevented).

But who were the -members of the devil-\* -The kings of the earth rose up, and the temporal and spiritual princes, the courtiers and the common people - All against the Lord, against his cesalves and not least, of course, against him - "to destroy me completely by death or banishment". And especially Henry, -whom they call a king, a son of Emperor Henry, had raised his heel against your church and had conspired with numerous bishops beyond the Alps and from Italy to overthrow and subjugate me". Yet the latter had once come to him in Canosas "confused and humiliated", where he had "merely restored him to the common-ship", "but I did not restore him to his kingship, of which I had deposed him in your synod in Rome ...". A brazen lie. For in fact the

Bannsentenz of io76 (p.7) for excommunication, not deposition. And Gregory does indeed call and treat him as king again afterwards.

But now Rudolf is his man, he was willing to obey me in every way (*omnibus modis oboedire*). And that alone is the point. And to be on the safe side, Holiness does not fail to demand an oath from Rudolf for the holy Roman churches, the text of which begins: -From now and henceforth I will be faithful to St. Peter the Apostle and his deputy.

Gregory, the current pope, in sincere fidelity. And everything that the Pope prescribes for me with the words: 'in true obedience - I will faithfully observe, as is the duty of a Christian.

Interesting, in passing, the phrase "be faithful in sincere fidelity" (fidelis ero per rectam fidem). Because being faithful alone is not enough! Not for those who are never faithful themselves. Who usually go over to the strongest side. It is similar with the phrase "with true obedience" (per veram obedientiam). For obedience alone is not enough. (And similarly, because all of this is typical, Gregory sets out the oath formula for the Cegen King, in which he must "prove himself to him, Gregory, in true fidelity ... faithfully", and of course again "through true obedience").

### **LUST FOR POWER AND POSSESSIONS OF A ST. POPE**

Even more significant, although anything but surprising: the longest passage of the oath applies to land and rents, the goods, the most earthly, which is what the preachers of the afterlife are always particularly concerned about - even today. "With regard to the occupation of the churches and lands and the interest which the Emperor Constantine or Charles gave to St. Peter, and of all churches and goods which have been offered or granted by any man or woman at any time to the apostolic see and which are or have been in my power, I will so agree with the Pope that I shall not run the risk of impiety or the corruption of my soul.

He deposes the king, he installs the king. He takes power and dignity from one, he grants, allows another to reign. He does this, he alone, the -servant of the servants of God- (servus servorum Dei), as he is called in each of his letters, humbly at the head (even before he, the chief servant, names any under-servant, emperor, king or bishop).

But just as he sets himself above the whole world, he also raises the bishops above it. Act now, he calls out to the participants of the Lenten Synod x080 in a megalomania that is hard to surpass, "that all the world may see and recognize that, if you can bind and loose in heaven, you can take and give on earth kingdoms, kingships, principalities and dominions, margravates, counties and all men's bcsessions to each according to merit. For you have often taken patriarchates, privies, archbishoprics and bishoprics from the wicked and unworthy and given them to ecclesiastically minded men. But if you judge the spiritual, what is there to believe about your ability to judge the secular? And if you rule over the angels (!) and judge all proud princes, what can you do with their servants? May all kings and all princes of this world now learn how great you are, what you are capable of, and may they fear to disregard the command of your church.

In countless letters, Gregory speaks of the goods, the earthly ones, as I said, without any tempting hints, forgetting the heavenly ones, that is part of the business. And as merciful as he can be with these, he is just as relentless with those, with the goods of the Church, however they have been obtained century after century, bloodlessly and bloodily.

-If anyone appropriates the property of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, wherever it may be, or knowingly conceals it from the public, or does not render the service he owes to St. Peter, let him take note t h a t he will be liable to the wrath of Ciotte and the holy apostles, like a wicked man. But whoever is caught in this offense shall return the inheritance of St. Peter according to the law and pay four times his own goods as a penalty." - Fourfold, indeed almost modest, considering the surcharges and multiplications t h a t the Church occasionally allowed itself in such restitutions.

St. Pope can go into great detail when it comes to money and Good. He once reminded Abbot Wilhelm of Hirsau Abbey

immediately after giving his apostolic blessing, that the Schaffhausen monastery of All Saints of the Holy Redeemer was to be paid annually in gold pieces, of which zo amounted to an ounce". And even if ( \* 74) the almighty God begins to preserve Henry IV's earthly goods and further, so not without the addition -to thrive his church ...-.

But now he subjected the one who would not submit, the often-named Henry, whom they call king, and all his favorites to excommunication and bound them with the fetters of anathema. And again I forbid him the kingship of the Germans and of Italy in the name of Almighty God and yours, and take from him all royal power and dignity, and forbid any Christian to obey him as king; and all who have sworn or will swear to him for the rule of the realm, I release from the promise of the oath. May this Henry, together with his favorites, never gain strength in any war and never win a victory in his life. On the other hand, I grant and allow Rudolf, whom the Germans have chosen as king in loyalty to you, to rule and defend the German Empire ... -\*

But not enough. The most beautiful thing comes next, the most embarrassing, because it shows how overconfident the megalomaniac was, what prophetic powers he seemed sure of. After all, he proclaimed in front of all the people at St. Peter's at Easter, after repeating his ban, that Henry would be in chains until the i. August, on the feast of St. Peter, Henry would meet his downfall, would be dead or never destroyed. He went so far as to declare that he should no longer be believed and should be driven out as pope if his prophecy did not come true.

Gregory's apostasy had already begun. Repeating the ban did not increase its effectiveness. It became increasingly clear what the Roman was fighting for. And very few wanted to believe in his world domination. However, it was widely believed that his excommunication of Henry and his recognition of Rudolf had prevented the civil war.

that he was "the cause of all misfortune and bloodshed" (Hauck). The Saxon front also softened. And even most of the German and Lombard bishops now switched over to Henry. At a synod in Bamberg at Easter, obedience to the Pope was declared and he was severely condemned in a sermon. Another synod in Mainz on Pentecost, 3i. May, no longer recognized Gregory as pope. And in June 1080, in response to Henry's renewed expulsion, three major representatives of the German and Lombard episcopate met with the king in Brixen and d e p o s e d Gregory VII."

### **GREGORS AaSEzzuxc, UNFILLED PROPHECIES AND DREAMS OF WAR**

The Brixetian Synod of the summer of 1080, which opened a decades-long schism in the Western Church, hurled out - as if from a single mouth - the horrific complaint about the murderous madness of a certain Hildebrand, the false monk, the so-called "Pope Gregory VII", a man who was obsessed with sorcery, believed in divination and dreams, loved shameless spectacles, preached oath-breaking, arson and murder and even took the life of King Henry.

The synod strongly castigated Gregory's obvious greed for money.

-Having thus procured vast sums for himself, he transferred the abbot and seized the abbey of St. Paul. Then he fraudulently seized a certain Mancius and induced him to sell him his office, that of archdeacon, and although Pope Nicholas did not want this, he provoked a popular cult and forced his elevation to the dignity of papal economist. He was also the murderer of four popes, whom he had poisoned by one of his confidants, John Brachiuti. Even if everyone else kept quiet about it, this John

nes himself in agony, tortured by all-too-late remorse, confessed on his deathbed with a ghastly cry."

And after the accession of Pope Alexander, the Brixen declaration continues, Gregory had occupied the Lateran palace in a hostile manner with armed forces, frightening the clergy so that they would not dare to contradict him, because no one wanted to vote for him, he terrified the clergy with the drawn swords of his followers under threat of death, and jumped onto the long occupied episcopal chair earlier than the grave took possession of the body of the deceased".

However much or little of all these incriminations were true: Cardinal Hugo Candidus, who signed in place of all the Roman cardinals - or so it seemed to him - and almost thirty Catholic bishops also vouched with their names for the obvious lies! In any case, the assembly decreed on June 27. June, Gregory was to be deposed, expelled and, if he did not abdicate himself, excommunicated in accordance with the church's statutes. In addition to the pope, the synod also banned his leading supporters, Rudolf of Rheinfelden and Welf IV of Bavaria. At the same time, probably mainly under pressure from the Lombards, they nominated a new pope, the former Italian chancellor Wibert of Ravenna, who had been banned and condemned several times by Gregory and who called himself Clement 111 after his enthronement in 1084 ."

It is true that Gregor had still given the  
 'Archbishop Wibert of Ravenna wished him salvation in Christ Jesus. Indeed, even five years later, 1077\*. he did not want to "gloat over your downfall", as he wrote to him, but rather to "come to the aid of your salvation". In the same year, however, he is for him - the one who is now called Bishop of the Church of Ravenna. He had corrupted it, once rich and God-fearing, by tyrannical plundering, by the example of an impious life, and was entangled in many other misdeeds, the worst, from which everything else stems, -swollen from the pride of arrogance, the heel against the prince of the apostles

and persists in disobedience, which is tantamount to the crime of idolatry. Such a criminal creature unquestionably falls under his spell. And all those who dare to oppose him will be cut out as rotten members of the whole body of Christ - which is the Catholic Church - by the sword of anathema . . . -. To others, however, who love God and are obedient to St. Peter, he generously grants the remission of all sins. Given at Rome . . . \*"

*Gregor paints, following the great tradition of his church v'm An-* from the beginning, from the New Testament onwards (cf. esp. I•43 ff.), consistently black and white. He, who nobly instructs others "that you always promote justice and by no means parties, according to our example (!), he never took the path of justice, but always only that of the party, his own.

It is self-evident that Christians who are against him are -gathered by the devil's activity". Christians who are against him, on the other hand, are "gathered together by the devil's activity". They are engaged in "breaking idolatry" and belong to the "wicked, whose counsel is like poison". But he who parries, who submits, loves God and is good. Everything else is constantly cursed, heretized and demonized. All opponents of the pope give -the bride of Christ to the devil-, are "henchmen of the devil", "forerunners of the Antichrist", "because the closer the time of the Antichrist approaches, the more he fights to the death to wipe out the Christian religion". The "old enemy" is arming his limbs - to turn everything upside down".

Gregory also likes to paint a dramatic scenario that smells of persecution, also following an ancient Christian pattern. (Persecution is almost always good for them!) Yes, -to this day he "suffers" the raging of tyrannical persecution, his church suffers. And then the shepherds and the dogs, the defenders of the flock, flee, and without anyone objecting, wolves and robbers attack the sheep of Christ ... -.

Persecution is good. Better, of course, the persecution of the others, the putting down of those who think differently, of all



of the faithful, but also the opposition in his own ranks. Gregory's curses flashed like lightning across the lands, and he excommunicated even his descendants down to the seventh generation! He spoke the truth and justice in his mouth, but secretly did not reject lies himself, but made use of them. -He lied and falsified the documents he quoted (Mc Cabe). And it is significant that his unscrupulous financial policy, the accusations made in all tones by his opponents about his bribery, his venality, his sending of church treasures (especially for war purposes) were very rarely disputed by the Gregorian party.

Certainly, many lies were told about him - by Christians, by Catholics, mind you. And not all stories about his atrocities, about almost groundless executions and tortures, are true. But it may also be untrue or only half-true that, as Wido of Ferrara, the Brixen Decree, the *gesta romanae ecclesiae* and others report, people were tied up and thrown into a room peppered with nails on his orders, and that several of his predecessors were poisoned: Gregory was harsh to the point of brutality. When an abbot once had disobedient monks' eyes and tongues gouged out and was punished for it, St. Gregory was the only one to rebuke this punishment and later promoted the abbot's beast to bishop!"

Persecution is good. But torture and the sword of anathema were not enough for the Pope. He believed, as he does now in the case of the antipope, that he had another sword up his sleeve to "destroy the holy church of Ravenna", which used to be -to win him back, to wrest him from the hands of the godless. For anyone who was against him, even as a Christian, Catholic or bishop, was absolutely godless, and insofar as everything revolved around him as if he were a god, he had a certain right to do so.

Gregory wanted to redeem Ravenna from "servile oppression, indeed tyrannical bondage, to -earlier freedom". For just as God was with him, with him, in him, so too, of all things, was freedom, and again only with him.

Gregory, like all enslavers, likes to talk about freedom, the --freedom of the churches, "Christian freedom". And of course he was once again planning a campaign, a war in the autumn against Wibert of Ravenna - "we will march into that region with an army, as we hope from the Lord, and undoubtedly trust that we will liberate it with his help".

There was one event that fitted too well into the scenario to be seen as a miracle, which of course it was - the sudden discovery of St. Matthew the Apostle (!) in Salerno, which gave the aggressive Vicar of Christ such hope. He believed, as he told Archbishop Alfanus on 18. September to Archbishop Alfanus of Salerno, he believed that now all the saints, the whole of heaven including Mary, the Mother of God, would be much more inclined towards the human race (which here probably stands for Gregory). And could the miracle of Salerno not also cause his false prophecy, King Henry's fiasco up to August 1st, to be forgotten a little, even if he immediately linked a new prediction to it, the near end of the "wickedness of the enemy", his "deserved destruction", which, however, happened just as little.

For the rest, hard I regoi not a moment with the Verf)u- and deposing his opponent. And although Wibert or Clement III, the former imperial chancellor of Italy who was related to the Counts of Canossa, impressed friends and foes alike, although he was recognized as learned and morally upright even by political and ecclesiastical opponents, Gregory indulged in excesses of defamation. The man who judged all bishops and people in general solely on the basis of whether they were at his beck and call, whether they submitted to him or not, called his rival a perjured, world-famous gangster, a heretic prince and antichrist, -a godless man", "known throughout the Roman world for his nefarious crimes", called the Council of Brixen an -unquestionable assembly of Satan- and -completely corrupt in the knowledge of all crimes-. And since *he* had once again prophesied the imminent death of his opponents, pro-

he planned a campaign against the bishopric of his rival in order to do something about it: Countess Mathilde, who had just donated her vast allodial estate in Italy and Lorraine to the Pope and received it back as a fief for life, was to attack Ravenna from the north, while he himself wanted to lead an army from the south."

Naturally, St. Pope also looked elsewhere for warriors. And once again, the Normans in particular were to stand in for him. He quickly released Robert Guiscard from the ban, had him personally swear an oath of fealty on June 10, 1080 and even tolerated Robert in the territories he had conquered. He was given Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, for which he had to pay annual interest and protect the church. He became a follower "by the grace of God and St. Peter", and for more than 600 years since then the kings of both Sicilies have remained vassals of the Pope.

In the fall of 1080, Wiberr was to be finished off militarily. But once again Gregory lacked the troops, once again he was unable to lead a force, as Robert Guiscard was fully occupied with preparing an offensive against the Emperor of Constantinople. And in the following year, Gregory, who believed Henry to be in a more unfortunate position than ever, which is why he also wanted to enlist Duke Welf "for the cause of St. Peter", and also sought to include Welf "completely in the Scho8 of St. Peter", wanted to drive the Normans into war again. Indeed, he was so anxious that he did not hesitate to ask Robert whether he wanted to offer his service in arms as a gift to God during Lent, when the Normans otherwise did not fight and the Church itself frowned upon wars, by going with the Pope or his legate in military armor to the land of St. Peter in order to strengthen the good and "bring the rebels back to the Roman Church through terror or violence"?

But the campaign to Ravenna failed. Robert Guiscard did not send the promised help, but instead advanced into the Byzantine Empire in the summer of 1081, crossed the Adriatic Sea and occupied Corfu and the west coast of Greece. And shortly

After Gregory had prophesied the imminent collapse of his enemies, Matilda's troops were severely defeated on October 21, 1085. On October 28 the Lombards loyal to the king were severely defeated at Volta (near Mantua). Soon afterwards, rebellions shook their rule and they were even considered mad.

The Holy Father, however, made as little headway in Italy as he had in the same year with his war plan against King Alfonso VI of Castile, a monarch who, although he had helped to lead the Roman liturgy and had also restored and secured the great pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela (p. 485), had not yet taken the

He tolerated "simony" and allowed the papal legals to be treated improperly. Gregory not only threatened to stir up all of St. Peter's faithful in Spain against the king, but also, if necessary, to take harsh action against the prince, the enemy of Christianity, himself (*dura et aspera moliri*)."

The pope was also rebuffed by King William of England, whom he would have been only too happy to involve in the battle against Henry IV. But no matter how much and how often Gregory professed his special love for the king, no matter how much he demanded obedience, no matter how much he invoked their former friendship, his assistance in the conquest of England, no matter how much he celebrated William as a "noble among princes" and made him the most beautiful promises: - Not only the glory of eternal life, but also that of this world will be granted to you and your heirs in victory, honor, power, glory, more abundantly from heaven - all in vain labor of love. The king was prepared to hand over the "interest of St. Peter", but not to take the oath of fealty, even if he had conquered England under the banner of St. Peter.

And Gregor's courtship of the Danish king Harald Hein, the successor of Sven. For Harald, whom the pope had already approached earlier for help with weapons and whom he now, hoping for renewed support, pointed from the transitory to the eternal, had already left the scene.

THE BATTLE OF THE ELSTER, A NEW COUNTER-  
XONIG AND HEINRICH IV'S STORM ON Ron

In the meantime, things had come to a decision in Germany. Henry, as tireless in his endeavors for military service as the pope, had thoroughly armed himself, then, in an advance on Saxony, plundered and burned Erfurt, a possession of the Church of Mainz, and finally, with continued wild devastation of the country, reached the Elster. And there, on 15. October 1080, the troops of both kings clashed at Hohenmölsen, not far from Zeitz.

Henry had previously assured himself of ecclesiastical and heavenly help, as good Christians are entitled to, had placed himself under the protection of the Holy Mother of God and had bestowed rich gifts on the Church of Speyer. The archbishops of Cologne, Hamburg, Trier and other high-ranking clerics - sixteen prelates in total were in his army, probably almost all of them with their soldiers - provided him with spiritual encouragement. Indeed, immediately before the slaughter, the priests intoned another very Christian-sounding prayer: -God, whose is vengeance, O Lord! God, whose **vengeance** is **vengeance**, appear!

Nevertheless, Henry IV also lost this battle and part of his army perished in the Elsrer, mainly due to the military prowess of Otto of Northeim, while the Salian himself was not a talented battlefield commander and had been swept away from the battlefield early on. The bishops, who were in the royal camp, had already sung enthusiastically due to a false rumor: -"Lord God, we praise you!" A little later, however, the body of a Bavarian count arrived and the cry rang out: -Flee, flee!" and the camp with all its gold, silver, coins, precious church vessels, vestments, weapons and horses, as well as the loot dragged from Erfurt, fell to the Saxon victor.

Nevertheless, the defeat worked to Henry's advantage. Not only had King Rudolf of Rheinfelden been severely wounded in the abdomen, but he had also lost the

lost his right hand, the hand with which he once swore allegiance to Henry; and he died shortly afterwards; -died", as his tombstone in Merseburg Cathedral proclaimed, "for the law of the fathers ... as a sacred victim of war. Death was his life, for he fell for the Church." Yes, the war is holy, the blood for the Church, and death is life, every value, as usual, reversed. But it was not the pope's opponent, as prophesied by the pope, who had fallen, no, his partner. And the loss of his right hand, with which he had once sworn allegiance to Henry, had a profound effect on the mentality of medieval people."

R8dolf's death was the worst blow to the pope's German policy. For Henry, his followers and the people at large saw the end of his adversary as a judgment from God. And what stimulated the Heinricians considerably discouraged the German Gregorians. It was not until August 6, 1081 that a small group of Swabian and Saxon princes in Ochsenfurt am Main elected Hermann of Salm from the House of Luxembourg as successor to the fallen antiking. And at the end of the year, Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz crowned him in Goslar, where he usually resided.

The new man, whose elevation the pope had diligently pursued, was an insignificant figure. As a prerequisite for his recognition, Gregory demanded obedience to all his orders. And vassalage at the first meeting. However, the Roman rejected Henry's offer of peace and repeated his excommunication and that of his followers. It seemed to him that the main thing was not to let the civil war in Germany die out" (Halter). But despite some battlefield successes, the Lützelbtirger was only able to hold out in eastern Saxony, even having to flee temporarily to the Danes and finally retreating back to Lorraine."

In the meantime, Henry had crossed the Alps in the spring of 1081 in order to finally drive Gregory out of Rome, install his pope in Brixen and win the imperial crown himself. And while he advanced unhindered via Verona and Ravenna, the pope armed himself and fortified castles,

strengthened the walls of the cities, especially those of Rome, of course. He also tried once again to dissuade Robert Giiiscard from his venture against Byzantium and to draw him into the war against the German king instead. The Norman, however, did not think of this and set sail from Otranto around May so. May from Otranto. At the same time, immediately before the most holy feast of Pentecost, Henry IV appeared before Rome, in his army not only Pope Wibert, who was to be enthroned, but also the archbishops of Milan, Hamburg-Bremen, Reims, the Italian chancellor Bishop Burchard of Lausanne, Bishop Benzo of Alba and probably other, mainly Lombard prelates.

Henry had already tried in vain to win over the Romans before his arrival. But they wanted their pope, not Wibert of Ravenna, and so the king stood before closed gates, saw, according to a Gregorian historian, -lances instead of wax lights, armed men instead of the choirs of the clergy-, heard -smears instead of praise, wild shouting instead of applause-. As he was barely able to storm Rome with his small force, he spent the next few weeks devastating the surrounding area and, after his departure, took revenge on the Pope's friend Mathilde in particular. At a trial in Lucca, the countess was declared guilty of high treason, deprived of her fiefdoms and goods, outlawed and her land, which had already been bequeathed to the Pope the previous year, awarded to others."

Early in the next, 108x, the king moved forward again Rome. Again he had a bunch of high priests in his army. Again he had summoned the Romans, all the cardinals, clergy and laity, by means of a pre-sent appeal, again appealed to their justice and wrote that if it was right to retain a priest, it was also right to obey a king. But since the king appointed by God again did not come to the city of the Pope appointed by God, he again devastated everything around him to the utmost, houses, fields, orchards, vineyards. And when he himself at the beginning of the warmer season

When the Roman Emperor withdrew, he instructed his pope, Archbishop Wibert of Ravenna, to continue the terror around Rome, supported by strongholds and royal troops, with constant plundering, pillaging, devastation, but also mutilation and killing.

In Rome, Gregory VII was now in greater distress. His hopes for Robert Guiscard had been misplaced. For the time being, Norman continued to advance against Constantinople. And worst of all, Gregory was running out of money, for the flow of gold from Aufien had been interrupted. And what sums he had already spent on assassins! So he obviously tried to raise further funds by pledging church property. But *then* seventeen cardinals, bishops, archpriests and an abbot, all known by name, joined forces against the pope and declared at the beginning of May that "the sacred possessions of the churches should not be used in any way for temporal warfare", which they substantiated with examples from the Bible. Of course, this probably bothered Gregory less than the protest against his coveted source of income. But the friend of his life helped him. Advised by Bishop Anselm of Lucca, she melted down the entire treasure of her house chapel on Canossa, and the Holy Father soon received nine pounds of gold and seven hundred pounds of silver for his war against the king and antipope. And Robert Guiscard also allegedly sent three thousand denarii."

Year after year, Henry IV waged war in Italy, storming Rome, which had not seen such a long siege since Totila's and almost perished in the process. --The cities were destroyed, the churches burned; the fanaticism degenerated into the fury of a religious war (Gregorovius). And while Clemens 11). from Tivoli devastated the Campagna in particular and everything around it gradually fell away from Gregory, the Sabina, the monastery of Farfa, First Jordan of Capua, even a close confidant of the pope, Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino, the largest dominion in southern Italy, and Gregory excommunicated the prince and the abbot, he became more and more isolated.



At the beginning of the year 1083, Henry IV launched his third attack. Several assaults failed at first, as did, of course, a Roman attack. However, on 3 June the king conquered the city of

Leost and, after an extremely successful The bloody carnage around and in St. Peter's also came under his control, which was much noted. However, the Pope, who himself led the fighting, continued to command other areas of the city, the Lateran and Castel Sant'Angelo. And when the Germans fled Rome's dangerous summer heat, an epidemic ravaged the vast majority of the garrison they had left behind, perhaps with the help of poison, as one source suspects.

Apparently, Henry's situation was not good. But in the city, where hunger was gradually taking hold, the king's rumor also spread. The Greek emperor Alexios I, who hoped for relief from the Normans, had gifts for the Salian,

goods and sent the enormous sum of 44 000 denarii, an even larger one was announced. The Roman nobility wavered and most of the cardinals, thirteen in number, fell away from the pope, who got into ever greater difficulties. In the process, he allowed himself,

embarrassingly enough, he took forty hostages from his own followers in the Roman aristocracy without being able to stop the growing apostasy. He also forced binding oaths from the clergy, from the clergy of lower degrees as well as the cardinal bishops, whom he had armed mobs put under pressure. No one was to leave his side, no one was to go over to Henry and Wibert.

On 21 March 1084, however, the gates opened to the king, who after three years of siege had already despaired of taking Rome, the actual city on the left with the Lateran, which seemed like a miracle to him. -For when we, already despairing of winning Rome, wanted to go back in the direction of Germany, behold, the Romans asked by deputation of messengers that we might enter Rome, and promised to be obedient to us in all things, which they did. For with the greatest joy they received us with one eye; with the greatest eagerness they

they helped us by holding out for us, so that we can say with confidence in the Lord that all of Rome is in our hands, with the exception of the castle in which Hildebrand is locked up, namely in the house of Crescentius."

At a royal synod, Gregory, who had been invited but failed to appear and was only able to remain in Castel Sant'Angelo, was deposed as a traitor and excommunicated. Soon afterwards, on Palm Sunday on March 4th, Wibert, Clemens III, was enthroned and finally, on Easter March 4th, Henry IV (together with his wife Berta) was solemnly crowned emperor.<sup>4</sup>

But after just a few weeks, things in Rome were already completely different again.

Robert Guiscard, who had returned in the meantime, now followed one of the papal appeals for help, and followed it all the more readily because he himself could not wish for the expansion of German power in Italy. With a huge army, estimated at three thousand foot soldiers and six thousand horsemen, Normans, Calabrians and Muslims, the duke marched up to the relief. The Abbot of Monte Cassino conveyed the joyful news to Gregory in true Palatine style and at the same time warned the emperor, who then conquered Rome with his pope. Just three days later, the Normans arrived, observed the city for three days and took it over. May. 5 They freed Gregory from Castel Sant'Angelo and then surrendered to him in the Lateran.

Of course, with the liberation also came the catastrophe. And what a catastrophe! Rome was plundered and destroyed much worse than one of the mandates; not to mention the comparatively harmless plundering of Rome by the Visigoths under Alaric, when the Doctor of the Church Jerome was already crying out: "The world is coming to an end" (Orbis terrarum ruit: 34 )-

No, never before had Rome been ravaged by such barbarity. Gregory's Catholic liberators treated the citizens in such a way that on the third day, the citizens rushed at them so desperately that even a thousand horsemen hurriedly brought in from outside could not master the situation until the duke had the houses in Vlammen

and burned down two parts of the city - the Field of Mars perhaps as far as Hadrian's Bridge, the quarter from the Lateran to the Colosscum - a single storm of blood and fire, and all ad maiorem Dei gloriam. Henry's attacks had already damaged or destroyed many churches, porticoes and palaces. But now far more irreplaceable monuments were destroyed. The last of the gold was taken from the churches. Murder and looting, nuns and young women raped all around, with the victims being dragged into the Norman tents with their hands tied behind their backs, as is said to have been ordered by the duke himself.

We must never, not for a moment, here and again, forget that all this is part of *salvation history*!

Thousands of Romans, high and low, even children, were sold into slavery like cattle, hanging on ropes, by the Saracens of the Catholic duke - while Gregory (we still know similar behavior from popes of the tenth century!) made not the slightest attempt to save or prevent anything."

On the contrary. Pope and duke went after other objects. Together they took castles and towns around Rome, but were unable to seize the stronghold of Tivoli, where Clement III had fled. No act of terror or shame on the part of the besiegers led to success. Urid, long after the Norman prince had left Rome, it still lay in a swamp, in ruins, in an almost unparalleled state of decay. - I scarcely know,' a French archbishop laments to the ruined city, 'what I have been; I scarcely remember, Roma, Roma; the ruin scarcely allows me to be remembered.

## ESCAPE AND END

Gregory VII, for whose sake a large part of the city had been turned into a heap of rubble, burned down and atis-murdered, could no longer stay in Rome; he would probably have been torn to pieces because of all the misery. In order to be safe from the popular fury, he left in June with Robert Guiscard, freed from Normans and Muslims, who led countless wagons of booty and sheep of his Roman flock into captivity and slavery.

Gregory went to Salerno, the capture of which by Robert he had not recognized until the end, c o n v e n e d another synod, hurled another curse against the German king and his pope, the heresiarch "Wibert", and sent a corresponding letter to France, his -last big rally- (Meyer von Knonau), in which it said:

-I call, I call and I call again and proclaim to you that the Christian religion and the true faith, which the Son of God taught us coming from heaven through our fathers, has been turned into a worldly corrupt habit, woe! oh pain!, has come down to almost nothing and, changing the old

color, has fallen not only into the devil's mockery, but also into the mockery of everyone and Saracens and pagans." And still

At one point, the lamentation over his powerlessness resounds, the desire for martyrs for his cause, for war and victory: "Which and how many are there who, out of fear and love for the Almighty God, in whom we live, weave and are, labor or work to the death only as much as the temporal warriors do for their masters or even for their friends and subjects?"

The **Pope** strove in vain to return to Rome, where his rival Clement III had prevailed.

On 25. May 108y, Gregory VII died, whom many Christian theologians and historians, especially Catholic ones, elevate to heaven, often calling him the greatest of all popes, a -homo religiosus- for them, a -God-bound man of pure greatness-.

(Bernhart), whose "noble soul ... (Grupp); "not a man of politics, but a pope filled to mystical fervor with the responsibility of his office as leader of souls", one who "corresponded so much to what the world needed that the peoples were gladly willing to be led by the popes. It was too clear for all to see that the papacy was a genuine moral authority, a protector of justice and a refuge for the oppressed" (Neuss)."

### BETTER TO KILL ROYALTY THAN PAGANS

The great war between Henry IV and Gregory VII was also fought vehemently in literature and raged far beyond the pope's death. In fact, at least five times as many works of history were published in the 11th century (and the two following decades) as in the century before. And the authors of the pamphlet literature - not coincidentally a genre of more ancient than venerable Christian tradition - were almost without exception clerics in both camps, each insisting on the Bible and canon law.

Bishop Wido of Osnabrück, the Scholasticus Wenrich of Trier, who may have become Bishop of Piacenza, and the Ravennatian Jurist Petrus Crassus were among those who argued for Henry IV. In Italy, Cardinal Deusdedit and the bishops Anselm II of Lucca and Bonizo of Sutri entered the ring as Gregorians; in Germany, the priest's son Bernold of St. Blasien (or Constance; d. 1100) and Manegold of Lautenbach (d. after 1100).

The erudite provost of the Augustinian monastery at Marbach im Elsaß was passionately committed to Gregory in two controversial pamphlets and railed against the scholastic Wenrich with all venom and vitriol, particularly in his treatise *Liber ad Gebehardum*, dedicated to the Archbishop of Salzburg.

Pope Manegold not only allows, as before, "just war for the fatherland, but also for the Holy Fathers. -Anyone who kills a Heinrician not out of personal revenge or greed, but as a helper of Catholic princes, in a public struggle for the fatherland, justice or the apostolic see, or in the exercise of judicial functions, commits no wrong." The papacy now counts as much as the fatherland, if not more, while the kingship only appears in the form of the -Heinricians-, of whom the Pope's defensor **says** that they are "more detestable than open pagans". Thus, "he who kills one of them in defense of justice is even less guilty than he who kills a pagan".

The journalistic polemic against Gregory VII culminated in Germany in the (i yIq discovered by UlriCh von Husten)

"Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda", written by an unknown Hersfeld monk ioqz/EO 3 \*-r Justification of Henry IV. Less about Gregory, whom the author by no means

The issue here is the German civil war, the injustice of Christianity, the controversy with the sword. It is said that it is a matter of faith and of the faithful in the Church to kill and persecute those who associate with the banished King Henry or who accuse him and do not desist after the efforts of the papal party. But the unknown author refers to the Sermon on the Mount, to the beatitude of the peacemakers, and attacks the Gregorian bishops, the prelates of Magdeburg, Halberstadt and Salzburg, who were not pastors of the church but military leaders, murderers of body and soul.

As you can see, a pacifist ethos was also possible back then, as it was at any time - even in the New Testament, for example.

It is unfortunate, but perhaps no coincidence, that a diatribe written by Wibert around io85, which was involved in the journalistic battle, can only be partially deduced from texts by Anselm of Lucca and Wido of Ferrara. According to Wibert, who thus represents the opinion of many, the man at arms

Gregory brought the fury of war to Germany and stirred up the knights against their lords, no Christian has ever caused so much bloodshed. The rival does not accept that he wanted to defend and liberate the Roman Church in this way, because: -Christian is to teach, not to make war, to tolerate injustice with equanimity, not to avenge it. None of these things did Christ, none of the saints." Based on biblical and patristic thoughts, Wibert castigates the bloody nature of Gregory's preaching of the Gospels and defends his own pacifist ethos. Admittedly, Anselm of Lucca's reply uses quite the opposite words of the Fathers, as pious Christian sayings can be used to prove just about anything and everything. After all, Wibert himself sweeps aside the idea of "just war ps-', which has been undisputed since Augustine (cf. 1 \$ ip((.))."

In Germany, the fight against Henry was fueled in particular by the Hirsau reform monastery in the Black Forest, founded by the Counts of Calw. Its monks traveled as far as Carinthia and Saxony as preachers of the cause and agitated everywhere, especially in the seats of the nobility, under the pretence of religious enlightenment against Henry and his Pope Clement III, whom they called a liar, a heretic, a thief, the devil or a n idol.

However, all writers of this deeply Christian era, Heinrician and Gregorian, agree on the horrific conditions in the empire, church and society. The war between the Catholic kingdom and the Roman papacy devastated half of Europe. Almost every diocese, every monastery was the scene of violence and desolation, churches were destroyed, clergy and faithful divided, bishops armed themselves and went to war, bloodshed, perjury and treason were rampant, vast areas were almost deserted.

Everything, not enough to consider, to repeat: for the higher glory of God! Every lie, every crime was therefore permitted. Every political opponent was, if at all possible, labeled an enemy of the Lord, every theological opponent an enemy of God. -heretic-."

In addition to all the Catholic crimes, however, an immense number of smaller scams and gangster activities continued to take place. And so that it does not remain with unproven blanket observations, typical events from the world of the clergy, mostly in the 10 and 11 century, follow, as they are basically not much different in our period than in the previous one.

### **CLERICAL LIFE IN DETAIL OR ^ LIVED LIKE RAVENING WOLVES -**

It is significant that Pope Leo IX, at the Roman Synod 4r, had the whole world in the argn iegen, that he had the ling justice, greed, fornication among bishops and priests, dafi he the lie to prevail. It seems that "in the second half of the 11th century, mendacity increased to the highest degree- (El- linger}. And none other than Gregory VII wrote to Abbot Hugh of Cluny: - When I look with my mind's eye over the countries of the West, the South or the North, I hardly find any bishops who have taken office and live according to the law, who govern the Christian people with the love of Christ and not with worldly ambition. Nor do I recognize any of the secular princes who put God's honour before their own and justice before advantage. But those among whom I dwell, namely the Romans, Lombards and Normans, I accuse, as I often say to them, of being in some ways worse than Jews and pagans (ludeis et paganis quo dammodo peiores esse redarguo). When I return to myself, I find myself so weighed down by the burden of my own actions that I have no hope of salvation except through the mercy of Christ alone.

As far as the popes are concerned, it was in the monastery of Cluny of all places (in a book dedicated to the abbot) that the interpretation could arise that the custom of papal



The idea behind the change of name was merely to conceal personal unworthiness with a venerable name.

In the 11th century Gerhoch von Reichersberg, who became increasingly pessimistic as he grew older, saw the Antichrist advancing everywhere and in his main work "De investigatione antichristi", completed in 1066, even considered the question of whether Rome was not the Babylon from which the Antichrist came. The profound disregard and contempt for religion and the Church that already characterized the 10th century, continued in the early High Middle Ages. The so-called houses of God were neglected, precious chalices were ruined, gowns were changed into women's dresses and given away to women, but the priests' houses were lavished with gold, silk, purple fabrics and carpets. Prelates lived between hunting and dancing, indulged in sumptuous feasts, placed "the brief pleasures of fame, gain and belly" (Canon Adam of Bremen, d. 1076) at the forefront of their office and sought pomp and circumstance.

nor surpass the kings.

In the churches, especially in Italy, where the clergy often celebrate in a cursory manner, with laughter, curses and drunkenness, they hold regular markets, gas parties, hurt and beat each other up. Many churches are also robbed, half or completely destroyed, razed to the ground, many deserted, full of stinging nettles, rampant weeds and animals. People farm and sow in the Christian temples, using them as stables and warehouses. Even in Rome, cattle go in and out of St. Paul's and St. Peter's. At the time of John XII, the rain poured through the roofs onto the altars. Church services had to be banned where "dogs and dogs roam around". Some clergymen read no mass at all or only in a handful, but took so much bread and wine that it would have been enough "for a royal banquet."

At a synod in Trosly near Laon, Archbishop Hervé of Reims lamented the terrible state of the country and the church: depopulated cities, ruined monasteries, devastated fields, everyday adultery, church robbery, murder, manslaughter and unabated exploitation. "Like the fish of the sea, the

People blame each other." The prelates were also blamed, the monks, the nuns. In the monasteries they no longer observed any rules, lay abbots lived with wives, children, vassals and hunting dogs. How can one of them explain the Rule if, when the book is held up to him, he replies: "I can't read." - Hervé before the Synod: - We are called bishops, but we do not fulfill our episcopal duties. We see those who are entrusted to us abandon God and commit evil deeds. We remain silent and do not reach out to them for correction ...' -

Bishop Turpio of Limes, who died a few decades later, wrote in his will: -We, who should have led an exemplary way of life, we have corrupted the people and lived like ravening wolves."""

Century after century, right into modern times, the priests fought against each other, struggling less for heavenly than for Indian bliss, over land, estates, castles and monasteries. One won and one lost. However, there were also losses of a more satisfactory kind. In Fiesole around the middle of the 10th century. In Fiesole, Bishop Winizo had ruined his estate in the most pleasant way by squandering the church property. Even the clerics of the cathedral church, no longer paid, ceased to worship (which incidentally showed a real basis)."

In the Balkans in the 1920s, the dispute between Archbishop John of Split and his rival Gregory of Nin over metropolitan rights took on such proportions that even King Tomislav of Croatia turned to Rome.<sup>571</sup> The bishops Albert of Bologna and Hubert of Parma clashed. The conflicts of interest between the expansive archbishopric of Ravenna and the Bishops of Ferrari lasted considerably into the 11th century. The bishops of Hamburg and Verden fought over Stift Ramelsloh until the Pope awarded it to Hamburg, even though it was in the diocese of Verden. The bishoprics of Mainz and Hildesheim were at loggerheads for a decade over Gandersheim Monastery, with both sides using weapons.\*

The shepherds also frequently quarrelled with their canons. The power and wealth of the chapters made them travel. They plundered their castles and estates, and made use of their benefices as they pleased. 5o The clergy often called on the help of laymen or popes, and repeatedly formed conspiracies or confederations.

Archbishop Adalbero of Reims expelled 7- the canons and replaced them with monks.

The Bamberg cathedral canons fought tirelessly against Bishop Hermann I (io6y-\* 75), whom they accused of "capital crimes", shady money transactions, corruption scandals' Beste- etc. The bishop, for his part, assured Alexander II on oath that he had come to office without simony. His own cathedral chapter, however, claimed the opposite and then appealed to Gregory VII that he should finally "send to hell, together with his money, this wolf who was robbing and scattering the sheep of God and this sorcerer 5imon who had once again set up his changers' tables full of gold in the Church of God". Gregory VII deposed him ioyy."

In the same year, the head of Gengenbach Abbey in Ortenau, which was dependent on Bamberg, Abbot Ruotb#rr, dies an unnatural death. He had a mill built by ministerials against his will destroyed and was then, together with a Bamberg chaplain, beaten to death by the ministers.

Bishop Everachiis of Liège '(qyq-qyi) and Bishop Wiefrid of Verdun (qJq-q8q) are involved in fierce quarrels with locals, nobles and others. The citizens of Liège, now mentioned for the first time, rose up against Everachus around qf'o, and in the following decades the bishops of the city won three counties by ioqo, not without imperial support, of course, at the expense of various aristocratic circles. And the bishops of Verdun fought for a long time with the House of Ardenne over the rights of the counts of Verdun - battles over territorial fortifications and expansions, as was the case almost everywhere. In Cambrai too, under Otto III, the bishop had his troubles with vassals and ministerials.

The Patriarch of Grado has the Doge of Venice, Pietro Centranico, deposed and imprisoned in a monastery. ioyq Bishop Arnulf of Bergamo seizes a castle from the knight Gorzo by deception and violence and completely plunders one of its clergymen.

Archbishop Albero (Adalbero) of Trier, a staunch papalist and resolute fighter for the "freedom of the church", who will enforce the election and coronation of Conrad of Hohenstaufen and help shape his policies, glorifies himself to his friend and biographer Balderich as the epitome of the warrior prince of the church, the "unbeatable and fearless hero", whom he places right next to Caesar, Augustus and Charlemagne. After all, in order to secure his supremacy in the western Moselle and Eifel region, Albero waged a bnital war against the Count of Namur-Luxembourg, whom he wrestled to the ground from time to time. "The archbishop captured Rudolfsberg **Castle** twice and destroyed it during the second siege, a castle that was considered impregnable in every respect. He built a new castle called Merkursberg out of concern that he might occupy this mountain, which lay in the heart of his country. He took the ßurg Manderscheid, a castle that was highly protected by the nature of the place, and kept it until his death. He took the castles of Gerland and Zolver; he also conquered or destroyed thirty fortifications of the Count of Namur. He also captured Echternach, where the count used to keep a war party. Between the first and second siege of the Rudolfsberg, the archbishop and the count faced each other in open battle." And although "greatly exhausted by the great and varied costs of war", the prelate, who loved pomp and splendor, according to the Trier cathedral scholastic Balderich, "raised significant funds anew and filled his palace and all his castles with wine and food of all kinds in abundance ...". And this pugnacious priest was papal legate, primate of Gaul and Ger- mania and a friend of St. Bernard of Clairvaux

(p. ö8 ff.), of St. Norbert of Xanten (p. 4z3 f.) and received on his tombstone, of course - in golden letters - a revealing encomium, beginning:

"Belgian Rome, here rests your glory, your everlasting honor and here your fame, which will never fade.

He, the light of the earth ... - etc.

Bishop Otto von Staufen of Strasbourg was one of these lights and lights. He fought Count Hugo von Egisheim and invaded his possessions just as he was operating against imperial partisans in Upper Alsace. For a year, he besieged Dagsburg Castle, which was difficult to access, was surprised by Hugo in ro86, totally defeated, robbed of his episcopal insignia and chased away. Later, he reconciles with the count, dances with him in the west on an episcopal ciut, and even shares his bed with him at night as a sign of his friendship and peaceful disposition: the last for Hugo; the bishop's intruding playmates (who at least obtains the canonization of Empress Adelheid) murder him\*.

Human life was no more important to clerics or monks than to other Christians, if anything less. It happened that a priest killed another priest or even his own bishop. But of course lay people also s t a b e d prelates and clerics as if they were pagans.

Archbishop Fulco of Rheims, who ruthlessly expands his jurisdiction, is murdered over property disputes with Count Balduin of FlandgTn β-> 9.

Bishop Otbert von Stra fiburg, in difficulties with his He is expelled and murdered QZ3 ßUf the Ratburg in the Vosges. In the same year, two counts blinded Bishop Einhard of Speyer, resulting in his death. Archbishop Ar- nust of Narbonne was so maimed by partisans of Count Sunjer of Ampurias, whom he had excommunicated, that he died shortly afterwards. Bishop Benno of Metz was blinded and mutilated by his enemies qz8. In the late io. Bishop Dodilo of Brandenburg was strangled to death by his own men; under Otto III, the splendor-loving Abbot Manso of

Monte CasSino, who apparently conspired against the Prince of Capua, was attacked and blinded; Archbishop Aio was killed there in those years'.

In the north, the brother of Metropolitan Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen (iO4)-\*7-) dies at the hands of a clergyman from his own diocese. But the dean Liudger of the same ecclesiastical prince was also a murderer and was therefore deposed. And under Adalbert's predecessor, Archbishop Alebrand (io35-IO43), a cleric even sets fire to Bremen Cathedral because he did not become provost.

Archbishop Adalbert himself, who, always in need of new funds, was also a rapacious abuser of pious foundations and the church treasury and unscrupulously sucked his flock (whom he would have preferred to beat up daily, even bloodily), had to flee on several occasions, even hiding f o r half a year.

In addition to an almost superstitious veneration, the entire medieval world was pervaded by a latent hatred of the clergy. A preacher could never make the laity more lively than when he set out against his peers, whereby a presbyter, as is expressly reported, was particularly d i s l i k e d in Italy. Of all the Christian peoples, the Italians despised church government the most.

Like the bishops, however, the parish priests in the city and the countryside also fought each other at times and in certain areas if a clergyman killed a brother clergyman or even his senior pastor. Even in the church, the clergy of Verona, according to their bishop Rather (g- - 974) with fists and shakes at each other, as also in the north, for instance in Goslar (p. z36 and see also V 577 ff.). Rather himself constantly lives in serious quarrels with the king.

He was imprisoned and banished by the king, who then appointed h i m bishop of Verona and Liège and abbot with the nobility and clergy.

It is not uncommon for one pastor to give the other the -parishioners- or steals the church. As early as the late io. Two canonical collections had to prohibit this. The parishioners are also constantly

Clergymen against each other. Bishop Rather states that their trials are always on their minds. And Cardinal and Doctor of the Church Damiani complains: "The tribunals are not sufficient for the number of priests, the halls of the royal castle are too small for them."

In addition to all this, however, there was an equally stupendous whoring and gigantic hypocrisy. The chastity that was preached was usually not practiced. Some of the clergy were married, others lived with women.

The Florentine prelates in the late 10. century -file prostitutes" with church land. On the other hand, safe um iozo on the Arno, Bishop Hildebrand with his wife Alberga, who was regularly married to him, and their sons in the bishop's palace, flanked by his wife at audiences and in public court, and occasionally advised by her (which is why the Abbot Guarinus of Settimo, coming entirely from courtly etiquette, one day cried out: "O you cursed Jezebel . . "). Hildebrand's brother Raimbald of Fiesole, who had bought the bishop's chair as usual, kept a host of concubines. With his wife Minuta, however, he fathered one son after another. And after his death, these sons continued their sexual intercourse as priests in Florence around 1060, even in their family church of S. Martino. Just as the Florentine canons also had wives and children in the 11th century, and even the nuns often lived freely in their own homes or in the castles of their families. A bishop of Piacenza is said to have been more competent for feminine charms than for the assessment of a candidate for the priesthood.

One will perhaps be less surprised by all this if one considers that even Romuald of Camaldoli, son of Duke Sergius and founder of the Camaldolese (d. 1077), the most famous hermit of his time and still in our days of praised by the Catholic Fransen as a "religious firebrand ... of ancient Christian format", fell into pederasty as an old man. He nevertheless became a saint of the Roman Catholic Church."

As in Italy, of course, it was the same elsewhere. About the meat

Pope John XIX, the very head of the Church who forced his election by field and made it from *layman* to pope in a single day, was also the object of the French episcopate's lust for beauty. In Rouen alone, two archbishops left behind several sons. Hugh of Rouen (qdz-q8q}, who lasted almost half a century, ran an unrestrained nepotistic economy and squandered church property, was just as married as his successor Archbishop Robert. And his successor, Metropolitan Malger, who was eagerly involved in the feuds and uprisings of the rebellious barons, was also very devoted to sex.

In StraBburg, Bishop Werner von Achalm (I'n 5 \* 77) had bought the wife of a diocesan for a lot of money *and* openly made her his mistress. In spite of all his abjurations, he continued to marry her, but encouraged his previously unmarried clergy to do the same. A nice move on his part. And in the far north, in the diocese of Hamburg, clerical sexual intercourse was of course also common. "It became the general custom for priests to live with women" (Schöffel).

In a monastery in the diocese of Bamberg (perhaps in Kitzingen) around 1060, the abbess had on the one hand -in a sinful manner- squandered the incredibly rich church treasury, so that the sum of the estimated loss undoubtedly exceeded 100 pounds. On the other hand, apparently in order to save money, she reduced the number of nuns by almost half and then allegedly brought them to such extreme hardship that, according to an old source, they pursued a "shameful acquisition with their bodies", "most of them even gave birth in the cloisters of the monastery", while others -already p r e g n a n t - sought nests abroad."

In general, the monasteries, the religious, the particularly pious Christians! Even if the conditions mentioned below are of course not to be understood *pars pro toto*, if they did not exist everywhere, were not the same everywhere, an immense wealth of similar cases can easily be added.



In Italy, a number of monasteries were completely ruined or abandoned by the monks in the early and middle centuries. Felicitas, S. Maria, S. Pietro, St. Lorenz, St. Felix and Fortunatus, St. Veit and Modestus, etc. In the small monastery of Maguzani on Lake Garda, the abbot lives alone with his wife and relatives.

Numerous male and female monasteries were destroyed by their own bishops, as the Council of Pave of 850 complains. Usually, however, popes and bishops fought against the monasteries in order to dispossess them. This gave rise to a strong hatred among the monks (who, of course, did not always live in peace with each other) against the rapacious, predatory hierarchs. But there were also frequent property disputes between the abbots, with one monastery trying to keep the other under its control. Some abbots - Manso of Monte Cassino, Odilo of Breme, Otto of Farfa - were therefore surrounded by hordes of knights."

For two centuries, people struggled over the Karolingern founded, large and very rich Farfa in the Sabine Mountains, where in the 10th Century two abbots were murdered by their own monks. Other abbots took wives and distributed the monastery estates to their sons and daughters.

The abbey, which is located not far from Rome and was one of the largest landowners in the region just a few decades after its foundation, and where everything seems to have been married at times, is an illustrative example of life in quite a few monasteries of the time - a kind of anarchy that can hardly be considered typical in some respects

(Hanmann). Farfa, which became the property of the Frankish kings in 775 and thus an imperial monastery, surpassing all other monasteries except Nonantula in wealth and splendor, naturally caught the eye of the popes, and so they sought it out from the 9th century onwards. year

hundred; where possible, they took his property.

93 SCIf Abbot Roffred dies of poison, administered by his monks Hildebrand rind Campo, the latter of Roffred selber in

grammar and medicine. By means of large donations to King Hugo of Provence and with armed help from the Mark of Fermo, Campo brought the abbey under his control, became abbot and lived like a feudal lord in splendor and joy with his wife Liuza, seven daughters and three sons, all of whom he provided with princely monastery estates in the Sabina.

Of course, Hildebrand and Campo did not have wives in Farfa, because the monks also married their concubines in their image. Each couple took a manor, and only on Sundays did they meet in the monastery to steal everything that was not nailed down, even the golden bulls, the documents and the ornaments of the paraments. In the end, Campo ousted Hildebrand by force. The monks that Alberich, the prince of the Romans, sent to Farfa to reform it could have been

almost strangled there at night. Only when Alberich himself arrived with militia in 847 was he able to drive out the abbot. The new abbot he appointed, Dagobert from Cumae, was poisoned by his monks after five years, probably with the help of the expelled abbot.

Campo. Abbot Adam from Lucca, appointed 943 by Alberich, is supported by Pope John XII, arrested for a crime of immorality and only released after paying a large sum. His successor Hubert, in office since 963, lives with wives and dogs. The next abbot, Leo, invested by John XIII himself, is also fired by him. A nephew of the pope, his governor in this province, attacks Farfa with troops, is defeated, then assures his opponents free passage, but imprisons them until the abbey hands over the castle of Tribuco and its territory to him'.<sup>3</sup>

The monastery of St. Columban in Bobbio possessed estates throughout Italy and in the Io. In the first century, the bishops of Piacenza, Pavia and Tortona robbed and desolated it to such an extent that Abbot Gerbert was left with "nothing in and outside the monastery except the pastoral staff and the apostolic blessing" - which shows exactly what these bishops valued most of all!

Bishop Kunibert of Turin sought to assert his claims by force.

Bishop Kono of Perugia asserted his claims to the monastery of S. Pietro. Metropolis

In 47, Guido of Milan seized the property of the Turin monastery of St. Constantius and the monastery of Tolla in the diocese of Piacenza. The chief shepherd, Wido of Pavia, and his canons attacked Cielo

d'Oro. Pope Victor II {ioyy-IO§7l sought to subjugate Monte Cassino.'

The Vosges monasteries of the io. century. In Moyenmoutier, the monks loved weapons more than the church and, having squandered their income, they lived on theft and robbery. In Senones, day and night, there were brawls, drunkenness and sex. In St. Ghislain, the clerics lived in the monastery with their wives and children and lured gifts from the faithful with "saints", which they rejoiced in. In Laubach, monks murdered Abbot Erluin, mutilated his tongue and tore out his eyes.

Of course, this also occurred elsewhere without it being common practice. Monks beat their abbots bloody, cut off their tongues, blinded them, murdered them themselves or had them murdered by paid bandits; they stabbed the abbots in front of the altar. In the Badia in Florence in the i th century, Abbot Maurilius was given poison in his drink because of his severity, but he escaped the attack. Monks were still liquidating their abbots in the late Middle Ages. In most cases, nothing better came along. One of them said to the third abbot: "I pray for his preservation, otherwise we'll get an even worse one."

The Christian nobility also robbed, tortured and killed clergy and religious alike. Catholic Italian counts cut off monks' ears, noses and tongues and gouged out their eyes. The Gastald# Atenulf had Abbot Aliger of Monte Cassin- (s49M85) put in a bearskin and set dogs on him. A Cremonese Adam killed the supposedly innocent cardinal deacon Heinrich, <sup>s</sup>

Of course, the monastery superiors owed nothing, especially to their subordinates, whose behavior was usually a reaction to the behavior of their superiors.

Abbot Transmund, once educated in Monte Cassino -in honorable custom-, as abbot of S. Maria zu Tremiti had some monks' eyes torn out and one had his tongue cut off. For the abbots abused their jurisdiction to the point of blinding and mutilating the blind, which even such unscrupulous potentates as Charles the Great and Louis the Pious had already forbidden the church superiors to do. However, these superiors themselves were often much less scrupulous. An abbot who maltreated a subordinate to death was deposed by the Bishop of Constance, but received his "dignity" back from Pope Alexander II (IOdI-1073) after six months of penance.

Corporal punishment was used to harass the clergy, not the high ones of course, from ancient times until well into the modern era; however, corporal punishment was particularly popular in the monasteries (I zz f.). There were always rods, straps, and whips at the ready. The delinquent had to stretch out over a bench, in earlier times naked, then one became more shamefaced, but the 'number of strokes exceeded the maximum of the Mosaic law'.

\* ° 4° bZW. 3Q strokes increase 8Uf 7\*. ' . yes 200 strokes, which was left to the "discretion of the abbot", who was also given the option of proceeding -up to the death lash- (usque ad necem caedantur virgis). With every blow, the monk or nun had to say - mea culpa-, and for educational reasons all this was done in the presence of the whole convent. Afterwards they were thrown into prison for as long as it suited the superiors.

Even in the oldest monasteries, monks rotted away, bound by their superiors and put in iron chains. Monastic imprisonment - for murder, fornication, "heresy" - had been practiced since the q. In the fifteenth century, the law was imposed on monks and clerics alike, and then also on laymen, whereby "the conditions of enforcement were extremely harsh" (5child)."

The monastery dungeons were real underworld places, although some abbots maintained a double prison.

Wilhelm von Hirsau (IOdq-io9i), for example, had in his monastery, one of the most important, firmly in the Gregorian camp.

The house was a prison for lighter cases, just big enough for one person and only strewn with rushes, which also served as a chair, table and bed. For more serious prisoners, the house, which was placed under the control of the Pope and endowed with the "integra libertas coenobii", had a doorless, windowless hole that could only be entered by means of a ladder, literally a grave for those who were not allowed to leave it until they died.

Cluny, the most famous reform center, had a lighter dungeon, so to speak, as well as a heavier one, an underground dungeon again without doors and windows, accessible only by a ladder from above, a place so that the punished, the dead to the world, "always remembered his miserable condition. In other orders, special equipment was added in the form of clevises, handcuffs and chains.

Even today, many former monasteries are still suitable as penitentiaries, in Germany for example Ebrach, Untermaßfeld, Celle

In Italy, for example, the prison in Casale Monferrato (Pi#mont), from which Renato Curcio, a leader of the Red Brigades, was released in February -97i in an armed hand-a former monastery."

### **ANTIPOPE VS. BISHOPS AND WAR FROM GERMANY TO ROME**

After his return from Italy, Henry IV was able to subdue most of his German opponents. The antiking Her- man and Archbishop Hartwig of Magdeburg fled before him to the Danes, but then, persuaded by the expelled Bishop of Würzburg, Adelber, through persistent pleading (Fries), advanced to Würzburg. At Pleichfeld, not far from the city, the

i i August io86, fought by Henry's opponents, Saxons and Swabians, almost as a religious battle. Archbishop Hartwig consecrated the warriors stretched out on the ground with

solemn prayer before they marched onto the battlefield with a high cross adorned with a red flag. Henry was defeated, allegedly losing 2000 men, but nevertheless retained the upper hand in the long run."

In Italy, Ciegen Pope Clement III had meanwhile moved from Rome, which had been devastated by Hildebrand's comrades, to Ravenna. However, the excommunicated, cursed Pope was widely recognized there and in Germany, and for a time also in England, Hungary and Croatia. It was not until a year after Gregory's death that his

Appendix a> -4 May 1086 in Rome under the influence of the Norman prince Jordan of Capua the rich, with the lango

The abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino - whom Gregory (this is not entirely certain) excluded from the church for more than a year - as Victor III.

(1084-1087) - in new pope. Of course, the enthronement in St. Peter's Church had only been made possible by Norman troops, who suddenly conquered the district up to the Tiber, including St. Peter's Basilica.

had occupied.

Just a few days later, however, Victor III fled Rome, which was still troubled by riots and divided into two camps, whereupon Clement III, summoned by the imperial prefect, arrived and took up residence in the Vatican. In the next year, however, - \*7 Victor and the Normans took the Leonian city and St. Peter's by storm, and while Clement entrenched himself in another church, the Pantheon, Victor III was consecrated in St. Peter's **on 4. May**. May in St. Peter's; the churches

Rome, especially the Perers basilica, were known to have served as fortresses in those times, which were fought over as fiercely as any castle. But Rome's soil, still largely occupied by the Clementines, was obviously too hot for Victor. He disappeared again after a week, but reappeared, this time with Matilda's troops, and the countess, fighting even more fanatically since Gtegor's death, conquered the entire right bank of the Tiber. St. Peter's was now taken and lost by one pope and then the other. They set fire to the church, sang mass in it or in the

forecourt, reverently at the

Feast of Peter and Paul. Finally, Victor III withdrew for the third time to Monte Cassino, where he had spent the longest time of his pontificate, had once written a treatise on the miracles of St. Benedict and had died on 16. September 7 Stfffb. His only foreign policy action: a war; a victorious campaign in the summer of that year against the Saracens in North Africa (eastern Tunisia), where he sent the Italians with the war (ahne of St. Peter and full forgiveness of sins and then collected part of the Beure - eight hundred years later beatified in 88y. (Feast day: September 16.)" Victor's successor was a noble Frenchman, Odo von Chatillon, former monk and prior at Cluny. Made Cardinal Bishop of Ostia by Gregory VII, then on 13. March 1088 in Terracina by about 4 Gregorian prelates as Urban II (1088-1099) and - an extraordinary innovation - also consecrated there. Odo, appointed by Gregory on his death.

belager as a possible successor (among others), had first conspired against Victor III, then supported him. Although a dyed-in-the-wool Gregorian, although he immediately declared to his own in Germany that he wanted to think and act like Gregory VII in everything, he was fundamentally different from him. He never went through the wall with his head, but was adaptable, diplomatically devious, a cunning, restless intrigue-monger who, unlike St. Gregory, did not keep troops and wage wars himself, but who let others fight for him - beatified in 881.

so Urban II spent almost the entire year in southern Italy.

It was not until late fall that he dared to march on Rome with the Normans, but was unable to cross the Tiber. While Clement ruled most of the city, Urban settled on a river island until well into the next year, whereupon street battles raged incessantly with both popes in obligatory conflict, with one pope and the other having to leave the city at one point."

Meanwhile in Germany, the civil war so promoted by Gregory VII continued with all the various accompanying phenomena, from the misery in the wake of the weapons to the



Counter-kings, counter-dukes and double occupations of not a few bishoprics, the counter-bishops in Paderborn, Halberstadt, Magdeburg, **Passau**, Salzburg, Würzburg, Metz, Constance.

Consider, for example, the diocese of Augsburg in the late 11th century.

After the death of the local bishop Embriko at the end of July - 77, a double election was held. The cathedral clergy, the people and the supposedly larger and better part of the "high canonical ministeriality

elected the cathedral canon and provost Wigolt. King Henry elevated his favorite and chaplain Siegfried (II), whom the Augsburg bishops' catalogs also list as legitimate, although he remained Henry's zealous partisan until his death. On the other hand, Zelf IV campaigned for Wigolt, who was invested in Goslar at Easter 1078 by Archbishop Siegfried, who had been expelled from Mainz, and by the counter-king Rudolf; he threatened Siegfried, who had been uncanonically appointed to Augsburg by Henry, with ecclesiastical expulsion.

Now a years-long battle broke out in the diocese: 'Showplace of fierce military confrontations' (Horn);

"Plundering, destruction, butchery-- (Zoepfl). Bishop Wigolt's confederate, Welf IV, incinerated Augsburg's suburbs, including St. Peter's Church on the Perlach. In 1081, the new opposing king, Hermann von Lützelburg, besieged the city for three weeks, burned the suburbs, and burned and devastated surrounding villages without being able to take the place apparently defended by Bishop Siegfried himself - Bishop Wigolt probably sought protection mostly in Füssen.

1085 many Swabian villages and churches once again went up in smoke, murder and robbery reigned. Bishop Siegfried stormed the Guelph castle of Siebnach a. d. Wertach and set it ablaze; many of the defenders perished. At the beginning, Welf and Bishop Wigolt ravaged Augsburg, committed atrocities in the so-called places of worship, burned down three chapels in front of the bishop's palace, as well as the episcopal palace and other buildings; Chief Shepherd Wigolt emptied the cathedral. He tampered with the church decorations, which Bishop Embriko had destroyed under threat of banishment.

treasure he left behind, which he distributed. He also awarded cathedral houses and other properties to playmates of his raid. But in the summer, King Henry led Bishop Siegfried with army power to the jubilation of his diocesans.

io8y, Siegfried was consecrated in Mainz by the opposing bishop of Mainz, Wezilo, but was not recognized in Rome. Rather, he showed

Urban II. ß \*3 March ro88 Bishop Wigolt announces his election as pope. Reason enough to fight over Augsburg again. Bishop Wigolt's allies raided the city on a moonlit night of the ix. April io88, robbed, murdered, ruined, tore down the ring wall and dragged Bishop Siegfried away from the altar to the Guelph fortress of Ravensburg, where he was only released after two years of harsh imprisonment in exchange for a handsome sum, while Bishop Wigolt was released on the day after the storming, which took place in the town.

"Hands still full of blood and injustice" (Liber de iinitate ecclesiae conservanda), consecrated the holy oil on Holy Thursday ...

However, a series of "divine judgments", miraculous deaths, now occurred. The (counter)bishops died like flies: Wigolt on I I May io88; his successor, Werinher, who was immediately installed by the Welfs, very suddenly on the way to Augsburg; the next (counter-)bishop, Ekkehard Count of Nellenburg, Abbot of Reichenau\*, also had to die.

already on the march, fell ill and died on the Reichenau in late•4- November io88. And when, further quarrels aside, i14 Abbot Eberhard of Kempten was looking for the said bishop's chair, God willed that he too should "suddenly pass away, so that all candidates - each of a sudden deathç- died (Horn). And soon afterwards, ioqö, the bishop of Augsburg Siegfried, who was not authorized by the pope but was otherwise legitimate, also joined his immortal rivals."

In the same year, the West set out on its first crusade.

In the meantime, Henry IV had established himself in Germany to prevail. Some of his most ardent opponents were

or so; especially in Saxony, where the nephew of Archbishop Anno of Cologne (p. Z\*7 ff.J, Bishop Burchard II of Halberstadt, one of the leading figures of the Saxon resistance, had been horribly killed in April 1075 during a riot in Goslar, but the motives remained unclear. And since Archbishop Hartwig of Magdeburg, as recently as 1086 still the emperor's defeater (p. 33 o f.), now also made peace with him, it is clear that he was not the emperor's enemy. the Saxons were also conciliatory. Anti-king Hermann of Salm was no longer able to hold on and returned to Lorraine, perhaps renouncing his royal dignity, where he died at the end of September 1088.

However, Henry also lost a staunch supporter in this year, Bishop Benno II. of Osnabrück - a perfect bagman, by the way, who with his notorious frauds, extensive forgeries of royal documents (in the tithes dispute with the imperial abbey of Corvey and the women's monastery of Herford, both of which had 'undisputedly owned the tithes since the Carolingian period': Vogtherr), was also able to lead a court of princes and the king himself into the dark in Worms in 1077, so that he received the church tithes of all the inhabitants of his diocese. (According to the Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche

However, the reverend gentleman, or rather the adept crook, only "fought for the endowment of his episcopal church"; not a word about forgery. And of course not a word about the fact that he liked to be a t his peasants)<sup>10</sup>

Henry suffered a further, even more serious loss with the death of Bishop Burchard of Lausanne, an unwaveringly loyal follower (legally married to a woman who even built buildings for the bishopric).

Bishop Burchard, an Italian chancellor for almost a decade and a fierce warrior, had fallen as the bearer of the holy lance in a battle on the eve of Christmas: a surprise attack by Ekbert II of Brunswick, Henry's most important German opponent since the death of Otto of Northleirn. In front of Ekbert's mighty Gleichen Castle (south-west of Erfurt), the valiant Catholics stabbed each other deep into the heart.

The imperial army suffered great losses in terms of dead (including numerous clerics), wounded and prisoners (including Archbishop Liemar), and Henry himself only found his salvation in a quick escape. - Two years later, in 1090, Count Ekbert also fled; and he fell in the process apparently by people of the abbess Adelheid of Quedlinburg, Henry IV's sister, who took revenge for a ratification and murder campaign by Ekbert two years ago, as was the custom among high Christians."

#### ISER HEIHRICH IV. IN THE NUMBERS OF THE APOST OF URBAN II.

New plots were soon brewing over the German ruler, with the cunning Urban obviously weaving the threads. After all, none other than he had proposed the marriage between the 17-year-old Henry V, the son of the deposed Bavarian Duke Welf IV, who belonged to the Pope and was hungry for land, and the forty-four-year-old Matilda of Tuscany, thus uniting the southern German and Italian enemies of the emperor.

But it got worse.

In the spring of 1100, Henry had crossed the River Brenner with his troops and, as in Germany, he had initially operated successfully, so to speak, in Italy too, razing, conquering and burning the towns and castles of his opponents, helped above all by respected clergymen from both sides of the Alps. Matilda of Tuscany, however, saw herself so weakened and deprived of important positions that she negotiated with the emperor, who was already fairly certain of victory. Only the Abbot of Canossa, Johannes, is said to have prevented her capitulation, claiming that a peace treaty would be contrary to the Holy Spirit, God the Father and the Son, but that great victory would be granted from heaven if the battle continued.

the". In Rome, however, the imperial party conquered Castel Sant'Angelo and the entire city. Antipope Clement III moved in once again, and Urban II was happy for years to the Normannians. It almost seemed as if he would end up like Gregor VII."

But then the tide turned and the papal intrigues began to pay off.

Henry was increasingly constricted in northern Italy, pushed back as far as the Adige, and since the Alpine passes were also closed to him, he could no longer receive supplies or reinforcements. With apostasy growing all around him, he was close to despair and is said to have been prevented from committing suicide only by his surroundings.

While he and his pope were isolated in this way, Urban II returned to Rome at the end of 1093 after years of refuge in southern Italy. In November he entered the dirty, murderous, divided city, a city that still offered little more than scenes of daily street fighting, the tyranny of rough magnates and the misery of a beggarly population. It was only through bribery that Urban was able to take possession of the Lateran. However, none of the cardinals and bishops in his area had enough money; none of them could or wanted to help the pontiff, who was in tears and whom a certain Ferrucius, appointed by Clement III to defend the Lateran, had offered to hand over in return for payment. This was done by a foreign abbot, Gottfried of Vendome. He sacrificed everything he had with him from his monastery, gold, silver, coins, mules and horses, and thus bought his way into the papal residence around Easter - 1094 Urban.<sup>101</sup>

In the meantime, however, Heinrich's son Konrad, 1097 in Aachen crowned German king, fell away from him, and many cities with him, most certainly the work of the clergy. The young prince, always surrounded and ensnared by clergymen, had spent most of his youth in Italy and allowed himself to be persuaded to rebel against his own father. He fled to Countess Mathilde, who received him with gratitude, continued to repudiate his father, made him even more rebellious and, as it were, arranged for him to be sent to Pope Urban, who

He was absolved of being a traitor to his father and crowned King of Italy by Archbishop Anselm in Milan Cathedral in ioq3. Two years later, Kqnrاد held the pope's stirrup in Cremona and swore an oath of security to him, while Urban wanted to procure the emperors hip for the young Saul, binding him even more firmly to himself through his betrothal to the young daughter of Roger of Sicily, one of the pope's closest allies.

At the beginning of ioqq, the emperor was struck a new blow. His second wife, the attractive daughter of the Russian Grand Prince Vsevolod of Kiev, whom he had married after the death of her first husband, Count Henry of Stade, io8q, had perhaps committed adultery with stepson Konrad. She fled from Verona to Matilda of Tuscya at the beginning of IOg4. Incited by the clergy, she revealed the secrets of her bedroom with as much shame as inhibition, which already ioq4 a clerical assembly in Constance and ioq by herself at the Council of Urban II in Piacenza, allegedly "the most disgusting". She accused the emperor of perverse fornication and declared, no doubt falsely, that he had wanted to force her into adultery. After this spectacular appearance, which probably fulfilled her expectations, she is said to have barely made an appearance and disappeared into a Kiev convent at the end of io6.

The Pope had surrounded and encircled Henry more and more, and it was clear that he would withdraw further troops from the Emperor and unite them under his banner with the crossing he was now propagating."

## 6. KAPITEL

### THE FIRST CROSS (1096-1099)

-Everywhere the Western nations joined hands to fight together for what united them. In the Holy Land, in Egypt, in Constantinople, French, Italians, Germans, Hungarians, English and also Scandinavians fought together. **We meet them again** at the Byzantine Peninsula to help the Slavs and Portuguese.

In the east, the Germans fought with the western Slavs and Hungarians. The pope was still the supreme authority of the League of Nations. Its organs, the papal curia, we find everywhere, in the history of the Holy Land, in the East to settle twist and strife, as diplomats and generals, in Egypt, in Spain, Scandinavia and at the Baltic Coast. Gustav Schindler

- In view of this emphasis on the so-called 'zeal' of the crusaders and holy missionary activities, which today's scholars so often find in the field, it must be said that it is completely wrong that the crusaders did not carry out any mission in the East, but either beat the Muslims to death in droves or **came to a** very high political **arrangement** with them. No crusader worked as a missionary in the Orient; instead, the mission was a consequence, a product of the crusades, an attempt to spiritually overturn and conquer Islam, after the military crusade had resulted in a complete defeat of the Christians.

... when they pour out to the holy God, they hold the shield in their left hand and the spear in their right and point to the East. - Anna Komnene

-The war was the Pope's war ... The pope shielded the willingness, preached, organized, privileged, financed. He urged the people to really take the cross and take the oath.

The oath ... was the most important binding of the crusaders and the knights. For him to keep the cross in hand ... With the

Crusade creed, a grim act developed from the tradition of the pilgrim's oath, the armed

as the unarmed pilgrim was lifted out of the secular world and placed in the ecclesiastical state for a limited period. In this way, the crusader was subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, both positively and negatively.

The oath evidently constituted the type of crusader and the crusade so decisively that the ecclesiastical jurists considered the entire crusade to be 'de voto (crucis)'. - Rainer Christoph Schwinges



The crusades of Christianity, in fact the most warlike religion, have been going on for two millennia. Basically, they began - so named after the mostly red crosses worn by the participants - back in antiquity, when the clergy suddenly jumped to the side of the emperors, warmongers and war leaders (I<sup>^</sup>7 ff., 292 II. 11 38d ff. ii. above); *Is* the Papsrrum gradually becoming a imperial power, which for centuries, generation after generation, psychologically trimmed the preacher of peace and love of the enemy, as if it were the most natural thing in the world, into a heavenly emperor, into a god of battle, just as the Roman bishops increasingly became rivals of kings and emperors, often becoming their masters.

In the 7th century, when the Byzantine-Arab wars sometimes led to a rise in the pre-crusades, the emperor Heraclius (610-64s) also led a crusade against the Persians, who 6-4 conquered Jerusalem, plundered it for days, murdered it, and then took it from there. det, captured the patriarch Zacharias, to the "Holy Sepulchre" had set fire to the church and kidnapped the relics. When Heraclius was already considering fleeing to Africa, Patriarch Sergius drove him to the "Holy War" and handed over the church treasury to him. The emperor launched a counter-offensive in 612, winning back Asia Minor and, over the next few years, Armenia and Cilicia. After a new Persian attack, Heraclius destroyed the entire Sassanid army at Nineveh in 627, captured immense treasures of gold, silver, carpets etc. when he stormed the royal palaces in Dastgard and triumphantly entered Jerusalem on March 30, 630. The crossroads - it is expressly said

Archbishop William of Tyre in the Iz. Century - of Heraclius was finished'.

The actual crusades, however, are usually only considered to be the "armed pilgrimages" of the High Middle Ages, up to the Sixth and Seventh Crusades of Louis the Saint, who died of an epidemic on his second and last pious adventure. However, at the same time or later, there were further warlike steps of this kind, so-called popular crusades of the 15th and 4th centuries, to the Example of the "spontaneous" children's crusade (inz). It comes to the late medieval, particularly maritime activities, whereby, for example, the piracy of the Turks was countered by the "higher piracy" of the Christians in a naval alliance. Since the iz. This was followed by crusades outside the Orient. Not only Mongols and Russians were now attacked, but also political opponents of the papacy, the southern Italian Normans, the Hohenstaufen Frederick II, his successors and, in Italy, the Ghibellines. And other Christians, the "heretics", were fought in bloody and salvific battles.

In the High Middle Ages, all Clauben's teaching was primarily about war for Christ. The "holy" war is the "nova religio", the guarantee of all that is good, great and eternal. Christ, already sung about in the early medieval hymns as a fighter, as an army leader, now becomes the king, the victor in general. As supreme emperor and lord, he reigns in his heavenly castle and gathers those who fight for him in his kingdom, tim his table, his Freiiden - - like the old warriors in Valhalla" (army). Whoever fights for Christ, for Jerusalem, his -old inheritance-, the Holy Land, the angels, the saints fight with him, he endures every kind of tribulation, despair, hunger, hardship and death. With open eyes and "blind- at the same time he plunges into destruction, is rewarded by Christ, comes, if he falls, without detour to his heart, from the battlefield straight into paradise. High, highest benefits beckon, guaranteed a thousand times over by priests. So these seducers feel immune to everything, believe that no matter how it goes, it goes

good. And rush into battle accordingly. This, so to speak, foolproof theology of war is, like everything else in Christianity without exception, not entirely original, but within it it is specifically Roman Catholic. For the medieval crusades were purely Roman Catholic wars, major crimes of the papacy. Many of its representatives led or at least called for them: Sergius IV (d. 1002), Gregory VII (d. 1085), Urban II (d. 1099), Innocent III (d. 1216), Honorius III (d. 1227), Innocent IV. (d. 1254). Gregory X. (d. 1276),

John XXI (d. 1277), Nicholas V (d. 1455), Pius II (d.

1461). Many did not shy away from telling outright lies, also reported strange miracles at crusader graves to increase the desire for war. And it was church reformers who promoted the idea of holy war, especially reforming popes, who sought to extend their rule further and further.

Soon there were crusades pleasing to God in all directions. In the south, in Spain and Portugal, they were aimed at the Muslims, in Sicily at the Saracens, in the Orient they sought the Gtab of Christ, a fiction in any case, in the Baltic region the conversion of pagans, they fought the Wends, Estonians, Livonians, Finns, Karelians and Prussians. And soon the popes also called the war against their Christian adversaries a laudable crossroads, whether they were more religiously or more politically oriented opponents, whether Cathars, Albigenses, Stedinger, Hussites, whether fvtarkward of Annweiler, the imperial truchseg in **Sicily**, **whether** the Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick II or King Peter 111 of Aragon. Gro- tesk? But no! It is precisely the combination of faith and war that is often understood "as the most intimate expression of the Middle Ages" (Schwinges).

There were, of course, crusades far beyond the Middle Ages, in the 13th century. In the 13th century, there were repeated crusades against the Turks, against whom the crusade-obsessed Innocent XI mobilized Western resistance in the late 13th century. And basically the crusades, or what can be declared as such, lasted under different names and objectives for the entire second millennium.

When, as a result of the setbacks, they initially ebbed outwards, they were led inwards, against Christians, "heretics", "rebels" and finally against all possible enemies of "order" and "law", right up to one of the most atrocious religious massacres of all time, that of the Catholic Croats against the Serbian Orthodox (is'--\*945), to Hitler's great war in Russia and the war in Vietnam, wars that the German field bishop of the Wehrmacht, the American Cardinal Spellman, the friend of Piii XII, or Archbishop Lticey from Texas, among others, as crusades, God-ordained undertakings, a heavy obligation declared by the commandment of love of all things. At the Second Vatican Council, North American bishops even called for the atomic bomb to be dropped on Vietnam in defense of the Catholic school! And in the seventies of the last century, Catholic Kühner could still write: "The crusade psychosis is still not healed, it continues to rage ...".

### CRUSADE MOTIYE

The world of the Crusades has recently received increased scholarly attention, but all the work has been done outside of church history," confesses Hans Kühner. Catholic theologians like to keep quiet about it. Or they glorify the massacres. Or they shift the blame onto others - all very popular apologist methods.

The name -Kreuzztig- for wars of aggression of armed - wall-riders- only appeared in the zz., i3. century. But -holy- wars had been waged by Christianity even earlier and justified them with the curious remarks of St. Augustine on the -just war" ( 5\*¢ ff!). And already in the q. century, under Popes Leo IV and John VIII, one assures all those who fight for the church against Muslims or Norman-Christians, fall into the trap of eternal life.

(V \*77 f., z6 ). In the io. The clergy made analogous promises of salvation in the East Frankish Empire for the massacre of the Slavs.

Sergius IV (iooq-ioiz) was the first pope to call for a crusade in the Orient - still famous in our time, even among critical Catholics, as a peaceful, catholic pope - but in vain. The battle, he wrote, was against the enemies of God, "not for a miserable kingdom, but for the eternal God". He should be defended in order to get to heaven (p. roy ff.).

What led to the Crusades of the High Middle Ages, to those violent Catholic invasions that were described as the last barbarian invasion and a failed onslaught of gigantic proportions, as well as the grand military strikes of the papacy\*, the most romantic of all Christian adventures?

There are a number of plausible reasons for this, and nothing would be more wrong than a monocausal explanation, for example that these bloodthirsty actions were nothing more than religious wars, sword missions, a kind of mostly deadly bufi exercise for the sake of God and the soul.

Let's take a brief look at the general political and social situation.

At the end of the early Middle Ages, the papacy was embroiled in its first major battle with the empire, which was still difficult to foresee. And this had caused indescribable misery in Europe. But it was not only the crown and tiara, but also the popes themselves, bishops, abbots and the secular aristocracy that feuded with each other, as fratricidal and civil wars were much more common than wars against the pagans. In short, the western world resembled a battlefield on which the Christians in particular tore themselves apart; the whole of Europe was, as before many of its great massacres, a single source of crisis and catastrophe: bloodshed, peasant rebellions, epidemics, famine - hunger was almost a permanent phenomenon. The whole of Europe was in danger of being engulfed in a plethora of the most serious conflicts, which historians of the Crusades, as Friedrich Heer emphasizes, have paid far too little attention to to this day

collapse into itself. Not least in Urban II's immediate homeland, the Christian nobility - rapacious, bloodthirsty, warlike, as the chroniclers call them - had been slaughtering themselves and their subjects in incessant feuds since the Merovingian period."

So, as is usually the case in such cases, war was the ultima ratio of politics. Now the Christian knights were no longer to massacre each other, but to put their swords at the service of the church. Just wars, according to Guibert, the later Abbot of Nogent (d. around 1127), who was sent to the monastery at the age of twelve, wars for the common good, against the pagans, to protect the church, had also existed in the past. But since this pious intention was diminishing everywhere, and greed was corrupting hearts, God (!) instituted holy wars in our time so that the knighthood and the unstable people, who were shedding each other's blood in the pagan manner, would have a new way to win salvation. They need not choose the monastic life ... but can attain God's grace through their own profession in their usual freedom and lay dress.

Other spiritual contemporaries also plead in this sense; for example, Abbot Robert of Saint-Remi de Reims, himself a participant in the crusade, rebukes the knights: -You bite and quarrel with each other, wage war and kill each other by mutual wounds. So let there be no more strife among you, let there be no more fighting, let there be no more weapons ... Go to the holy grave!"- Similarly, Balderich, the bishop of Dot-de-Bretagne (d. 1130), who calls the noble oppressors of orphans and widows murderers, violators of temples, lawbreakers, people who seek their robber's wages for spilled Christian blood: "If you want to save your souls, either lay down the craft of war or go forward boldly as Christ's milites and <file in defense of the orienal church.-"

The high nobility, kings, dukes, counts, naturally sought to expand their power, increase their possessions and their income by means of annexations in the Orient - "ère unde

quot". That was probably more important to him than the tomb of Christ. And it was most likely known that the Pope was no different. The small feudal lords, the knights, also sought land and serf farmers in the East, especially as at home, as a result of the single succession, the handing over of the feud to the eldest son, the second, third and fourth sons were not given any land and often eked out a living as Ratibritter (a crazy pleonasm, of course!). The clearing of still free forest areas was long and hard, some of the knighthood was also heavily in debt and interested in escaping the creditors. In order to be able to equip themselves, many had to sell their property quickly, which mostly benefited the church, as monasteries and bishoprics advanced the money" (Oldenbourg).

There were also important economic motives and commercial reasons for the crusades that should not be underestimated. As early as 1097, the Pisans, supported by the Church and accompanied by the Bishop of Modena (along with the Archangel Gabriel and St. Peter, who arrived in time for the battle), captured the Islamic Mehdia. They stabbed the priests of Mohammed, plundered the mosque, and not a little of the looted gold, marble and purple adorned the cathedral of Pisa, which was built soon afterwards.

Sacredness and trade harmonized well, as they still do today; the main aim at that time was to open up old merchant routes blocked by the Seljuks and Fatimids, especially to Genoa, Pisa and Venice. They also sought to break the supremacy of Byzantine traders in the eastern Mediterranean, sought to establish factories on its coasts, which was also only possible by force, and were trembling for large profits. For this reason, Italian cities took part in these "holy" wars, transporting crusader armies across the sea and delivering supplies of weapons and provisions. Troop and supply transports became pious pilgrimages. Military, commercial and religious matters were, as almost always, closely intertwined."

But for the first time since the existence of the Christian West

It was not only the feudal world that was now fighting; for the first time, almost all sections of the population went to war, and the mass of peasants also flocked away armed, something that apologists (near and far) still rejoice about today. However, the reasons for the poor and poorest to take action are embarrassing enough. The vast majority of agricultural workers became serfs and objects of increased exploitation as Christian-Catholic power grew in the 11th century, and their land was increasingly plundered or devastated by feuds and hunts. They therefore often fled their secular and spiritual masters and moved to the cities or to the Orient, as Europe had long been plagued by famine and epidemics. Between 7 and 18 years of famine were counted in total. There was also a hundred years of hardship and unrest. And the period immediately before the beginning of the First Crusade, especially in France, whose population, like that of some neighboring countries, had increased sharply but had only meager land yields, was constantly marked by the misery of the masses, the indebted, the disinherited, and the disenfranchised. And these followed the enticements of the spiritual seducers all the more easily as they could now move away even against the will of their masters."

But while the upper class is mainly or exclusively concerned with expansion, increasing power, principalities, port cities, market bases, money, whereby, of course, the old joy of all these Christian people in robbing, kinterwerfen, robbing, killing plays a part, the masses hope to improve their already miserable material situation' but, if it has to be misery, and it has to be, even for mere slogans, for phrases of every provenance, they go down, so to speak, cheerfully, with devotion, with a primitive superstition-piety. For the little crusaders in the Middle Ages, the "milites of Christ", can hardly expect land, property, honor, since all this is already reserved for their leaders and seducers. In return, however, they - and of course the others - can expect the "eternal sælde heil", "the sweet crown of heaven", as they sing in hymns of the cross; whereby they themselves, be-



characteristically, never speak of crusade or even war, but only of the -'journey-, "pilgrimage", -Jerusalem journey-, the procession into the "inheritance" of Christ, the "crossing into the kingdom of heaven". (In far more advanced times and crusades, the masses die for the -emperor's father|| or for the -leader, people and fatherland|| - and again the churches are closely behind this).

However, one of the main motives for the Crusades, at least to the outside world, was the religious fanaticism fueled by the priests' lust for power. The crusades were started as religious wars. The Muslims were to be taught Christianity and new possessions dominated by the papacy were to be created in the East. The shining example of the religious wars in Spain, which were already part of everyday life there, undoubtedly also had an impact. When Emperor Alexios I of Byzantium was conquered by Urban

II. When the Roman Emperor II asked for help against the Turks, who were conquering large areas of Asia Minor, Urban immediately launched a campaign against the "infidels", whatever that may have been understood to mean. - Rome had always had a unionist, ecumenical attitude, anti-Byzantine sentiment had also grown steadily since the separation of the churches. And in view of the weakness of the Christian Eastern Empire, attempts were gradually made to win it over through crusades and to subjugate it to the papacy."

On Constantinople, emperors and priests suspected from the outset that the Crusades were only intended to destroy the Byzantine Empire and subjugate the Orthodox Church of Rome, which is why the

"supposed Christians" of the West as more dangerous than the Muslims, which was not wrong overall. In reality, however, Urban II shouted the exact opposite to the crowd:

- . become knights of Christ and hasten to the protection of the Moravian Church, which pours the milk of the divine word into your mouth.

At the Council of Piacenza in March 1099, a delegation of the Byzantine Emperor Alexios Komnenos I had requested troop

support from the West, allegedly to protect the

Christians, actually to the reconquest of Seljuk-occupied Anatolia. In fact, the founder of the Comnenian dynasty - before his relationship with the Latin invaders turned hostile - won back some of the territories of Asia Minor through the First Crusade. The quite helpful

The pope, however, was thinking of "bringing home" the Eastern Church, which had been separated from Rome, but at the church assembly in Clermont-Ferrand he emphasized the supposed persecution of Christians in the Orient. -One can say, that from that moment on the crossroads became the guiding principle of papal foreign policy and remained so at least until the end of the Middle Ages" (Aziz S. Atiya)."

### **"THE DOGS HAVE COME INTO THE SANCTUARY ..." ÜAPSTAGITATION AT THE CONZIL OF CLERMOMIT**

At the great Council of Clermont-Ferrand (November 8-8, 1095), usually referred to in the sources as the "generale concilium", the pope hastened, as William of Tyre reports,

"to help the sinking church ... and to restore the peace that had disappeared from the world - through war, of course; he even called on the robbers to become Christ's soldiers.

The Holy Father delivered his famous sermon, "the most consequential speech in medieval history" (Will Durant), of which there are four reports, on 7. November, the day before the final session, in front of around 180 official Council participants, mostly from France, and - which is why the meeting was exceptionally held outdoors - in front of a large crowd. The "holy city", the "cradle of our salvation", cried the "most eloquent" pontiff, had fallen into the hands of the "infidel" because of the sins of its inhabitants. -The godless people of the Saracens oppress the holy places that have been trodden by the feet of the Lord ... The dogs have come into the holy place ... the city

God's mufi pay tribute. Doesn't it make your soul want to melt, doesn't it make your heart want to melt? Dear brothers, who can listen to this with a dry eye? The temple of the Lord ... has now become the seat of the devil ... The venerable places have been turned into sheepfolds and cattle pens. The sons are snatched away from the praiseworthy people ... and if they resist the godless orders, they are slaughtered like cattle, comrades of the holy martyrs. Every place, every person is equally important to the temple abusers; they murder the priests in the sanctuary." And after holiness has repeatedly broken out in cries of woe, it finally comes to pious action, to peacemaking measures. "Arm yourselves with the zeal of God, dear brothers, gird your swords at your sides, bow down and be wages of the mighty! It is better to die in battle ..." etc. etc. And in return, in this life there is forgiveness of sins, rich spoils, and in the next, unceasing joy in paradise.

After such a speech, writes William of Tyre, "the man separated from the woman and the woman from the navy, the father from the son, the son from the father, in order to wear on their garments - the blessed sign of the living cross - according to the commandment of the Lord Pope."

Of all things, "living ones make the death preachers! The scourges of God! The mass murderers in all peace of mind - always generous in the promise of heavenly blessings, in promises they never had to keep.

The situation was somewhat different with earthly goods. Ge-wifi, the crusaders and whoever else went there, they were also able to gain such good fortune in that distant land. But first of all, on their "pilgrimage" - called *passagium generale* [in contrast to the pilgrimage of the individual, *passagium parvum*] - they had to atone for their evil lives, for manslaughter and robbery. And this they did by slaying and robbing again, only now in the right way, with papal approval, yes, with eternal life insurance, they themselves perished in the slaying. -I guarantee this to all those who

by the power of God, whose representative I am," cried Urban in his speech. And he made a similar affirmation in his appeal to the Catalan counts and knights of Tarragona:

-Whoever falls on this campaign out of love for God and his brothers, do not doubt that he will find the remission of his sins and eternal life according to God's gracious mercy."

This was nothing new. Such things had been known for a long time; for example in Islam, which guaranteed the fighter of faith immediate entry into paradise after death, a paradise described in very sensual terms. So it says in the Koran, which dismisses earthly life as a -deceptive uselessness-: -Do not consider those who have been killed for the cause of God as dead; rather they live with their Lord, provided for and full of joy for what God has granted them of His grace ...- Even the Islamic blood witnesses are thus guaranteed heavenly reward; at the first stream of blood that leaves the body of the "martyr", his sins are forgiven, he is safe from the punishment of the grave and sees his place in the hereafter before him."

The Church literally showered the crusaders with favors, which were very cheap for them but often very expensive for the recipients. One of the most important of these Danaer gifts was the 'indulgence of sins', a complete, "perfect" indulgence, as Urban II had already proclaimed at Clermont ( *pro omni poem*). (*pro omni poenitentia*-); they also included exemption from taxes, from ordinary courts, protection against persecution for debts before the crusade, automatic excommunication of all those who attacked the crusader himself or his property, etc. "The crusader was, so to speak, accepted into the familia of the pope" (Ullmann); into the familia of the consecrated to death, Ave, Caesar ...

Occasionally the popes also gave crusade indulgences to the wives of the crusaders, the crusade preachers, even the listeners of the credal sermons. Significantly, the indulgence (*absolutio*, *condonatio*, *relexatio*, *remissio*, *venia*) is only an invention of the High Middle Ages, a genuinely new development in the history of dogma, a creative response to a new kind of

Constellation- (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche). After all, indulgences were first granted in the 11th century by the bishops of southern France and northern Spain, the first plenary indulgences by Popes Alexander II (1063) and Urban II (1095), and these granted plenary indulgences to the participants in the Crusades. Whoever, in passing, desires a definition of indulgences, whoever does not shy away from theological inspirations, truly insane combinations and confusions, may, if he wants to get really clever (the longer the explanation, the clearer it becomes in the head), look into the relevant lexicons."

From time to time, the collectors of crusade money also received crusade indulgences. No more than was right and proper. Because the more blood flowed, the more the church's income grew. Yes, as almost unlimited as the *military* fiasco of the -Wallfahrer - gradually was - for the papacy, the massacres that filled the next century and the century after that were a huge financial success: through voluntary donations, especially those collected by monks; through the so-called Cretan indulgences, one of the most lucrative titles in the clerical financial budget, monetary payments that exempted from participation in the crusade, but at the same time guaranteed the same elysian delights for those staying at home as for the fighter. Even more successfully, the rouble rolled, as it were, through compulsory taxes throughout the West, which were often fraudulently squandered for completely different purposes and even collected when there were no more actual crusades. But what people didn't do for their salvation! And the church accommodated this. It was so simple: you paid - if you had money - and paying money or, as they mocked, the "money gospel" secured you the most beautiful places "over there", the most glorious divine favors, whereby you could also extend the indulgences to the deceased, if you paid again, of course. Yes, you could have everything, you could outwit purgatory, hell, outwit the devil, in fact you could buy everything: *remissio peccatorum, vita aeterna, salus perpetua* ..., the matter became -the most inscrutable of all commercial transactions-, became "a legal right".

The promise of the kingdom of heaven - that was the goal of all crusaders, which the church held out to them" (Kawerau)."

At the heart of Urban 11's powerful speech of rebellion is the claim that the Christian church in the East was being oppressed. In fact, however, the Christians in the Orient had nothing to complain about. They paid far fewer taxes than the governors of Byzantium. They enjoyed freedom of worship, were not persecuted - and when the Crusaders arrived later, the Christians generally preferred living under the Turks to the Franks. Until Emperor Alexios I, they never called on the West for help, as the crusaders had constantly claimed since 1095. The insane Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim of Egypt, who even persecuted his own fellow believers and was the son of a Christian woman, also had the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem destroyed in 1009. But his son, Caliph al-Tahir, which of course was kept secret, rebuilt it! And when gangs of robbers harassed Western pilgrims, which was rare, it also happened that the Islamic military rushed to the aid of raiding pilgrims!

In other respects, too, the Pope did not take the truth very seriously. For example, he anticipated the Nazi slogan of the people without space, in this case referring to the French:

"The land you inhabit, enclosed on all sides by seas and mountains, constricts the all too numerous population." Certainly, this population had grown, but on the other hand, France at that time had barely 15 million inhabitants. But the Pope, himself a Frenchman and also speaking French (not Latin) to the masses, was aware of the economic misery of the people, the disquiet of the rich due to constant thefts and arson, and praised Palestine as a land where milk and honey flowed freely. And to the lure of Irish wages came that of the heavenly, the most delicious and cheapest.

Was it only desirable for Urban to distract attention from his own quarrels, from his own misery, when the bloodshed among Christians was replaced by an even greater one?

lucrative ones was curbed, if possible ended altogether. That is why he called out to the knights at the time: -You who rob widows and orphans, oppress the innocent, fill the churches with arms and dishonor them, and wear the belt of knighthood only as a sign that you are accustomed not to protect the church and its servants, as you vow to do, but to devastate the sheepfold of the Redeemer, to tear yourselves to pieces ... - Whoever waged private wars against believers, the Pope ordered, should now strike unbelievers, whoever was a robber should become a soldier. At the same time, he issued a special decree for the protection of the Crier's property, also a canon on the "Crusade AblaB" and once again proclaimed the "Treuga Dei", the "Peace of God", which forbade the violation of the peace of our Christians from Wednesday evening to Monday morning of each week under penalty of ecclesiastical banishment. Peace to Christians, war to others! This is how the militant church has always understood its gospel since Constantine (- ... and peace to men on earth who are of good will are - - whoever was of good will determined ste: cf. p. 3oi).

-May those who once waged war against brothers and relatives now *take* up the fight against the unbelievers *as* they should," the pope cried, urging an immediate departure, not neglecting to call God -leader-, "it is not I, *but the* Lord who commands *and exhorts* ..., *it is* Christ who *commands*" (vgJ. \*7J). On the next Ascension Day, the matter was to begin - and an Ascension undertaking was to take place.

For many, it was.

Urban's actual war aim was the "liberation" of the entire Italian church. *He recruited* traps for this. However, he was more concerned a b o u t the pilgrims - who had not yet been armed, which was the first time he had completely given up - and about the "Holy Sepulchre" and Jerusalem."

Jerusalem.

Mentioned almost four thousand years ago, conquered by David, destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar and Titus, the city under Christian rule (33"-a'gi became a veritable magnet for pilgrims with a literally dizzying arsenal of



Relics, not least -Christ's relics-: from the sacrament of the Holy Spirit with numerous imprints of Jesus' face and body to the crown of thorns and the chalice of the Last Supper to the divine footprints left on the Mount of Olives at the Ascension - all authentic (II \*79 ff!, z 9 ff!).

But unfortunately these and a thousand other sacred treasures fell. The city fell victim to the Arab storm and in 638 Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Caliph Omar, Muhammad's second successor and weaker. The "Commander of the Faithful", however, exercised a mild regimen and also allowed the Jews, who had been banished from Jerusalem during the reign of the Christians, to return. And at the beginning of the 11th century, Jews and Christians still enjoyed the status of disciples (*idimma*) granted to monotheistic religious followers by Islamic law; indeed, they were able to rise to high court and administrative positions. Only under the caliph al-Hakim were there repressions from 1008/09 onwards, confiscations of church property, the expropriation and partial destruction of several Christian places of worship and monasteries, including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; measures that were soon annulled, however.

The Pope, however, propagated the reconquest of Jerusalem.

#### CRI STICAL C R IEGHTS

But Jerusalem had never belonged to Western Christendom! And ever since 638 Kamt o ar rode into the city on a wise camel in that wintry February, it has also been open to Islam.

helig, the rock mosque there one of his great shrines. Nevertheless, later popes, preachers of the Holy Cross and chroniclers also repeatedly speak of the Holy Land as the Lord's "inheritance", which must be regained or even lost. teidtgeri was valid.

The Pope also claimed that Western pilgrims were prevented from visiting the holy cities. In reality

this has never been done by the Islamic state. Because even Understandably, Western Christians were able to wall- travel to Jerusalem, even ' < 7 century. Three decades after the Arabs had conquered Jerusalem in 37, Bishop Arculf of Périgueux to Palestine and spends almost a year and nine months there.

months in the city. Then "Charlemagne" had pilgrims' hostels built there and Western European pilgrims studied the library of St. Mary's Church. A hospital for pilgrims was also built in Jerusalem. Christian monasteries were built and enormous donations were made.

In 86q, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Theodosius, wrote to Patriarch Ignatius of Constantinople that the Saracens were just and did not harass the Christians in any way. In the tenth century, Bishop Conrad of Constance traveled to Jerusalem three times, Bishop John of Parma six times. Just as the flow of western pilgrims to Jerusalem never completely ceased, in the ii th century in particular, masses of pilgrims came to the Holy City. In the second century in particular, mass pilgrimages to the Holy City began under the leadership of bishops, abbots and secular princes from Germany, France and England. As late as i 4, Archbishop Siegfried I of Mainz and Bishops Gunther of Bamberg and Adelber of Würzburg made pilgrimages to the Orient, which were highly regarded at the time."

The Christians in Jerusalem were only second-class citizens, socially and politically degraded and obliged to pay tribute on time. They were not allowed to build new churches, prevent anyone from converting, or wear the same costume and hairstyle as the Muslims. But they did enjoy (a certain) freedom of worship. And above all, they lived in peace. The Coptic Church in Egypt virtually regenerated itself under Islam, the Monophysites in Armenia were protected by it against the restrained Greek Orthodox, the Syrian Jacobites are now said to have had over a hundred bishoprics at times, and Syrian Christians had long held high positions of honor with Muslim princes. Nestorianism flourished and was highly successful as far as Egypt, India and eastern China."

The Byzantine emperors, on the other hand, harbored the Christian dis-

sidents, the Nestorian, Jacobite and Coptic churches as -For centuries, these "heretics" were humiliated and fiercely persecuted. Among the Arabs, however, these Christians, like the Jews, enjoyed religious toleration. And they had to pay lower taxes to the Mohammedans, who therefore did not fear for their world domination, than to the Byzantines. Only rarely was coexistence impaired or did harassment occur. On the contrary, trade with overseas Christian countries flourished and prosperity continued to reign in Jerusalem thanks to the visits of Western pilgrims."

Islam knew the "jihad" from the Qur'an. -Holy War', but did not practice it at first. His advance against Byzantium - often with Christian (Monophysite) auxiliaries, by the way - and his victorious run all the way to Spain were •purely political expansions" (Kühner), although they were also cruel, exterminating men and enslaving women and children, just as in the holy and unholy wars of the Jews and Christians. The full extent of holy war in Islam was only proclaimed by the Crusades. However, as in the Bible, there were also beautiful tolerant sayings in the Koran, such as: "Let there be no compulsion in faith." For example, Mohammed, who made a strong distinction between pagans and "possessors of the scriptures", ordered tolerance towards Jews and Christians who submitted politically to the temporal arm of Islam. Formal treaties were concluded with Christians. And they were also tolerant towards the followers of Zarathustra.

Tolerance in the age of early Islam, says one of the best According to Aziz S. Atiya, an expert on this history, its greatness has not yet been presented anywhere•B ; "it is very remarkable and is generally denied or overlooked by historians". This only changed immediately before the beginning of the Crusades due to the change of math in Jerusalem."

In the sermons of the Pope, who called for a crusade not only in Clermont but also elsewhere in France and Italy, everything looked different, of course. And equally or even more so in the agitations of other pious propagandists.

The models for the clerical warfare were the heroes of the Old Testament, Joshua (I 83 f.), David (I 85 ff!), Judas Maccabeus (I roy ff.) and others, who had already had a corresponding effect for almost the entire millennium. The patron saints of war, certain soldier saints whose lives were dedicated to the trade of blood and vengeance, such as Mauritius or Sebastian, became even more efficient. Then came the patron saints of countries, St. Dionysus for France, St. Mauritius for Germany and St. James, "Santiago", for Spain. And finally, the Byzantine Church provided its much older warrior saints for the incitement of the Westerners, especially Demetrius, Sergius or Theodore, whom the legend doubled by presenting a commander and a recruit. Perhaps the most brilliant role, however, was played by the heroic "Knight of St. George", who is portrayed above all as the standard-bearer of the Crusader army.

Seditious pamphlets soon circulated, as did pure forgeries. And mendacious itinerant preachers, demagogues who turned the heads of women and young people in particular, followed in the Pope's footsteps and whipped the people into a right-wing crusade hysteria.

The famous Song of Roland, presumably composed by a clergyman in the north of France, reflects this religious *and* warlike fanaticism, which was almost unrestrained in *Europe at the time*. Charlemagne" (cf. IV4\* ff.) is the first crusader. rer, the French are the chosen people, the Goties Battles, the opponents only to trigger the devil's spawn, "heathen dogs". Thus the -Chanson de Roland", probably under the influence of the first crusade, is permeated by a rabid anti-Islamic impetus. "The Christians are always right, the pagans (Muslims) are wrong" (I. Short), people who worship idols. In contrast, the Breton Margrave Roland shines as the "Christian Achilles", Charlemagne cruelly avenges his death and is urged to strike further liberating blows against the "infidels".

Last but not least, the monks enter the arena and drive to the

War. "Even if only orphans, little children, widows, and the bereaved fight, we will win the victory over the devilish people." - Well, Christ's fighting, well, St. Peter's fighting, St. Anthony's fighting, do not be afraid and trust in the Lord.

Peter of Amiens, also known as the hermit, a small, emaciated anachoret who had previously lived in hiding, dark-colored, skinny, filthy (often a sign of special holiness at the time), who soon lived only "on wine and fish" and eventually became the legendary hero of the First Crusade, saw that his time had come. He mounted a mule, presented a letter from Christ himself with the order to crusade, gave furious diatribes - and the people showered him with gifts and faithfully clutched the hair of his donkey like relics. For, reports Giiiberr of Nogent: -"There seemed to be something divine in everything he did or said.' The papal appeal, supported by many other preachers of the cross, was strongly echoed; least of all, however - significantly enough - in the pope's country. His closest subjects in particular had no intention of fighting out the celebrated project under the "banners of the Redeemer". They did not represent a continent. And Ferdinand Gregoroviiis was probably right: -It is likely that the Senate and the people would have laughed derisively if Urban would have asked them to do so.

When Fulcher of Chartres, the relatively impartial, independent and highly praised clerical chronicler of the First Crusade, passed through Italy with the pilgrims, he reported: -From Rome, many who had come so far with us returned home cowardly, without waiting any longer.- But were they really cowardly\* Could not the sight of Catholicism in Rome, in the heart of Western Christendom, the sight of St. Peter's Church, where people were robbing, swinging swords, throwing stones, have been motive enough for their return, a revelation for them sui generis?"

In any case, the Germans are initially only sparingly involved in the matter. The Reich itself holds back completely; a consequence

of the war between emperor and pope, state and clergy, a battle, according to Ekkehard von Aura, monk, historian and participant in the crusade of Welf I of Bavaria (1011/1102.), which "made us hated by the Romans as much as the Romans hated us. The East Franks, Saxons, Thuringians, Bavarians and Alemanni are said to have initially accused the French, who often set out with their wives and children, of "unheard-of folly" and derided them as "frenzied" because they vainly left the land of their birth for certain things. Then, of course, they were joined by Rhenish, Swabian and other bands.

But above all, writes Guibert of Nogent, it was the dregs of France (*faex residua Francorum*) who, after Urban's great speech of exhilaration, shouted like mad: "Deus lo volt! Deus lo volt!"- The French, tempted by priestly propaganda, enticed by the religious treasures of the Orient, the material treasures too, the exotic beauty even of its ladies, could hardly move fast enough.

-Deus lo volt!

-God wants it!" became the rallying cry with which they set out to murder hatred. And as with every murderous madness, the people raced with enthusiasm. "Gemeine" and "Edle", men and even women took up the cross, recognizing God's voice and will in the papal phrases. Many wept, trembled, foamed at the mouth -

-how worthy, lovely ablick-, exults a spiritual chronicler - and had a red cross pinned to their shoulders, which symbolized quite vividly what they were taking on. A great comet appeared, even the heavier ones were said to have been seen on the firmament, bloody clouds, whole armies. And Karl

-the Great One- had risen, it was said ..."

In the following years, between spring 1096 and spring 1101, in addition to all kinds of smaller groups, three large crusading companies in particular set out on the "journey-, to put it discreetly, on the -pilgrimage-, the train to the -heritage land" of Christ, also called -crossing into the kingdom of heaven ...". And this above all, if you take the &griff loosely enough, it became. Remained

but almost everything was somewhere along the route, only one of the three main shafts, the middle one, arrived at all.

But even before the bulk of the army came together in the fall of ioq6, many thousands set out in droves with women and children in the winter of ioq5 and especially the following spring, the so-called peasant crusaders, often the whole family, including the little ones, on two-wheeled ox carts, with a few mouthfuls of food, often equipped with bludgeons and wooden swords, but with a strong faith. And led by the hermit Peter of Amiens and the knight Walter Habenichts. A band of Germans, Franks, Swabians, Lorraines, stood under the priest **Gortschalk**.

The military commitment of the -little man- was completely new, was unique. For war in the Middle Ages had previously only been waged by the nobility, not the peasant or the poor. It was the church that mobilized the masses for the first time for the First Crusade, sending them to war, to death. And often to what!"

#### **ANEUTSCHLAND BEG II"INEN THE JUDENMASAKER - EARLY ÜRÄLUD IRN THE NAZ I ERA**

As is well known, the "Peasants' War" began with the horrific slaughter and robbery of most of the Jewish communities in the Rhineland episcopal cities, as well as those in Rouen and Prague, which provided many of the desperately poor pilgrims with the necessary travel money.

If one considers the rabid anti-Judaism of Christianity throughout the first millennium, the pronounced hostility towards Jews already expressed by Paul, the evangelist John, and other inspired writers of the New Testament (I --4 ). -- The fanatical anti-Judaism of so many of the early church fathers, including the be-

The most famous, the Doctors of the Church Ephrem, John Chrysostom, Jerome (I iz6 ff., i3i ff!), Ambrosius (I 43ii ff!) and Atigu-



stinus (*I Jr i ff!*), if one finally considers that the first synagogues to be burned down were Christian bishops and saints from antiquity and that this savage hostility towards the Jews finally consequently spread to the entire early medieval Church in Spain and western Francia, it is almost a miracle that the East Frankish Empire was spared in the first millennium.

Jews were already resident here early on. *yzr they* are explicitly attested *as* Cologne citizens. The same can be assumed for other places on the Rhine, Meuse and Danube. In the Carolingian Empire, there is evidence of a settlement of Germany and France by them. The Carolingians favored their immigration. Jews brought some culture with them and, through their international relations, became -new tools (Cecil Roth). This is how their well-founded settlements developed. In the io. and ii. Century almost every larger town in both countries had a long-established Jewish community. The position of the Jews in early medieval Germany was initially tolerable. They were considered free, could acquire property and were allowed to bear arms. Some ecclesiastical and secular princes also granted Jews - who had no rights as foreigners and "outsiders" - protection and privileges from time to time, usually to Jewish merchants, albeit usually only for economic or political reasons. Change of faith."

Some rulers, Louis the Pious, for example, issued "letters of protection" to individual Jews, making them direct subjects and protégés of the crown, but in return they had to "serve the king faithfully" and pay high taxes. A man like Archbishop Agobard (p. 36ä) even doubted the authenticity of the letters of protection presented to him by Jews from Lyon, as he could not believe that the emperor's wisdom had been so far forgotten.

From the Carolingian period until the end of the i th century, only individual Jews or certain groups of Jews enjoyed legal protection from the king in Germany. Under Hein-

However, under the rule of Henry IV, this protection became general, albeit with moderate success, and all German Jews were placed under the care of the ruler for around 20 to 130 years; this may have been for more or less noble reasons: the protection of life and limb at the time of the retreat or, more likely, the high tax obligation. After all, after the forced baptisms of Regensburg Jews in 1097, Henry IV allowed them to return to their old faith. Frederick I Barbarossa (i i yz-i iqo) also protected the Jews, as did Richard I Lionheart (t r8y-i iqq), but without success. No sooner had he moved to the Orient than there were mass murders of Jews in England."

In the early Middle Ages, when the Jews did not understand the king or the emperor, they were reasonably safe. This changed with the weakening, the decline of the central power, changed when the sovereignty of life passed to the barons and bishops and Jews were at the mercy of all the prejudices, slander and lies spread by the clergy for centuries.

From generation to generation they had been vilely discriminated against, in hundreds of tracts, in thousands of pulpits. They have been heaped with invective and filth since early Christianity, not only in popular writings, but also in so-called scientific ones.

Abbot Peter of Cluny (d. i i \$6), a saint of the Church and, along with St. Bernard ( 4sg ff.), certainly the most important man of his century {Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche}, called the Jews "shameless dogs, filthy pigs". And the more powerful the Catholics became, the more vilely they reviled the "murderers of God". Only very few did not revile them. After all, the swayed, dumbed-down believers simply considered them to be true devils and treated them accordingly. This was then called: the people's rage!

The medieval church did not often start pogroms directly on its own initiative, as there were plenty of others who did. But the leaders of the Church had laid the groundwork for it, had created all the conditions. And the bishops favored it.

The anti-Jewish violence was carried out by princes, by cities; they only granted protection to the miserable victims if they ran to be baptized, even if they were beaten to death in front of their eyes. It is important to bear in mind that the Jewish war did not come from the Christian people, but from their leaders, from the authors of the New Testament, famous bishops, from the very top.

When there was a deliberate rapprochement with the Jews in early medieval Spain, Pope Hadrian I reprimanded all those who had any dealings with them, although he was merely repeating old prohibitions. And when Archbishop Frederick of Mainz, undecided about their treatment, asked Leo VII (q36-q3q), the pope - who is still characterized in our days as an - unobjectionable- pope - ordered the expulsion of all Jews who were not baptized, as Christians were not allowed to have communion with them.

have."

For the first time, the Yuden were chased out of Mainz row by none other than King Henry II the Saint. Pope Benedict VIII took this as an example and went one step further. When a Jewish pogrom occurred in Rome due to an earthquake, the Holy Father had some Jews executed.

In France, where Pope Urban first preached the creed, pious participants in the crusade slaughtered Jews in large numbers. At first, Carholian hordes plundered the Jewish community of Rouen; the inhabitants were massacred and their houses burned to the ground. Even baptized Jews barely escaped with their lives. In western Francia, the Clement had already done a great deal of preparatory work in the history of salvation, and one synod after another had issued anti-Jewish decrees: the Synod of Vannes 66 , the Synod of Agde 506 , the z., 3., 4., y. Synod of Orléans, that of Clermont y 3y (can. 6), of MaCon 58i (can. 4 ff.), of Paris 6i4 (can. I y), of Reims 6zd (can. i i), from Chat ons sur 5aone 6yo (can. 9). CO already occurred *in the*

Merovingian Franks at the end of the 6th century led to forced baptisms, mass expulsions and the destruction of synagogues and Jewish homes."

Archbishop Agobard was able to thrive on such soil in the early 9th century, claiming in all seriousness that the Christians in Lyon were being persecuted by Jews and sending at least five sharply attacking letters (others may have been lost) to the court of Louis the Pious. However, Agobard, together with Archbishop Bernard of Vienne, venerated as a saint, and Bishop Faof of Chalon-sur-Saône, also addressed a treatise of his own to the emperor, whereby the rulers supported their hostility towards the Jews - quite rightly - through the Old and New Testaments, through the church fathers Cyprian, Athanasius, Hilarius, Ambrose and the Franciscan synods of the 6th and 7th century. It is therefore always the impudence of the Jews that endangers the peace of the Christian church, Jews are worse than "heretics" themselves."

But while this was the case in western Franconia and far worse in neighboring Spain, there had been no comparable outbreaks of anti-Judaism in the East Franconian Empire. Century after century, for more than half a millennium, the Jews as such had peace and quiet in Germanic early-medieval Europe.

Now, however, the popular preaching with its constant insistence on the -Godly people of the Jews- brought the primitive glowering minds to a boil, and many a crusader believed that he could already perform pious deeds at home. -Look-, concluded quite logically and Christianly, quite Christologically, -look, we are going down to seek our Savior and to take vengeance for him against the Ishmaelites; but here are the Jews who killed and crucified him! First, then, let us take vengeance on them and wipe them out from among the nations ... -

Yes, kill a Jew and save your soul," was the slogan. And more and more people soon believed that they could not only save their souls, but also their indebted skin. If you killed a Jew, you were exempt from repaying the capital and interest. Towards the middle of the century, Bernhard of Clairvaux in his sermons on the Crusade

The Crusaders were not allowed to use violence against Jews, but emphasized that they were not allowed to enrich themselves from the Christians, which was undoubtedly aimed at the interest to be paid to them. Later, the church even explicitly exempted the Crusaders from paying any interest on borrowed money - but taxed the Jews all the more harshly. In this way, the -armed Wallfahrten- for the most part with Jewish money."

In Speyer, Bishop Johann protected the Jews at the beginning of May 1096, probably motivated more by their gold than by his good heart, and he only protected them after eleven had already been murdered. Bishop Albrand of Worms only promised the Jews salvation "if they accepted baptism" - the Jews asked for time to think about it and preferred death to a Christian life; they killed each other, about 800 people. However, Jewish and Christian sources also report the "voluntary" death of entire Jewish communities elsewhere. In Trier, Bishop Egilbert only saved those Jews who had been baptized. But most of the apostates, said the monk (or prior) of the Bamberg monastery of Michelsberg, Frutolf, had returned to their renounced religion - "like dogs to garbage".

Archbishop Ruthard II of Mainz (- 9-i 1096) promised to protect the lades of his city after paying him 300 pieces of silver - and yet he let them down, twice, first in Mainz, then (a group of **63 IThit** lades escaped with the help of episcopal Bewaffneter) also in Rudesheim, where the prelate was staying.

The Christian grandees performed particularly honorable manly deeds during these massacres. It was not only the metropolitan of Mainz who first allowed himself to be paid and then killed the Jews, whereupon he fled to Thuringia to avoid the threat of a trial by the king and acted against Henry, who eventually allowed the Jews to return to their faith. Count Emicho von Leiningen, a scion of an old dynasty based in Wormsgau and a relative of the Archbishop of Mainz, also played a leading role here.

The noble count, who was first given seven pounds of gold as a ransom and then became the worst of all our oppressors, complains a Jewish source—who spared neither old man nor young woman and had no mercy for child nor infant nor sick person, who represented the people of God like dust, who struck the young men with his sword and slashed the pregnant women. But the noble count had also been personally commissioned to do pious deeds by a messenger of the Crucified One. As had happened shortly before in Worms, there was also a horrific Jewish mass suicide in Mainz. Here, after all—two equally strong forms of madness on top of each other—, says Hans Wollschläger, author of perhaps the best written history of the Crusades, who in the Hebrew chronicles of this year—confides a single litany of death,—compressed from the darkest sounds of inhumanity and filled with the mad howl of the madness of faith; ... the Christian cross ... possibly overshadowed by the Moloch image of the Synagogue god ...":

-And the women girded their loins with strength and slaughtered their sons and daughters and then themselves; many men strengthened themselves and slaughtered their wives, their children and their servants; the tender and soft mother slaughtered her favorite child; all rose up, man and woman alike, and each one wronged the other. The pious and devout women offered one another's necks in sacrifice for the unity of the divine name ... one slaughtered, the other was slaughtered until blood flowed into blood ... they were killed and slaughtered for the sake of the unity of the glorious and terrible divine name.

Jews in Metz, Trier, Cologne, NeUB, Altenahr, Eher, Wevelinghoven, Kerpen, Xanten, Mehr, Moers, Geldern, Dortmund, Regensburg and Prague died in one way or another. Many Jews killed themselves. They jumped off the bridge into the river, as three young girls did in Cologne, threw themselves into the sword, into the fire, slit their wrists or stabbed their children, as Mar Isac did in Mainz with his son and daughter in the synagogue at midnight. '

Nobody knows how many people fell victim to the Catholic saviors at the time. But a five-digit figure is likely, even if it is certainly low. In Mainz alone, more than 1000 Jews died, and "the ecclesiastical dignitaries played a shameless role in this slaughter" (Kupisch) - but not only in this one; in Prague, the murderers were virtually led by the priest Folkmar. None other than Henry IV, who was so cursed and fought against by the Church, strictly investigated the Mainz massacre, not without incurring the enmity of Archbishop Ruthard, who was exiled to Flanders."

The First Crusade took place in three large waves, the first of which, the "Peasant Crusade" of the Jew-slayers, consisted of four enormous bands, three of which just managed to reach Hungary, while the fourth group perished in Asia Minor."

### **THE 'PEASANT CRUSADE' ENDS THE Kncuzzuc OF the filRsts n BEGINS**

However, the crusade of the peasants, the poor and the mob was not only joined by seduced peasants and townspeople, but also by seducers, clergymen such as the priest Gottschalk, representatives of the petty nobility such as Walter Habenichts (Gautier Sansavoir) and Lambert the Poor (le Pauvre), not a few feudal lords, the Viscount Wilhelm von Melun, the Swabian Count Hartmann von Kirchberg and others, mostly particularly hard-boiled, brutal fellows, such as Count Emicho of Meiningen, the great murderer of Mainz, who even had religious visions ...

Entire villages emptied themselves. Thousands of people completely impoverished by spiritual and secular princes set out to fight for Christ. The unemployed, vagrants and the starving fled their misery, trusting in the Lord and his hosts and in the land flowing with milk and honey. Like swarms of locusts, they invaded the East and gained

already had the best reputation in Christian Hungary. For although they were warmly welcomed by their fellow believers everywhere on royal orders, they soon raped, robbed and murdered wherever they felt like it - and they almost always felt like it. Guibert of Nogent, the French abbot, reports on this:

"Not satisfied with having been kindly received, the friars, driven by an incomprehensible madness, soon began to mistreat the inhabitants ..., they set fire to the public granaries, kidnapped the young girls and did violence to them, violated the marriages ..., everyone lived as he could on murder and plunder and all boasted with incomprehensible freedom that they would live with the Turks in the same way."

Only very few of them got that far.

Half of these hordes of pilgrims were already wiped out in Hungary, in some cases in outright battles with the local Christians, at Neutra, for example, near the border town of Semlin, where the "pilgrims" killed more than four thousand Hungarians at the end of June - at least according to Albert von Aachen, one of the few contemporary German chroniclers of the First Crusade, a clergyman who, despite his enthusiasm, preferred to stay at home. The crusaders robbed Semlin, plundered Belgrade heavily and set it on fire, but were defeated so badly at Wieselburg that the Danube and Leitha were dyed blood red and for a while the floating corpses are said to have covered the water completely.

The greatly reduced remainder reached Byzantium in August, on which, under Peter of Amiens ("Kukupetros", little Peter, as Anna Komnene calls him), it still burst in "like torrents" and soon - with extreme insolence - (Guibert of Nogent) robbed and plundered, raided villas and palaces, and stole the lead from the church roofs in order to sell it back to the owners, so to speak. No wonder the face of the pilgrims, as it seemed to the Byzantine princess,

-'bore the expression of joyful mood and eagerness to walk the path of heaven-. The highly irritated Alexios I Komnenos,



The founder of the Comneni dynasty, however, quickly led this group across the Bosphorus to Asia Minor, where he even attacked a Greek village\* because the Christian peasants were thought to be Saracens."

Then, however, the crusading peasants, encouraged by bishops and priests, actually attacked the Turks in order to take Nikaia from them. They ravaged the suburbs below the city walls, stole the herds, massacred the Christian inhabitants and, according to Anna Komnene, "roasted little children on a spit". On zi. October io96, however, they were mowed down by Seljuk cavalrymen near Civetot, the women, priests and children were also stabbed, only pretty young boys and girls were spared. Barely two or three thousand of the thirty or forty thousand survived. They mostly ended up as prisoners in the east. Subsequent crusaders found the skulls and bones of the dead and used them to build walls like those of a city, and instead of mortar, they filled the spaces between them with the bones of the dead, making this city their tomb, so to speak" (Anna Komnene). Very few, like the hermit Peter of Amiens, who was probably particularly in God's favor and who once even lost his war chest, went to Constantinople, to Europe, and waited for the Lord's special fighters. But before that, three hundred thousand people had allegedly already died."

In the meantime, the actual crusader army, predominantly knights from France and southern Italy - the figures (usually greatly exaggerated in the Middle Ages) vary between one hundred and six hundred thousand men, plus an uncounted number of women and children - had set out separately in four large expeditionary corps and also moved separately towards Hungary, Dalmatia, Apulia and Constantinople; the rest had embarked in the southern Italian ports of Bari and Brindisi. -It was the whole of the Occident-, writes Anna Komnene, -all the barbarian nations ..., it was all that emigrated en masse, moved there in whole families and marched towards Asia ... -

With his crusade proclamation, Pope Urban had appointed the Bishop of Le Puy, Adhémar of Monteil, as the supreme leader of the crusade and its legal representative, who, it is assumed, had previously made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He died during the siege of Antioch, which made him a legendary figure. Urban had chosen the Count of Toulouse, Raimund IV of St-Gilles, the last surviving warhorse of the Franco-Spanish Moorish war initiated by Gregory VII, as the military commander of the campaign. Raimund made the pilgrimage in the company of his wife Elvira, who had a second son before Tripoli, although the ambitious count's other efforts bore little fruit. After consultations with the **Pope**, he and Bishop Adhémar set off for the Orient at the head of the largest crusader band, mostly Provençals and Burgundians, in October 1096."

Gottfried of Bouillon, the Duke of Lower Lorraine and nephew of the Bishop of Paris, who led the Lorraine and German warriors, also played an important role in the Crusade of the Princes. He was the only one of the crusade commanders to have close contacts with Henry IV and may not have planned a permanent settlement in the East. Of course, he sold or pledged his property beforehand to equip his troops - Bouillon Castle was given to the Bishop of Liège. And during the Jewish pogroms in the Middle Rhine region, he cunningly pressed his Jews to arm his "pilgrims" with their money - and then did not want to leave a single Jew alive. His brother Balduin set off with him, stylized by the church as the noble warrior of God par excellence. Originally destined to become a priest, Balduin 1098 became **Count** of Edessa, the first Latin Orientiaat, and soon also the first King of Jerusalem, as which he was crowned on December 25 in the so-called Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem."

Another crusade leader, Bohemund 1st of Taranto, the later Prince of Antioch, was very eager for success. The militant, power-hungry eldest son of Robert Guiscard (from a historical family of

The man who married Alberada) had come up short in the division of the inheritance, and when he once came across French Oriental fighters passing through, he probably became particularly aware of his narrow inheritance and, "moved by the Holy Spirit", he also took up the cross, as if he himself had been made to fight for Gortes. He mastered everything that went with it: battle, rebellion, land theft, betrayal, breach of contract. He also had heretics and once had all "enemies of God" liquidated in a Bogomil settlement, even though the Bogomils did not fight God, but the clergy, liturgy, sacraments and meat genufi. The Norman also made pilgrimages to the so-called Holy Sepulchre and to the relics of St. Leonard, who even appeared to him in person. And he repeatedly prepared alleged crusades, which, however, were only intended for the Christian emperor of Byzantium, whose vassal he did not want to be.

Anna Komnene, who hardly ever wrote about other crusaders, left us a detailed literary portrait of Bohemund, the image of a man, she said, in whom courage and love were at odds and both were focused on war. -He had a supple mind, was cunning and rich in evasions on all occasions. His words were well calculated and his answers always ambiguous. This man, so superior in degree, was not inferior to my father alone in fortune, eloquence and other gifts of nature." Count Hugh of Vermandois, the youngest son of the French King Henry I, was the first prince to set out on the path of salvation, and like so many salvation-minded people, he also hoped for some earthly possessions in the East. He was the only crusade leader to visit the Pope in Rome, from whom he received the golden banner of St. Peter - and was already lost on the crossing from Bari to

Durazzo its most ships.

No **king** was involved in this "crossroads of princes". The most influential European monarchs, Henry IV, William the Red of England and Philip I of France, had been excommunicated. But even without them, the "war people of Christ" advanced almost blamelessly over Coristantinople,

only occasionally making a few raids, slaughtering imperial soldiers or gouging out the eyes of a few Slavs, chopping off their feet, hands and noses.

During the week-long siege of the heavily fortified Nikaia, the residence of Sultan Sulayman, which was situated on the most important road through Asia Minor, *the* pilgrimage route, the Catholic fighters beheaded their prisoners in droves, threw the heads back into the city with a slingshot and, according to spiritual testimony, sent a thousand heads, well-packed in sacks, to his Christian majesty, the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I. According to an anonymous of this crusade, there was still "great prosperity in the army of Christ". And when they fought, they were evidently always completely and completely in the stream of power and blessing of the only true and only good religion, they were, so to speak, always "surrounded on all sides by the sign of the cross". - No one, I think, has ever seen or will ever see a similar number of such perfect knights." Well, a contemporary Christian chronicler would hardly expect anything else. But what must it be like in the mind of a modern historian who can write in all seriousness that the "chivalric spirit found its most beautiful expression in the Crusades?

After Nikaia had surrendered in June, not to the crusaders but to their Byzantine combatants, whose ships were operating successfully in the Sea of Ascanian, the first open battle took place at Dorylaion on July 10qy. July 10qy, the first open field battle with the main army under Sultan Kilidsch-Arslan took place. The evening pilgrims also became acquainted with the Turkish rain of arrows - mounted archers were the best Muslim soldiers - which darkened the sun and had such an excellent effect that the Christians suddenly realized that they were speaking with Pulcher of Chartres, -all sinners and criminals. -Among the pilgrims were the Bishop of Fuy, our Lord, and four other prelates, as many priests, all in white robes, submissively beseeching the Lord to break the power of the enemies ... And indeed the tide turned, "a great **wtin-**

of God", for the enemies turned their backs on them, the Christians advanced, salvation and victory, as far as the Sultan's richly stocked camp; -there some of ours loaded the enemy's baggage and even tents on a lot of horses and camels, and until At night, the others plunged their swords into the Turks' bodies".

-This chivalrous spirit found its most beautiful expression in the Crusades.

Unfolding" (Grupp).<sup>14</sup>

### THE "AG OF THE CROSS...."

Fighting and conquering, "the army of Gotre" advanced via Dorylaion through Anatolia to Syria "towards the house of our Lord Jesus", as Count Stephen of Blois reported to his wife Adele of Normandy, a daughter of William the Conqueror, not failing to mention that he currently possessed twice as much gold and other riches as the lady of his heart had given him. Turkish fortresses were taken, men and animals starved and perished from privation, but they won again and again and made conquests "for the Lord", to use Count Stephen's words.

One has to imagine this madness "for the Lord": - the pilgrim worm, torturing itself with wives and children, kilometer-long snakes in the parched land, glowing deserts, impassable mountains, knights, archers, women in childbirth, who leave their wombs - (Save the germinating life!) - -on the earth" (Albert of Aachen), mechanical engineers, adolescents and hookers, all under black buzzing clouds of flies, clouds of stench, sweat, incense, stinging sun, contaminated food, crucifixes and ankles, people shaken by fever, dying of thirst, dying of heatstroke, exhaustion, hunger, those who are poor create first. You drink horse blood, donkey blood, urine, like the peasant crusaders destroyed at Xerigordon Castle. You die between

Marching music and delirious people, cattle bellowing, rape, psalms. Slashed horse bellies, suffocating horsemen, processions and massacres, the "way of the cross": one prays and slays, one preaches and stabs, charging horses, hails of lances, whirling swords, jagged helmets, brains, bulging eyes, church flags at the head of columns, icons, images of saints, relics that are not merely intended to protect, but to make the weapons more murderous, and before the slaughter, priests with upraised cross and communion chalice - in this sign EVERYBODY **BREAKS**. And with all this and always: while the masses of the miserable foot people perish partly on the fields of blood, partly in slavery, partly simply on the way, the "way of the cross", the elite save their k.ostbarcs 1-eben on fast horseback.

Gradually they reached more orthodox Cefildc, which had been settled by Armenian emigrants since around iozo. In Artah, the local Christians massacred the Turkish garrison as the crusading army approached, sabering off their heads and throwing them over the wall. They then greeted the pilgrims piously and cheerfully," reports Albert, who stayed at home, "-ca- nonico et cu\*tode Aquensis ecclesie", author of the richest prose history of this crusade. And still, records Archbishop William of Tyre, everywhere "luxury and an exemplary waste",<sup>4</sup>

In the principality of Edessa, the Christians wanted a western pilgrim as ruler. Count Balduin, the brother of God's Peace of Bouillon, who appeared here on his own initiative with a kind of special command, did not hesitate. He is appointed heir by Prince Thoros and presumably shortens the waiting time by having the regent killed, one way or another, although this cannot be proven. Edessa, a crossroads of important highways, became a county and for decades an outstanding bastion of the crusaders, especially as Balduin did everything he could to expand his territory, including marrying an Armenian princess and brutally suppressing a civil uprising.

In late October in 97, we were still standing with 3000 Mann - according to Albert of Aachen, who is often credited with great narrative talent - before the almost impregnable Antioch on the Orontes, before that shining "city of God" where Jesus' followers were called Christians for the first time (Acts 11, 26). Just as important politically as militarily and economically, larger and more luxurious than all Western cities, fortified with four hundred towers and mostly inhabited by Christians, the pilgrims attacked the fortress for more than seven months "under the leadership of Christ" and suffered enormous losses. Indeed, the souls of many of our Christian brethren, Count Stephen of Chartres reported full of trust in God in the far west, were sent to the joys of paradise. The survivors, on the other hand, had a harder time. A devastating winter followed, which - The clothes of the "little people" molded off their bodies, many starved, the horses died. Only the headhunting of prisoners compensated the "heroes of the Lord" somewhat for their successes in the field. The apostolic plenipotentiary, the Bishop of **Put,**

-Adhemar de Monteil, as a well-meaning Catholic still calls him today, had a reward of 200 denarii paid for every Turk's head he brought back and then had the heads pinned on long poles in front of the city wall. A sight often granted to the orthodox, but always edifying ...

It was only through bribery and betrayal - Bohemund's achievement - that the "heroes of Christ" \* \*- 3- **JULY** 1098 with the battle cry - God willing!

conquer the city. Supported by their local co-religionists, they slaughtered all the Turks; unquestionably a work pleasing to God. -All the squares were so littered with corpses that no one could stay there because of the stench, and then they seized their wives and daughters, even many defenseless Christian women, and the poorest offered themselves for a piece of bread. -God willing!-<sup>S</sup> '

Just a few days later, however, the besiegers were besieged and the Sultan Kerbogha's relief army, which had rushed in, closed them down.

of Mosul. Now the "pilgrims" were swimming in stolen gold, but had nothing to eat. The knights drank horse's blood, the poor lived on batim leaves and carrion, some cooked dried camel and ox hides until soft, there was also cannibalism in places, in short, they suffered all kinds of hardships

"for the sake of the name of Christ. Cautious ones, such as Count Stephen of Blois, deposed themselves ingloriously. Peter the Hermit also tried, but he was recaptured.

But in times of greatest need, a wonderful miracle revived the murderous lust of the weary warriors: the Provençal priest Peter Barrhélemy, who did not have the best reputation, found one of the most precious relics after a long search with the visionary assistance of St. Andrew - he appeared four times - and in the presence of Raimund of Toulouse, the holy lance with which a Roman legionary once pierced Jesus' side on the cross; if it is true. According to an Arab source, the Holy Lance was located exactly where it had been buried and all traces removed - and yet, another, even greater miracle, the "original" was already in Constantinople, in the Byzantine crown treasure! After three days of fasting and prayer, strengthened by the body and blood of the Lord, the captives, led by the priest Raimund with the Holy Lance and with other priests and monks who invoked all the saints (who then also rode along on white horses), made a glorious assault on June z8. June ioq8 and in a great fervor of faith extinguished the lives of about too ooo Muslims, also those of the women, children, infants in their camp - -some stabbed them, others tore them apart with the hooves of their horses ...- (Albert of Aachen}.

The talented Peter, who had evidently become the creature of the cunning Bohemund, now had visions of the saints flying to him almost like swarms of bees - and all the saints spoke out in favor of Bohemund's military and political intentions" (Heer). Of course, not everyone was taken in by the little lance and the help of St. Andrew. Criticism arose, and when the lucky finder was finally ready to try the fire, he died of the burns he had suffered.



The Pope's representative also died. On i. August, Bishop Ademar of Le Puy, the supreme leader of the crusade, succumbed to an epidemic that all too soon opened up paradise to tens of thousands of other Christian victims of salvation. For almost half a year, the princes fought over Antioch, which finally went to Robert Guiscard's son, Bohemund of Taranto. For him, this was the end of the 'way of the Lord'. He remained in place and ensured the expansion of his power, the second crusader state. His rival Raymond of St. Gilles received the county of Tripoli as a consolation. Balduin already had Edessa. Gottfried of Bouillon took part of Syria. The Pope, asked by the princes to come to Antiochia himself and lead the crusade, evidently felt little desire to do so. Like all great strategists, he preferred to look at the situation from a distance; this also guaranteed an overview.

Another six months of rolling, fighting our way forward again. The way of the cross", a path full of corpses behind them and full of corpses in front of them. Numerous small castles and towns were stormed, while the priests usually stood behind the butchers in their "holy robes" and implored the Lord to smash paganism. After the capture of Maarrat an-Numan, east of Antioch, according to an Arab source, God's soldiers slaughtered more than a hundred thousand people. The city was overflowing with dead, but this also benefited the crusaders in that the already stinking corpses of the enemy were consumed by the Christians (Albert of Aachen). Nevertheless, new famines, calamities, epidemics and quarrels broke out. Bohemund and Raimund fought over Maarrat-an-Numan, Balduin and Tankred fought over Bethlehem, and thoughts were already turning to the fattest spoils yet to come. And between discouragements and massacres, they alternately enjoyed the living body of the Lord and the corpses of the "unbelievers"."

## ... AND THE IRI UMPH

Only about a tenth of those who had set out to expand the kingdom of God were standing outside Jerusalem at the beginning of June. No wonder the crusaders, who had even burned the sign of salvation into their corruptible flesh with a red-hot iron, were ecstatic. Almost as exuberantly gripped by the mystical frenzy as before by bloodlust, they threw their arms up to heaven in prayer, fell down in tears, kissed the earth and sang pious songs. . . From Mons Gaudii, from the mountain of joy, as they called it, they saw with shimmering eyes what the Lord had evidently prepared for them from the beginning for a festive battle, a battle feast without equal, the City of God, the Holy City, the City of the Lord, the earthly Jerusalem.

Much of what was once written reads like satire today. For example, all sorts of things from the travel diary of the anonymous chronicler, a small knight in Bohemurid's succession, which was also verified soon afterwards. -Our noble lords now thought of ways to attack the city with the help of machines in order to penetrate it and worship the tomb of our savior." Or: -But after calling on the name of Christ, they attacked the unbelievers with such force that every knight struck down his enemy. -

After a five-week siege under a blazing June sun, with frequent attacks using battering rams, ladders and s l i n g s , Jerusalem, which according to some historians was poorly fortified and poorly defended, but according to others was heroically held by experienced warriors - recently wrested from the Turks by the Egyptian khalifs - was stormed from all sides on July io9q and conquered the next day. The previous arrival of Genoese and English galleys in Jaffa with new pilgrims and weapons had undoubtedly promoted the operation; not to mention the prayers and fasting that preceded it again, the prayers in which Peter Eremita, among others, is said to have given his best, as well as a solemn supplication procession - in honor of God - around the city's ramparts, accompanied by the jeers of the Muslims. It was just

"the feast of the sending out of the apostles", moreover a Friday, and when "the hour came in which Our Lord Jesus Christ allowed Him to suffer the death of the cross for us", the Catholic sword mission understandably reached one of its admittedly frequent high points. What came next was a single systemic slaughter or, as Archbishop Wilhelm writes somewhat taciturnly, "the end of the pilgrimage."

Popes such as Gregory I or John VIII had been able to save Rome from Saracen occupation by means of annual tributes. The Christian murderous brood near Jerusalem did not agree to such a disdainful ransom. They staggered through the city in a frenzy of bloodlust, stabbing everything in sight for an afternoon and a whole night.

In Solomon's temple, the salvation event took on such proportions that our own were up to their ankles in blood. In fact, according to another eyewitness, the blood of Sarah "reached the horses' knees. According to Chaplain Fulcher of Chartres, around ten thousand people were beheaded in the Al-Aksa mosque alone. And the Jews were stuffed into their main synagogue until it was overflowing and burned alive

- the "way of the cross". The entire Jewish community of Jerusalem, well-liked by the Egyptians, perished in the fire - "a just judgment of God": Archbishop Wilhelm. They spared neither women nor the elderly nor the sick, they kicked babies with their shoes, slammed them against the walls, they broke the necks of the victims, they sabered, stabbed, chopped, beat, and fell to their deaths. The "Knights of Christ"... this chivalrous spirit found its most beautiful unfolding" - struck -from the top to the bottom with blood. In between, they plundered town houses and mosques, snatched valuables and rarities, sniffed, rummaged and even slit open the bellies of the murdered in order to extract perhaps swallowed pieces of gold from their intestines ...

-Then, happy and weeping with joy, the Unsigrn left to venerate the tomb of Our Savior ...-"

"Every plunderer," writes the Archbishop of Tyre, "declared the house he had just entered, with all its contents

for his own for all eternity. For before taking the city, the pilgrims had agreed that after their violent conquest, what each of them would take possession of would remain unchallenged forever by right of ownership. Consequently (!) the pilgrims proceeded most carefully (!) and brazenly killed every inhabitant." Jerusalem was emptied of all Muslims and Jews.

No contemporary Christian chronicler, however, expresses the slightest qualms of conscience. William of Tyre refers to the

g. Psalm: -We sing with joy of victory in the tabernacles of the righteous." And just two weeks later, on i. August, the Catholic murder gang elects a Latin patriarch, Arnulf of Chocques, who then - one of his first measures in his new office - locates the - Holy Cross of the Lord, the star relic of the Holy Land: by torturing Greek priests. But the Arab poet Mosaffer Allah Werdis complains: -O that so much blood has flowed, that so many women have been left with nothing

has left to protect their shame as the surface of their hands.

Between the thrust of the spears and the swords, the terror is so terrible that the children's faces turn white with fear." The

Christians, however, went to visit the tomb of Our Savior. sers to worship ...". And öo-yo ooo Saracens had liquidated them immediately beforehand. - Piles of corpses like houses -, reports one reporter. And other Christian sources assert that half a year, a year later, "the air was still polluted by the stench of corpses". Even in the middle of the iq. However, the Catholic "Church Encyclopaedia" by Wetzer/Welte, published with imprimatur, found "the purity of pious enthusiasm mainly in the first crusade" (!) when comparing the individual crusades according to their "leading idea, design and execution" (!). -.

The purity of pious enthusiasm ... A hundred years later, Catholics no longer take the mouth so fully. The theologian Neuss's history of the church, which aims to satisfy the desire of wider circles for "deeper understanding", merely tells us about this whole bloodthirsty massacre: -... on ry. July was

took the city. And all Jesuit Hertling offers about it is the sentence: -The first goal of the Crusades had been achieved.- Many confessional historians still trivialize or gloss over these and other atrocities of the past in the zo. Many confessional historians trivialized or glossed over these and other atrocities of the past - perpetrators in their own way. In the second half of the zo. The Christian historian Denys Hay (Professor of Medieval History at the University of Edinburgh) wrote about the murder of Jerusalem by the Christians:

"As the anonymous chronicler of the first crusade reports, they thus repaid their debt to the Lord. They also enjoyed, albeit for a short time, the spiritual and material rewards of the pilgrimage and the crusade. For centuries to come, the idea of the earthly and heavenly yerusalem was associated *with* efforts that succeeded in making the concept of 'Christianity' a living reality, at least for a time." Horst Fuhrmann, who teasingly calls himself a "Protestant, albeit without any particular confessional urge", still praises iqq8 not uur Urbans

- The success of the first Crusade, which brought the conquest of Jerusalem on July 3, 1099, was never surpassed in the following centuries. The subsequent history of the Christian Holy Land is nothing other than the depressing chronicle of its gradual demise ... ""

But if murder is a crime, mass murder an even greater crime, then the initiator of the First Crusade, Pope Urban II, this "deeply religious nature" (Alfons Becker), was a mass murderer - and he remains one. Over a million people perished miserably as a result of his call and his constant efforts to obtain supplies: first the Jews of Rouen, Reims, Verdun, Metz, Mainz, Trier, Speyer, Worms, Cologne, Neuss, Xanten, Prague and others, then Christian LIngharnians, Christian Serbs, Christian Creeks, also Christians of Asia Minor; the majority of the crusaders themselves; and finally their opponents. And for this - or for what else? - was the con-

Breaker beatified by Pope Leo XIII. Beatified in 1881 (feast: zp. July). But this may not yet be the last "honor", the last "exaltation" of the monster. It is so deep in the blood that one day it will also be canonized - no: it must be! Like all hisg)ooks."

One should always remember the saying of Helve- tius: If you read their legends of saints, you will find the names of a thousand canonized criminals. For it is so. And there is no end to it."

The bloodbath of Jefusalem greatly strengthened the authority of the papacy. Urban II died just two weeks after the fall of the city, probably unaware of his victory. However, his successors continued the fight against the infidels.

And against the German empire.

## 7 CHAPTER

# THE END OF THE SALIAN PERIOD AND THE INVESTMENT DISPUTE

- then the disputes between the empire and the papacy  
continued ... the energetic Paschalis II.  
(1099-1118) continues with undiminished vigor.  
Harald Zimmermann'

-The Investiture Controversy lasted half a century, and it  
devastated Germany (and also Italy) no less furiously than  
the three-year war.  
Ferdinand Gregorovius'





Henry IV, cut off for years in Upper Italy in the period before the First Crusade (p. 356 ff.), was able to consolidate his power in Germany again at the end of the century. Well V had separated from his wife Mathilde as her hopes of gaining possession of Italy dwindled, and his father, Duke Welf IV of Bavaria, had reconciled with Henry, enabling the latter to return to Germany at the beginning of 1075. An agreement was also reached with the opposing Swabian dukes.

In the meantime, however, the emperor had lost his son Conrad - already his recognized successor at the age of two and shortly afterwards his companion to Canossa (p. 281 ff.) - to the Popes. Conrad, who had spent most of his life in Italy and often in the f-ittichen, had been consecrated king in Aachen in 1074, but was then drawn into the papal camp by Countess Mathilde. From a Detich-Italian coalition as

He was crowned Italian king in Milan in 1073, crowned with the imperial crown two years later by Urban II, to whom he had sworn allegiance and the oath of allegiance, and bound even more closely to the anti-imperial circle through his marriage to the daughter of Roger I of Sicily, which was also arranged by the pope. Deposed at a Diet of Mainz in May 1078, Henry's younger son, the thirteen-year-old Henry (V), was elected king in his place and crowned on January 6, 1078 in Aachen. He had to swear never to seize power without his father's consent - and was then also succeeded on his father by the papacy.

But the emperor, beaten by one of the most unfortunate, yet almost unprecedentedly brave rulers' fates of all time, was exhausted, had grown old and tired and sought peace. His 103 pilgrimage, announced at the Diet of Tainz, was not begun, but the proclaimed imperial peace was to last four years for the entire empire, with severe punishments threatened for those who broke the peace, namely - a revolutionary move that leveled the differences in class - the same punishments for free and unfree alike! "This decree of peace", judges the Vita Heinrici, "brought just as much benefit to the poor and well-meaning as it harmed the malicious and those in power." And if it also harmed the emperor among the nobility, he was still regarded by some of the clergy as a cursed heretic - a second Nero or Attila - and ecclesiastical opposition to him gradually waned in the empire itself. Only the opposition of the papacy remained unbroken.

#### HEINRICHS IV. LAST YEARS

In Italy, Urban's successor Paschal II (1099-1118) first had to defeat several antipopes, in whose installation the ruler had no part whatsoever.

At first, Paschalis, a rigorous advocate of reform, took action against Clement III, who had survived three popes. However, shortly after his election as pope, Paschalis was able to drive him out of his last residence in Albano with the help of Norman swords and gold. Clement once again took up residence in Civita Castellana, left travelers to Rome as a kind of shrew knight, also captured a returning French bishop and died on 8 September 1100. Proved by his friends to be a saint, miracles were soon performed at his tomb just as they were at the tomb of Gregory VII or Leo

IX. In order to bring the miraculous event to an end as quickly as possible, Paschalis had the dead man dug up, burned and the ashes thrown into the

Tiber. At the same time, he declared all papal decrees  
The deceased's statements are invalid.

But new antipopes soon emerged - again without any involvement of the emperor. First Cardinal Theoderic, Bishop of Albano, then the Sabine Bishop Albert. However, through bribery and with the help of Norman warriors, Pope Paschalis was able to capture them and have them exiled. Both brothers in Christ disappeared and ended up in southern Italian monastic dungeons; antipope Theoderic - after a pontificate of red days - in the Trinitarian monastery of La Cava near Salerno, where he died in 1057; antipope Albert in the monastery of S. Lorenzo near Aversa; the date of his death is not even known.

In November 1058, a group of Roman nobles raised the arch-Maginulf, priest of St. Angelo, as the new antipope Silvester IV (1058-1059). Old supporters of Gregory VII and Urban II had also elected him because Paschalis, they claimed, had already practiced simony as abbot and had literally bought his chair. Silvester took the Lateran by force of arms, which Paschalis' mob soon stormed. There was bloodshed throughout the city, even in the Circus Maximus the papal parties came to blows and Paschalis' troops were defeated several times. But Silvester ran out of money, his followers dwindled and the fourth counter-pope fled Rome in November and, when Henry let him fall, crawled to the cross late but completely.

In all this, Paschalis not only had to attack rebellious barons, their towers and castles in and around Rome, but he also continued to fight doggedly against Henry IV. At the Lateran Synod in March 1059, he renewed the curse against him and his followers. He explicitly named the regent, something his predecessor had never done, and accused him of continued robbery, arson, perjury and murder. He incited a new war in Germany, which nobody there wanted to know anything about. Indeed, for the first time he issued a call for a crusade against a political opponent and drove Count Robert von Plaudern with an army against Bishop Walcher, who was loyal to the emperor, and the emperor, who

has now become the -head of the heretics-. He could offer no more pleasing sacrifice to God, the Pope declared on January 21. January How, than by fighting the emperor, the enemy of God, for which he promised forgiveness of sins and entry into the heavenly Jerusalem.

Nor did it help Henry that he declared at the Reichstag in Mainz that he would go to Jerusalem to redeem his sins if he was first released from the ban. Instead, the pope propagated the uprising in the empire. He virtually ordered some southern German princes to rebel and wage civil war "for the forgiveness of their sins" and called for all of Henry IV's subordinates to be slain.

As a result, the uprising took on ever greater proportions and Henry V, urged on by Rome's partisans, including Legate Bishop Gebhard, took the lead at the turn of the year 1054. In a spectacular move, he renounced the emperor, and while the latter once again sought an understanding with the pope, Paschalis did not even dignify him with an answer, but immediately released the rebellious son from his oath.

Henry V, who admittedly had a long tradition of breaking his word and changing fronts among Christian rulers, advanced against imperial Nuremberg, besieged it for two months, plundered and devastated it. Not enough, he betrayed his father a second time. He succeeded in deceiving his father by breaking his word again and imprisoning him at Böckelheim Castle on the Nahe, blackmailing him into handing over the imperial insignia and obtaining his abdication in front of assembled princes in Ingelheim at the beginning of 1060. The decisive factor here was the appearance of two papal legates and their presentation of the allegedly legally binding booking of the emperor by the popes.

Having lost everything, Henry IV asked in vain for the ban to be lifted. But even now he did not resign himself. He escaped, found a strong following in Lower Lorraine, defeated the 22. March an army of his son completely at Visé on the Meuse and died suddenly on August 7, 1105 in Liège. "Many people know a lot,

he had once said of himself, "Nobody has learned himself."

But the hatred of the clergy followed him even after his death.

-Because the pope and his other opponents took revenge on him with such severity that they did not even allow the dead man to be buried" (Helmold von Bosau). The body was taken to a barren island in the Meuse by fanatic priests and then stood for years unburied, but venerated by the people, in an unconsecrated chapel of Speyer Cathedral, as Paschalis strictly refused a Christian burial. But in on the anniversary of his death, Henry V had his father buried with all the pomp of the church in the crypt of the cathedral alongside his predecessors. (When the grave was opened in 1900, the skeletons of father and son were well preserved, including the crowns and orb, as well as some remains of robes and shoes - the Salians had been buried in full "official dress").

For a millennium, however, Henry IV was defamed by clerical historians. Already Lampert, whose annals Ranke "could never hand over without a depressed mood - a mild verdict, since the Hersfeld monk was in truth - full of poison and lies - (Teuffel) -, already Lampen missed no opportunity to accuse Henry with all rhetorical verve of deceit and falsehood, greed for revenge, cruelty, thirst for blood, while he, for example, describes an Anno of Cologne (pp. 1\*7 ff.) as a pure angel, only to contrast the emperor with even more villainy. Still in the late iq. century, the Catholic theologian Looshorn judged that i-Heinrich IV had certainly outdone all the criminals of his great empire in terms of iniquity. And if Albert Hauck's assertion that no German king was so fervently gchafit by a large part of the Germans as Henry IV is true, then this is above all the result of the decades-long clerical struggle against a ruler who, until his death, did not relinquish any right of kingship in the Church.

## ON DEVIANT TRACKS OF THE VERRATEITIAN FATHER

Henry V had bought his victory with the help of the Church through disloyalty to his father. He initially treated the pope and clergy with devotion, accommodation and humility. Immediately after his accession to the throne, he saw to the removal of schismatic, i.e. Wibertist bishops from Saxony to Bavaria, whereby the hatred of the victorious clergy went so far as to tear the bodies of anti-papal bishops from the churches. As far as investiture was concerned, Henry V made no concessions. However, the pope soon and resolutely insisted on the ban on investiture.

Henry V, who had begun his fight against his father with the Church, now continued his father's fight against the Church as king. Like the latter, he also upheld the investiture, legitimized by ancient customary law that had not previously been contested by the Church. Paschalis therefore saw his fondest hopes dashed. Negotiations that he conducted or had conducted with Henry's envoys remained fruitless.

success. And in all these years, especially in 1107, 1108, 1109, the representative of Christ also waged an incessant small-scale war, besieging and storming unruly aristocratic nests, rebellious castles in and around Rome, which, according to the confession of the papal biographer, was the cave of daily empowerment for the papal biographer. And when he received news of Henry's imminent visit to Rome in 1109, he also took up arms against him.

He himself hurried to northern Italy, swore the Apulian princes and counts to help in arms, as well as the Roman nobility, and called for war for the Church through his messengers in the north and south as the German army approached.

But then, left in the lurch in the face of hostile surveillance all around, he wanted to negotiate further. And when Henry once again demanded recognition of the right of investiture, the Pope responded with a spectacular proposal. He was prepared to negotiate against the king's renunciation of investiture, against the conferral of the right of investiture.

The court ordered the German ecclesiastical rulers to restitute the crown fiefs, all regalia, all goods and rights bestowed on them since the days of Charlemagne, under threat of banishment. (The term regalia encompassed ducal and count offices as well as all landed property, including towns, castles, knighthoods and rights such as the mint, market and customs.) The Church could only meet *its* material *needs* through tithes and oblations, through private donations.

The surprising offer thus amounted to a total separation of the state and church, institutions that had been almost inextricably linked and intertwined for centuries. The king, although apparently convinced of the unreality of the - theoretically so plausible - plan, went along with it. On Hz. February i i i i he entered Rome, kissed Paschal II, who was waiting in front of St. Peter's, whereupon the joint agreements, the royal and papal deeds, were read out during the coronation celebrations. An unprecedented storm of protest ensued. Angry objections arose from all sides: the high nobility, the high clergy, the radical Gregorians, all were highly agitated, all feared a loss of power, of property, all saw their positions being touched. There were cries of "kenerei" and "church robbery", they wanted to see the Salian "crowned" without further ado - like Louis and Charles. Prelates urged him to remove the pope. And as Henry nevertheless demanded coronation and investiture after the failure of the project, but Paschalis refused, the young king arrested the pope and all the cardinals within his grasp without further ado.

The last time a coup d'état of such rabidity had taken place in church history was almost half a millennium ago, when the Byzantine governor Theodore Calliopa seized Pope Martin I at the altar of the Lateran Basilica, where his bed was sognr, and immediately transported him to Constantinople (IV 3§Z ff.). And it was to take another seven hundred years before Napoleon Bonaparte, apparently well aware of Henry V's coup d'état, took over the ailing Pius VII.

in early summer 1812 to one of his favorite residences near Paris, where the pope signed the so-called Concordat of Fontainebleau on 25. January 1813, the Pope signed the so-called Concordat of Fontainebleau, which he promptly revoked two months later."

Mutatis mutandis, the Salian had practiced this before.

Rome was gripped by an almost indescribable turmoil, the city was ransacked with greed and rapaciousness, looting everywhere, including the golden kircheri vessels and the regalia, bloodshed everywhere, the Germans were cut off to the ringing of bells and the agitation of the clergy, who called for resistance. The Cardinal of Tusculum appealed imploringly to the Romans to fight for their freedom, their lives - which they were losing in the process; and of course for the "defense of the Church". -The holy father, the cardinals, your brothers and sons languish in the chains of the ceaseless enemy; a thousand noble citizens lie dead in the porticus; the basilica of the Apostle, the venerable cathedral of Christendom stares with corpses and blood.

The tumult degenerated into a street battle that lasted all night. Even the Archbishop of Cologne, who arrived in the Eternal City late but "just in time", Friedrich

I. intervened - effectively- (Schieffer) (before the prelate Henry V, who repeatedly changed fronts and was therefore suspended three times, betrayed him just as he had already betrayed Henry IV, who had only 1900 made the 49-year-old archbishop). The king was knocked off his horse, wounded, and his lifesaver, Viscount Otto of Milan, was torn to pieces. The Salian departed like a beaten dog, but with the Pope and sixteen cardinals in tow; "naked", claimed Helmold von Bosau of the cardinals, "with ropes around his neck and his hands tied behind his back", with Roman consumers and priests on ropes, and "innumerable crowds of citizens in chains", an escape and a triumphal procession, perhaps, who knows, a kind of atonement for Canossa - as Goethe says? The best art of history is the enthusiasm it arouses ..."

After a two-month detention at neighboring castles, Pa-



schalis and confessed to having been involved in the Ponte Mammolo contract of

II. rĭl III i, contrary to all his convictions, granted the king the right of investiture. He also vowed on oath not to make any more trouble for Henry and never to banish him, which, moreover, sixteen cardinals swore in the name of the Pope, who crowned Henry emperor in St. Peter's Church just two days later. On this occasion, the pope broke the hostie, shared it with the monarch and declared as they both swallowed it: -So be it separated from the kingdom of God whoever attempts to break this treaty." Less than a year later, however, Paschalis had the Lateran Synod of **March I I Iz**, in breach of his word and oath, condemn the treaty, the -Pravileg-, declare it invalid and on September xö. On September 9, through a southern French Synod, whose decisions he confirmed, he imposed the banu on the emperor - and called the ex-communicated his "son most beloved of Christ", even remarking that the covenant with him was incact.

Many ecclesiastics fanatically supported the regent, especially the radical Gregorians, who saw him as the champion of the Antichrist and now reproached him for the revolts against his father, which they themselves had carried out. Now they attacked the devil's pacemaker, railed against the -miseria Germania- and the -godless Detitschen-, whom Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis i I2-4, on the occasion of Henry V's campaign against the French, called -barbari", even -sarraceni".

However, influential churchmen in Germany also began to stir up disobedience against the emperor, who was now banned by various synods.

The monastery of St. Georgen in the Black Forest had the spiritual leadership under Abbot Theoger, although the Hirsauers were again agitating. Adalbert of Saarbrücken, Henry's former chancellor and first invested by him for his merits as Archbishop of Mainz, rose up against him for many years, filled with flaming ambition.

The prelate of Freising was the 'chief and originator' of the German opposition, as Bishop Otto von Freising called the 'most cunning and wealthiest of all the princes of the empire at the time'. Here, as in other conflicts, the decisive factor was not so much church politics as territorial politics, the prelate's encroachment on various imperial castles. Adalbert I of Msinz also strengthened the newly erupting opposition of Thuringian-Saxon nobility.

Archbishop Frederick I of Cologne also rebelled. Only for the Having converted to the emperor, he sparked - again for reasons of territorial politics - ii id the successful Lower Rhine uprising, which was joined by the citizens of Cologne under the leadership of their chief shepherd and most of the regional high nobility. (The same prince of the church, incidentally, also arrested the "heretic" Tanchelm, who was slain by a priest). In short, the territorial policy, the promotion of the imperial ministers and cities increasingly aroused the resistance of the greats, so that Henry V now felt like his father - half the empire in an uprising that claimed its justification from the church (Haller).

When a (numerically inferior) army of the emperor was severely defeated at Welfesholz near Eisleben on i i i, February i i i J by a Saxon contingent under Lothar of Süpplingenburg, reinforced by Rhenish contingents and elevated to the rank of duke by Henry V. iio6 , his commander Ciraf Hoyer von Mansfeld was killed and Saxony and the whole of northern Germany was effectively lost to him (above all access to the large crown estates, but also influence over imperial fiefdoms and bishoprics), the Church fell upon Henry all the more. The episcopate largely jumped away from him. Even the imperial envoy, Bishop Erlung of Würzburg, who had already alternated several times between Henry IV, whose chancellor he was, and Henry V, went over to his opponents in Cologne when Archbishop Adalbert, Duke Lothar's ally, opened an assembly of princes without the ruler. Two papal legates - one of whom, Cardinal Bishop Kuno von Praeneste

(Palestrina), a German and rigorous defender of the imperial investiture policy, had already publicly cursed Henry from PalüStina to France - now incited against him in Germany and proclaimed the ban. And Pope Paschal, who had had sixteen cardinals swear never to banish Henry, confirmed at the annual synod in March i i i6 everything that the legates had "done in his name - but denied his legates to imperial envoys even after the synod!"

Incidentally, Paschalis' own position in Rome was always more brittle.

He owed his power above all to Cield Pierleones, the grandson of Baruch-Benedict. His house, which had converted from Judaism to Catholicism around the middle of the i th century, was highly deserving of the church. It had supported a series of popes since Nicholas II, and later also Peter Pierleone himself a pope, Anaclet II (p. 4\*8 ff.), as well as several cardinals. and had himself become increasingly wealthy and thus politically important. Victor III and Urban II found protection in the family's fortresses, Urban had died in their palace. Paschalis entrusted them with the government of Rome and went on his travels. Their money, power and glamorous connections quickly made them forget their Jewish origins. After all, they were the most influential clan in the city, and also the most hostile, especially through the Frangipani, who, although usually partisans of the reform popes, were at times close to the Ghibelline, imperial camp, but always in sharp opposition to the Pierleoni."

In April ii i6 a city war broke out in Rome on the occasion of the election of the prefect. The pope had a different candidate to the imperials and the Romans. For although the latter often raged against the empire, "their aversion to papal power was eternal" (Gregorovius), a point on which the historian often insists.

The Romans attacked the papal procession at Easter. Churches were robbed, towers and houses were ruined, there were excesses.

of every kind. Paschal II was forced to flee, sold off church property and then reconquered Rome. But a new, more violent rebellion broke out, the citizens called on the emperor for help, who arrived around Easter i--7 and crowned his wife Matilda, the daughter of Henry I of England, by the Portuguese Archbishop Mauritius of Braga, who was in Rome at the time, regardless of the many curses that had already befallen the imperial head. Paschalis was again captured, sought out Monte Cassino, the protection of the Normans in Benevento, where he expelled the Archbishop of Braga from the church, but returned to Rome with an army after the emperor's departure in January 2008 and died in the same month, while his storming machines were already threatening St. Peter's and he was still dying, urging them to fight off the Germans' attack."

After Paschalis' death on the night of January II. On January aq. the decrepit John Gaetanus, who had been ch a n c e l l o r of the Curia for decades, was proclaimed Pope Gelasius II (it i8-t iiq), immediately maltreated by the Frangipani together with his cardinals, put in chains in a tower, but freed again, and now led into the Lateran on a white mule. In the spring, however, he narrowly escaped from the advancing emperor together with the Hot and cardinals b y ship from Rome to his hometown of Gaeta in a truly Hollywood-like manner amid thunder, lightning and a rain of arrows.

On March 8, Henry had Mauritius, the Archbishop of Braga, proclaimed Pope as Gregory VIII (it iÜ 1121), and Pope Gelasius placed a curse on him on April q. April together with his canonical patron with the curse. Many provinces in Italy, Germany and England recognized him. However, after the monarch's departure in May, Gelasius returned with the help of the Duke of Gaeta. In Rome, where once again two popes resided side by side, cursing each other, calling each other a "clay idol" and an "apocalyptic beast", Gregory VIII ruled the larger part of the city controlled b y the Frangipani, including St. Peter's, the residence of the antipopes, and Castel Sant'Angelo. And as the ge

Jasius ann zi. When Jasius was attacked again by the Frangipani at a solemn high mass on July 1, he was able to gallop away unnoticed with flying mef"ge'wänder at the beginning of a battle lasting many hours and immediately leave the Holy City, Sodom'- and "Babylon-, the -city of blood ...-, reviled by him. He fled to the south of France, where he arrived, already terminally ill, on iq. January ii i9 in the monastery of Cluny, lying on the bare ground.

A much more miserable fate than Gelasius 11, however, befell his opponent Gregory VIII, to whom the nickname Burdinus (little donkey) was attributed. Gelasius' successor, Archbishop Guido vos Vienne, a Count of Burgundy, who, having been consecrated in Vienne in the spring of *i i i 9*, called himself Pope Calixt II (*i £iP--\*\*4*), forced him to flee Rome in the summer of *i rio* with gold and bustards. Antipope Gregory locked himself in his base in Sutri, which the Holy Father Calixtus in person, however, attacked with his trades in April *i izi*, whereupon the citizens handed Gregory VIII over.

After bestial treatment by the papal mercenaries, Calixt had him dressed in a buckskin and, as a mocking figure sitting upside down on a camel, opened his triumphal procession - after a truly miserable victory - in Rome, where the former Archbishop of Braga was driven through the streets like an animal with beatings and stone throwing, then imprisoned and dragged from castle to castle until he finally perished in a southern Italian monastery without giving up his papal claim. (Can we really follow Johannes Haller here when he *calls* this unfortunate man *his more comical* than tragic figure? His namesake, the h1. Mauritius, the legendary chieftain of the Thebaic Legion, who also remained a patron saint of the empire under the Salians and allegedly died a martyr's death with all his 6600 legionaries in Switzerland at the end of the 3rd century - although there were probably *never* so many Christian martyrs in the *whole of antiquity*: III i6q f!, couldn't he aptly heip a comic figure?)"

With the emperor, Calixt II, a proud, imperious, mft

pope, who was related to many European princes. He was also distantly related to Henry, whom he had fought bitterly against as archbishop. He wrote to him immediately after his accession to the throne and addressed him as his cousin. However, as Henry did not comply with his wishes and the reconciliation agreed for October **1119** in Mouzon did not take place, he cursed him in the most solemn form at the Council of Reims that very month. He quickly renewed his alliance with the groups hostile to the emperor, and Archbishop Adalbert, whose own diocesans in Mainz were rebelled against but made peaceful again by numerous executions, eagerly stirred up the civil war in Germany as papal legate, leading an army himself.

Münster expelled its chief shepherd and was conquered and burnt by the opponents. However, Henry succeeded in concluding a truce in the fall of 1119 in conjunction with the princes and to Archbishop Adalbert's great displeasure. And a year later, on 23. September 1122, the famous Concordat of Worms, first mentioned by G. W. Leibniz, was concluded - a compromise, if you will, a half-solution, but by no means, as is also claimed, an -undecided- (Bosl). It was the end of the Investiture Controversy, the struggle for the imperial church, but not yet the end of the struggle for power, which rather flared up between the emperor and the papacy around the middle of the 12th century sharply flared up.

The Worms Concordat, in two documents with the respective obligations, the certificate issued by the Emperor "Heinricianum" and the "Calixtinum" issued by the pope, was based above all on the distinction between *spiritualia* and *temporalia*, the spiritual and secular spheres - terms that easily merged in medieval sources. The *spiritualia* particularly concerned the right to hire and fire clergy, in addition to other jurisdictional powers; the *temporalia* comprised estates and rights not directly of a clerical nature, but the clergy were only entitled to a right of use which they were understandably reluctant to relinquish.

The Concordat of Worms thus decided on a new order for the appointment of bishops. The election of bishops was now carried out by the clergy; in principle, it had become his business. However, since the prelates did not lose their previous secular office, as they remained princes of the realm, even with increasing weight, it is clear that their already immense influence increased even further.

The German emperor, on the other hand, who lost the right to investiture with the ring and cross staff, the symbols of spiritual power, was only allowed to be present at the election of the bishops and imperial abbots and to consecrate them with the Temporalia before their consecration; albeit only in Germany, not in Burgiind and Italy, which was decisive (for the pope) and admittedly also a source of much contention. For in doing so, they had not only abandoned the previous imperial church system and old state customary law, but above all the Italian episcopate and the occupation of the most important, the Roman bishop's see. He was now removed from the influence of the emperor, his rule over the pope eliminated, if enough opportunities for entanglement remained.

All in all, Calixtus 11 had arranged the matter cleverly. (He had all kinds of experience in dealing with documents: as Archbishop of Vienne, he had obtained the primacy in Gaul for himself through forged documents). And in Worms the emperor certified his concession to the apostles Peter and Paul and the Catholic Church, but the pope only certified his concession to Henry V personally. - I Calixt, grant you, Henry ...", began his counter-deed. And indeed, curial circles soon realized that the concessions only applied to Henry, but not to his successors. The almost fifty-year war, which could be said to have devastated Germany (and Italy) no less than the Three Years' War, was thus ended by a victory for the Church, and the pope did not fail to immortalize his triumph with a monumental painting in the Lateran.

Calixtus II died on December 13 or Ib. December I 12,4 But let us not forget how he had his antipope Gregory VIII - with the

However, the encyclopaedia fails to mention how Calixt, as the Archbishop of Vienne, had the primatial appeal of his seat against Arles made with completely falsified documents. And finally, the ecclesiastical lexicon fails to mention that Calixtus was condemned by a synod of Toulouse on 8th July 1119 just a few months after the beginning of his pontificate. This was the first time that (Maleczek) used secular power to persecute "heresy": the "heresy" of Peter of Bruis, a priest living in absolute poverty who wanted to put the theoretical reform approaches of the Church into practice with the utmost determination, but was then burned on the pyre in St. Gilles.

Looking back briefly, the papacy had won its victory through decades of wars and atrocities, through lies, oath-breaking and betrayal.

Grown in the 11th century. Having become great in the second century through the German kingship, it soon did everything in its power to subjugate this kingship. In conjunction with the princes, Gregory VII staged a civil war in Germany and divided the empire. In Italy, he operated with the troops of Matilda, with Norman armies and his own mercenaries against the emperor. Then Urban II, mainly through his perverse marriage of the seventeen-year-old Welf V and the three-year-old Matilda of Tuscia, united the

"(Alfons Becker), the southern German and Italian opponents of the emperor. His clergy brought about Conrad's rebellion against his father Henry IV. The First Crusade, with more than a million deaths, further strengthened the power of the papacy, both materially and ideally, and later Henry V was also drawn over to the pope and thrown against his father. The 5ohn was released from the oath of allegiance, the civil war was further inflamed, first with Henry V against Henry IV, then against Henry V himself. Treachery, bribery, exploitation, class hatred, rebellion, incitement of the greats and even the sons against the emperor, everything was practiced by the papacy in this struggle



and could be used and played off all the more securely as it had the peoples boundlessly stultified, so to speak religiously, - metaphysically in its hands, especially through the silly Peter fairy tale (IV 38i ff!). -"The idea of Peter as the doorkeeper of paradise in the literal sense was old in the world, but it only grew to its full size and blossomed in the age of church reform, the vestiture controversy and the crusades" (Haller)."



## 8. KAPITEL

# LOTHAR VON SÜPPLINGENBURG WAR FOR THE CHURCH AND THE POPE

-**The empty land invited immigration ...** - Alberr  
Hauck'

-Lothar couldn't let the monkeys rest at all . . . -

- The king should learn to feel that he was fulfilling a sacred duty to his mother, the Church, by marrying Anaclet, without being entitled to any claims other than the imperial crown. Lothar's character and, above all, that of the spiritual leaders who dominated him, guaranteed Innocent that he was allowed to punish him even when he was absolutely dependent on his help."

Wilhelm Bernhardt'

-The lie was lompJizirri by the aggressive policy of the Roman Curia, which endeavored to exploit the Polish-Russian conflicts for the purpose of teaching the Rus to kaiho- lizis ius, and regarded the **Poles** in the ci. and i3, centuries as a base for Catholic expansion in the East. - Kosminski, J. A./Skaskin, S. D.'

-In the new phase of the Eastern expansion that began at the beginning of the 19th century, the German, Danish and Polish **fat** \* is° aliens also made use of Christian **ideology** and church organization to help them to c o n q u e r , prepare or secure their conquests - Engel, E./Epperlcin, S.'.



At the age of *ncunddreifiig*, Henry V died on *z3. May i iz5* presumably from cancer. As he died childless, the Salian royal and imperial dynasty was now extinct in the male line. (Other German princely dynasties can be traced back to the Salians, directly to the Hohenstaufen and Babenberg dynasties and indirectly to the Habsburgs of more recent times).

Henry V had appointed his nephew, the thirty-five-year-old Hohenstaufen Frederick II (*monoculus*) of Swabia, whose mother Agnes was Henry IV's daughter, as his private heir, the recipient of the Salian estate, although he did not designate him as successor to the throne, even though he "wished for it and did everything he could for it" (*Stimmirig*). Frederick the One-Eyed, Swabian duke since his fifteenth year, succeeded by right of blood according to the traditional view. During his uncle's reign, he had almost always stood in his uncle's place, and before his Italian campaign in *ii i6* Henry V had even made him governor of the realm, albeit only a temporary power, not a *-designatio de futuro-*. Nevertheless, he also entrusted him with his wife Matilda and the imperial insignia, which Adalbert of Mainz gave to the two of them, *-the bearish archbishop--*, had already *-through hypocritical promises"* (*Otto von Freising*)."

Frederick of Swabia, the supporter and close associate of Henry V, must have been considered a powerful king by the defenders of clerical prevalence, but particularly undesirable to Archbishop Adalbert, whose territorial plans clearly clashed with the Hohenstaufen's policy of domestic power. As early as *zq. August*, the letter of invitation to the Mainz electoral assembly

The "Holy Roman Empire" - at the head of which the names of the metropolitans Adalbert of Mainz, generally assumed to be the author, and Frederick of Cologne were emblazoned - urged with unsurpassable tactlessness (Petke) to find a ruler under whom the Church and the Empire would be free from the servitude they had hitherto suffered. Adalbert, once appointed chancellor and archbishop by Henry V, but imprisoned for three years in the late fall of i uw, transferred his deeply ingrained hatred of the emperor to his nephews, especially Frederick, and did everything from the outset to make his succession to the throne fail or, as the letter of invitation states, to settle the necessary matters according to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. However, the Holy Spirit had evidently long since decided in favor of the Saxon Duke Lothar of Süppingenbiurg, on whom he or Archbishop Adalbert then also exerted a decisive influence" (Gerlich).

The Saxon duke, whose father Count Gebhard von Süppingenbiurg had fallen shortly after Lothar's birth in the Battle of Homburg (p. a9z) against Henry IV, probably already recommended himself to the ecclesiastical party as an enemy of the Salians. Furthermore, he was not a Guelph, with whose clan Adalbert was at odds. Atich already numbered fifty and had no male heir. In addition, he was already conspiring with the Mainz on the occasion of the Sschsen riots. The Bavarian metropolitan, Conrad of Salzburg, even fled to Lothar and is said to have become his personal friend. There were also territorial political differences with some prelates, with the Obeihiites of Hildesheim and Halberstadt, and many bishops saw the Saxon duke as their man

-a brave leader in war, excellent in arms" (Vita Norberci).'

THE NEW PHASE OF THE EASTERN  
COLONIZATION - e WHERE THE DEVIL HAD SEEN  
IT AND ALL THE  
UNCLEAN GHOSTS LIVED ..."

It could only please German clerical circles that Lorhar, - a terror to the enemies of God-, in four military campaigns east of the Elbe - I I IO, I I I 4, when he advanced b15 to the Rugians, i izi and, less successfully, xizy - conquered Slavic territory, and the -The margrave drew unshakeable lines of attack for the future; after all, these actions served the expansion of his ducal power as well as Christianization. "Not since the times of Margrave Gero - that means something (cf. V ašo ff!) - had there been such a persistent influence of the German element on the still pagan eastern Jicheri neighbors" (Bernhardi).

The new phase of eastern colonization, which was still virulent in the later Middle Ages and has been compared to the Nazi invasion of Russia and south-eastern Europe, began at the beginning of the 20th century. Century. And whatever motives were at play - conquistador addiction, thirst for adventure, dreams of freedom - the German, Polish and Danish princes prepared, sanctioned and secured this "Großr "ubpolitik with the help of Christendom, its ideology and organization. Century especially by the Knights of St. John, Templars and Cistercians. Even in the High Middle Ages, however, as in modern times under Hitler, the eastern expansion was supported by the popes, who in the iz. and i3. They used the Polish-Russian conflicts in the 15th and 3rd centuries to expand further into Eastern Russia from the base of Flanders and make Rus Catholic.

On the other hand, the Eastern peoples fought not only the dominance of the Germans but also their gods for years. For German and other Christian aggressors have always put forward religious reasons, paganism, the spread of the Kingdom of God, etc. "The whole people of the Sławen", wrote Helmold von Bosau of Emperor Lothar, "he wanted to subjugate them to the holy faith".

These people hated that place, Helmold says again, "where the devil had his seat and all unclean spirits lived". Or according to a Livonian chronicler with words from the vita of the first Saxon bishop: -'An untamed people, exceedingly devoted to pagan rites, is led step by step to the yoke of the Lord -; let faith grow -by fighting as by preaching- (tam preliando quam predicando)'.

Morally, these Slavic pagans were clearly not inferior to the Christians. At least the Bamberg monk Herbord (d. i 1068) praises their ethical qualities in his *Ottovita*. -Among the Christians, they also said, there are thieves and robbers, their feet are cut off and their eyes gouged out, all kinds of crimes and punishments are practiced by Christians against Christians. Far be such a religion from us." And Herbord goes on to praise: "But so great is the loyalty and fellowship among them that they do not know theft and fraud at all and have not locked boxes and containers ... They keep their clothes, their money and all their valuables in simply covered skins and barrels, not fearing fraud because they do not know it."

Even those who have made an -indisputable civilizational progress step" of the colonization of the East, must admit that they "has brought religious intolerance, heightened national antagonisms, capitalist competition, the beginnings of a bourgeois class consciousness and other things, i.e. the causes of new oppression and new hardship" (Sprandel). And even those who see "here and there religious reasons", which, whatever they may be, should not be ignored, or who recall the thirst for adventure and conquest, must concede that "but by far the most important factor was the acquisitive spirit, the prospect of land on favorable terms, of personal freedom and independence" (Thieme) .

Significantly, in the middle of this period, an 1068  
The letter of incitement from Archbishop Adelgato and five bishops of his diocese (Albwin of Merseburg, Walram of Naum-



burg, Herwig of Meissen, Hezil of Havelberg and Hartbert of Brandenburg). In it, the East Saxons address their friends, the clergy and nobility in the West, the Archbishop of Cologne, the bishops of Halbersradt, Paderborn, Minden, Liège, the Abbot of Korvey and the laity, and call for war against the Wends, who are practising idolatry, robbing Christians\*, torturing Christians, beheading them, stripping their skin off while they are still alive, etc. "The pagans have risen up against us with a cruelty that is as great as any, and are almost bringing us to the ground; men without pity, who still delight in boasting of their wickedness, which is devoid of all morality. Arise now, O bride of Christ, and come! Let your voice ring in the ears of Christendom, so that all may hasten to war for the Savior and bring help to the fighters of Christ.

War for the Savior, always the most noble goal. But war for the Savior means war against the devil. And the devil, quite clearly, is always the others, the non-Christians, the heathens.

-The heathens are the worst of men; but their land is very good for meat, honey, flour and birds, and if it is cultivated properly, none can be compared to it.- Therefore the bishops call upon God to give you the will and power to subjugate these neighboring and inhuman heathens, and let it be well with you in all things". How fanatically clerics could be driven to fight against the Slavs, the barbarians-, the -murderers-, is shown by the example of a certain

Gerlach in the defense of the fortress Süsel i •47-

The attacking Slavs had given the Frisians for the fighting) ose The priest promised "life and health" and they were inclined to comply. But then the priest intervened. -What do you want to do, men?" he shouted. "Why are you losing heart and running straight to your doom! I adjure you by the Lord, the Creator of the world, who does not find it difficult to bring salvation through a few, that you rehearse your crow for a little while longer and resist the enemies. For as long as we are surrounded by this fall, fists and weapons obey us and we stake our lives on hope; but without weapons,

nothing remains for us but an ignominious death! Thrust your swords, which they demand from you, into their own marrow first and be the avengers of your blood. Let them taste your deathly courage and not return home victorious without a blood toll!"

Helmold von Bosau, the Holstein historian and historiographer The clergyman paints an almost deliberate picture of this warlike cleric, how he throws himself in front of the gate in a rage of battle, how he pierces "countless Slavs" with his own hand and continues to fight, stabbing them even after he has already suffered wounds to his body and lost an eye, how he demonstrates "almost superhuman strength" both mentally and physically. "Not even the famous sons of Zeruah and the Maccabees once fought more magnificently ..." Yes: it is always worth referring to the Bible, especially in a bloodthirsty context.

Lothar of Süplingenbiirg created the conditions for the new beginning of the church mission in the Rectitselbian region by subjugating the Slavs. Some of the first results of his expansionist policy, the continuation of much older encroachments by German invaders, were Segeberg Castle in Holstein; the Benedictine monastery of Chemnitz, founded by Lothar in the Erzgebirge royal forest, which quickly acquired a wealth of land and had already had a long-distance trading market since iJ3; and finally Lothar's promotion of the mission of Bishop Otto of Bamberg in Pomerania.<sup>10</sup>

## **TOCHOF LTTO, THE OOMMER NAPOSTLE**

Otto I of Bamberg (xioz-i i 3g), probably of Staiif origin through his mother, was first in the court service of Henry IV, was invested as their bishop by the bishop, against the fierce resistance of the Bambergers, i ioz and fell away i red from his imperial patron.

The prelate, famous for his missionary successes and canonized, is regarded as a great pastor and "Prince of Peace".

but was also extremely materially oriented, aided by his talent for organization. Not only did he found several dozen monasteries, convents and cells from Carinthia to Saxony etc., all of which he knew how to secure financially, but as the first Bamberg bishop, he also pursued a determined, equally ambitious, no-expense-spared policy of estates and castles in the Steigerwald, Franconian Forest and on the Jura heights. With Ebersberg Castle near Zeil, for example, he protected his large scattered possessions on the northern edge of the Steigerwald, he acquired the castles of Pottenstein and Göfiweinstein in Franconian Switzerland, purchased Albiinstein Castle, built numerous castles at great expense, six, writes his biographer, and fourteen churches. He also gained control of several strategically important pass roads in Thuringia and systematically wrested down the aspiring laymen in his diocese - but "always", we are assured, "stood up sober and almost fasting from the evening or midday table, because he gave what he had to give entirely to the sick, poor and beggars" (Looshorn).

Apostolus' most celebrated achievement to this day is his partial conversion of the Pomorans (between the Oder and the mouth of the Vistula) and the Liutizi on two missionary campaigns iizj/i ia and i iz8.

Otto traveled, as befitted such a humble saint starving for his poor and beggars, with around twenty clerics - he refused the Polish priests offered to him -, traveled with a certainly even more numerous entourage, a much larger troop. Kurz, the former chancellor of Henry IV, arrived with all the splendor of a German imperial prince and, moreover "with the authority of a papal legate (Kist) to the still heath-dark East, where he visited Kamtnin and Pyritz (with a castle of the Pomeranian duke) as well as Stettin and Wohin.

As the cautious missionary spent the night in ducal courts everywhere, even enjoying the escort of armed men, he was denied the sacrificial death per se - even if, according to Ludwig Donin, some idolaters had already taken up their bows.

for, oh wonder, -suddenly her arms froze ...-. Yet the brave man longed so ardently for the palm of martyrdom! he wailed after a scuffle in Where? -We have been robbed of a beautiful hope. The palm tree was in our hands ..." However, he immediately recoiled from cutting down a sacred walnut tree, whose owner threatened Otto with a battle axe. At the same time, he was able to dew 16 heathen souls relatively quickly (if one counted correctly).

Otto's first fishing expedition was agreed with Poland and the Pope, the second with King Lothar (who gave him more diplomas than any other bishop) and with Duke Wartislaw I of Pomerania.

Wartislaw, who was apparently imprisoned by the Saxons in his youth and later forced to missionize his country and pay tribute to Olen while in Polish custody, was co-founder of the Pomeranian bishopric, protected the chief shepherd Otto across the border and, married to a Christian woman, is also said to have kept concubines. After his murder, a church and a Benedictine monastery were founded in Stolpe an der Peene less in his memory than in his own."

The Bamberg bishop was summoned to Poland by Duke Boleslaw III Krzywousty (Schiefmund; d. 1138). Out of lust for power, the Christian had driven out his stepbrother, then had his eyes plucked out and continued the Piast's old policy of aggression against Pomerania. His greatest act of salvation, he waged a missionary war with years of robbery and destruction and, although supposedly ftoomm, humble and kind, according to Otto's biographer Herbord, the monk from the Bamberg monastery of Michelsberg, he also killed 18,000 defeated Pomeranians and deported a further 8,000 with wives and children to Poland.

When the prince 1122 had subdued Duke Wartislaw there with an advance against Stettin and conquered Pomerania, the missionaries followed the raiders as usual. Although the conversion attempt by the Spanish heir Bern-

hard immediately after the end of the war (in Wollin he was sent away on a barge to "preach to the fish"). In the end, however, Boleslaw successfully appealed to the Bamberg prelate to complete his own early work or at least to divide it up again. For the "converted" Pomeranians no longer paid the tribute, but publicly worshipped their tried and tested Slavic gods, indeed, they found so little taste in Christianity that they crucified a clergyman who had moved here. And they did not want to serve Archbishop Norbert of Magdeburg, whose church was initially assigned the eastern territories (Poland, Pomerania), a jealous, in parenthesis, of Otto's successes, and would rather die than endure his harshness and servitude.

So in April 1128, Otto moved in agreement with King Lothar and Duke Wartislaw to Pomerania for the second time to sow the precious seed of the Good News there again. Whether the king paved the way for him by waging war against the Liutizians is not certain, but there is much to suggest that he did. Certainly, however, the clever Otto, who at times allegedly lavished gifts on the

Pomeranians tried to take away their fear of Christianity, persuading them that this religion, which they feared most of all, did not require any material sacrifices!

Duke Wartislaw, who was rushing in with troops, supported the missionary and immediately made an extremely profitable raid into Liutian territory, while Otto soon ruthlessly ruined a particularly richly and beautifully furnished "temple of the idol" in Gützkow - despite large offers of money from the Old Believers, who wanted it to be preserved, even as a church. And at the turn of the last century, the Catholic historian of the Bamberg diocese, Looshorn, was still in raptures: -a magnificent spectacle for the Christians, when the wonderfully large idols, beautifully finished with unbelievable sculptural skill, which many pairs of oxen could barely drag away, with hands and feet cut off, eyes gouged out and noses cut off, rolled down the slope of a

bridge were dragged into the fire to be burned, while the friends of the idols stood there and cried out loudly."

But this is all part of the business of the "pagan missionaries". Around **IHR**, Bishop Hartbert of Brandenburg, with the help of St. John's Monastery in Magdeburg, destroyed numerous "idolaters", as he himself boasted (in barbaric Latin).

In Holstein, where the Slavs defied repeated attempts at conversion, St. Vicelin, the later Bishop of Oldenburg, destroyed the old faith that so devotedly worshipped groves and springs, but apparently only with the help of the Christian Obodrite prince Henry, who was thus merely -serving the House of the Lord" (Helmold).

The Christian prince Henry once had the pagan prince Kriito killed, then, with Danish and German support, regained the Abodrite kingdom, expanded it considerably and finally turned his residence Alt-Lübeck (north-east of the present-day city) into the center of a Christian Slavic kingdom.

made. After Henry's assassination, however, all this quickly collapsed, as his sons and grandsons also perished one after the other in assassination attempts. i i34 But Vicelin won the favor of Emperor Lothar, who was then at Segeberg, East

He had a canonry built near the river Trave, which he gave to Vicelin, and a castle.

When the castle was being built, a Slavic onlooker asked about the "forced fortress" that was being built "here in the quiet. There is a yoke for the whole country, replied a Slavic prince. From here they would first break Plön, then Oldenburg and Lübeck, finally cross the Trave and conquer Ratzeburg with the whole of Polabia. But atich the land of the Obotrites will not escape their hands!" And when the other inquires into the cause of such misfortune, the prince says: -You see that little bald man standing there with the king? He has brought all this misfortune upon us!

The little bald man was the missionary, the slave apostle Viceliri. Because female violence was regularly associated with the mission and vice versa."

Bishop Otto received a delegation from Albrecht the Bear (d. 1070) in Gützkow, which also had to carefully scout out the Slavic region. Christianization here seemed very promising to Albrecht, who pursued an extremely determined territorial policy against the Slavs in close contact with Lothar, the archbishopric of Magdeburg, the Premonstratensians and others. Albrecht colonized and Christianized the Nordmark and the Oselbische Gebiete, which made him lord of the entire Liutizenland, from Lusatia to the lower Peene and Oder. The Ottonian bishoprics of Havelberg and Brandenburg were also restored in this way, and the Margraviate of Brandenburg, a new sovereignty in the Slavic region, was founded. And in 1058, the pioneer of German westward expansion, the first Margrave of Brandenburg, the so active Ascanian, father of three princes and seven sons, including Archbishop Siegfried of Bremen, even found time to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land with his wife Sophie of Winzenburg."

St. Otto, who was in any case showered with allocations by the emperor like no other prelate, had not merely converted the Pomeranians for the reward of God. For before Lothar set off on his great military campaign to Italy in 1135, he documentarily guaranteed Otto the tribuneship of four Slavic districts as thanks and recognition for sowing the seeds of Christianity there, so that the territories due to the saint extended as far as the Peene. Not enough: all the churches he founded in those regions were also to belong to him and his bishopric without objection" (*sine contradictione sibi et ecclesie sue obtineat*).

An uprising in neighboring Bohemia also sheds a strange light on the Bishop of Bamberg. It was ruled by the good Christian Duke Soběslav I (1055-1068), who had suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of King Lothar II in the Battle of Kulm, after which, however, they mutually respected each other.

In the summer of 1062, a plot against Soběslav was uncovered. Two noble Bohemians, the brothers Miroslav and Strezimir, ca

Miroslaw confessed that he had been instigated to murder the duke; first by a servant of the duke's nephew Bretislaw, whom his uncle had been holding prisoner for years, then by a priest, and finally by the chief shepherd of Prague, Meginhard. The bishop, reported Miroslaw, had made him great promises and sworn to keep them with an oath on the relics. Meginhard later denied this, but not his intention to free the duke's nephew, as he apparently wanted him to be duke.

When the affair broke out, the prelate had, conveniently, just set off on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The rest, however, were almost all hit by the pious prince's revenge. After he had just completed a thanksgiving procession naked in Prague Cathedral, he had all the limbs of the brothers Miroslaw and Strezimir cut off in the marketplace, the eyes of the men they had ordered to be murdered plucked out, their tongues and hands cut off, their thighs broken and the mutilated men woven onto the wheel. -His concern was for public order" (Le- xikon des Mittelalters). A group of other suspects whose guilt had not been established were beheaded for the sake of order, and the duke's nephew, who could not be proven guilty of anything, was blinded, apparently also a pure prophylactic.

The priest, however, kept his head, limbs and eyesight; he was imprisoned. And when the bishop himself returned home from the Holy Land the following year, all those who could have testified against him were, as was convenient, long dead. But St. Otto, a friend of Meginhard, hurried to **Prague** in person **and** made a solemn declaration of honor for his brother bishop, whereupon other bishops and abbots no less solemnly **a b s o l v e d** Meginhard of his guilt."



NEW CIVIL WAR IN GERMANY  
 \$TAUFERLFEN (AND A Hsl  
 LIGRR CHAINS THE A1'JDERx)

Lothar von Süpplingenburg (whose epithet was only distorted to "Supplinburg" by researchers of the iq. and so. Although he was the scion of an old and noble family, he was neither particularly wealthy nor wealthy, which may have been the reason why Henry V elevated him to Duke of Saxony. But then he and his wife Richenza, with whom he lived together for almost forty years - an astonishingly long time for a prince at the time - were showered with rich inheritances, including the estates of Henry the Fat of Norheim, his grandmother Gertrude and his mother-in-law Gertrude of Brunswick, inheritances that extended Lothar's rather limited power and made him the most powerful in Saxony, especially as he systematically expanded his position from the outset.

However, the increase in power tempted the Herzog to greater things. Of course, he came into conflict with Saxon lords, but above all with the so-called central power; for example, he managed to join a Saxon conspiracy against the emperor, so that he lost his dukedom, which he had received from the emperor, and when he regained it, he managed to fall away again in the same year. Soon afterwards,

II\*4. during the pompous wedding celebration of Henry V with Mathilde, the eleven-year-old daughter of King Henry I of England, the proud Saxon duke threw himself barefoot at the feet of the emperor in Mainz, but in the same year he rejoined an opposition alliance of princes, even defeating the ruler the next year at the Battle of Wel-fesholz (p. 3q6). And since then, together with the Etz bishops Adalbert of Mainz and Frederick of Cologne, he led the German opposition *ao*, making Conrad of Wettin Margrave of Meissen and the Ascanian Albrecht the Bear Margrave of Lusatia by force of arms, *contrary to* the KaiGer's decrees.

At the election meeting convened by Archbishop Adalbert in Mainz on 29. The election assembly convened by Archbishop Adalbert in Mainz on August 30, initially eliminated the candidate with the best chances, Frederick of Swabia, the Salian family heir, through a machination that was as simple as it was effective. Exasperated by the tricks and intrigues of the Mainz man in charge of the commission, he left the assembly, and on August 30 Lothar of Süpplingenburg became king - in a free election! The first to elect him was apparently the Prince of Mainz. The first negotiation that took place after the election concerned the new king's relationship to the church - which, according to contemporary writers, finally wanted "freedom",

"which she had always longed for!"- The first people King Lothar swore the oath of allegiance were the 4 bishops present. And On September 3, Archbishop Frederick of Cologne appointed him in

Aachen is the crowning glory."

The older historians saw Lothar as a

"The newer ones no longer want this to be quite true, but it is not so wrong. Lothar became king through the Church and for a long time, if at all possible, proved himself pleasing to it, which is why it naturally stood by him. He owed a certain reputation as a prince of peace not least to her, although feuds and wars hardly ceased under him.

In Mainz, Frederick had put on a good face and paid homage to the victorious Lothar. But the reconciliation was obviously not sincerely meant by either side, each wanted more influence, more property - the eternal power struggle. To put it more nicely: their concern was also for public order ...". The antagonisms ran far too deep and the conflict was encouraged by the clergy. It erupted as early as 1055 in the dispute over the Salian house property and the imperial property mixed with it, two terms that had previously hardly been distinguished, with Archbishop Adalbert playing a driving role, as he would have preferred little more than the destruction of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. "The leech does not shed its skin until it is swollen with blood", Bishop Otto von Freising quoted Horace with regard to the Mainz bishop. In it, Adalbert met

with the young

king, of whom the Bishop of Freising says again: "He suppressed the lineage of Emperor Henry in every way." The emperor's sister sons, Frederick and Conrad, however, did not think of handing over the imperial possessions to the new ruler, but instead seized others, such as Nuremberg, whereupon a ten-year war followed their mutual greed for possession.

After the Hohenstaufen had been ostracized at the Straßburg court at the end of 1125, a first campaign in 1126, including with St. Archbishop Norbert (probably with Magdeburg troops), was abandoned. Archbishop Norbert (probably with Magdeburg troops), Lothar failed to conquer Nuremberg in the summer of 1127, even though he was supported not only by numerous Bohemian troops, who ravaged the country as far as the Danube and even plundered the churches, but also by warriors of the young Bavarian Duke Henry the Proud. He had only arrived on 29. He had only married Lothar's twelve-year-old daughter Gertrude (who gave birth to Henry the Lion two years later), his only child, on May 10th - the almost customary early medieval "puberty marriage" (Ennen) - whereby the king gained an important combatant against the Hohenstaufen dynasty and the disastrous conflict between the two most powerful southern German houses, the Hohenstaufen and Guelph dynasties, now tore the empire apart for a long time<sup>8</sup>."

As not only the attack on Nürnberg led to the king's retreat, but also an invasion by his son-in-law in Swabia, the Hohenstaufen felt encouraged to do better.

On 18. December 1127, Swabian and Franconian nobles in Rothenburg ob d. T. summoned Frederick's brother Konrad, who had just returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, to the (counter) king. Why it was him and not Frederick remains unclear. In any case, the prelates assembled in Würzburg following Lothar's orders, led by the metropolitans Adalbert of Mainz, Conrad of Salzburg and Norbert of Magdeburg, imposed excommunication on him on 29. December the excommunication of the -invader into the realm-, whom almost all sources condemn. His

brother Frederick, who was regarded as the instigator of the uprising, was immediately banned from the church.

Against the secular power alone, the stiaifer might have been able to stand their ground. But against the empire and the church together, they were bound to fail. And the majority of the German clergy clearly stood by Lothar, who even in his first years of rule proved to be a man of the Church, "pliable to the extreme" (Halter). And since the rex naturalis, the reigning king, who was legitimized by his right of inheritance, as heir to the last Salian, could probably atich lay claim to the vast possessions of Matilda of Tuscia - especially since he soon acquired the Lombard crown in Monza in June i iz8, without, of course, being able to achieve more in Italy or even assert himself - Pope Hono- rius had also hurled the curse against Conrad and his followers in April iia8, with all the priests striking their torches against the ground and extinguishing them."

With the exception of dv Notden, the war (ast throughout Germany. There was also fighting in Alsace. Speyer alone, sometimes called the capital of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, changed hands four times. First, the local bishop Siegfried, Lothar's partisan, was driven out. After three months of siege, however, the king took control of Speyer in November ilz8 with the help of Bohemian troops and the military support of the archbishops of Mainz and Beetn, Bishop Otto of Halberstadt and (probably) Bishop Berthold of Hildesheim. However, iz9 the city, despite the first invocation of the condemnation, passed back to the Hohenstaufen dynasty, who occupied it for the first time, but then, after almost six months of closure, Z130 finally fell to the Süpplingenburg, who proved to be as magnanimous as he was clever in many respects. In the meantime, however, iollcfl In7. August I Izq in a battle in 8zd men fell in the Liège region, and many more on may have perished in the flucht.

In addition to major battles, there were feuds and atrocities of various kinds.

The assassination of Count Charles I of Flanders caused a particular stir. The Danish king's son and French crown vassal, who had a markedly conservative and ecclesiastical attitude,

wanted to

The powerful clan of the Earls, which had risen from bondage, was to be forced back into an unfree position. The provost of St. Donatian's in Bruges therefore had his nephew and his conspirators assassinate the count according to a carefully devised plan.

on the morning of March z.●●\*7 in the church of St. Donatian. The bloody deed, which pl u n g e d Plaudern into a serious crisis, is also strange because Charles's father, King Knud IV the Holy, had already been murdered in Odense in zo86, and

The murder of Count William of Burgundy, perhaps on the same day in the same year, was not unusual, although it was not an everyday occurrence."

Even in Saxony, there were i izq and i iso riots, feuds, assassination attempts.

lu Magdeburg, the brusque Archbishop Norbert of Xanten (z iz6-I Z34), a son of a count from the Lower Rhine and founder of the Order of the Premonstratensians, was in conflict with his canons for years, having already broken spectacularly with the

Canons of Xanten. On the other hand, he enjoyed an equally good reputation with the popes - Honorius II confirmed the Order of Premonstratensians as early as iz6 - as he did with King

Lothar, with whose approval he became Metropolis in

Magdeburg (against Lothar's own cousin Konrad von Querfurt, who was initially also protected by him), undoubtedly a confidant of the monarch, at whose court he is attested no less than eleven times, apart from his participation in the Rome campaign. In the

East, however, t h e former man of the world, the preacher of penance, the demon exorcist, the catcher of rich people, who allegedly took up the "ideal of the early church" (Lexikon für

Theologie und Kirche) and "saw his ideal of life in the *rit'i apostolica*, a life of conscious courage" (O. Engels), but whom his

opponents called a swindler and deceiver and would have preferred to hang. In fact, the unpopular, harsh and canonized prince of the church, who was elevated to the patron saint of the Magdeburg region by John Paul II (feast of 6 June), was made to



Abaelard was one of his adversaries and attempted two murders in his immediate vicinity, the second even by one of his clergymen.

Since not only the Magdeburg clergy, but also the nobility and burghers massively opposed the bishop's regiment, Norbert, a man of widely praised piety (*Gesta Alberortis*), a great miracle-worker too, who succeeded in so many denials of evil, so many exorcisms of the devil, also by means of exorcized water baths or gum treatments with consecrated salt (*Vita Norberti*) (a raising of the dead by the unbelief of the crowd!), fled to the monastery of Btрге and the Atigistine monastery of Neuwerk. He banished his opponents and continued to rule as usual. For example, after robbery and murder in the monastery church of Nienburg, he had the nearby Analenburg destroyed, as its owners were among those oppressing the monastery. The saint himself founded many monasteries, including many female monasteries, in which the nuns quickly became as rampant as fornication and abomination; violence in the ascetic barracks was anything but rare.

The "zeal" with which this saint spread the word and kingdom of God can be seen in his vehement fight for orthodoxy. For example, he not only attacked Tanchelm's heresy, but even accused Abbot Rupert von Deutz, "pioneer and master of the mystical knowledge of God, with a saintly way of life" (*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*), of "heresy", a Gregorian who is honored as a saint, a saint and a church teacher (*OrdensfeSt 4- März*).

In the same year IT3o, Heinrich Raspe became 1st in Saxony, the Briider of Count Louis of Thuringia and standard-bearer of the king, was assassinated without the perpetrators being discovered. The Frisian Count Burchard von Loccum, a friend of Lothar's, was also murdered at the time. The crime took place in the grounds of a churchyard that was considered an asylum. And the king himself took revenge for the "outrages" of the citizens of Halle by sending a contingent of troops - because mere citizens were often maltreated.

The nobility, unlike the nobility, had their limbs cut off, some had their eyes gouged out, and others were at least severely beheaded.

In the summer of 1132, Frederick "dux Suevie de Sthouf" attacked the Guelph estates in southern Swabia. And after he had plundered, devastated and burnt down, Henry of Bavaria paid him back in kind by plundering, devastating and destroying the Hohenstaufen territories, actions with fire and sword, but without any deeper meaning, except that the noble and Christian character of the lords could reveal itself as noble as it was Christian.

During the winter of 1132/II 33, Duke Heinrich in pursuit of his territorial plans against the Bishop of Regensburg, but only managed to burn down his suburbs. And at the beginning of February, he ruined the entire estates of Count Otto von Wolfratshausen, a nephew of the bishop, and also burned down his castle Ambras am Inn. Only Wolfratshausen itself was spared by the pious Henry so as not to dishonor the "holy time of Lent". However, he soon made up for this by destroying the castle, robbing it and burning it down. As in Bavaria, feuds raged in Swabia and northern Germany. And in 1134, Lothar completely defeated the Swabian duke.

In this year, the emperor advanced against the Hohenstaufen from two sides, his son-in-law Henry from the east. Ulm, their Swabian capital against Bavaria, was abandoned by them, finally the town was stormed by the enemy and everything, with the exception of the churches, was destroyed by fire, then most of Swabia was devastated, the castles were destroyed; it was said that never before had a king punished the land so terribly. The Hohenstaufen lost their followers, who rushed to the emperor and begged for mercy until Frederick himself surrendered broken into Lothar's hand in Fulda. And the papal legate, Cardinal Gerhard, who constantly accompanied the ruler at the time, freed Frederick from a threefold spell: that of the German clergy

\*\*7 (Würzburg), that of Honorius 11th Ha8 (Rome), that of Innocent II i 13z (Liège)."

COURTESY OF THE EMPEROR AND THE PAPAL AND CARDINAL  
CHANCELLOR HAIMERICH'S DIRECTORATE

Pope Calixtus II had died in December 1124, and the cardinals had unanimously elected a new lord, who called himself Coelestine II. The Te Deum was just being sung when a Frangipane with a horde of daredevils and in agreement with Cardinal Chancellor Haimerich, the politically authoritative man of the Curia in two pontifical councils, broke up the pious body and made Cardinal Lambert of Ostia, negotiator of the Concordat of Worms, Pope Honorius II (1130). Through enormous bribery Leo Frangipane and the Burgundian, who was born and raised at the

After the appointment of the first pope, Haimerich (1133-1144\*), who dominated the Curia and who also succeeded the next pope, they won over the leaders of Coelestine's party, the city prefects Peter and Pierleone, whereupon Coelestine, forced or persuaded, resigned. Although canonically elected, though neither consecrated nor enthroned, he is regarded as an antipope.

Lothar announced his election and coronation in Rome. This was customary. It is not certain whether he asked the pope to confirm the election through authorized representatives, the legate Cardinal Gerhard of S. Croce, who was returning to Italy, and the two imperial bishops Burchard of Cambrai and Henry of Verdun. It is certain, however, that Honorius confirmed it and that no objection to it from the king, whose elevation to the throne the pope had supported, has been recorded,

Now Honorius II, who had risen to such a contestable position, used the relatively quiet period in church politics after the Worms Concordat not only to expand theological doctrines. Other things usually moved and still move the deputies much more. There was, for example, the Papal States, for which the papal princes of peace always took up arms, the hour seemed favorable. Smaller and larger bush battles with the lords of Latium, for example, or with others were frequent. Between 1131 and 1134, for example, the Holy Fathers waged war almost year after year with the

Counts of Ceccano and their comrades. Half of Rome was in turmoil, the churches, built as fortresses, were often staring with weapons, especially the cathedral of St. Peter, and Honorius II, who only took up his holy office at the end of December 1044, swung the hatchet in March of the following year against Gottfried, Landulf and Rainald of Ceccano. He burned down several villages and castles, conquered 1056 Segni and Vicolo and waged 1057 and 1058 feuds."

However, a much larger field opened up to him at the time in southern Italy, where he sought to stop the expansion of Roger II of Sicily in order to rule the country himself.

Roger II was a brother's son of Robert Guiscard, and his father, Roger I, had once conquered Sicily (p. 226), which Roger II now wanted to unite with Calabria and Apulia to form a kingdom. He was clearly dominant there, and such a strong neighbor, who also pursued a very arbitrary ecclesiastical policy, was not acceptable to the pope; so, like Gregory VII, he pushed for a Division of southern Italy. In July 1077, Duke William of Apulia, a grandson of Robert Guiscard, died young and without descendants in Salerno. Roger II, his cousin, had given the William had already seized Calabria and now wanted the rest of the Herxogtum for himself. In return, he offered the pope, as suzerain, a lot of money and two Apulian counties. Honorius II, however, intent on schism, enfeoffed Robert of Capua, elevated him to prince, expelled Roger II from the church, cursed him repeatedly and led two campaigns against him in the winter of 1077 and the following summer. During the latter, he himself fought at the head of 200 or 300 knights. And other allies joined him. Moreover, he promised everyone who died in the war for St. Peter the whole, but every survivor 1080 half of his sins. Yes, who would want to survive!

But the battle desired by the Pope never came to pass. The clever Roger, with his traps in the minority, evaded the enemy, stalled them, let them stew for weeks in the heat of July and August until Robert of Capua was able to withstand the hardships, like the pope.

he declared that he was not up to the task, withdrew and others followed him. The Holy Father, too, then began a lacklustre retreat, indeed, he quickly relented by granting the Duchy of Apulia to Roger II, where he had once banished him, on 23 August 1138 before Benevento, which legally authorized him to fight even the Pope's previous allies. And as soon as Honorius had Benevento at his back, the people rose up, stabbed the rector he had appointed, hidden under the robes of a priest saying mass, in cold blood at the altar, dragged the still living man through the streets and stoned him to death."

Honorius II was broken and did not survive his defeat for long. At the beginning of the year 1130, he fell seriously ill. Chancellor Haimeric, who led a minority of the Cardinals, brought the terminally ill man from the Lateran to the monastery of S. Gregorio, near the fortresses of the Frangipani, his friends. And hardly

Honorius had died in the night of 4 February 1130, the powerful chancellor, who of course had his influential

The Pope, who wanted to retain his office, was immediately and without the slightest ceremony provisionally buried in the monastery cemetery so that the next Holy Father could be found quickly, all in secrecy, like a coup d'état. And that very night, the cardinal deacon Gregorio Papareschi was proclaimed the new pope, Innocent II (1130-1143), and the dead man was torn from his grave and led both of Gorte's deputies, the dead one and the Honorius disappeared into a tomb and Innoenz received the insignia of his "dignity".

Three hours later, the majority of the College of Cardinals elected Cardinal Petrus Pierleone, who was also recognized by the majority of the nobility and the people, a morally irreproachable, talented and wealthy man. He was the great-grandson of the Jew Baruch-Benedict (5. 1188 f.), who had been educated in Paris and then lived as a monk in Cluny, who called himself Anaclet II (1130-1138). Previously highly respected in the church

but now, precisely because his opponents saw themselves in the wrong, showered him with accusations that went as far as blood libel, doCh

also took other directions. St. Bernard of Clairvaux scolded him as a "Jewish angel" (piier Judaicus) (although the Pier- leoni had been the financial helpers of the reform popes for three quarters of a century). Indeed, the famous Doctor of the Church lamented the disgrace that "a Jewish professional (soboles Judaica: MPL i8z, zqq B) was sitting on the Chair of Peter, and did not give the lie that the majority had voted for Innozenz. Above all, however, the accusation of Judaism robbed Anaclet of his success. Even the Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche concludes its Anaklet article: -The accusation of his rival's Jewish origins was one of the decisive factors in Innocent II's victory.

Certainly, both elections were uncanonical, but even the Catholic Seppelt admits that the minority of the cardinals had - hastily and informally - elevated In-Nocent II. -The majority, however, elevated Anacletus II, the "antipope" who was soon heretized, in "the forms that had been established"; indeed, according to the Lexicon of the Middle Ages, he was "undoubtedly in the better right".<sup>4</sup>

But the better law counts there and usually little else, more power usually everything - a fact of history as banal as it is fundamental.

As is so often the case, *there were* two Holy Fathers - at least not more, as is often the case. However, the double election, which resulted in an eight-year schism, was probably not so much about rival clergy circles with different reform concepts and church policy programs. They are said to have divided the College of Cardinals into a minority of rather younger, "progressive" northern Italian and French cardinals around Innocent II, who were also joined by the younger reform groups of the regular canons, the Premonstratensians and Cistercians, and the majority of mostly older Roman and southern Italian cardinals of more ancient Gregorian tradition around Anacletus. Rather, it was probably simply a matter of better personal contacts. The fact that competing aristocratic clans were also involved is clear, but was by no means the decisive factor.

As usual, the fanatical priests clashed immediately.

other. Innocent II quickly lost ground, at least in the Holy City, where people now took up arms for the holy cause with great vigor. And the money was made to jump, not least by silver-plating the church treasures. Just one day after the mutual uprising, on February 5, Anaclet's followers stormed St. Peter's and the Lateran. Soon Innocent was also driven out of the Palladium monastery between the fortress towers of the Frangipani; at night he fled to Trastevere; in the end he could no longer hold out there either.

Although Innocent II not only had to leave Rome, which he did not get his hands on for eight years, but even Italy, he emerged victorious from the battle, which was primarily a journalistic and diplomatic one. He owed this to the much better international connections he had, particularly through Hai-merich, his close friend Bernard of Clairvaux and the Magdeburg Archbishop Norbert of Xanten. St. Bernard won over the kings Louis VI of France and Henry I of England, who was initially more inclined towards Anaklet, and finally also Milan. St. Norbert won Lothair III and the imperial episcopate to his side. In contrast, Anaklet's power was based almost exclusively on Roger II, even if he still found support in southern France and above all in Scotland.

The antagonism between the two popes, who, as usual, cursed each other and their followers, led to years of war in Italy, involving half of Europe.

The vast majority of Rome, where Innocent nuc was briefly able to gain a foothold, stood by Anacletus, who had also been legally elected and consecrated in St. Peter's. The British bishops also stood by him at first, but, swayed by Bernhard of Clairvaux and King Henry I, fell away from him. The situation was similar in Germany. After months of vacillation and a fierce campaign of denial against Anacletus, Innocent was finally recognized in October under the decisive influence of Archbishop Norbert of Magdeburg.

\*3° at the Diet and Synod of Würzburg under Lo.

Both popes had tried to gain his favor, Anaklet rather more reserved, Innozenz always somewhat more eager, since he had undoubtedly become pope with more injustice, which is why he also claimed - 8m May II i i5o - that Anaklet was trying to kill him with dagger, cift and any treachery.

Anaklet II's main confederate remained Roger II, the determined conqueror. In the bull of -7 September i i3o, the Roman made Apulia, Calabria and Sicily hereditary kings.

rich. In strict contrast to the Treaty of Benevento, he also granted Roger the rule over Capua find Naples, and even a right of investiture in papal Benevento. The king was anointed with great pomp in Palermo Cathedral at Christmas by an archbishop of the island in the presence of Anaclet's legates.

Roger's dignity stemmed to a certain extent from Anacletus II, and his power in turn stood and fell with Roger II, one of the most important rulers of his time. Against the opposition of the pope and the two empires, he created the new Sicilian kingdom with a common law and a well-organized bureaucracy. He earned the respect of his people, who

II 4 did not mourn his death. And he gained patronage fame by supporting outstanding minds, scholars, poets, artists

Arab and Latin culture, gathered at his court. Roger 11. r i 3i also laid the foundation stone for the unusually impressive CefaliL" CACHEDRAL

## THE INNOCENCE II WITH KING LoTHAR "c ING

Pope Innocent II had already asked King Lothar on i8. February i3o, King Lothar had requested a visit to Rome before the end of the year - the major theme of his pontificate. And such a move was naturally associated with war, war against his adversary Anacletus, war against his supporter Roger of Sicily. But Lothar, courted by both popes, was undecided and was initially



did not vote for Innozenz, did not even tolerate his legals in his vicinity. However, St. Norbert had his ear all the more, and the Magdeburg bishop and the legals worked with the German bishops. The Synod of Würzburg, which the king had convened in October to decide the matter, recognized Innocent and rejected Anacletus. Lothar accepted the decision and Innocent, happy with his victory, immediately requested a meeting with the German monarch by means of a bishop's envoy.

It took place alif the Reichstag in Liège i r3i.

Before that, however, he had a meeting with Louis of France, then with Henry of England, who was more inclined towards Anacletus, but then followed the decision of the two princes so as not to break ranks. In March, Innocent rode into Liège on a white horse, swelling with pride and victory, and in the presence of almost three dozen bishops, almost all of them German, more than fifty abbots, including Bernard of Clairvaux, and many secular grandees, Lothar performed the marshal and strator service for the pope, in other words the work of a groom: he led his horse by the reins to his home and helped him dismount. All of this was of considerable symbolic importance, especially as the Roman curia was based on the officium marscalci and officium stratoris, the duty of the vassal to the feudal lord - according to Cyrian fiction, first imposed by King Pippin yyø Pope Stephen II.

( \* 3 0) -, the emperor's feudal dependence on the pope derived hac.

Lothar rewarded the lord with rich gifts and feasts, and above all declared his willingness to provide military aid, to reconquer Rome for the pope and to eliminate his rival Anacletus - probably the greatest expectation with which Innocent had come to Liège. Still very willingly disposed towards the Church, the king promised his support "without hesitation" (Otto von Freising) and had the princes summon the army. But when he himself demanded a - certainly not small - consideration from the pope, a concession in the

Innocent\*, who might have reacted differently if the king had taken a tough stance, refused to answer the question of the investiture. But Innocent quickly learned how to deal with Lothar, a man who owed his power to the church and felt bound by it." Thus he not only snubbed Lothar on the question of investiture. He also disregarded his rights in this regard by consecrating Albero, a friend of Bernard of Clairvaux and Norbert of Xanten, who had been elected archbishop of Trimr, before the king had invested him, which greatly offended him. It was precisely Lothar's weakness towards the clergy, and especially the Pope, that provoked his encroachments and arrogance. -The king should learn to feel that by expelling Anaklet he was fulfilling a sacred duty to his mother, the Church, without thereby becoming entitled to any claims, to the imperial crown in particular. Lothar's character, and above all that of the clergy who ruled him, guaranteed Innocent that he could offend him unpunished even when he was absolutely dependent on his help. was- (Bernhardi)."

In the fall of 1130, hardly without spiritual intervention, uprisings began against Roger in Apulia, Capua, Naples and Benevento, against which he intervened ruthlessly, but only successfully in the short term.

On 24 July 1131, he was severely defeated at Nocera by an army of rebels under his brother-in-law, Count Reinulf of Alife. In the end, he lost the entire mainland and retired to Palermo. Any support Anaklet received from the King was therefore excluded.

In the meantime, Innocent II had continued to fuel the war. He traveled from city to city in France, became a burden to his court due to his lavish lifestyle, occasionally cursed Anaklet and his followers and held a military review at a convention in Reims in October 1131. In the spring of the following year, he crossed the Alps and, supported again by St. Bernard, won Genoa and Pisa over to the naval war against Sicily, making Genoa the archbishopric over Corsica and Pisa the bishopric over the island.

Pisa finally promised 3000 pounds of silver to be paid by the churches of Capua and Naples'.

Lothar kept his promise at the Diet of Liège i.3\* the very next year.

In **mid-August**, he set off from Würzburg with a relatively small army. But already in Augsburg, his troops came into conflict not only with the rising citizens, but also with the soldiers of Hermann, the local bishop once appointed by Henry IV, whatever his fears or misunderstandings. The king ordered the cathedral and town to be destroyed. The cathedral and the cathedral, especially the suburbs, which were apparently largely if not completely burned down, were slaughtered, churches, monks' and nuns' houses were looted, women and children were murdered. And after Lothar had already left, he turned back once again and had all of Augsburg's fortifications partly razed and partly burned down. In his army: St. Archbishop Norbert of Magdeburg, Archbishop Adalbero of Bremen, the bishops of Halberstadt, Havelberg, Osnabrück, Paderborn and several abbots."

In April of the following year, the king and pope advanced on Rome together and took it, but without the city of Leo, the Castel Sant'Angelo, St. Peter. The sanctuary lay within the sphere of power of the Pierleoni and their pope, and Lothar had neither the soldiers nor the money to get there. The city of Leo and St. Peter's Church remained closed to him. So on

4 J--' i u3 by his pope, Innocent II, undoubtedly a Mariko, crowned emperor only in the Lateran Basilica, after he had given the pope and his successors -security of body and soul.

He had also sworn to preserve for him the -Giites of St. Peter- which he already possessed and to procure as far as possible those which he still lacked.

For his part, Lothar tried in vain to restore the right of investiture with ring and staff. But just as Bernard of Clairvaux had already successfully fallen into his arms in Liège, so now, at least according to the "Vita Sanc-

ti Norberti, especially the intervention of St. Norbert, who was not in vain in the army, made every significant concession. The Holy Father had particularly requested his participation in the move to Rome. And "how indispensable, how useful he was in this undertaking of the Church soon became apparent" (Vita Norberti).

Even the one point on which the Pope seemed to accommodate the German emperor was ultimately in the Pope's own favor.

The matter concerned the vast Matildic estates, a future object of dispute between emperors and popes. The countess had appointed i i i i Emperor Henry V as heir to her extremely extensive estates, which were originally intended for the papacy (p.\*7\*) ).

made. Now, however, Innocent enfeoffed and rewarded, so to speak,

after he had strongly praised the German ruler for his religious attitude, his defense of the church, all his efforts and monetary gifts "for St. Peter", with the al- lodium of Mathilde, under the condition, that you pay us and our successors one hundred pounds of silver annually' and that after your death the total amount of the goods revert to the right and dominion of the Holy Roman Church without deduction or encumbrance" (et post tuum obitum proprietas ad ins et dominium sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cum integritate absque diminutione et molestia revertatur).

The cunning pope had thus given himself and his successors all that he had apparently given to the German Empire, to which it had already belonged since iii i, which Lothar not only authenticated by his acceptance, but for which he also promised an annual interest payment of one hundred pounds of silver. Whether the man crowned emperor stood before the public as a vassal of the pope, as his subject as it were, or not, the pope and the curia saw it that way. And when Innocent was lord in Rome for the first time, with the emperor dead and his rival Anaclet dead, he, "the noble, noble-minded pope" (Bishop Otto von Freising), had his triumph painted on a wall of the Lateran: enthroned above the bent, mft fallen pope.

Lothar receiving the imperial crown in his hands, with the inscription:

"At the gates the king invokes the rights of the Romans, then becomes the pope's vassal (post homo fit papae); from him he receives the crown.

Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa insisted to Pope Hadri- an IV that the painting be destroyed and obtained it.^

Lothar's move to Rome did not change anything. And after his departure from the city, which he never set foot in again, the battle between the two popes continued there, during which a Frangipane was killed and Innocent fled northwards by night in the summer - allegedly so that he would be closer to his brothers, his faithful followers - and then, like so many of his predecessors, did not stop demanding a new march to Rome from the emperor, who had marched back without having taken action against Rogec, which could not come quickly enough for Innocent "His emissaries worked incessantly" (Bernhardi).

In the summer of n 33, Roger soon conquered almost all of southern Italy. linozenz had escaped to Pisa via Siena. And as the Sicilian even came into conflict with Constantinople, the Greeks and the pope now joined forces in an effort to drive Emperor Lothar to another invasion. St. Bernard therefore traveled to Germany on his own, and the Holy Father ordered bishops and abbots to take part in the war in order to strengthen the German army."

**A TEN-YEAR LAND OF PEACE,  
A MAJOR WAR AND THE OVERLOOK OF THE HUMAN  
SOCIETY**

Otto von Freising describes the time between Lothar's two Italian campaigns i -33 and i i36 with the meaningful sentences: "From Rome, the emperor returned to Germany. Soon afterwards

he held a general Diet in Bamberg around the middle of Lent; here he reconciled with the two dukes Frederick and Conrad through the mediation of Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, and after peace had been restored and order had been established everywhere in France and Germany, he announced his return to Italy.

The old experience is confirmed: if the Christian leaders of those centuries provided comprehensive peace and order, they usually started a new war. For once the notorious dumbing down of the people, exploitation and systemic hypocrisy were put aside, these Christian empires and kingdoms lived on nothing more than conquest and robbery: the reason that underpinned everything - from the cultural ring to the clerical singsong - the seemingly God-given basis of existence. So obvious that only the ignorant, the officially paid whitewashers and liars can deny it. Or, I ask, from what (and for what) did one actually live more?

As with the previous expedition, they gathered in Würzburg. But now Lothar commanded a much larger contingent. While his entire army was estimated at around 1,500 warriors during the first campaign, it is said that Duke Henry of Bavaria alone provided 1000 horsemen for the second. The noble prince had expressly forgiven his enemies, but only in order to win them over for a war against other enemies! (Archbishop Albero of Trier, on the other hand, who had an "abundance of resources" - as his fortune grew daily - saved and sent only 7 knights into the field instead of the estimated 100. And made a further saving by robbing relics on the same campaign in Parma, *per vim abstulit: Gesta Alberonis.*)

Year after year, from the fall of 1133 to the early spring of 1137, the pope invited the emperor to a Pisan asylum, he had done everything in his power to make it happen. he had called for war - and praised the Pisans because Innocent dwelt among them by virtue of divine providence, the Lord

He did great things for them. -Where is the city that does not envy your good fortune?" Well, Abbot Bernard, who cast out devils, healed the sick and turned water into wine in Pisa, did not even want to be archbishop there. He r e f u s e d thanks.

The ten-year land peace unanimously agreed in Bamberg in March i z)y by an unusually large number of secular and ecclesiastical princes - which lasted just one year and yet made an unusual impression on Ze' B's comrades, who were accustomed to the constant shedding of blood - undoubtedly served nothing so much as the war.

"For the defeat of Anaclet, which Innocent and his supporters impatiently longed for, was the driving force behind this Imperial Diet of Bamberg. The legalists did not leave the emperor's side in order to remind him anew of his duty to liberate the church, which was "oppressed by Jewish rage" - a phrase used by Innocent himself. Bernard of Clairvaux did not undertake the journey to Germany for the sake of peace: he wanted Anaclet to be destroyed by war (Bernhardi).

The already aged emperor, who was considerably mistaken in his assessment of the situation on both sides of the Alps, finally heeded the persistent calls of the pope, his legates and others and set off in August rt 36 for his costly and costly campaign in Würzburg.

His army, which also included some of the high clergy, including the archbishops of Cologne, Trier and Magdeburg, as well as his previous opponent Conrad of Staufen, had barely reached Italy when the unanimously agreed ten-year land peace in Germany came to an end, Soest fought against Arnsberg, Duke Frederick of Swabia clashed with Bishop Gebhard of Strasbourg, and Duke Gottfried of Louvain and the Count of Namur clashed over the election of the Abbot of Gembloux to such an extent that the town went up in flames."

Moreover, the emperor himself had left behind men who had to lend a hand if necessary: in the north-west, Duke Wal- ram of Lower Lorraine; in the east, Albrecht the Bear, Margrave of Ballenstedt, who between i i 36 and ii38 also had several

The pagan Slavs who rose up in the Prignitz were beaten up by Albrecht. Albrecht's campaigns of revenge and plunder ravaged the country, leaving behind burnt dwellings and villages shining from afar. Whatever could be looted was looted, money, livestock, clothing, weapons, then the decimated Slavic people were forced into settlement areas on the Wagrian coasts and on the island of Fehmarn."

*In Italy, however, without a ten-year truce, things were a little bloodier.*

Already at the hermitage of Verona the first enemies were trampled under the hoofs of horses, Guastalla on the right bank of the Po was conquered and wiped out, Turin violently subdued, Fiacenza taken, castle after castle ruined, the territory of Pavia and Cremona terribly devastated, local bishop Obert captured in full armor. -'The Emperor-, writes the Bishop of F-Rising, "devastated their land and destroyed their villages and castles.'- Everywhere he encountered resistance, and everywhere he **smashed** it.

The clergy-friendly monarch was not squeamish. When a priest killed three imperial soldiers with arrows while defending a castle near Bologna, Lothar retaliated by having three hundred people stabbed, thrown into the abyss and burned to death. In between, they celebrated the feasts of Christianity, the feast of All Saints, the feast of the Lord's birth. This is how the Christian majesties had done it for many centuries.

The troops were later divided. Three thousand knights under Henry of Bavaria moved into Tuscany, where the **pope** joined him, while the emperor advanced with the bulk along the Adriatic Sea in order to wage the war against Roger, which Innocent had so urgently desired for years.

First, there was a battle at Ancona led by Lothar himself, in which over two thousand Anconitans are said to have perished. After the capture of the city, which the emperor had to provide with a hundred cargo ships to support his actions from the sea, he celebrated Easter in Fermo in April and



about four weeks later, the Butg on Monte Gar- gano, which was supposed to protect the famous place of wonder, the pilgrimage center with the Grotto Church of the Archangel Michael, fell. Otto III had already made his pilgrimage here (V § j3;VI). Emperor Lothar now also humbly immersed himself in prayer - before he, not unlike the Saracens of old, robbed the chapel: gold and silver objects, precious stones, robes; after all, there was a war on. A little later, the pious prayer w a r r i o r did not hesitate to have the noses and other limbs of many of his prisoners shortened. Or, to paraphrase Bishop Otto, the emperor -performed such valiant deeds in Apulia and Campania that among the Frankish kings from Charlemagne to his time there is no one who achieved such great successes there."

They met in Bari, Henry the Proud, the pope, the emperor, and celebrated Pentecost in pompous style, during which there was a miracle. During the service, a golden crown descended from the sky over the church, above it a dove, below it - vero - swinging a steaming censer back and forth, in front of two burning candles. -Wat dit bedtidde-, explains the Saxon world chronicle, dat ne wiste neman, it ne bedudde, dat de paves unde de kaiser wol vorén drogen."

The unity of the two Christian leaders, who continued to exercise their high office there, was thus originally certified from above. The pope, among other things, by firing Angelus, the bishop of Bari consecrated by Anacletus, and appointing a certain John in his place. The emperor, above all, by storming the castle of the city, which had been destroyed by Roger's warriors and also defended with heavy losses, "by every trick in the book" (Otto von Freising) and destroying almost the entire garrison, but before that, certainly also by every trick in the book, mutilating many more and finally hanging more than five hundred Saracens, also defenders of the castle, on gallows all around them. This kind of Christian art made a significant impression far and wide (Bernhardi).

Even Roger, who was not easy to win over, now wanted to make peace. He offered the emperor a lot of money (in finitiam: Annalista Saxo; auri et argento multo: Otto von Freising), and even wanted to give his southern Italian kingdom to one of his sons and take two other sons hostage. But the emperor, urged above all by the pope, brusquely refused; a fatal mistake."

And so the war continued. Before Melfi, more than three hundred men were killed when Roger's troops fell and the feast of Peter and Paul was celebrated in the town. However, the crippling midsummer heat, the length of the campaign, and probably also Roger's successful maneuvers of retaliation, as well as disagreements between the Bavarian duke and the pope, who was also blamed for the long duration of the campaign and the emperor's sicil plans, which Archbishop Albero of Trier was also supposed to support, gradually had an effect. An uprising broke out among the army, which wanted to kill the pope, cardinals and the chief shepherd of Trier.

The emperor was able to quell the uproar\* but soon had an increasingly long and heated dispute with the pope over Monte Cassino.

At the head of this house was a follower of Anaklet, Abbot Rainald, who also came to the camp of both Christian leaders, where they initially spent a whole week arguing about whether the monastery belonged directly to the Roman Church or to the empire as an imperial abbey and a principality with imperial immediacy. The pope intended to remove the schismatic abbot, but the emperor did not. For the time being, he remained in office. However, Lothar later dropped him under pressure from the Pope. He had almost always got the short end of the stick in problems with the pope. However, when Innocent wanted to make the new appointment, the ruler, who could hardly look back on a long affiliation with Rome with much swelling pride, pushed through his candidate, the Lorraine Wibald, who had been rejected by *Innocent* srrikr, albeit only after threatening a break between the Church and the Empire.

However, there was an even more important controversy.

Innocent believed that the emperor had made all the conquests in Lower Italy for him, the Pope and the Roman Church. That is why he alone wanted to decide on the granting of the Duchy of Apulia. The emperor, however, was of a completely different opinion. He saw himself, in agreement with the majority of his greats and the army, as the continuator of the southern Italy policy begun by Henry the Saint with Meles of Bari (p. i i ff.). In the end, he conferred Apulia together with the pope, as both seized the banner of the duchy at the same time and installed the count of Alife and Caiazzo, the Norman Rainulf Drengot, as duke. He had helped to win Apulia for his brother-in-law Roger II, but then, abandoned by the Gattin who had returned to Sicily, had become Roger's bitter enemy and in April 1135 ally of the Pope. The joint enfeoffment had of course only superficially solved the problem, in reality it had merely created a new one, making the duke the servant of two masters."

But the imperial troops, also endangered by epidemics, were already **fed up with** the war for the church. Lothar himself was even more exhausted. Knowing his days were numbered, he sought to return to Germany. He passed by Rome, where Anacletus was probably bent over, but performed a final service for Innocent, who was still accompanying him, by having the monastery of Farfa razed to the ground and a rich, fortified, fiercely resisting place burned after his conquest, the inhabitants stabbed or plunged to their deaths into abysses. Faced with this scenario, the **Holy** Father took his leave, while the decrepit emperor, through frequent resistance, strove further north, organizing small massacres here and there and occasionally putting a few "evildoers" under their noses. robbed.

However, the futility of his bloody and devastating war against Italy was already becoming apparent. For Roger, who had already crossed over from 5Italy to the mainland, advanced there, now drawing blood, destroying enemy cities, even, as in

Capua, not sparing churches, plundering, desecrating nuns, also haunting the territory of Monte fiassino and threatening the imperial abbot Wibald, who was trying to get close to him, that if he fell into his hands, he would infallibly have him hanged; whereupon he secretly disappeared from his abbey at night with fourteen marks of silver in the direction of Germany.

Lothar hurried ever more restlessly, ever more ill northwards towards Saxony. In late November, already marked by death, he crossed the Brenner Pass in the presence of his faithful Richenza, who had accompanied him on the train and increasingly often stood in for him. He came close to the Bavarian border and died in the early morning of . December z i 37. already on the area of his son-in-law Heinrich, in a miserable construction ernhiirfe of the village of Breitenwang hei Reutfe in Tyrol - "a memento", according to Otto von Freising, of the wretchedness of human fate. Only his body made it to his longed-for homeland and was buried in Königslutter on December 3i. December i n Königslutter."



## 9. KA PITEL

# THE FIRST STAUFER KING, CRUSADES LIKE A CONVEYOR BELT AND A HOLY TEACHER OF THE CHURCH

-Wibald ..., the abbot of **Corvey** and später von Stablo and esteemed ecclesiastical advisor to Knrad 111 and, one could **say**, the actual chancellor of the realm. Wibald is **was one** of the main people responsible for Conrad's policy towards the Roman Church, a policy that was just as obedient as that of Lothar of Supplinburg. - Franco Cardini'

-To suffer death for Christ or to die for him is never a sacrifice, but glory. The warrior of Christ can kill with a clear conscience and die in peace. If he dies, he works for himself; if he kills, he works for Christ. He therefore bears the sword with good reason, He is the bestowed of God for the punishment of the wicked and the exaltation of the good. If he kills an evildoer, he is not a manslayer, but a dead man of evil, and Matt should see in him the avenger in the service of Christ, the defender of the Christian people.- Bernard of Clairvaux'

•The Saxons received Bernhard's permission and blessing for a special campaign: a crusade against the Ends, which was joined by Danish, Polish and Moravian troops. Under Bernhard's slogan: Baptism or extermination! a gruesome slaughter ensued. Bernhard

wai uheswSGmmung . . -Kz ïKupch-

It would be **difficult** to find in the world such a worldly-wise spiritual scoundrel who was at the same time in an element so foolish as to play a worthy role. He was the oracle of his time and he was in control of it, even if, and for that very reason, he only showed his privilege and left others in the first positions.

Pups were his pupils and KÖnig his katechumen. He hated and suppressed all striving for fortune and promoted the thickest monkish stupidity, even if he himself was only a monk's head and possessed nothing but rulgality and hypocrisy ...- Friedrich Schiller on Bernhard von Clairvaux-



THE "CO BLEIQZ STATE GOVERNMENT" AND OTHER  
"GOVERNMENTAL ENTITIES"

After Lothar's death, nothing was more self-evident than that the Guelph Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria, Duke of Saxony, Margrave of Tuscany, the greatest ruler in the north and south of Germany and in Italy, a prince with a complex of dominions actually of

-sea to sea-, would also become king. And Emperor Lothar, who understandably wanted the husband of his only child to succeed him, had not only transferred the second duchy of Saxony to him before his death, but also the imperial insignia.

However, as Henry the Proud (to whom the clergy attached this attribute) was not acceptable to the Church, as he had already been very determined and independent during Lothar's Italian campaign and could hardly be controlled, as he had the rights of the Empire rather than those of Rome in mind, Pope Innocent II obstructed his election. As with Lothar's elevation, another ecclesiastical prince took the reins; this time, as a result of a vacancy in Mainz, Archbishop Albero of Trier, of whom his spiritual biographer and close confidant Balderich says that he -fought for it with all his might and, against the opposition of almost all imperial princes (!), succeeded in having Conrad elevated to king. Or, as Bishop Otto of Freising says, that the Lord exalted him "because of his piety" (respectu pietatis). The Lord? The Lord Albero. The "Kingdom of Coblenz" was completely irregular. And it was a clerical work. "Since we have the



We knew the will of the Roman Church, we agreed to the divine decree," explained Albero himself, who also enforced the Hohenstaufen king for regional territorial reasons and then helped determine his policy. -By order of Pope Innocent", reports the Liège annalist laconically.

Without waiting for the original election date of PfiflgStCfl\*3 , Albero, as he openly admitted, at the Pope's instigation, also in agreement with the Cardinal Legate Dietwin, a very active church politician of German origin, of a small minority, especially of bishops, ann y. March ii 38 Conrad of Staufen, the former king of the Süpplin- genburg, was elected German king. And just a few days later, after an express march (Engels) to Aachen, he was crowned and anointed there by the papal legate, who would also accompany Conrad on the Second Kremlin March.

The new king, then about dy years old, was not un(ahren, but compared to the Guelph he was less independent, a pious lord over whom the church ruled, through whom it ruled whether he wanted to or not. The Roman Curia learned everything important from one of the leading courtiers, Abbot Wibald of Stablo and Corvey, chief advisor in all political matters and at times notary in the chancellery, and gave him instructions for the king. If the king slipped away from the spiritual directives, Abbot Wibald was soon able to report to Rome that he had

The virtue of humility and obedience was once again instilled in "the man". Year after year, papal legates appeared, preached obedience to their herm and collected - their main interest.

The nobility subsequently accepted Conrad's illegal elevation to the throne, with the exception, however, as was to be expected, of the Guelphs. And the rivalry between them and the Hohenstaufen left its mark on almost his entire reign. Conrad simply did not tolerate Henry's almost king-like position next to him. Although he had also renounced the crown after the abdication of his Bavarian bishops and handed Conrad III the regal insignia, without, of course, paying homage to him.

the princes imposed the imperial ban on him. He lost both duchies. His brother Welf VI lost the Margraviate of Tuscany. Saxony went to Henry's cousin, Margrave Albrecht von Ballenstedt the Bear, a clever move to divide the other side, and Bavaria to his own half-brother Leopold IV, Margrave of Austria. After all, the king had already made his half-brother Otto, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Morimond, the famous historian, Bishop of Freising in 1138 - and later another half-brother Duke of Bavaria.

Leopold IV first of all conquered Regensburg, the capital, then, writes brother Otto, "marched through the whole country with a strong army, then carried out government business for three days" - as if his campaign had not been government business! - "and carried out the office of a strict judge, such strict government business, civil legal disputes (*civilia iura*), were of course repeated. On one occasion in Regensburg, he set fire to "several districts of the city" as a result of disagreements that broke out. This allowed him to **escape** unharmed, devastate the surrounding area and then fleece the citizens of Regensburg. Not long afterwards, he destroyed the castles of some of his opponents on the Lech with a gathered army and devastated the whole country around; then he went home through our territory to the serious detriment of our church" (Otto von Freising).

Until the middle of the 12th century. The open struggle between the Hohenstaufen dynasty and the World's dominated German history until the middle of the sixteenth century, but continued to have a fundamental influence long after that.

Civil war raged again in northern and southern Germany. Henry the Proud initially drove his cousin Albrecht the Bear largely out of Saxony. And as the princes there temporarily spared the Slavs for the sake of higher incomes, the Holy Roman Empire took advantage of the fields of their great cousins and, now held back by no-one, invaded the Slavic lands on their own in the winter of 1138/1139. Among other things, they took Plön Castle "unexpectedly with God's help", massacred the Slavic people, devastated

wide areas with robbery and fire - "The whole country was once again turned into a uniide" (Helmold von Bosau).

In the meantime, Henry the Proud had moved to Bavaria to the Lower

Leopold, but died suddenly in October \*\*39. Some spoke of poison. As his son, who was once famous as Henry the Lion, was barely ten years old, his grandmother, the Lothar widow Empress Richenza, and Henry the Proud brother Welf VI continued the fight. In August 4 he defeated Leopold of Bab#nberg near Valley an der Mangfall (Upper Bavaria) - in a heated battle with heavy losses for both sides"

(Otto von Freising), whereupon the king took over the Swabian house of raided the Guelphs' estates.

Only after two years of war, following the deaths of Richenza and Leopold IV, was an agreement reached. Henry the Löwe received Saxony in May i ip through the resignation of the Ascanian, who remained Margrave of the Nordmark, while a little later King Konrad's half-brother Henry II. (with the epithet signifying his freedom) Jasomirgott received Bavaria, and a little earlier, so to speak, Henry the Proud's widow, the emperor's daughter Gertrud, as if the nice duke had thus become the heir to Bavaria. Due to Gertrud's death while still in childbirth i•4j he the elimination of the "new", as Konrad had hoped, did not materialize.

Guelphs in Bavaria did not. And Well VI, who denied his nephew's renunciation of Bavaria, continued to fight in southern Germany anyway, supported by the Bishop of Regensburg, among others.

#### UNRUHE f, RIOTS AND WARS IN ITALY

> 4- December i -37 Lothar III died, and on January I§ i i38 Pope Anaclet II succeeded him in death. Although this ended the schism, Anaklet's followers elevated Cardinal Gregory of Ceccano

- with the approval of Roger II - to the new (counter-)pope Victor IV in mid-March, who was to become the new pope.  
but played his role for less than a quarter of a year.

The following quickly dwindled due to Pope Innocent's bribes. The cardinals and the Pierleoni family fell away from Victor. He resigned, resigned, and so this schism, a trivial episode, was also resolved. Innocent pardoned those who had submitted and promised to leave all of them, both Victor and the cardinals, in office and dignity. Less than a year later, he deposed them all.

Meanwhile, the war continued in southern Italy.

Roger had largely reconquered his kingdom after the Germans had withdrawn. The popes fought for cities and castles throughout the year. At the great Lateran Council in March r i 3q,

Innocent himself solemnly condemned the king in front of allegedly hundreds of bishops and a thousand abbots, having long since excommunicated all those who traded with Sicily and Apulia or otherwise supported the "tyrant". And although his most important and by far most capable confederate, Duke Rainulf of Apulia, who resisted Roger's attacks almost single-

handedly, died suddenly in April, the Holy Father believed he could throw the whole thing away. He gathered **troops**, assumed supreme command **and** advanced against Roger **in** June with a

large clerical entourage, headed by the cardinals, whose immediately offered peace negotiations quickly collapsed.

However, after suffering heavy losses in his army, Innozenz was defeated on az. July i i 3p near San Germano. Although he

refused to receive the victorious enemy he had cursed, he soon gave in. In the peace treaty of Mignano (near Caserta) of zy.

July

i ijq he granted the kingdom of Sicily, the duchy of Apulia, Calabria and the principality of Capua to the illustrious and famous king and his heirs. Indeed, after years of fighting, he even had to give the king territories that had long been considered papal, had to *recognize* the agreements between Anacletus and Roger and legitimize his *Suditatian* empire, the Sicilian-Norman great power. Innocent had annulled all of Anaklet's acts. Except for Anaklet's recognition of the kingdom of Sicily, the irony of the

history, even the defeated Roger had to approve. Emperor Lothar's entire glorious campaign thus proved to be a

**vertan.**

King Roger, however, who was accused by some of bestial cruelty and by others of a greater love of peace than any other prince, which really doesn't mean much, soon went even further against the Kiiric. And also in the north of Italy

burned at every corner in the years 1095 and 1044. Venice and Ravenna fought each other at sea and on land. With fire and sword, Verona and Vicenza fell upon

Treviso, ruining its castles, villages and fields. The savage war between Pisa and Lucca set the whole of Tuscany ablaze. The Florentines burned the suburbs of Siena, attacked Lucca too, plundered, devastated, and burned down castles, towns and estates all around. "In these battles," reports Bishop Otto, "not only did many Pisans and Luccans die by the sword, thus ending their misery miserably by death, but also the countless prisoners of both parties, emaciated by prolonged starvation and the filth in the dungeons, as I have seen for myself, offer all travelers a pitiful picture of human misfortune."

Far too often, above all the whirlwind of obvious events, we forget the unnamable horror of those countless departed and departed who rot like moths somewhere far away behind bars or underground, often year after year, without ever seeing freedom or even daylight again ...

Even in Rome, where Pope Innocent went in the fall of 1033 from Be-

nevent had returned, a riot and war soon broke out against the small town of Tivoli. According to Otto von Freising, the Holy Father had long since excommunicated the inhabitants, who were also otherwise oppressed and increasingly driven into a corner. However, when the Romans won after an embarrassing start, the Tivolese did not want to surrender to them, but only to the Pope; all peace agreements, one after the other, were made in his favor. The Romans, however, demanded

Tivoli's destruction and the expulsion of this rebellious people, who also feuded with various neighbors, including the abbot of Subiaco, whose monastery had already been granted jurisdiction in the 10th century. The monastery was granted jurisdiction over the city in the 10th century.

Now, however, the Romans wanted to rule, and not only in Tivoli. They rose up in the summer of 1143, stormed the Capitol - with the city wars in Lombardy and Tuscany and the attacks of the communes of the north against the prelates in mind - and, tired of being ruled and bullied by the pope, reinstated the city senate, which had long since been removed. They re-established the city's historical senate, which had long since been removed, and continued the war against Tivoli, while the pope, pleading, intimidating, enticing with gold to appease the raging people, sought to maintain his power over Rome and, above all, died on September 1143. September 1143.

Even under the successors of Innocent, the tumult in the city.

Coelestine II (1143-1144), a pupil of Abelard and himself praised as a scholar in his day, who only reigned for five months, was as little able to master the turmoil as Lucius II (1144-1145). Rome revolted, the Commune rose up against the popes, who allied themselves with the nobility, while the exploited citizens appointed a Patrician, Jordan Pierleone, a brother of the antipope Anacletus, to lead the young republic. Rome aspired to self-government and coveted all sovereign rights in the city and country. It wanted to be independent of curial control, free from any civil power of the pope, and only wanted to give him the tithe or a state pension.

The pope - in both senses of the word - horrified Lucius not only called on Conrad III for help, who admittedly had enough domestic political quarrels of his own and probably preferred a weak rather than a strong head of the church, but even tried to come to an arrangement with King Roger, with whom he had once been friends, against the will of his cardinals. For a long time, it was believed that it was due to

It is still said that Lucius II was mortally wounded in mid-

February i.4i during the storming of the Capitol, the seat of the Senate. The report by the historian, imperial notary and court historian



Gottfried of Viterbo's account of Liicius' death by the stone throwing of an insurgent is, however, unhistorical. Gottfried often wrote in a cursory and erroneous manner, but nevertheless became a model for future chronicles.

When Eugene III. (1085-1153) was elected pope quite secretly and without being cardinal in the midst of ancient unrest, rejected the Roman constitution, the people rebelled again. The noble castles were destroyed, the cardinals' villas plundered, while Eugene sealed off the road to Rome from Viterbo and ravaged the city: he was only able to spend about an eighth of his pontificate there. The most significant event of his reign, however, was undoubtedly a major war, which was not least started by the fall of Edessa. After all, the fall of Edessa caused Eugene III to issue three appeals - on 1 December 1145 - in March and in October 1146 - to a new crusade."

However, before this Second Crusade came about, there had already been a whole series of other crusades - even from Norway - with numerous slaughters, some of them large-scale. The enthusiasm of the returnees, their reports, achievements, relics, etc., aroused no pilgrims. The Western priests preached incessantly for further salvation, glory and power in the Holy Land and the Kingdom of Heaven. They not only wanted Jerusalem, they wanted to destroy Islam as a whole. The flow of warriors stopped completely, Irish fleets supplied weapons, tools and siege engines.

"THE BLOOMING ÛAMDE DESTROYED" OR "WHO WAS POOR THERE, WAS RICH THROUGH GO "

Barely a month after the fall of Jerusalem, the new rulers defeated a huge Egyptian auxiliary army under the Fatimi- den vizier Al-Afdal. They surprised it on the morning of iz. They surprised it on the morning of iz. August iopq in the camp before Ascalon and defeated it - while in Jerusalem Peter of Amiens organized a festive procession "in honour of God", sang masses, said prayers, read alms sarmelri - "in the name of the Lord Jesus" - almost completely to pieces. The patriarch himself had also had it proclaimed throughout the whole Hechr that he would excommunicate anyone who dared to take prey before the battle was over; but when that was done, they could once again indulge in the joy of enjoying everything that had been predestined for them by the Lord ... So everything was put in order and they began the battle in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ."

Everything is in order - and the Lord is indeed on their side. "The enemies of God were blinded," says the anonymous author, "because the divine power frightened them." The "Knights of Christ" shot the "infidels" out of the trees with arrows, brought them down with lances and swords, burned them alive in a grove, chased them into the sea, where it is said that around three thousand *perished*, or chopped off the heads of those who had fallen to the ground, "as animals are beheaded in the market". One hundred thousand soldiers and forty thousand foot soldiers were reported to the Holy Father as defeated - "Thank God!"

In Jerusalem, where a Latin kingdom began to be created, Gottfried von Boinillon, Duke of Niederlothringen, one of the leaders of the First Crusade, initially became the protector of the Holy Sepulchre (Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri).

The head of the Crusader rule led a short but strict regiment, but apparently with major concessions to the Jerusalem church. For this reason alone, and in order to

to distract from their inner turmoil, Gottfried was soon idealized, legendary, and since the 11th century became a

- A model figure of European chivalry" (Despy) - a man, according to Hans Wollschläger, "of weak spiritual gifts, but strong arms and indestructible piety"; not only the duke, not only a small part of the Christian knighthood of Europe, probably its greatest is thus well characterized. Arnulf of Chocques had become patriarch of Jerusalem, and the soldiers sang songs about his sex scandals. He greedily robbed Syrian and Greek clergymen and had them tortured until he also received the so-called Holy Cross. The Frankish clergy robbed the local clergy of land and money. And of course they killed the Muslim builders.

or drove them away. -The flourishing lands became desolate" (Heer). Things became even more lively when an army of his Daimbert of Pisa, a shamelessly money- and power-hungry prince of souls who, according to malicious tongues, had stolen the Castilian church treasury, appeared on the scene. He had Arnulf, whose election he considered invalid, deposed at the end of 1099 and ascended the patriarchal chair himself. And he was soon at war with the secular clergy, who in his opinion had seized the city unlawfully - leading to the downfall of the church and the suppression of Christians. In the first few years after the capture of Jerusalem, there was constant conflict between church and state. Gottfried had to cede more and more of his territory, especially Jerusalem and Jaffa. Patriarch Daimbert seems to have intended an *Act Caesaropapismatis*, a great theocracy, at the head of which he himself wanted to stand - which he could only have copied from the Holy Fathers. He allowed himself to be recognized as a feudal lord, made Clotfried and Bohemund his vassals and endowed them with the very lands that they themselves had plundered.

When the rich Duke Gottfried died in Jerusalem soon after July 1099 (from typhus or an arrow shot) and,

as befits him, is buried immediately - by the tomb of the Lord - the knights raise his brother Balduin, the Count of Edessa, as the first King of Jerusalem with signs and wonders - in heaven and on earth" (Otto von Freising). As the patriarch -who tried in every conceivable way to cause murder and violence among the princes- (Albert of Aachen) had too few troops, he called on the Norman lord of Antiochia to deny Balduin access to the Holy City, and to besiege him if necessary. However, the latter fought for control, and the patriarch, who had been deposed and installed by papal legates, died and was finally reappointed by Pope Paschal 11.

invested in Messina in the summer of 1107 on the journey to Jerusalem.<sup>12</sup>

Nevertheless, the real power remained in the hands of the Church - "the decisions of the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem were generally decisive" (Atiya). Or how

the Arab historian Ibn al Atir (d. 1131 --g : they all obey him, -as the Muslims obey the caliph". Another

There were eight patriarchs in Antioch and eight archbishoprics, sixteen dioceses and many monasteries."

But how much more and more the princes feuded with each other, the princes with the church, the church with the princes, how Catholic lords allied themselves with the Muslims against Catholic competition and how the merchant people always firmly joined in, in short, how much certain general conditions in the Christian East resembled those in the West, many no longer wanted to go back. -We, who were Westerners, have become Orientals ... We have already forgotten our birthplaces."

"-For he who was poor there became rich here by God," Chaplain Fulcher of Chartres promptly explains, "and he who did not even own a village has a whole city here by the Lord's favor."

Gottfried von Bouillon's successor was his brother, Balduin 1 (1100-1118), who was initially destined for a career in the church. In December in the so-called Geburtskirche in Bethlehem in the presence of the clergy.

the patriarch was crowned king at the same time. The development into a typical feudal monarchy, consisting of independent state territories, the principality of Antioch and the counties of Edessa and Tripoli, continued. These were Christian dominions, loosely united under the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which not only fought the "infidels" in incessant raids, battles and sieges, but also fought each other, while at the same time, of course, the Muslim relief armies robbed, devastated and killed. And of course the Italian trading metropolises of Venice, Genoa and Pisa, which profited from the crusaders' victories and defeats, were permanently involved. Greedy for big oriental business, they secured shipping lines and markets and largely determined the administration of Syrian coastal cities. They also took part in armed conflicts, helping to conquer these places, which facilitated the arrival of supplies and reinforcements and allowed the crusaders to take the route across the sea, which the Church tirelessly encouraged in the Heiinat, where Pope Urban II had the all-too-early return home. Pope Urban II had excommunicated the premature returnees of the First Crusade and his successor Paschal II had them excommunicated until their renewed departure to the Promised Land, nm to restore the Oriental Church, "our mother, with united strength, to what is due to her, if the Lord gives it.

The Lord gave it - at least for the time being.

In the same year, the Christian occupiers stormed Sarñg, plundered it, captured the women and killed a large proportion of the other inhabitants. They also massacred the people during the conquest of Caesarea in the same year. room they expelled the population of Arsiif. When they captured Tortosa/Tartiis in the province of Trîpolis, they killed "whoever was Muslim in it". Treaties were often disregarded, such as at the handover of Gubail (x ion), when the Christians not only confiscated everything, but also extorted money through torture. Acre was taken i xoq. ltn the same year (partly maYt a7• May suffered a

A heavy defeat at Harran, destroying the myth of the invincibility of the crusaders, where Balduin (who tried to deceive the Muslims and was himself deceived by them) was taken prisoner.

It was only after a five-year siege that Tripoli was stormed in July 1109, the population horribly tortured, their property seized, all the women and children dragged into slavery, - inestimable booty- taken, the huge library burned. Around the same time, Tankred chased away the Byzantine governor of Tarsus, devastated the province of Laizar and forced the city to pay a tribute to 4 December 1109 surrendered.

don, after Balduin had protected the inhabitants and their possessions

had promised. But then, writes the Arab chronicler Ibn al-Qalānisī (d. 1160), the first Arab historian to treat the Crusades, in a detailed and mostly objective manner,

-He plunged them into poverty and took the last of their possessions; from those over whom he had wufited that they had kept, he extorted the rest".

ii to was also the site of one of the greatest disasters in the catastrophic history of the Crusades: the massacre of Armenia. The Crusaders had decided to evacuate the civilian population of this area in order to protect them from Turkish raids. However, they did so when a large Turkish army under the atabeg of Mosul, Sharaf ad-Daulah Mau- dud, was already in the vicinity. And while the Franks themselves were already on the j#n side of the Euphrates, the Armenians on the other bank were attacked by the Turks and slaughtered by the tens of thousands, sparing only friends and children in general. The land of Edessa was deserted in a single day and was never repopulated.

Beirut, repeatedly attacked by the crusaders since 1099, was only conquered by King Balduin, with the help of the Genoese, after a heavy battle in 1109. The city was plundered, all assets confiscated and the inhabitants dragged into slavery.

Balduin's foolhardy, only supported by a few hundred knights

Although the kingdom of Jerusalem was sometimes close to annihilation, its extensive robbery enterprises benefited from the constant arrival of new crusader bands, and not only in military terms. The Kingdom of Jerusalem also knew how to capitalize directly on religious needs, for example pilgrimage. The government protected every pilgrim through various customs duties and fees, by collecting a third of the total sea voyage costs; even a portion of the pilgrims' gifts for churches and monasteries went to the king.

What had apparently been started for the sake of religion was now increasingly showing its true political and economic face. This is even reflected, only incidentally, in the marriage of Balduin, who was once destined for a career as a cleric. He was initially married to the Armenian Arda, daughter of the Armenian prince Thatul. Then, in need of money, he repudiated her and married Adelaide, the widowed Countess of Sicily, an elderly lady but one of the richest women in Europe. And when he had spent her entire dowry in four years, he chased her away again - with the blessing of the patriarch Arnulf, who had advised him to marry her and blessed her.

Increasingly overconfident and powerful, Balduin's last war was in Egypt, where he advanced as far as the Nile, but died on the return march on April 21, 1187, whereupon he was buried with dignity, as deserved, in the so-called Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem."

### THE RITTERORDS - THE NEW "HEILIGEN VON CHRIST ON EARTH"

A typical creation of that time, which would perhaps hardly have come into being without the armed pilgrimages, are the ecclesiastical orders of knights that formed after the First Crusade and entered into history during the 12th century. The religious orders of knights that emerged after the First Crusade and later in history:

the Knights Templar, the Knights of St. John, the Teutonic Order, the Order of St. Jacob, the Order of the Brothers of the Sword, etc. The members, often called monks since Bernard of Clairvaux, are in reality not even hermaphrodites or, to put it more finely, semi-religious, are much less monks than soldiers, much less representatives of the clerical than the military class, and certainly not its best representatives - if there are any good ones.

Even St. In his treatise "De laude novae militiae", in which he celebrates the miraculous rapid flourishing of these religious orders, St. Bernard saw their "particularly beneficial social effect" in the fact that, as Hans Prtitz writes in his "Spiritual Orders of Knighthood", the Occident was thus rid of a large number of morally questionable and dangerous elements, -thus ridding itself of a multitude of morally questionable and dangerous elements by removing numerous robbers, desecrators of shrines and murderers, perjurers and adulterers to the East, where they are sincerely rejoiced in as helpers against the infidels".

According to the Catholic Neuss, nothing -clearly demonstrates the strength of the religious impulse in the iz. )ahrhundert-, is the starting point of these knightly orders "the Christian love of neighbor - be-;- -r riihmc them also Jesuit Hertling -viel Gures-after -to their time" (when else?). -They awakened in the Christian people a sense of spreading the faith and organized charitable activity. In fact, however, these spiritual knights, and especially the most famous ones, such as the Johannites and Templars, were usually the most vicious butchers, who made up more than half of all Christian warriors in the Latin Orient, their elite unit and strike force, so to speak. They were never allowed to count their enemies, never to retreat, they were to constantly strike the -'infidels- on the head, total war for Christ was their dogma, which also included an extensive system of espionage.

In short, these orders formed "a kind of standing army of the crusader states and the Iberian Empire ... with mighty castles as strongholds and suffered almost their entire contingent in battle, threatening their very existence" (Hiestand), which comes much



closer to the point than the embarrassing apologism, and does not even exclude the possibility that the knightly orders of

In terms of their original concept, they are perhaps a kind of pietistic puritanical reaction to the all-too secular pilgrim gangs; similar to how the Christian monastic communities of the late antics were reactions to the secularization of Christianity. The 'orders of chivalry' usually have the basic rules of courage, chastity, obedience, the actual monastic vows, but also the constant struggle against the enemies of the cross, the -unbelievers-. And as embarrassingly as they have been and continue to be glorified, arrogance, envy, intrigue and treachery are formally bundled together in them, the most violent attitudes continue to prevail, culminating in an almost boundless group egoism; none of them correspond even remotely to the image most often portrayed. In reality, they were fighting far more for their own (financial) interests, their rapidly growing possessions and their privileges than for the church, which is why they were already being attacked by the episcopate as early as the Hz. This is why the Episcopate had already resented, criticized and even fought against them in the sixteenth century (5. q6 ). Nevertheless, two of the orders even achieved their own statehood, the Teutonic Order in the Baltic from the i3rd century onwards, the Knights of St. John in Rhodes. Century, the Knights of St. John on Rhodes since the -4th century and on Malta since the i6. century."

Orders of knights were class societies, strictly divided into social classes: noble knights {milites), clerics (capellani) and serving brothers (servientes) from the Volk; plus numerous other auxiliaries of all kinds, from enslaved peasants to mercenaries. The religious orders, some of which also had female branches, soon came to be regarded as the special favorites of the Holy See's supreme jurisdiction, lavished with privileges and immunities. He sought to dispose of them exclusively, to increase his influence with their help, and to control the Eastern churches.

The oldest, proudest, boldest, the "classic" knightly orders were the Knights of St. John (since 1310 Hospitallers, since 1332 Maltese) and, after a spectacular political trial, the Knights of St. John.

\*3IZ äi2f the Council of Vienne abolished the Templars, whose

the ]ohannites received enormous goods.

The beginnings of the Order of St. John (Ordo militiae Sancti Joan- nis Baptistae hospitali6 Hierosolymitani) can be traced back to a charitable hospital, first in Antioch and then in Jerusalem, which merchants from Amalfi who were particularly involved in Syrian trade had materially founded in the middle of the 11th century.

By the 12th century it was able to take in 5000 sick people and had dependent branches in leading European places of pilgrimage early on. The order was granted great privileges, rich land donations from Europe to the Orient and very soon also an increasingly dominant military branch - in essence, this history of the order miritatis mutandis reflects the genesis of Christianity in general.

The first head of the Knights of St. John (black robe with white cross), the Pfovenzale Gérard de Martigues der Reine, is said to have been "in a state of innocence" at the time of his death. In the beginning, the members apparently fulfilled the -Caritas-, dedicated themselves to the pilgrims, practiced charity. But then, according to the Handbook of Church History, -the duty of armed border protection- was added, they preferred to take up the sword, the religious struggle took over, a spiritual order, probably under the influence of the Templars, became a military order, which the Templars were from the very beginning.

The Johannites, who as - servants of Christ's poor worshipped the poor, received it and it up by the king.

••• *Jerusalem* and the Counts of Tripoli the first strategically important castles. They received lands and border markers, and a plethora of donations were made in the Holy Land and in Europe, Donations, papal favors, robberies and flourishing money transactions. The Pauperes commilitones Christi, recognized as an "order" since 1154, became one of the richest banking companies in Europe, but were already heavily in debt in the second half of the 12th century. However, they were already heavily in debt in the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly due to the costs of armaments, fortresses and military campaigns."

The Templars (Fratres militiae Templi or, as they are also and much more beautifully called, Pauperes commilitones Christi templique Salomonis) were founded by the French knight

Hugo de Payens.

protection of pilgrims and for the defense of the "Holy Land" (sejt i -4 : -iBer coat with a red cross) and King Balduin II, promoted. The Grand Master resided in the immediate vicinity of the Temple of Solomon, hence the name. After

\* 7 \*They established their headquarters in Acre and finally in Cyprus, where they remained until their destruction by the French king and the papacy.

TheTemplcr vowed poverty, chastity, obedience and to fight with a pure mind. They combined the old venerable Christian tradition: prayer and war. They were subjected to daily religious exercises, but in exceptional times, *oh* rather the rule, they did not have to take it too seriously. After all, the crusade itself, like Western chivalry in general, opened up their "own path to salvation", indeed, the crusade was "the most important means for these knights to find asceticism and sanctification (and thus to integrate their existence into Christian society)" (Demurger)! At Bernhard's instigation, they were i iz8 officially confirmed and i I 3q directly subordinated to papal authority.

Like the Knights of St. John, the poor Knights of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon became very quickly and immensely rich through special rights, donations and robbery. Their settlements in the West focused on profit-making in many forms, especially on expanding landed estates and financial transactions, such as the use of mills and trade fairs. They were the money experts for pilgrims, clerics and aristocrats. They regulated the payment transactions of private individuals and managed the treasures of princes, especially those of the kings of France and England. But no Christian lord in the Holy Land, not even the king, could rely on them. Already in the iz. They pursued their highly selfish private interests to the detriment of all crusader s t a t e s."

St. Bernard of Clairvaux became the Templars' special protector, indeed their actual chief ideologist. And he, the -\$eistliche Schuft" (Schiller), knew what was necessary, one thing only - the

War, the crusade for the Lord. For this, he makes the Templars harsh. He forbids them from attending plays, prohibits them from hunting, gambling and, of course, women. He prefers to see them dusty, shaggy, dirty, -never combed, rarely washed-, as he himself writes, -they are dirty". But he makes it their duty to have strong, fast horses and to fight against the "unbelievers". As a true Christian saint and Doctor of the Church, he preaches to hunt enemies in peace!

-Walk in joy, walk in peace; pursue the enemies of the cross of Christ with an undaunted heart ..." From Lk. 3,i - where Jesus teaches the "men of war" - "Do no violence to anyone, nor wrongdoing ... - he follows, Bernhard, that the Christian is by no means forbidden to strike with the sword". All the less so, of course, since nothing could happen to him, even if he died, and certainly not then. For if those who die in the Lord are blessed, even more so those who die for him. In fact, over half of the Grand Masters of the Knights Templar fall in battle.

-Rejoice, strong fighter of the faith ...", Bernhard egged. - Attack, then, you knights ... -The Templars did just that, recognized by Bernhard as the new "The glory of Christ on earth" was praised. They even attacked the Knights of St. John. Until the end of the Templars, the two orders were almost constantly at enmity with each other, rivaling each other in the collection of taxes, in bargaining for privileges, even in direct combat, through harassment, in open battle, even allying themselves with Islamic princes.

However, there were also disputes with the secular clergy. The Templars complained about oppressive measures by the bishops, disputes over burials and burial costs, harassment of their begging collectors, violations of their right to asylum, unjust taxation and unlawful jurisdiction." Nevertheless, the Knights of Christ, an exclusive aristocratic military caste, controlled the land they occupied through a chain of heavily fortified citadels, some of which were hewn out of solid rock and whose ruins are still visible today: the Krak de Monréale, the Krak des Chevaliers, at times the most important main fortress and the Krak des Chevaliers.

The fortress was located in the eastern part of the Dead Sea in the desert of Moab and many others. There was visual contact between them (during the siege of Kerak by Saladin in 1183, the castle garrison communicated with the Tower of David in Jerusalem by fire signals 80 kilometers across the Dead Sea), and occasionally by carrier pigeon. From here they directed both attack and defense and, not least, robbed countless large caravans of Muslim traders and pilgrims to Cairo, Dainascus, Mecca, Höms, Hanna, Tripoli, Tortosa, but, outnumbered, avoided the open battle of Peld as far as possible.'

On Christmas Eve i rç, the Atabeg of Mö#ul, 'Imädaddin Zangi, one of the most important Turkish military leaders of his time, overran Edessa, for centuries the most important strategic road junction in upper Mesopotamia, and thus renounced the oldest crusader state, the starting point of constant Christian plundering raids. But while 'Imä- daddin Zangi's conquest of Edessa made him a glorious champion of Islam and earned him the honorary title of ruler with God's help, the fall of the fortress brought with it the first major territorial loss for the crusaders - a shock for the Christians, especially in the West, "a horrible, lamentable crime" (Otto von Freising).

But how almost intoxicated the famous bishop had reported at the capture of Jerusalem that the enemies there had been slaughtered in such numbers that the blood of the dead reached the knees of our horses in Solomon's forecourt! And "how beautiful" he found it to see "the holy city trampled underfoot by the pagans taken by our fellow believers". Yes, how beautiful that was - and how gruesome. After Zangi's murder by a slave a<•4 Septem-  
 over -4\* 'in a state of -unusual drunkenness" destroyed his son Nüraddin Zangi defeated a Christian army attacking Edessa down to the last man. The victor then had all the Franks in the city killed, including Archbishop Hugo and his clergy, but significantly spared the Syrian Christians, Armenians and Jacobites,



even Greeks. After a failed coup attempt, however, Niiiraddin took revenge by liquidating some of the local Christians and banishing the others, enslaving women and children. Edessa, one of the oldest Christian communities, was almost completely depopulated and has not recovered from this blow to this day" (Ferluga).

-God has appointed the day," sang the Christians in a song written during the Second Crusade, "when you will be in Edessa. There the sinners will receive forgiveness who fight bravely and serve Him ... "

Of course, there were reasons that made a new crusade seem desirable. At the time, Bishop Otto von Freising saw storms of war raging all over the world and

-almost the whole country in turmoil-: for example, a war in Bavaria between Duke Henry and the Bishop of Regensburg; a feud between Count Henry of Namur and the Archbishop of Trier Albero in Besslgian Gaul. The bloodshed also continues in Swabia. In Poland, three brothers quarrel with the fourth, Ladislaw II. But suddenly there was such a sudden turnaround that all these storms of war were quieted, the whole world soon came to rest and countless people in France and Germany took up the cross and enlisted to fight against the enemies of the cross."

The whole world came to rest - when a great crusade began. broke ...

### **CHURCH TEACHER BERNHARD**

vsRHsi ssT "A BIG

RKT"

On i. December i roy, Pope Eugene III called for the new war of aggression in -Quantum ptaede- cessoro-, the first surviving crusade bull for the Orient, again guaranteeing all participants full forgiveness of sins, postponement of all payment obligations, waiver of interest liabilities

and protection of their property, but otherwise addressed himself only to the French. He also reminded Louis, the enlightened and glorious king, the princes and all God's faithful in France in an urgent letter to "Pope Urban of blessed memory" that he had already "sounded the heavenly trumpet" to free the glorious tomb of the Savior, Jerusalem and many other cities 'from the filth of the pagans' (a paganorum spurcitia). And indeed, the king "took the cross from the hand of the said abbot (Bernhard) with great enthusiasm and pledged the crusade, together with ... many other counts, barons and nobles of his realm" (Orro von Freising)."

Behind the rather weak Pope stood his teacher Bernhard von Clairvaux, who once (Eugene was able to write un(oriously, -it is said, not you would be papal, but I- (Aiunt, non vos esse papam, sed me); who had already sent all kinds of criminals, including church abusers and godless people, to the Holy Land in a knight's primer, because their departure would rejoice in the evening, their arrival in the morning. He drove the French King Louis VII and the German Emperor Conrad III to war with his dazzling tongues - a fiasco for Europe.

Who was this - often mentioned - Bernhard von Clairvaux?

As the son of a vassal of the Duke of Burgundy anno 1090 Bernhard belonged to the high nobility. The sudden death of his mother around 1106/1107 prompted him 1103 to enter the monastery of Citeaux. 1113, when he was also ordained a priest. he founded the monastery of Clairvaux in Champagne and became its abbot. And Bernard soon attracted so many novices that two new monasteries were built almost every year. In the year of his death, 1153, the order already numbered 300, around 1200 already 700 monasteries, around 1300 even 700 monasteries for men and 400 monasteries for nuns. So the spiritual - the opposite of the spiritual - is pushing hellishly into the weeds in this best of all worlds.

Nevertheless, the famous man was "one of those great compelling personalities ... that one cannot resist", the

"religious genius of his century", who, according to church historian Franzen, "was first and foremost ... was always a monk, saint and mystic", was to be found everywhere more often than in the convents he founded, as he was called upon from all sides, intervened on all sides and traveled to most parts of Europe. He accompanied Innocent II through France, the Netherlands and Italy and helped him to victory against Anacletus II in France, England and Germany, also by means of lies and slander. He even won Milan for "his" pope. He made contact with King Roger II in Sicily and attacked King Louis VII's marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine, which ended in divorce, for being too closely related. He resolutely opposes the Romans, who are hostile to the Pope, and calls on "Emperor Conrad to take revenge" (Wetzer/Welte). He fights Arnold of Brescia, who is subsequently excommunicated and executed near Rome at the end of June 1155 after fleeing and being imprisoned several times. Bernhard achieves the condemnation of Abaelard - whose intellectual "competition" he fears, whom he denounces throughout the West as a hypocrite, a liar, a pacemaker of the Antichrist - by the Council of Sens; also obtained the prohibition of his writings and the excommunication of all followers and defenders of his heresy; obtained the condemnation of Gilbert of Poitiers by the Council of Reims; and incited against the Cathars in Aquitaine and Languedoc. Otto of Freising showed him innate gentleness - and fanaticism - out of fervent zeal for the Christian faith.

Alexander III, who decreed the persecution of -heretics-, especially the Cathars and Albigenses (-the first great jurist (!) on the papal throne: Kelly), Bernhard\*74 ZUITI saint who, in a breve of the year 1130, criticized the loose moral In the same year, Pius VIII, who castigated the youth, elevated the permanent preacher of war, the most zealous and catastrophic propagandist of the Second Crusade, to the *rank of* Doctor of the Church, the highest honor bestowed by Catholicism.<sup>2</sup>

Bernhard, celebrated as doctor mellifluus on account of his honey-sweetness, advertised in France with so much

Furor for the great bloodshed that he could madly report: "The cities and castles are becoming empty and hardly seven women can find a man - an expression, by the way, of his sadistic hatred of women, who would a thousand times rather see men dead on the battlefield than alive in the arms of women. He writes: -It is more difficult to live with a woman than to bring a dead man back to life." Who is so hostile to the senses that he teaches that man sinks below the swine through evil lust. In contrast, divine war rises above everything! That war which makes Bernhard triumph again: -Women are widowed during the lifetime of their husbands".

Of his own accord, the master of the mysticism of murder continues his publicity tour in Germany, promising rewards on earth and in heaven, a matter in which nothing can go wrong, the calculation of one who has been making European politics for years by means of nefarious rhetoric, of a monk -whose glow is more important than knowledge", of a murderous mystic who -not out of fatigue, but out of the excess of strength who would like to cover the whole world with the holy fire by which his own life feels wonderfully seized (J. Bernhart).

-Hear, brethren," he fervently urges, "now is the right time, now is the day of salvation, the fullness of salvation. For the earth is troubled and shaken, because the God of heaven is beginning to lose his land." "What are you doing, brave men?

What are you doing, servants of the cross,<sup>3</sup> giving the sanctuary to the dogs and the pearls to the sowers? How many sinners have confessed their sins there with tears and obtained pardon since the sword of the fathers cast out the wickedness of the Gentiles? - You valiant knight, man of war, now you have a feud without danger, where victory brings glory and death brings gain. If you are a wise merchant, a man of acquisition in this world, I tell you of a great market; see that you do not miss it.'" But eloquence alone was not enough. People also wanted to see the lofty deeds authenticated, by Bernhard's gift of sight,

for example -  
-like a divine oracle- was consulted -the prophet and apostle"  
(Otto von Freising); and still more by his miracles-

"through such great miraculous signs ... that a multitude of people from all over the world flocked to him" (Helmold von Bosau). In Frankfurt am Main, he healed the sick in front of the king and the highest dignitaries. And he even removed the skeptical Count Adolf II's disbelief in his miraculous power and, firmly fixed by him, healed a boy who was both blind and lame, so that he was able to see and walk again almost in the blink of an eye ..."

Already "won over by the reputation that preceded him", the sinners in Germany, from the finest to the less fine, dukes, three bishops, behind them our historian and, he writes, "innumerable from the rank of counts, nobles and the illustrious. And such a multitude of ruffians and vagrants also miraculously ran in, that every sensible person . . was shaken to the core.

The fanatic Bernhard certainly considered himself to be such a reasonable person. After all, he had it all to do with reason. When the march of war he had propagated with the tongues of angels and devils ended in a total catastrophe, he naturally appealed to Conrad JH. with nothing other than a "compelling conclusion of reason" and demanded "High Sir -iiri Lord ctrl to patiently endure the afflictions which Almighty God has imposed on you and your army and to place your hope in him who will afflict whom he will ...".

## DER KREUZZUG DER KÖNIGE

Reigning kings took part in this crusade for the first time. Above all, Louis VII of France (1137 -1180), not only negotiations with the Roman Curia and influenced by the prelates gathered around Sicily and in the spring of 1146 in Vézelay in French Burgundy, together with many feudal lords, took the crusade. And in the same year, at Christmas in Speyer, Bernhard was able to

to persuade the long-suffering starter Konrad III and a number of other greats. A mass psychosis broke out. Neither in our days, claimed Helmold von Bosau, nor since the beginning of time had such an army ever come together - an army, I say, unmeasurably large!

This crossroads, to which the German and French kings led about 7,000 men in the early summer of 1097, also began with the slaughter of many Jews on the Rhine, where the Cistercian Radulf, a friar of the Abtec order who was highly favored by the people, railed and agitated against them. The saint, for his part, forbade the killing of Jews, but demanded their expulsion with the Bible, with the q. Psalm, where God reveals of the enemies: - "Do not kill them!", but: -Destroy them with

No, they were not killed, only chased away and constantly maltreated by the great teachings of the Church. "They are a living testimony to us and constantly show us the passion of the Lord." At the time, Otto von Freising stated that there was a "bestialisches Gemerzel", and King Konrad created an asylum for Jews in Nuremberg, among other places.

The crusaders had requested free passage and a free market from Emperor Manuel I Komnenos for the duration of their passage through his empire. -He was very shocked,' reported the priest from Bosau. But the Christian brothers reassured him, as they had only undertaken the voluntary "pilgrimage",

-In order to expand the realm of peace, the crusaders stole, plundered, devastated and murdered in the Christian East.

The Byzantine emperor thus sabotaged the supplies of his fellow marines, betrayed their actions to the Turks, the Rum Seljuks, or had the invaders stabbed by his own troops in ambushes, bottlenecks and other suitable places. He also used counterfeit money against the Westerners. In short, admits the Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates, "there was nothing bad that the

Emperor would not have devised against them and had the others executed, so that these would also be eternal reminders and causes for fear for the descendants of the crusaders, which should deter them from a **move** against the Rhaemian Empire". There were murderous battles between German and Greek Christians at Philippople. Indeed, at Adrianople, Duke Frederick 111 of Swabia, the later Emperor Barbarossa, had an entire monastery burned and all its inhabitants thrown over the blade in order to avenge the robbery and murder of a noble straggler - "a medieval Lidice of the worst German tradition" (Wollschläger).

Of course, there were also frequent disputes between the crusaders themselves, for example with the French. "The *Deots* were unbearable, even for us," wrote the monk Odo of Deuil, secretary and chaplain to the French king on the crusade."

At the end of September, the German army - in which there were already fierce national animosities with Poland and Bohemia, who also marched along with their rulers Boleslaw IV and Wladislaw - crossed the Bosphorus and then split up after laboriously reaching Nicain. The mass of the foot soldiers and the troops marched along the coast under the king's half-brother, Bishop Otto of Freising, and for the most part ended up in the passes of the Kadmos Mountains through Turkish sabres. Leader Otto fled, reached a ship and appeared in Jerusalem at Easter 1145.

The king himself and the core of the knighthood chose the route through the Landesiriner via Konium tialli Syria. However, at the end of October, the Seljuks of Sultan Ivlasud ibn Kilidsch Arslan of Rum almost completely destroyed Conrad III's army at Dorylaion. Everything was swarming with the dying, the dead, many of whom were so weakened by hunger and thirst, -They voluntarily offered their necks to the approaching enemies. The king, wounded by two arrows and suffering a nervous collapse, later recovers as a guest of the Greek emperor in Constantinople.

The French contingent under Louis, which in the meantime had also reached Asia Minor and -'again weighed down with a lot of women' (Menzel), suffered a similar, if hardly quite as bad, fate at the hands of the Sultan north of Konya (near today's Akschir) at the beginning of January - 48. Odo of Deuil, who on crossing the mountain found it "still quite offended by the blood of the Germans", now saw the abyss at the "hideous mountain" "filling up more and more with the ruins of our army"; and all this at the hands of an "unbelieving people". Yet he -as a monk ... is able to call upon the Lord or encourage the others to fight . . .' Can he -in tears

and to give the sons of France, who died "before they could mature into men", at least "the crown of martyrdom" ...

The sad remnants of the armies, "refreshed" by numerous new arrivals from pilgrims who had meanwhile crossed the sea, first quickly perform their devotions at the Holy Sepulchre. Then, in fulfillment of their vow and in agreement with the Patriarch Fulcher, the Archbishops of Caesarea and Nazareth and the Grand Masters of the Knights Templar and Knights of St. John, they begin further senseless battles at the borders of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Under their Majesties Conrad, Louis and the young Baldwin III of Jerusalem, whose mother Melisende still ruled for him, they opened the enclosure of neighboring Damascus in July -\*4 - the only Muslim state whose emir, as an enemy of Nur ed-Din, was seeking peace and friendship.

with the Christians! The Frankish army is the largest that has ever been led into battle in the Holy Land. But the whole thing turns out to be a debacle. The Damascenes soon hunt down the besiegers - and drag their heads away to pay the price ... a large number of their heads", as the Arab eyewitness Ibn al-Qslänisi records. There were countless corpses of the fallen, including many of their magnificent horses, whose carcasses were so strong that "the birds almost fell from the air".



As more and more Islamic relief troops were announced or even arrived, jealousy and suspicion were rampant among the Christians, accusations of guilt and deceit, and the King of Jerusalem, Patriarch Fulcher and the Knights Templar had possibly been bribed with gold, zoo one denarii, which are not even said to have been genuine, the Westerners left after heavy losses and ever more disputes. King Conrad solemnly vowed that he would "never again, at any time, give any help" in the Holy Land - neither in his own person nor through any of his own. And lhn al-Qalänisi rejoiced: "Every man rejoiced in the grace bestowed by God and thanked him, the exalted one, again and again."

With this crossroads, the West *lost* its prestige in the Orient and was divided into two camps. The Germans signed a treaty with the Greeks to destroy the Sicilian Empire, while the French allied themselves with this empire. Both the French and the Germans began to despise the ancient Latins of Palestine. They openly declared that the Turks were better. And for a long time, especially in Germany and France, they cursed the initiators of the whole failed enterprise, Pope Eugene and St. Bernard, the real culprit of the catastrophe, who now blame all kinds of people, including the "sins" of the Crusaders, of course, but especially Byzantium and the Pope, and did not hesitate to declare that criticism of him was criticism of God. And already he, who knew that the First Crusade was a -After the "work of God" had been undertaken, i.e. a new crucifixion as a work of God could begin, he pushed with all his might for a new, but this time - a crucifixion against Christian Byzantium; and was canonized by Pope Alexander III just twenty years after his death, on 18 January .74.

Well deserved. Highly deserved.

After all, he not only had the Second Crusade on his conscience.

"Sound OR TUXE"  
THE NORTHERN RECOVERY

The sword mission against the heathens of the north" between Elbe and Oder went back in particular to Bernhard von Clairvaux. On iq. Mdfz\*7 in Frankfurt, as Albert Hauck says, to the most foolish king and prince.

Company of the Iz. Century. But the theologian exaggerates. In that century, enough other state and church actions could compete with the madness of the Wendish Crusade. Bernhard's zeal, however, was connected with his eschatology, his end-time delusion, with the belief that the time had come when God would overthrow the reign of devilry, end the war of the faithful against the unbelievers and wipe out the non-Christians in the kingdom of the Christians.

Bernhard benefited greatly from the Saxons' reluctance to move to the Orient. They had the pagans right in front of them, in front of their estates, shameful idolaters, whose teachings could be perfectly combined with their hunger for land and their desire for expansion on the other side of the border, which was probably much more important to the Saxons. It was only logical that almost all of these Saxons then took up the cross against the Slavs.

The enthusiasm was tremendous; at the same time, numerous monks, perhaps even bishops and priests, from whom the great saint had also demanded crusade sermons; especially since he also guaranteed forgiveness of sins, as in the battle for the Holy Sepulchre; and last but not least, since the alternative was extremely clear and unambiguous: death or baptism,

•Destruction or conversion' (ad delendas penitus aut certe converrendas nationes illas). Of course, the Holy Father did not neglect to answer Bernhard's demands in a bull VOFR II. April

\*'7. slightly rflodified, to be repeated.

The Knights of the Lord, including the Papal Legate, the Archbishops of Bremen and Magdeburg and other high-ranking clerics, formed two detachments, together amounting to over 100 000

men; in addition, there was a Danish fleet that was supposedly almost as strong. The northern army, led by the metropolitan of Bremen and Henry the Lion, was defeated at Dobin Castle (on the isthmus between Lake Schwerin and Döpe) by the pagan Abodrite prince Niklot (ii31-ii60), who had also beaten the lords to Wagria with a terrible raid (Niklot was not killed until ii60, when Henry the Lion again led an army against the Abodrites).

Their failure before Dobin quickly made the crusaders discontented, even thoughtful, as it now occurred to them that they were to destroy a people that was subject to them and brought them tribute. "Is it not our country," they pondered, "that we are ravaging, and our people that we are fighting? Are we behaving like our own enemies and destroying our own revenues?" (Helmold). They quickly made peace and disappeared."

The southern army advanced from Magdeburg into the territory of the Liutizen, practising the "scorched earth" technique everywhere, reducing towns, villages and fields to rubble and ashes. The leaders of this missionary expedition were Albrecht the Bear, who was probably driven by little more than his own lust for power, the Slavic subjugation he had been single-mindedly pursuing for a quarter of a century, and Bishop Anselm of Havelberg, who had been appointed papal legate. The prelate, a disciple of St. Norbert and a statesman at the service of three German kings, naturally also wanted to promote territorial intentions in the western Slavic "mission territory" through the Wendish Crusade. Similarly, the bishops of Halbersradt, Magdeburg, Merseburg, Münster and Brandenburg who accompanied him were hardly only guided by pastoral considerations. If at that time, when the southern army division achieved as little as the northern one, the hopes were not fulfilled, the church nevertheless drew infinite profit from the later colonization of the country, despite all the lack of success at that time. every new village, every well-ordered hoof increased its income and strengthened its economic position.

Potency. For the temporal rulers, in turn, the pretext of the mission was a welcome justification (Ahlheim)."

Immermerhin worth mentioning: In the e)fbändigen Kirchen-Lexikon der katholischen Theologen Wetzer/Welte from i8 q, the keyword "Wendekreuzzug" does not appear at all. It is also absent in the ten-volume edition of the Catholic Lexicon for Theology and the Church from Iq58. Nttr under the term -turning- appears there to the crossing the only sentence, he has -had a "miserable result". The barely less comprehensive Catholic Handbook of Church History by iq8J could no longer completely ignore the fatal war and devoted a third of a page to it, its -mifi-success" like the -lamenting the lack of clarity of purpose and planning. -In part, the Slavs, who were to be subjugated, turned out to be good Christians ..."

### THE RECONQUI STA BEGINFIT

The Christian Visigothic kingdom in 5pania was destroyed by the rapid

The first advance of Islam (7\*\*M ^4) collapsed. Although undertaken with minimal forces, the offensive proceeded r a p i d l y , the resistance remained mostly weak - -the The heavily oppressed serf rural population and the persecuted Jews ... had nothing to defend" (H.-R. Singer)! The entire south of the peninsula and most of the east became Islamic.

The Arabs even advanced over the Pyrenees. For forty years, they occupied Septimania, the urbanized coastal strip with Narbonne and Carcassonne in southern Gaul (Gallia Narbonensis). Only after Charles Martel's rather futile raids and ravages between 73J and y3q ( \* 3 4 -1 the Muslim-ruled region again dau- and incorporate it into the Frankish kingdom.

However, Spain was not affected to the same extent by

the conquerors, narrow peripheral zones in the mountainous north-west, in Asturias and Galicia, remained in Christian hands, without Charles "the Great" having provided free assistance. Rather, his famous attack was first aimed at a Christian city, and finally the Christian Basques fell upon him (IV 466 ff. cf. also V 18 ff!).

The reconquest of the peninsula, the Reconquista, which had a decisive influence on Spain's history in the Middle Ages, began in small *lánderrri* in the north, far removed from the Islamic centers of power, in Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre, Castile, and especially the kingdom of Asturias (also known as León). Opposite them all, partly *separated* by a no-man's land, was the united emirate/caliphate of Córdoba, a state completely independent of Baghdad, ruled by emirs and often shaken by uprisings, whose rulers in the

q. It was protected by a palace guard of 2000 foot soldiers and 3000 horsemen. But it was a state *with a centralized administration*, a healthy *economy* and a *cultural exclusivity* that *the Christian West knew nowhere else* (Lacarra/ Engels).

The seat of government is said to have been populated by half a million people, i.e. about the size of Constantinople or Baghdad, but its alleged 3000 mosques and 400 baths are probably an exaggeration. The administrative district of Córdoba comprised 1000 places (*qarya*), 94 fortresses (*burj*) and 198 castles (*bim*). As an important trading center, it mainly exported textiles and weapons, but was more important due to its high culture. There were many renowned poets and scholars as early as the time of Caliph Abdarrahmàn III (qu-p6i), who ruled Córdoba for half a century; and the -Prince of the Gläubigen- and •Protector of God's religion - even settled civil wars of Christians - for their own benefit, of course.

Al-Hakam II. (pdz-qy6), under whom Córdoba became the undisputed cultural center of the entire Islamic world, is said to have possessed a library of 400 000 volumes and to have been responsible for its

Expansion agents from Spain have been busy in his Kaico, Baghdad and Damascus. Of course, the military and war were not neglected. After al-Hakam's death, the de facto head of state al-Mansur led more than fifty campaigns against the Spanish Christian empires. However, the catholic state reached its peak of cultural prosperity in the High Middle Ages, at the time of its decline. And on 29 June 1036 Córdoba fell into the hands of the Christians."

Their incipient resistance in the first half of the 8th century was greatly facilitated by cruel battles between the invaders and smouldering old tribal and racial conflicts, for example between Arabs and Berbers, Syrians and Medinese.

Asturias played a major role in the reconquest of Spain.

King Alfonso I. (739-757). He, the actual creator of this reign, continued the fight of his father-in-law Pelayo, the prince of Asturias and the first Christian resistance fighters against Muslim Spain. Among other things, he used a Berber revolt against the Arabs (740) to launch several campaigns, whereby he - the actual prelude to the Reconquista - conquered the razed to the ground the most important castles and towns of Galicia, the Duero and upper Ebro valleys. And after some rather peaceful Asturian grandees, King Alfonso II the Keian (792-802) attacked Alfonso's harsh anti-Islamic policy. I. again. He maintained close relations with the Carolingians, refused to pay tribute to the Emir of Córdoba and repelled several simultaneous Arab attacks against his borders almost year after year between 750 and 800. Asturias became an independent state thanks to him."

## "HIE SANrr JAXoa!

As with the Franks, there was close contact with the Church. The beginnings of the world-famous sanctuary of Santiago de Compostela can be traced back to Alfonso 11, due in particular to his wars against Islam.

Under King Alfonso, the apostle James the Elder became the patron saint of Christians and the first Church of St. James in Compostela was built. There is no doubt that everything concerning the original apostle James the Elder, the companion of Jesus, and Compostela is based on a hoax. His alleged preaching activities in Spain and the supposed translation of his alleged corpse to the west of the country, these admittedly very lucrative lies first appeared in Latin texts.

of the 7th century, the more concrete reference to today's Compostela only since the q. century. century. And if you consider what this gauze-glorious legendary nonsense about St. James has been

Finally, the "discovery" of the apostle's tomb, all of this is - vero - a tremendous miracle in itself, absolutely wonderful and fabulous: from the construction of various cathedrals, fortifications, the relocation of a bishop's seat to the pompous blossoming of the gigantic pilgrimage city that encompassed the whole of Europe, including the Orient, and almost equaled Jerusalem and Rome (the first Compostela pilgrim was "Charlemagne!"); all the way to the distant battle cry

"Saint James!" - one of the greatest Historían bloodhounds, Ferando Cortez, who in the "spread of the Catholic faith" with his Catholic robber-murder gangs in Mexico always, as he himself confesses, -with the battle cry: "Here Saint James!", he always attacked his harmless victims unawares,

"and stabbed more than too many of them". "With the cry 'Hie Sankt Jakob!' we rode across the wide square and stabbed everything that came before our lances ...", who once said "500 enemies", then "800 Temixtitans", then "3000 citizens", then -6000 men, women and children-, then -iz 000 Temixtita- ner-, then -40 000- stabs, beats to death, strangles, hangs, he-

sāuh, burnt, torn to pieces between horses, mauled by dogs, pulverized in front of cannon muzzles - -Hie Şankt Jakob!- Not to mention the colossal stream of gold that flows unbroken through a millennium from all these sharks of lies and corpses. "In the beginning a grave - in the end money power" is the title of Friederike Hassauer's "Case Study on the Intertwining of Business, Prayer and Politics" about Spain's Wallfahrtszentrum.

The railroading around the tomb of St. James in Santiago de Comostela, which had been circulated since the early q. Century with ever greater juggling effort and success, gave the swords of the Asturian monarchs the necessary penetrating power."

#### OF FENS IVERE PHASES AND Ron'S ImERESSE

In the second half of the y. In the second half of the yth century, internal political turmoil in the land of the Muslims, uprisings of the Berbers and Mutatis (Muslim new converts) started by the Christians, enabled a further phase of expansion.

Under the Asturian kings Ordoño I (8şo-866) and his son Alfonso III (866-9ro), nicknamed "the Great", the border was pushed across the vast wasteland zone to the Duero line, the cities of Zamora and Dueñas were taken and the empire doubled in size. The northern Spaniards had thus advanced from the mountains to the plateau and established themselves there; under Ordono II (s-4-s\*a) - since whom the Asturian kings had been given the title of 'king' - the capital and court also advanced, so to speak.

-Emperor- - before Oviedo a little to the south, to León, The "repopulation" (repoblación) and "land seizure" (presura) by knights, monasteries, churches and also by peasants organized as cooperatives, whose small estates had already been swallowed up by the large estates of the nobility and clergy within to. Years later, however, their small estates had already been



swallowed up by the large estates of the nobility and clergy.  
Even King Alfonso, after his

work was dethroned by his Christian sons and sent into exile, where he died in the same year."

Ordoño II's son Ramiro II (q3i-qşo/qyi) had already besieged Majerit (Madrid), defeated the caliph's troops in several celebrated battles and organized the repoblación of the Tor- mestales."

Castles and fortified complexes played an important role in the -land seizure- and *-lanóesa usbøu-*, here and in general, but especially during the Reconquista; and these military assets were often in the hands of the clergy, especially in the border regions, as they were the necessary prerequisite for their -colonization work". Thus the bishops bought, exchanged, built, robbed and conquered castles, especially as in the High Middle Ages the possession of castles, the building of fortresses, which from the very beginning was a typical instrument of herding, became more and more a demonstration of empire and power, and also a sign of social distancing, and experienced a tremendous upswing. In Catalonia, with an unusually high density of castles even in the early Middle Ages, and in Aragon, the country was literally littered with castellas {castella)

- A gauzes land, Castile, got its name from it. And these fortifications, which usually crowned heights that were very difficult to access and were extremely expensive to build and maintain (and under severe hardship, far too rarely considered by the downtrodden), very often belonged to bishops and abbots. Even parish churches and chaplains owned castles, as did female monasteries, even if they were usually given as fiefs to the nobility, so that even the king himself was a feudal lord of the church."

The great conquests of Christianity in Spain began in the High Middle Ages, favored by the disintegration of the Caliphate of Córdoba in the early it. This was the time of the reyes de taifas, initially more than *forty* regional and local rulers. The fact that the Christians initially expanded only moderately was mainly due to their quarrels with each other. After all, mutual war between the Catholic kings "was the rule- (Erdmann). Which

it was almost like overall. Sometimes they fought shoulder to shoulder with Muslims, but even more often against them. King Sancho III of Navarre (- 4 --i ), for example, fought alongside his fellow Muslims against al- Andalus in numerous military campaigns, but also "sought to gain Christian territories" (Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte).

And as the apple does not fall far from the tree, his son Ferdinand 1st -el Magno" (io3 -io6y) was no different. He only succeeded to the kingship of León after the Battle of Tamarón i i7 and the death of Vermudos III of León; he was consecrated king a year later in the cathedral of León

(- after all, 'del Magno, like his father, maintained very close Persian contacts with Cluny, to whom he paid 1000 pieces of gold a year; voluntarily, of course). And then he **took up** the Reconquest 16ng;sam **again, preferring heilick olt," complains** the Catholic Handbook of Church History,

-instead of warlike conquest from the Moorish **taifas** to accept tribute payments". Similar agreements between Muslim and Christian princes took place time and again. For example, io6q King Sancho IV of Navarre promised the Emir of Zaragoza his support against Castile for a monthly contribution of 1000 gold sticks - and did not want to send any traumatic crusaders against him.<sup>4</sup>

However, a more offensive phase gradually began with the son of Ferdinand I, Alfonso VI (**107\*** -\*eq), King of León-Castilien; although he too first had to fight several wars with his brother Sancho and, deposed by him, had to go to Toledo to the court of his Moorish vassal.

After Sancho's death, however, Alfonso VI was able to conquer the famous city of Toledo in May io8y (so powerful at the time that, after the collapse of the caliphate, the Toledan - taifa reached its greatest extent under an Arabized Berber dynasty, even gaining control of Córdoba in short order). However, the years-long siege of Toledo and its capture - the end of the Muslim

medieval epoch (7- --io8y) with a, especially in the 11th century, culturally splendid time - the people all around gray-

The war brought full misery, complete plundering, imprisonment, famine and death.

The Catholic conqueror also suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of the Berbers of the Almoravid emir Jñsuf i b n Tàsufin the very next year on z3. October at Sagrajas near Badajoz a terrible defeat. The blood was still flowing deep into the night, whereupon the victors mauled the corpses until the hour of morning prayers, for both sides were pious, and for the sake of curiosity they also cut off the heads of their victims, allegedly

\*4 . And until his death in iioq, the king was almost entirely successful in his fight against the Almoravids.

Furthermore, the "emperor of both religions", as Alfonso VI called himself in relation to the Muslims (and - as a reaction, *says Mon*, to Gregory VII's attempts at rheocracy and encroachment - from 1077«' mperator totius Hispaniae"), encouraged the influx of almost exclusively French crusaders and monks. He was

He also favored marriages with French priests, appointed bishops of French origin and r e s t o r e d the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela.

The popes, to whom the Spanish Church, which had its own law and its own worship, had never been subject, increasingly took care of the Iberian Peninsula in the course of the i th century, at the time of the upcoming crusades, and of course not only in a peaceful manner.

Just as Alexander II used armed force to extend his sphere of influence in England and southern Italy, for example, a French army, mostly also Norman, had already invaded Spain with his blessing and absolution. Despite the Reconquista, the Christians there had mostly lived in peace with the Jews and Moors. Now the Spanish war

-the field on which the French chivalry had already previously exercised its crusading spirit- (Erdmann). Now the crusaders thirsted the rich fortress city of Barbastro, promised the lives of the Christians and Moors living there in exchange for surrender, and slaughtered six thousand people as soon as the gates were opened. Tens of thousands were arrested, many mu-

seltnans were tortured, their wives and daughters raped in front of their husbands and fathers, all the houses and their riches and inhabitants seized by the Christian knights.

iody, the Roman cardinal priest Hugo Candi- dus made his way to Spain. As a follower of Horiorius II, cursed with the latter, he had then gone over to Alexander, as whose legate he now acted. And apparently influenced by him, the king of Aragón, Sancho I, Ramirez (1034-1063), subjugated God and St. Peter on the occasion of a trip to Rome in 1068, which was probably intended not least to consolidate Sancho's rule against his own aristocratic opposition. - In '71 he introduced Roman worship, and in 1088/1089 he placed his kingdom fully under the control of the pope."

A little later, Gregory VII also stretched out his greedy fingers towards Spain, not shying away from the lie that it had belonged to the Roman Church since time immemorial (p. 260 f.). And even more urgently, for the pious times were becoming ever more warlike, bloodthirsty and spiritual, Urban II, the first crusading pope, apostrophized some Catalonian aristocrats towards the end of the 11th century: "For the city and church of Tarragona, we urge and command you, for the forgiveness of your sins, to enforce their restoration in every way ... Whoever falls in this campaign out of love for God and his brothers, do not doubt that he will find forgiveness of his sins and eternal life according to God's great mercy. Therefore, if any of you have decided to go to Asia, let him rather fulfill his desire here. For it is no merit to liberate the Christians from the Saracens in one place and to hand them over to Saracen tyranny and oppression in another."

A certain Rodrigo (Ruy) Diaz de Vivar, famous under the nickname El Cid (the Lord), the Spanish national hero (1042-1099), also acted out his pious urge in Spain at the time of Blessed Urban.

The Castilian grandee and military leader was glorified early on.

Ícht, especially in the -Poema de Mio Cid-, a masterpiece in 3y3 o assonicrenden verse, around the halfway point of the well-known Spanish heroic epic. In France, he was immortalized in Corneille's five-part tragicomedy "Le Cid", and in Germany in Johann Gottfried Herder's romance cycle of the same name. Called "el Campeador" (the fighter) by the Spaniards, the *martyr* also fought for the Moors *on such a marvelous* campaign, indeed he p e r f o r m e d many of his war deeds for them, for example for deu Taifes of Zaragoza against the Counts of Barcelona or against the King of Aragon and Navarro, which he i4 Schltig.<sup>4</sup>

Since ioqo, the Cid had been striving for his own rule in the Le- vante. And since Alfonso VI, was able to take io85 Toledo, but not ioqa Valencia, the Cid had been fighting forit ever since, mercilessly plundering and destroying everything within a wide radius, burning the villages and c a u s i n g massacres in two suburbs of Valencia where he had taken up residence. Meanwhile, hunger raged ever more terribly in the surrounded city, which had flourished economically under the four-decade reign of 'Abdal'-aziz, one EnkeÍs al Man#ür. There were dogs, cats, unclean animals. Mari searched for food in the excrement of the old Roman abfiuÉ pipes, paid a gold dinar for a tiny mouse, for grain last yo times the price, which had already risen at the beginning of the siege. The poorest of the population even enjoyed the pÍeish of the corpses, for there was no shortage of corpses in Valencia. The graves around the mosque swelled from day to day. Anyone who dared to flee from the misery of the city was seized by the besiegers and sold for a pound of meat, a loaf of bread or a jug of wine. There was nothing more to be had for the emaciated figures on the slave markets. Fewer captives were provided for export to Europe, which was organized by skilled Muslims (brothers in faith!) from the Muslim region. Other prisoners were threatened with worse than slavery, their tongues were cut out, they were blinded and thrown to the dogs. Numerous inhabitants threw themselves down,

tormented by unbearable hunger, down the city walls. ry such corpses had to be burned by the Cid in one day- (Ahlheim).

However, when he entered the desolate Valencia in June i s4 after almost two years of siege, he not only burned corpses, but also, for example, Ibn Ğahhâf, the highest Judge of the city. He also appointed the main mosque as a cathedral and the Frenchman and Cluniac Jerome of Périgord as bishop, where he held his office until iioz. Until the very year in which King Alfonso, faced with the Almoravids invading Spain (for the fourth time!), withdrew his troops from Valencia i n March and had the city burned to the ground (the widow of the Cid was among the fugitives).^

The kings of Aragon, the counts of Barcelona and Urgel also carried the war from the far north-east of Spain into the land of the "infidels", into the Tyrian pond of Lèrida. During the reign of Sancho I Ramirez of Aragon, the Roman, they ravaged everything they touched and, according to Arab sources, massacred ooo people and dragged the untamed into captivity. And after a two-year siege of Huesca, King Peter I of Aragon (bogy-zioa) conquered the city in November ioqö and handed over the main mosque to Bishop Peter of Jaca so that he could turn it into a Christian temple, with various prelates and a papal legate lending the ceremony the desired dignity.

They even reached out across the sea.

ri ia/zl iy, Raimund Berengnr III, the Marquis of Barcelona, Count of Provence and Gévaudan, and finally a Knight Templar, succeeded in temporarily capturing Mallorca and its capital. The pious work, powerfully supported from afar by Pope Paschal 11 and personally supported by several senior shepherds, was visibly blessed. However, as they boasted, so ooo Saracens remained by the wayside. The living were dragged into servitude one after the other. And Count Raimund, the valiant religious warrior, became a papal yasall in disguised form in exchange for a year's interest."

In the last years of his life, the Sraufi king Conrad lil had almost everything wrong with him, as had been the case in many previous years. Even his contemporaries were rather ambivalent about the Wen- den Crusade. The Second Crusade proved to be a complete disaster; it required enormous human sacrifices and yet was shabby in its power-political objectives. Conrad's early coalition with Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (who *i i q6* married Conrad's sister-in-law Bertha of Sulzbach) against Roger of Sicily was renewed on the king's return from the crusade, and was also strengthened by Duke Henry Jasomirgott's marriage to the emperor's niece Theodore Kommena. However, these marriages did not come to fruition for the time being, i.e. the marriages were not yet followed by the wars for which they were concluded - with God, of course. - Happiness and salvation in Christ! Amen", Conrad had written to Byzantium and "an eternal alliance of lasting friendship.

When the Hohenstaufen iI'9 arrived in Germany already ill, things were not at their best here either. Not only had i'epsr Eugrn 111 used Conrad's absence to intervene energetically in internal German politics, but Well VI iiç8 had also agreed an alliance with Roger II of Sicily directed against Conrad. After returning from the crusade, Welf once again rose up against the Hohenstaufen, but was defeated at Flochberg by the thirteen-year-old Henry, who had been elevated to co-king prior to the crusade. And even if peace could be made with Welf, mediated by the Swabian Duke Frederick III (Barbarossa), the conflict with Henry the Lion, the Duke of Saxony, who did not want to go to Bavaria, continued. Conrad **also** suffered personal blows. Already --47

was his second wife, who was obviously particularly attached to him

Gertrud von Sulzbach, his son Heinrich also died. And his son Frederick, Count of Roienburg, who was still a minor and only six or seven years old, was clearly recognized by the king as having no prospect of the throne.

In February i iya, Conrad III opened a court meeting in Bamberg and died there so suddenly and unexpectedly,



But on the other hand, he died "at just the right moment", so that the rumor spread by Bishop Otto that King Roger of Sicily had him poisoned. Three days later, Conrad was buried alongside Henry the Saint in the cathedral."

## BARBAROSSA'S MILD COURTESY

-The emperor came from a very distinguished family; he was of medium height, of handsome figure ... his hair almost blond and curly; his face was cheerful, and he always seemed to want to smile ...- Accrbus Morens!

-The zeal of this man was worthy of that of the apostles, and his religious sentiment was in no way inferior to the sanctity of those who, with all the **strength** of their spirit, rose above the common human situation to the heights of the evangelical bishops, and considered *all their life and* human vanity to be garbage.- The Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates'

-How does he spend his daily life? In the morning, he attends the divine service, either alone or with a limited entourage, and blesses himself with the relics  
12Bl himself with the relics  
bless ... He finds his role models in the Holy Scriptures and in the deeds of the ancient emperors - Franco Cardini'

-The emperor stayed with the Orc Tronto and its surroundings and plundered, burned and destroyed almost all the towns and villages and also extorted a lot of money. . and ordered them to pluck out the eyes of six of his prisoners. But he cut off the nose of Suzo dc Mizano and left him one eye, so that he might lead the others to the mouth.- -The next Sunday, **on the feast** of St. Prosper

and the Virgin Severa, the emperor took the rock castle of Corno IVccchio) with more than a hundred people inside, in addition to countrymen and citizens of Milan; he had one of these (Kiailandcrn?) cut off and -7 - n the rest, the rest he left after the whole Rocca was set on fire and razed to the ground,

The emperor pursued them fiercely, captured about a thousand of them and left more in prison.  
as zc'o Veronese cut off their noses together with their lips, ebeoso *he* hanged over zoo VerazieSen ao the trees that were in the place; lead the other prisoners into the Lsger and lay them firmly in Kttien.- ..... and they were crushed to **death** in a manner in which - as we read - **never temand base gin** - - .....**because he was**

He was mild and merciful and did not want her to die,  
imitating the will of God, who does not want her to die,  
so that she may return and live.  
The contemporary Cliruiists Otto Morena, Acerbus 6'Iorüüia,  
Lodescr Anonymus, Milanese Anonymus-

## ZxHNE - wEiSS LIKE SchNEE ...

Frederick I was born as the son of Duke Frederick II (the -one-eyed-) of Swabia (p. 40yf.) around 1100, perhaps after 1122. His mother Judith came from the family of the Bavarian Guelphs. His uncle on his mother's side was Henry the Proud, his uncle on his father's side King Conrad III.

Almost nothing is known about Friedrich's childhood and youth. And much of the information about his appearance is uncertain. But all sources mention his beautiful hands and his enchanting smile - a smile that the Italian medievalist Franco Cardini says is not known whether it is benevolent, beautiful or ironic, but it radiates an almost fierce energy and determination, "a feeling of strength and at the same time something like a confusing, unfathomable message. He has eyes that have taken a deep look into the arc'inn *iiiperii*, the secrets of the realm: and from this they seem to *have preserved* perhaps a sovereign disdain, perhaps a stern superiority, perhaps a secret weariness borne - and endured - with royal resignation.

The contemporary choreographer Acerbus Morena from Lodi, an enthusiastic admirer of Friedrich, also emphasizes a friendly face that is always ready to smile. "But even in this cheerful expression, indeed especially in it," Cardini comments, "there was something animalistic, terrible: the dazzling white teeth that flashed in the smile, even when it was indignant ..." And Otto von Freising, Frederick's uncle, also mentioned these teeth - white as snow ...

On y. March i iya, Frederick I was almost unanimously elected king in Frankfurt and consecrated on q. March in Aachen. However, Archbishop Henry of Mainz, who acted as imperial administrator during Conrad III's journey to Jerusalem, had l o b b i e d for Conrad's underage son Frederick, as he would have liked to have ruled the realm again. Instead, he, the former close confidant of his Mainz predecessor Adalbert I.

(p. 4W -1 June i ty 3 and died shortly afterwards on  
a. September.

King Friedrich, because of his reddish-blond full beard of  
later called "Barbarossa" by the Italians, was a

Only about \*7 years old at the time of his accession to the throne,  
of medium stature, a master of arms and troops, in battle, war and  
danger

In love, usually dining in the saddle on express marches, just as a  
judge, brutal as an enemy, sometimes cruel, often an artist in his  
dealings with people, diplomatic, balancing, unruffled even in  
adversity, unshakeable by any misfortune, lively, astute, clever.  
He understood French, Italian and Latin, but never spoke them in  
front of strangers. Despite the outstanding minds around him, he  
set the tone more and more indisputably' he decided on all  
essential matters himself and had no one in Germany who was  
his equal.

As the only ancient German king, he had his uncle from  
Freising write his own history, the -Gesta Frederici seu rctius  
Cronica", the deeds of Emperor Frederick. Otto wrote Books I  
and II, and before he died iiy8, he asked his pupil and confidant,  
the ecclesiastical historiographer and poet Rahewin, to continue  
the work. With the express permission of the emperor, Rahewin  
then added books III and IV to Otto's first two books, whereby  
he, agreeing in principle with Otto, was less interested in  
historical theology than the latter, but more in history.

I cannot refrain from reproducing the illustrious bishop's first  
sentence. -The intention of those who have written history before  
us was, I believe, to celebrate the splendid deeds of brave men.

to praise them in order to spur the hfensclien to strength, but either to keep silent about the hidden actions of the cowards, or, if they are brought to light, to nar- nize them in order to frighten the same mortals.

For what Otto von Freising, with whom medieval universal historiography culminates, as is well known, calls upon all earlier historiography to "praise the brilliant deeds of brave men" has, I believe, remained the intention and guiding principle of later historiography. Or does conventional historiography not still celebrate the shining victors, the "greats", and more or less qualify everything in their shadow? There the -stardom-, the triumphs? There the usual failures? The gray everyday life of history? Downfall and night? As if the horror did not emanate from their heroes! The greatest from their greatest!

We also know of Frederick Barbarossa that he had to be read to again and again from the "deeds" of his predecessors, including the ancient Caesars. That he repeatedly allowed himself to be "influenced" in his actions and his views by what the ancient emperors had done in comparable situations (F.-J. Schmale). That he often referred directly, often by name, to the "Greats", to the -great- Westerners, the -great- Germans, to Charlemagne, to Otto "the Great", . . .\*

#### JOY OF A KING

Frederick initially followed the southern Italy policy of his predecessor. He continued to form a coalition with Byzantium in order to conquer the Norman Empire. This also presupposed a good relationship with the Pope, the continuation of his predecessor's extremely friendly relationship with the Church until almost the end. Frederick saw and had important helpers in the German bishops, indeed several of them became the most outstanding pillars of his state. He supported

Pope Eugene 111 also informed him of his choice, and he gave his approval, although he had not asked for it - *be nigno favore sedis apostolicae*. The crown and episcopate, sword and banishing ray were to continue to work together, above all, of course, king and pope in accordance with the traditional doctrine of the two powers ruling the world together.

At least that is what Frederick 1 Barbarossa thought. In the Treaty of Constance on March 3, 1183, concluded between the king and the Pope's legates, seven cardinals (!), Frederick pledged to subjugate Rome, to secure the Papal States and papal "rights". He guaranteed not to make peace with either Sicily or the Romans without the pope's consent and not to make any territorial concessions to the "King of the Greeks", the Byzantine basileus, who was trying to regain a foothold in Italy on this side of the sea.

However, Frederick demanded tangible services in return. The Pope promised him the imperial coronation and, on request, the excommunication of his opponents. Furthermore, he was not allowed to tolerate the Ciriachen being established on Italian soil, but had to repel such attempts on his own initiative. At Frederick's request, the **Pope** also had the king's childless marriage to his first wife Adela of Vohburg divorced, apparently for adultery, and his opponent, the Archbishop of Mainz, who had tried to prevent his election as king, deposed along with other bishops not agreeable to Frederick and enthroned new bishops agreeable to him. Frederick gradually sought to replace the episcopate of his predecessor, the monarch king Conrad, with prelates more devoted to the crown. For example, his chancellor Arnold von Seelenhofen became metropolitan of Mainz (and was murdered in 60).

After Frederick had made his decision at the Imperial Diet in Goslar in June

-\*54 with the Guelphs, Henry the Lion and his uncle Welt, and compensated them lavishly, he set out on his first journey to Italy in October 1184, which was to be followed by five more trips to Italy; sixteen years of his 38-year

Barbarossa spent his reign in the south. From Lechfeld near Augsburg, he set out in the autumn with a fairly small army - 1,800 knights, corresponding to *just under 5,000* men-at-arms - through Tyrol and over the Brenner Pass in order, in accordance with the treaty with the Pope, to subjugate Rome and, at the urging of the rebellious Apulian barons, to fight Sicily.

However, there were certain difficulties, to put it mildly, with the northern Italian cities. They were engaged in a brutal race for supremacy {Pisa against Genoa, Venice against Ancona, Padua against Verona) and some of them had already made representations to the -king of the Romans- at the last imperial diets of Ulm, Würzburg and especially in Constance: These were all trading and industrial cities, which had displaced their ecclesiastical lords through their strong economic growth in the first half of the century and had usurped more and more royal rights, the so-called regalia, as small city regencies (with their own consulates in Genoa, Bologna, Verona, Parma) - first and foremost the mighty Milan, which had had its own consuls since 1077. All the power, all the money of the royal bishops and counts, all the so-called sovereign powers in general since Henry IV's collapse at the end of the last century, all this had increasingly fallen to the municipalities without any compensation. However, only some of them submitted, including Pavia, the old Lombard capital. Many other strongholds in Lombardy, Tuscany and Romagna had to be subjugated by the king.

Barbarossa's great opponent, however, was Milan.

In December 1162, he had captured Milanese in Landriano tied to horses' tails and dragged through the dirt, also robbing the merchants who supplied the army with essentials, then plundering and incinerating the rather heavily populated Rosate. Galliate followed on Christmas Day, with the destruction of breccias, rocky nests and castles in Milan burnt to the ground, and the king was devastated by this destruction.



tung -in the most joyful mood- (Otto von Freising). After the troops had exhausted the rich food supplies of Chieri (east of Turin), the great Swabian let this city go up in flames as well. On February I, February II, Asti, whose bishop Anselm had made serious complaints to the emperor about the insolence of the inhabitants, was taken, sacked and likewise abandoned to the fire. Certainly a reason for further cheerful moods of the majesty with the snow-white teeth ... It was precisely at that time that the episcopal uncle Otto wrote in his -Deeds of Frederick- that "conditions have now changed for the better and the time of weeping has been followed by the time of laughter, the time of war by the time of peace. And does not historiography today also emphasize the "moderate basic character of Barbarosas" (Appelt), his -milience" and -maze- which, despite occasional harshness and cruelty, nevertheless outshines everything?

Affl\*4 Februi2£ I I it was Tortona's turn; it was allied with Milan, at enmity with Pavia and was surrounded by the royal army for two months.

The Tortonese, who had taken refuge in the narrow castle, where they desperately resisted in the face of the fate of the already burnt cities, suffered all kinds of tribulations during this "famous siege" (Otto von Freising) - perhaps the worst due to the lack of drinking water, as the noble Barossa first polluted the spring with the rotting and stinking corpses of men and animals and then, as this did not deter the greed of the thirsty, made it undrinkable by burning flames of sulphur and pitch.

The priests and monks surrounded by the residents even made a kind of petition procession through the open gates on the holy day of Good Friday, complete with crosses, censers and the usual brimbo- rium. And now the king's heart was almost seized with pity. Outwardly, of course, he remained firm and ordered those who had asked to leave to return to their hell. "He pitied the terrible fate of the clergy (!), but he rejoiced

about the fate of the arrogant people, who, as he recognized from these signs, were almost without hope and close to despair."

Well, always a reason for a good Christian Catholic heart to rejoice. After a two-month siege, Tortona was conquered not by arms but, as was so often the case in the Middle Ages, by hunger and thirst, and was handed over to Iris on April 8 through the mediation of Abbot Bruno of Chiaravalle in Bagnolo. The city was handed over to Iris on April 8, as Frederick had promised the abbot to leave the city as it was. In fact, however, it was completely looted, reduced to ashes and razed to the ground. According to an old source, the Pavese are said to have given Barbarossa money to have Tortona destroyed.

After all these military triumphs, Frederick I. Barbarossa placed the iron crown of King of Italy on his proud head the following \*4 April in a pompous coronation ceremony in the church of San Michele in Pavia. In fact, the terror wrought in these first six months south of the Alps was oeachful, but the balance, viewed in terms of the essentials, was not very encouraging (Cardini).

### **BARBAROSSA BECOMES EMPEROR - AND SOME PHENOMENA**

The king appeared before Rome at the beginning of June.

In the meantime, Eugene III, and the short, barely five-month pontificate of the aged Anastasius IV in the December i -54 Nicholas Breakspear as Hadrian IV. (-- i4 i i \$q), to this day the only Englishman among all the popes. Hadrian IV, a poor scribe and monk's son, was himself an Englishman. consciously and imperiously. As Roman legate, he had organized the Norwegian church between i iyo and i i y3, reformed the Swedish church, and as one -fruit- of this, Rome has since collected the "Peter's penny" from both countries. Hadrian wanted the

The papacy took precedence over the emperors, while Barbarossa strove for an empire like that of Charles I and Otto I, the two greats, which did not harmonize well.

However, the pontiff had bigger problems with the Romans and Normans. He initially imposed an interdict on his rebellious diocesans shortly before Easter, which no pope had ever dared to use against Rome itself. Hadrian, however, took the wounding of a cardinal who had been dolled by the increasingly anti-priest Romans as an opportunity to do so. The date before Easter was well calculated. There were now no more divine services in Rome, no ringing of bells, no reception of the sacraments, no burial of the dead in consecrated ground. The Romans therefore feared for the pilgrimage bribes, feared for their tourist business, they did not overrun the city, but expelled Arnold of Brescia, which was the Pope's intention. Few people could have been more disagreeable to him than this lay, passionate and eloquent spirit, who so eloquently criticized ecclesiastical and especially curial conditions, arrogance, greed and hypocrisy, the manifold corruptions of the Cardinal's Convention, who denounced it as a house of bankers and hucksters, a den of robbers who do the business of the Pharisees and scribes among the Christian people. "Even the pope is not what he claims to be, an apostolic man and shepherd of souls, but a man of blood, who sanctifies murder and scourging with his office, a tormentor of the churches and a tormentor of innocence; he does nothing else in this world but cultivate his fish; he fills his own pockets and empties other people's pockets . . . -

Through Barbarossa, who captured Arnold, the Pope seized him, and the Prefect of Rome, Peter I of Vico, had him secretly hanged in Monterotondo. He died with great fear, his body was cremated and the ashes scattered in the Tiber. (In the 12th Century, a future pope, Paul VI, went as a high school student to a lyceum -Arnaldo di Brescia").

But there was a second and even more formidable opponent Hadrian, King William I of Sicily, who died in the spring of 1155 in

Salerno, who let Ceprano hacie go up in flames, attacked Benevent and was banished by the Pope, who now urgently asked Barbarossa for help'."

On June 8, i roy, Hadrian, who could still only reside in Rome's suburbs, in the palace of the Vatican, met the defensor Ecclesiae near Sutri, a place already famous for analogous meetings. But even this first meeting of the highest leaders of the West was not under a favorable star. For the former English mendicant Breakspear expected the king to serve as marshal and stratagem (p. 43\*). Frederick was to lead the Pope's horse for a short distance on the reins and hold the stirrup for the Pope as he dismounted; he was to play his groom for a few minutes.

This imposition was followed by a storm of indignation, a heated two-day negotiation on the list of reins and bailiffs and more or less symbolic burdens between the heads of Christendom, including the presentation of "old documents". After all, the stratagem had already been performed by Emperor Constantine to Pope Silvester - of course only according to the forged Constitutum Constantini! And it was only forged into this forgery by a later insertion! And finally, when it was expressly declared - credibly enough

Decades after the Dictatus Papae {p. zi<sup>4</sup>), after the notorious Vatican fresco, the documentation of Lothar III.

The emperor became weak-kneed and a second meeting was staged as if the first had never taken place. As if by chance, they rode towards each other again, and now the emperor performed for the pope the original Byzantine custom, the officium stratoris, the servant's duty, he led his horse a stone's throw, held the stirrup for him as he dismounted, and his holiness was satisfied.

This stratagem was demonstrably performed only four times before I ry, later frequently; the last Roman-German emperor to perform this somewhat ridiculous service was I §30 Charles V in Bologna, Clement VII,

so important and so well-suited to the humble popes. - Especially since the pontificate of Hadrian IV, the simple title "Vicar of Christ" became common for the Holy Fathers."

After the memorable scene at Sutri, a delegation of Roman citizens and revolutionaries, a delegation from the Senate, the commune of the young republic, offered Frederick the imperial crown with all the pomp and oratory of the people, so to speak - in return for recognition of the city's privileges and payment of moon pounds of gold.

The feudalist from Swabia brusquely rejected them, invoking tradition, the politics of nobility and strength in an almost polished speech, presumably written by his chancellery, but in any case never possible with his unpolished Lorch monk's Latin. "The emperors did not fall to us naked," he said,

"not by anyone's bestowal", but -our divine princes Charles and Otto-, the two -great ones-, have "conquered it by valor", have "wrested Rome and Italy from the Greeks and the Lombards". In other words: robbed. From earlier robbers, of course. Like these again from earlier ones. Which then results in law. Constitutional law. -I am your rightful owner-, he (or for him Uncle Otto, the bishop) apostrophized the Roma. - Let those who can, wrest the club from the fist of Hercules ... The hand of the Franks and the Germans has not yet slackened.

A few pithy sentences from emperors or princes of the church make clear the practical, very practical foundation of history - in both senses of the word: the Faustian law! How shamefully this is always glossed over by historians. For military power, i.e. violence, war, is not only, as has been written, a fundamental concern of Hohenstaufen imperial ideology, but of the entire - yet so Christian! - Middle Ages, indeed, the dominant principle of history in general. The crime of war, prepared in each case by the more or less concealed crimes of peace, is the criminal cycle of what we call history, political history, in essence.

in terms of both drive and objectives - the most blatant  
Example: each empire for itself.

As it was feared that Rome would close its gates to the king, the pope advised him to have selected troops secretly occupy St. Peter's and the Leonina, to which Hadrian was confined, which was done at dawn on June 18, 15. Before Frederick then entered the basilica, he solemnly vowed in a small church, Santa Maria in Turri, to always remain a faithful defender of the Roman Church - twelve years later, his soldiers burned down Santa Maria in Turri. In St. Peter's, however, the pontiff celebrated the service and crowned Frederick "with God's gracious mercy" (Otto Morena), whereby Hadrian significantly changed the ritual so that "the subordination of the emperor to the pope became clear" (Kelly) - basically the same game as with Barbarossa's stable service. This is shown by a wealth of details. Hadrian anointed the Hohenstaufen not before the main altar, but before a side altar; not with chrism, but only with the oil of the catechumens; indeed, the ritual of the enthronement, which was particularly important for the coronation, was completely omitted. In short, the ceremony demonstrated at every turn "the emperor's dependence on the pope", which went so far as to turn the emperor into a "mere official" (Cardini) of the pope.

But the Romans, outraged by the imperial-papal cooperation, furious at the coronation without their consent, made a lightning attack across the bridges over the Tiber to the city of Leo that very afternoon, as the emperor and pope sat at a banquet, in order to capture the pope. As usual, they hated the popes even more than the emperors, especially Hadrian the Briton, who always treated them haughtily and harshly and did not even understand their language. - Bishop Otto reports that both sides fought to a draw for a long time,

-Finally, however, the Romans could no longer withstand the fierce attacks of our people and had to retreat. Then you could see how our warriors were as terrible as they were bold

Romans killed by striking them down, and struck them down by killing them, as if to say: Receive now, Rome, instead of Arab gold, German iron! This is the money that your emperor pays you for your crown. This is how the imperial crown is bought from the Franks. This battle lasted almost from the tenth hour of the day until nightfall. Almost a thousand fell or fell ill in the Tiber, about two hundred were captured and countless were wounded ..."<sup>2</sup>

Bishop Otto, enthusiastic about the slaughter, speaks of a "magnificent victory - indeed, he claims that while almost a thousand people died on the opposing side, almost a thousand were killed on his own.

-Miraculously, only one was killed and one captured. The miracles of a bishop's dreams! And of a historian who is still highly acclaimed today. However, we also have a statement about the battle victims from the lodeçen Otto Morena, a layman. He was a judge of his city, xid3 consul and left a writing about the deeds of Emperor Frederick I in Italy, a source "of the highest value - above all because of the author's "conscientiousness and excellent knowledge of detail" (Prelog); -throughout of extraordinary accuracy in the details", -of meticulous effort to achieve the utmost precision in the reproduction of situations and events" (Schmale). While Bishop Otto lies coldly that "miraculously, only one of the Germans was killed and one taken prisoner", the layman Otto Morena states succinctly and all too plausibly: -on both sides many were killed at the battle site, many wounded ... - (multis etiam ab utraque parte in campo interfectis multisque vulteratis).

Already on iq. June i roy, Frederick, who did not have Rome He took all the cardinals and the Pope with him as refugees and was absolved of all guilt for the Roman bloodbath by the Pope and his troops shortly afterwards on the feast of Peter and Paul. For anyone who shed his blood as a soldier for his own prince in the fight against the enemies of the empire was, according to divine and earthly law, not a "murderer, but an avenger" - in Protestant terms."

## ' . . AND TOOK 2NÄRIEDENSEINEN E€"

Now the war against Sicily was to begin. The opportunity was favorable, the mighty Roger II had died, his son William I, with whom Pope Hadrian immediately came into conflict, was still young and sickly, and in Apulia, stirred up by the Holy Father with traditional apostolic art, an 'uprising had broken out. Indeed, Greek troops that had landed on the east coast of Italy had been advancing *successfully* since the beginning of the year. But the German princes did not see the point of such a war and refused to follow the emperor, so that in late summer, weakened by the climate, disease, battles with castles and cities, they returned to Germany without the war against the Norman state that the pope had so longed for, which had far-reaching political consequences.\*

For the time being, however, they traveled along the Via 5-lamina, the old consular road, in peace and planning no evil, and one late July day, battered by exertion and summer heat, they lay below the beautiful, rich, well-fortified Spoleto.

The city had paid the Swabians, who were always very greedy and in need of money - wars are expensive - the required *fodrum\**, a kind of "guest tax", of 800 pounds of silver. However, at least according to German sources, they were supposed to have paid in "counterfeit" coin or to have partially undercut the money. The Spoletans also held an envoy, a Tuscan feudal lord of Frederick and his comrades from the days of the Crusades, hostage, but were willing to negotiate about everything and immediately. But whether they opened the gates to the approaching PÖtentaten in penitence or out of pure courtesy, out of hospitality, or whether they attempted a lunge, which without their wall protection would immediately put them at a serious disadvantage, the imperial noblemen immediately forced their way into the treasure chest lying open before them; probably in order to save themselves for the all too long military journey or to rehabilitate themselves a little for the journey home, so to speak.



to get into a bit of a posture and position. In any case, the Frederician court chaplain and historian Gottfried von Viterbo reports: -Whoever of the emperor's knights had entered Spoleto poor, left it overloaded with treasures - but before that they ruined and murdered in the best Teutonic fashion, killing a large part of the inhabitants, including the city's cathedral, which **collapsed** in flames.<sup>o</sup>

In peace, Otto Morena reports, the emperor went on his way - behind him, we may add, looted cities that were often nothing more than quarries, piles of rubble that no longer even smoked. But then the Veronese, bribed with money by the Maylanders, did not allow the returning army to continue its journey in peace. To the Swabian's great annoyance, they hindered his return march and after a fierce battle on the Heider side, the people fled Verona. "The emperor pursued them fiercely, captured about a thousand of them and had more than 200 Veronese have their noses and lips cut off, he also had over 200 Veronese hanged from the trees that were in the place; the other prisoners he had led into the camp and put firmly in chains.

After all: at least a few hundred maimed and hanged instead of an unconquered Norman empire.

But what the German emperor promised, the Greek one seemed to deliver. His "neojustinian" intentions (cf. II 4^4 Ü!) took on an unrecognizable form. His army quickly fought its way south from Ancona to Bari, as far as Brindisi, many were bribed with gold, and the war was over. The resistance was small, but the numbers were large. And so the **Pope** himself hastened to lead a sizeable contingent into the victorious battle."

But suddenly the situation changed completely.

## PACT WITH THE ENEMY

The Sicilian King William I (-- i4 - i66), already pronounced dead after a serious illness, invaded Calabria in the spring of iy6 with a strong force consisting mainly of Muslims, not only crushing the Greeks but also putting increasing pressure on the Papal States. And now, in the face of the general collapse, Pope Hadrian IV - in full freedom, as he emphasized - went over to his previous opponent with waving banners, which dashed many hopes in Lower Italy. William's cities and part of his nobility revolted, a revolt which the king crushed with his usual severity, imprisoning, maiming and killing many barons and turning Bart into a pile of rubble {Hugo Pa)cnn- dus). It was no coincidence that William was nicknamed -Il Malen.

And the Pope now made a pact with this "evil". He paid dearly for it, as the Treaty of Benevento (JtiRi I IJ6) shows. He absolved William from ecclesiastical banishment and finally legalized his Norman-Sicilian kingdom, thereby denying both the German and Byzantine emperors any right to it. William I received the long-sought (hereditary) enfeoffment of Sicily, Apulia and Capua, but only paid interest for the mainland provinces. And for Sicily he received extraordinary ecclesiastical privileges (legates' rights, decisive influence on the occupation of bishoprics, etc.), because the pope made far-reaching concessions and finally made peace with the Sicilian empire, whose gold now also opened the gates of Rome to him. Indeed, two years later, i i J8, Hadrian also brokered a thirty-year peace between the Sicilian and Greek regnums, which had been close enemies until then, between William I and Manuel I. The third party in the alliance was, of course, himself. And this Triple Alliance signed by the Pope was now directed against none other than its previous ally, the German Emperor, with whom Rome was now engaged in wars that lasted for decades. After a few years of friendship

the two highest Christian representatives in the West, the emperor and the pope, fight each other like the plague, they fight over the rule of Italy, the goal of the Hohenstaufen hegemony as well as the imperial papacy."

The news of the Pope's Benevento Pact with Sicily greatly agitated the Emperor. He must have seen it as an outright abandonment of the German-Papal Treaty of Constance, the letter of which was not violated, but the spirit of which was; which obviously corresponded to a significant part of the College of Cardinals. Frederick vilified the pope as a brute, and the cardinals who had helped him in his efforts as rebels and traitors. For the Concordat of Benevento stood, at least indirectly, 'in the sharpest contradiction to the Treaty of Constance' (Hampe).

Other incidents also poisoned the atmosphere.

In the summer of 1177, Archbishop Eskil of Lund, the Primate of Sweden and Denmark, a member of the Empire to whom the Pope felt particularly attached, was killed on his return from Rome.

captured in Burgundy and handed over to the emperor at his request. Hadrian interceded for his liberation. At the Diet of Besancon in October 1177, two cardinals from Rome, one of them Roland, the Chancellor of the Church, delivered a provocative letter of protest - note the order - "distinguished by wealth, maturity and dignity". In it, the Pope also claimed, among other things, that the Roman Church had elevated Frederick in every way, bestowing on him, the most glorious son, the fullness of honors, whereby he referred to the imperial crown conferred on him as *-beneficium-*, which could mean both *-benefice-* and *-fiefdom-*. Matt had already bestowed many "beneficia" on Frederick and, Hadrian wrote, would have granted him "even greater benefits" (*maiora beneficia*) if only it had been possible.

Rainald von Dassel, later Archbishop of Cologne (1177-1191). Frederick's leading statesman, who made his great debut in Besancon, used the reading of the papal letter to cleverly distract attention from Eskil's arrest by "beneficium" with "fief- translated: not incorrect at all, but

The way Rome wanted it to be understood, the way they understood the service of the Stratord and the Vatican fresco. The scandal was there. The princes objected vehemently. And when one of the legals, possibly the Cardinal Chancellor himself, added fuel to the fire and coolly asked:

"Who did the emperor get the imperial title from, if not the Pope?" the outrage escalated into a riot, and the Bavarian Count Palatine Otto I of Wittelsbach attacked the cardinal with his sword drawn, forcing the emperor to intervene and protect him with his own body."

After a search of the cardinal's luggage, which contained incriminating documents and revealed one of the usual pecuniary fleecing trips, the legals were expelled and the borders were closed to German clerics who traveled to Rome without a bishop's permission. In an explosive circular letter to the German clergy, however, the emperor explained how he had prevented the papal envoys from "spraying their poison on the German churches in the usual way, stripping the altars, continuing the consecrated vessels, scraping the gilding off the crosses - with the help of many identical letters and sealed sheets. He also denounced the Pope as a disturber of the peace, as a purveyor of evil, and above all rejected the view of the Empire as a fiefdom of the Church as

•Lie" back.

The Pope, for his part, protested against the outrageous treatment of his legals, our most capable brothers, and demanded that the German bishops "build a protective wall around the house of the Lord". Surprisingly, however, the prelates unanimously took the emperor's side. And since he had already gathered a huge army, the pope flinched and had two other cardinals, who appeared in Augsburg in June 1158, present the whole thing as a misunderstanding in a lengthy epistle full of flimsy excuses."

## THAT EVERYTHING IS TO THE BEST OF THE GENERAL AND INEI'1ANDRRGREIPT

In June ii J8, Barbarossa appeared in Italy for the second time with probably the strongest army that had ever crossed the Alps, primarily to subdue Milan. Of course, there was already much more behind this, his quest for so-called world domination (dominium miindi). In the meantime, however, Milan had built colossal and costly armaments, allegedly for o 000 silver marks, an astronomical sum. It had built towers, walls, war *machines* of the master Guitelmo, the legendary "genius". And it had also attacked and destroyed many towns and castles, especially those of the Pavese, taking about zo castles from them in the valley of Lugano alone.

Even after the emperor, alongside the Bohemian king and others, had begun the usual pillaging, tearing down castles, destroying villages and collecting booty, money and hostages in the bishopric of Brescia, he issued extremely detailed peace laws for his army. Because peace is needed, if you overlook others with war, with a "just war", of course, as Frederick's speech to the army makes clear. With a "just war - that is, after a just cause for war". Because of course the Milanese

-Rebels against the rightful rule. And of course the German Reich fights - not out of belligerence or cruelty, but out of love for peace, so that the insolence of the wicked may be put in its place and the good may reap the due reward for their obedience. "We do not do wrong, but repel it. And ... All of you who wish to achieve the highest glory in war and in due course receive the reward for your merits and efforts, be obedient for the benefit of the 5state and fulfill to the best of your ability what you are ordered to do for the common good. With God's gracious help, the enemy city shall not find us indolent, not degenerate in the preservation of what our predecessors Charles and Otto have added to the titles of glory of the empire and were the first among

those living on the other side of the Alps ... have contributed to the expansion of the borders of the empire."''

As you can see, everything here is fair and good, simply great, yes, great, all for the benefit of the state and that means for the common good, no question. You only have to listen. Only the phrase "extending the borders of the empire" could give pause for thought. And as the Milanese did not give in, the emperor moved closer to them. Hardly any of his advisors were as heated against them as a cleric, the Premonstratensian monk Anselm of Havelberg, the Archbishop of Ravenna, who was about to die outside Milan's walls. Just as -about aoo- soldiers had previously died from a collapsing bridge over the river Adda' while those who had already crossed it were already 'killing many of the country people' (Otto Morena). As you *can see*, here - as in all wars - *one thing* quickly and sensibly leads to another. And it goes without saying that the emperor, whose cavalry alone a Milanese chronicler estimates at "at least ry ooo", is also active in the most efficient way', as are all of the emperor's princes, their men-at-arms, plus strong Lombard units, especially Pavia and Cremona, but also warriors from Pisa, Lucca, Siena, Florence - they *all* help the regent to rule, so to speak, scorched earth tactics, making a tabula rasa around Milan, cutting down crops, vines, fruit trees, burning houses, mills, villages and castles, week after week, ruining "almost the entire territory" until the Milanese had only a few places left that were not completely destroyed or devastated" (Otto Morena), and submitted unconditionally."

Arß September 8, behind a huge pile of wooden

The archbishop, the clergy, the consumers and other city celebrities passed the victor naked, wrapped in sacks and with their unsheathed swords hung around their necks. And at the following Imperial Diet in Roncaglia, the Milanese returned all royal rights to Frederick "and granted him the benefit of them all". They also had to erect a palatium for the emperor in their city, a stone

symbol of his tyranny, they had to pay the high indemnity of 9000 silver marks. And of course they all, the Archbishop Obertus, the consuls, the Lombard prelates and secular princes present, had to swear allegiance to the monarch, they had to solemnly promise, all unanimously, but each for himself ... in the future to maintain unbroken and constant peace among themselves and towards all persons- (Otto Morena).

But the very next year, less than seven months later, they broke their oath. And when Reinald von Dassel came to Milan in January as the emperor's plenipotentiary, he had to barricade himself in the town hall and flee the city again in the night and is said to have sworn its downfall."

In the spring of 1174, the emperor imposed a ban on Milan and the equally rebellious Crema. The "crime of high treason" had been committed by the "godless city", the "crime of lèse-majesté", "a useless right of conscience", "a criminal people", he could incite and paint black and white like the priests.

Meanwhile, Pope Hadrian had not remained inactive. He mediated the alliance between Sicily and Byzantium against Frederick, interfered in the Lombard unrest and drove Milan and other cities against the ruler, as letters intercepted prove. In general, the popes supported the rebellious Stiuks, in which a separate papal party operated everywhere, in order to foment strife during the Staufer regiment (1174-1184), which lasted for hundreds of years. This led to mutual unfriendliness, accusations, complaints, imperial (tax) encroachments on papal territory and further intrigues by the Pope, who, however, rejected Frederick's proposal to appoint an impartial court of arbitration consisting of six cardinals and six princes. He had already become far too deeply entangled in his anti-imperial policy, conspiring once again with the Normans, and had even condemned Milan, Brescia and Piacenza in a - long planned - secret treaty in July or August 1174.

Hadrian was obliged not to make peace with the emperor without his permission, while he himself wanted to excommunicate his "son beloved in Christ", as he apostrophized Frederick in a letter, to whom he sent "greetings and apostolic blessing", within forty days if he did not comply. But before war broke out, Hadrian died after a short illness on i. SeptembC.f II§Q in Anagni,^

In the meantime, however, the emperor had realized that the Milanese overmuch could only be broken with a hard and firm hand (Rahewin). So he prepared himself, summoned secular and ecclesiastical imperial princes, troops and auxiliaries, repaired forts and fortifications, and even fortified New Lodi, only twenty miles from Milan, with the utmost zeal throughout the whole of the fa- stern period. And it was precisely during the fierce days of Easter that the Milanese attacked Trezzo Castle, which had previously *belonged* to them, and after three days of fighting, slew some of the defenders, especially their own compatriots, r o b b e d the city completely and 'incinerated' it.

**Drs BELAGETtUNG OF CREMA  
OR "THE MILDNESS OF HIS COUNTENANCE ...'**

Barbarossa, for his part, devastated the "enemy country" for forty consecutive days according to every trick in the book. He destroyed castles, towers and fortifications, fought small battles here and there, and even crucified (Rahewin) a villain who wanted to kill him, in true Christian fashion, as he deserved. And then, in July, he began the siege of Crema, a Milanese bridgehead in the north of the province of Cremona, for the destruction of which Cremona had promised him i 000 silver marks - in itself a certain incentive for his eternal hunger for money, who had of course long since recognized the sheer inexhaustible sums that could be extracted from these Lombard cities for relatively little effort.



At that time, he also lured the Milanese, who had all fled into the city, into an ambush, where the encircled enemies, as Canon Rahewin reports, "who could neither fight nor flee, were mercilessly cut down. Finally, as far as one could see, everything was covered with bullets' weapons and bodies (cadaveribus) of the dead or wounded to death." The emperor himself reported to Bishop Albert of Freising - for consolation - that the Lord had done great things for us, he had done things for which we have become joyful and give the deepest thanks to God. For God gave many Milanese into our hands, so that on ry. July, when the division of the apostles is celebrated, we led away 600 of the bravest of the city in fetters as prisoners, while about 150 were killed in the fields and streets. But the number of drowned and wounded was without measure or number. So we returned to New Lodi as victors.""

Before Crema, there were still occasions for cheerful trust in God many.

When the Cremasques attacked, the battle was so intense that the streams in the area were stained and swollen with the blood of the dead and wounded. Nevertheless, both sides remained in good spirits and again treated each other to quite Christian sights, - when those who were outside cut off the heads of the dead and played with them like balls, throwing them from the right hand into the left, boasting cruelly and mocking them; But the people in the city thought it dishonorable to dare less, and without pity they cut up the captives of our Heere on the walls limb by limb, and thus presented a pitiful spectacle" (Rahewin).°

As the emperor's "patient gentleness" also makes the cream masks

-Since the long period of occupation of such a small town obviously jeopardized Frederick's reputation for invincibility, he gave the order,

to "take revenge" and hang the prisoners on the gallows outside their gates. However, the defiant people also hanged

his prisoners, Germans and Italians from Frederick's army, on the cross or stabbed them, which is why Barbarossa, according to all his

Seeing his "humanity", his "gentleness", exposed to contempt, outraged by the fact that these captives -were on an equal footing with the victors-, ordered several dozen hostages to be hanged. Likewise other rich prisoners of war, including the nephew of the Bishop of Milan, despite all their high promises of money, but this only spurred the Umzjn- gelten to increased resistance, so that Barbarossa naturally believed he had to confront the unruly and ordered their hostages to be tied to the machines and "exposed to the bullets of their guns ... of which there were nine in the city". Even young boys were tied to the siege machines. And since on the other side were not men, but barbarians, beasts, -'one could see how here the children tied to the machines begged their parents and reproached them with words or gestures for their cruelty and inhumanity, while on the other side the unhappy fathers complained about their unfortunate children and described themselves as the most deplorable people, but did not stop shooting".

The -Narratio de Longobardie obpressione et subiectione -, the Narrative of an unknown Milanese citizen about the under-oppression and subjugation of the Lombafdei between i -J4 and

\*77. lists by name a whole series of those so horribly killed and adds, "and they were martyred to death in a way in which - as we read - no one ever perished.

g"8\*-

But even such disputes cannot stifle all noble impulses. And so a truly Catholic chorus rose up from the city: -O blessed ones, who are granted to die well (!), start to live badly! *Do not* be afraid to *die* . . For death brings freedom to *souls*, and the most blessed are those who have died for their fatherland and thus have already attained immortality. How many of our ancestors - it is true! - are in such

The first died in such conditions, some were tortured and martyred by fire or beating, while the others, half-eaten by wild beasts, were saved alive for their second murder ... -"

Yes, always good, good Christian death.

But in the end, the Cremasks preferred to live. Stricken by hunger, lack of water, epidemics and many other hardships, they gave up at the end of January 1160. About 20 000 struggled out of the city with what they could carry on their shoulders. And just then Barbarossa, "the benevolent emperor, the most benevolent emperor", as he is so fondly, so eagerly called, showed how "mild and merciful" he was, showed "that the most Christian emperor, after he had laid aside his angry mind and hostile attitude, helped the Cremasks to leave through a narrow passage through which they were leaving and, together with other warriors, escorted one of their soldiers out with his own hands. Such a detached act of kindness and imperial clemency must be an example to all people." An extraordinary example also insofar as the victors now plundered and mercilessly burned down Crema - and - also destroyed some of the churches in the fortress (Orto Morena). "Once the destruction was complete, the divine emperor marched to Pavia to the cheers of the entire army in a joyous celebration of victory." And the people of Pavia also praised "his majesty and the mildness of his countenance ..." (Rahewin).

Truly, is it not quite like Emperor Henry the Holy! -His serene countenance proclaimed the goodness of his hero ... - Yes, didn't they all, the great Christian bloodsuckers, radiate cheerfulness and goodness, gentleness and made the world happy?

In the meantime, Pope Hadrian IV had died. And as so often, his death triggered a tumultuous double election, which was followed by an eighteen-year schism (with several antipopes).

## THE KAMPF BETWEEN BARBAROSSA AND ALEXANDER III BURNS OUT

The College of Cardinals consisted of a Hadrianic faction led by the Pope's nephew Bodo and a smaller imperial faction. Both groups gathered in St. Peter's for the election. And as early as 7. September 1159, the Hadrianic party called for the Chancellor Cardinal Orlando (Roland) Bandinelli, a once celebrated Bolognese jurist, as Alexander III. But no sooner had he wrapped himself in the red cloak than Cardinal Ottaviano, from the emperor-friendly Monticelli family, presumably related to the European high nobility, often to the Hohenstaufen dynasty, tore him apart in a scuffle, in "with mad folly", wrote Alexander III, "like a man possessed, forcibly from our shoulders" and then threw on another cloak, albeit reversed in his haste and excitement. It happened, as we believe, by divine providence, that the part of the cloak that should have covered the front covered the back, to the laughter of the many who were watching; he tried diligently to change it, but, beside himself with rage, could not find the hood of the cloak and wrapped the tassels around his neck ...-. But the ridiculousness of the scene was drowned out by the clanging of swords as the "armed hirelings", as Alexander called them, stormed into St. Peter's, and a quickly intoned solemn tedeum.

Cardinal Ottaviano di Monticelli, the cloak artist, relied on a minority or, according to Otto Morena, the "healthier part of the cardinals" (saniori parte cardinalium), on the mass of Romans and the imperial envoy Otto von Wittelsbach. Orlando, however, who initially wanted to resign, entrenched himself in the castle near St. Peter's, the "Castle of the Church", where he was locked up for nine days by bribed senators. Finally, like his adversary, he disappeared from the city, where his supporters beat each other bloody. On 18. September, Orlando was arrested in Cisterna, in the south of the Papal States, near

of the Normans, was elected pope and consecrated as Alexander III (i i q - i i 8 i) two days later in Ninfa (south-east of Velletri). For over two decades, he was at the center of the world's battles. He pursued a pro-Norman policy and

was a personal enemy of Emperor Frederick, who had Cardinal Ottaviano consecrated pope as Victor IV in the imperial abbey of Farfa at 4 October - the Victor IV of antio i138 (p. 450 .) was simply ignored in the count.'

Supported by the King of Sicily and his money, Alexander immediately began to campaign for himself from Spain to England, calling his - indeed, quite Catholic - opponents -false brothers", -devils-, who worshiped his rival Victor "like an idol and an idol", especially since the latter -acts as if he were God-, and yet is merely a schismatic-, -apostate-, a -deadly plague", "a picture of the future times of the Antichrist". Soon, his opponent's propaganda was also spreading far and wide, and by accusing each other of lying, both popes were probably even telling the truth ...<sup>13</sup>

A poorly attended council in Pavia, the emperor's Italian capital, formally recognized Victor IV as the rightful pope on i i February ii60 and solemnly cursed Alexander III the following day, whose hostility to the empire was once again proven by intercepted letters to Milan. He was invited but did not appear, the church assembly, under Reinald of Cologne, was attended by all the imperial bishops, about fifty, whose number was tripled by all kinds of manipulations in order to enhance the resolutions. Alexander, for his part, banished Victor IV once again, excommunicated the monarch and Iöste all his subjects from oath and duty, which of course nobody cared about. Alexander's followers defamed the council all the more - with tales that could not have been true, but which Alexander himself had given himself over to spreading (Haller).

Like all the actual heirs of Gregory VII, Alexander III was the sworn enemy of an independent, self-sufficient empire, a "Sacrum Imperium", or "Holy Empire", which he wanted to establish with all his fellow emperors.

to desacralize, profane and demonize it. On the other hand, Hohenstaufen propaganda presented the empire as a power of salvation, the emperor as the bailiff of Christendom, representative of the heavenly emperor, his wars as holy wars (iustis- sima bella), his policies as inspired by the Holy Spirit. One Imperial Diet was moved to Pentecost, another was proclaimed as the Curia Christi, as the -Reichstag Christie, an invitation was gladly addressed to -the faithful of God and the Empire", every rebel against the emperor was declared a rebel against God, a -public enemy of God and the Empire-.'<sup>2</sup>

The battle between Alexander III and the German emperor now flared up in full force. Apart from Germany (with the sole exception of Salzburg) and Imperial Italy, only **Denmark**, Bohemia and Poland stood by Frederick and his pope. Behind Alexander, who as Barbarossa's actual opponent initially lost almost the entire Papal States, so that he went to France in the spring of 1162, stood above all the English and French Church, which had to pay for his upkeep, which was also enforced by penalties, Hungary, Castile, Norway, Ireland, Venice, the Oriental princes and, last but not least, Milan, Brescia and Piacenza."

### "REMEMBER YOUR KINDNESS, O LORD!"

Barbarossa had fought Milan throughout the year 1160 with increasing fury, with unusually gruesome slaughter even at that time, mutilating and killing prisoners and in 1161 supplementing his predominantly Italian troops with German ones. Several dukes, prelates and other nobles brought in supplies; Archbishop Reinald of Cologne alone brought in knights, each of whom naturally led his squires.

Bishop Henry II of Würzburg (1159-1190) even used the cathedral treasury to finance his "warriors" fencing off Milan

(in return for pledging all of his income), but also became indebted to Ebrach Abbey and the Jews. The dedicated imperial politician only had some time for the spiritual, his diocese, in his last two years, when he had three forgeries of royal charters made in the names of Henry the Saint, Conrad II and Henry **III**, which granted the bishop of Würzburg the title of duke in East Franconia! However, the ducal dreams of Bishop Herold's successor were far from being fulfilled, as Barbarossa apparently recognized and ignored the clerical trickery\*.

Incidentally, the "most Christian emperor" continued the battle for Milan. He repeatedly used the tactic of scorched earth, burning, passing and fighting. Once, when the noble Adam de Palatino was caught, the emperor "had him hanged immediately under the eyes of the Milanese. Their poor wood gatherers also had their hands cut off. Likewise merchants who wanted to bring market goods into the city. And when Frederick took the rock castle of Corno (Vecchio) with more than a hundred people on the feast of St. Prosper and the Virgin Severa, he also had them all "cut off a hand" {Otto or Acerbus Morena), put many in prison, set fire to the castle and r a z e d it to the ground."

The Milanese defended themselves to the best of their ability, naturally also with the help of the clergy, who then ordered Archbishop Obert, Archpriest Millo and Deacon Caldinus - in the name of Almighty God and St. Ambrose - to confidently go to battle in the knowledge that God was with them. . . -.

If one reads the *Narratio de Longobardie obpressione* by the Milanese Anonymus, one gets the impression, which of course is not deceptive at all, that Barbarossa's actual business as a ruler during all these years consisted in rolling down, in crushing, and again and again also in rolling cruelty - which was of course in keeping with the times. Contemporary Christianity. In any case, it did not contradict Christianity, not the

practiced and not preached Christianity - like so many centuries before and so many after! Again and again Barbarossa devastates one place after another, Vera- no, Briosco, Legnano, Nerviano, Pogliano, Morimondo, again and again he destroys, burns down, ruins above all the fields, the grain, the flax, the fruit-bearing trees around Milan - even at a distance of io to i miles from the city (Otto or Acerbus Morena). Again and again he also kills, mutilates - "and ordered that they should pluck out the eyes of six of his prisoners ... But he cut off the nose of Suzo de Mizano and left him one eye so that he could lead the others to Milan. Meanwhile, those who brought (goods for) the market to Milan from Piacenza or elsewhere, if they were caught, had their right hand cut off; and in one day zy were amputated." The miserable death of the animals is hardly ever mentioned. Once soo horses are "lost" (ducentis equis ibi amissis ...)."

In the spring of i i6z, Milan was starved and ready to surrender, although its clergy, at least the chief priests, Archbishop Obert, Archpriest Miho, Archdeacon Galdinus and a few others, escaped to Pope Alexander in Genoa in time. At the beginning of March, however, Milan's councillors and 30 knights submitted with swords around their necks, as did 36 flag bearers who kissed Frederick's feet. It was a Sunday, and they sang "fittingly," as the imperial notary Biiirhard wrote to the abbot of Siegburg, "Remember your clemency, O Lord!"

The councillors, knights and judges were kept as cel- lords, and then northern Italy's largest and richest city was razed to the ground with all i t s walls, towers and moats - only the churches remained (and about fifty percent of the houses). The cathedral's campanile still stood, supposedly more beautiful than any other in the country. Barbarossa, however, soon had it "knocked down, and it fell on the cathedral and destroyed a large part of the church". According to the Milanese Anonymiis, Cremonese, Lodese, Pavese, Novarese, Comasques and other Lombards had given the emperor "a large, indeed enormous amount of money".



"and they came three times that year to destroy the city and level the ditches ...".<sup>7</sup>

The commune was dissolved and the population transplanted to open villages in the surrounding area under the supervision of an imperial podesta. And perhaps only now did the worst begin for the expellees, who were cupped more and more under each new podesta. For even if our unknown Ivlai man, an eyewitness, had exaggerated Erg, which is unlikely, it would still be outrageous enough. But today one generally notes "the precise, realistic, detail-oriented narrative style that is characteristic of Italian authors of this period" (Schmale).

The first leader of the exiles, Bishop Henry of Liège, appointed a certain Petrus de Cumino, who invented "innumerable forms of oppression". On one occasion, by imperial decree, he took two thirds of the rent, a third of the chestnuts, nuts, hay and a quarter of the fruit from the farmers and peasants. However, he also extorted ptiva' u "quantities of money" for himself and took honey and wine at his own discretion. In addition, the oxen of the Milanese had to provide harnessing services, had to carry stones and sand from their rubble heap city to build the palace in Monza, the palace at Vigentino and the castle at Landriano.

Because of his harshness, Peter was replaced by the cleric Friedrich, who, however, was even more greedy and stubborn.  
was.

-For all that Peter had left to anyone from the quarter and third of the interest, he demanded in its entirety, and in its place came five overseers, headed by the abbot of San Pietro in Ciel d'oro. And while the lords lived in the emperor's palatium during the unusually snowy winter of i i6d/i i65, which spoiled the crops beyond all measure, "together with horses and many servants", they collected half of the tithe from all the lands, the whole tithe from the sheep, oo pigs, "Chickens and eggs without Mafi", iooo loads of wood and hay, -un- limited transportation services", always money, lots of money. - Whoever could not pay the tribute due to poverty had to pay double later, or his possessions were confiscated. -"

But the "benevolent emperor", the "all-merciful emperor", as his contemporary Acerbus Morena, son of Otto Morena, also called him, enjoyed his judgment, which shocked the world, declared in a manifesto, "God himself has judged the arrogance of the city", dated his documents "after the destruction of Mayland" and celebrated the glorious feast of the Resurrection of the Lord in neighbouring Pavia. He celebrated mass "with the greatest joy", attended *ctu fesrmaail* in the curia of the Orr5bishop, and among the many dining princes of the church and counts, as participant Acerbus Morena reports, there was -greatest pleasure and greatest joy at the happiness that God had just bestowed on the emperor.

And in his victory frenzy, he gave the countless relics of the destroyed city to his prelates. Reinald von Dassel, the metropolitan of Cologne, who played a major role in Milan's destruction and robbery, received the most precious relics, the alleged bodies of the three kings, and "translocated" them to Cologne - where they are still the pride of the cathedral today. And the portrait bust of the robber still rotates in the spandrel of the rear façade."

After the fall of Milan, the Brescians and the Piacentines also surrendered, Bologna submitted, Imola, Faenza, fortifications, towers, city walls were destroyed, trenches destroyed, castles and huge sums of money surrendered. In short, the emperor came out on top everywhere that summer, with the whole of Lombardy at his mercy. He now wanted to move against Sicily, but a war that broke out between his allies, the naval powers of Pisa and Genoa, which he was unable to settle even with all his diplomatic skill, caused him to abandon the project. He went to Burgundy to win over Louis VII and France, but also failed. Pope Alexander III thanked Louis effusively for resisting the emperor's ploys, but sought contact with him through his own embassy, even offering him forgiveness through the Archbishop of Salzburg, who belonged to Rome - and at the same time endeavored to increase Barbarossa's enemies by bringing the Byzantine basileus into the Anglo-French-Sicilian alliance.

The papal authorities wanted to involve the anti-Friedrich front, admittedly without success: the well-known curial intrigue; perhaps the greatest papal virtuoso: John VIII (V 4 chap., esp. p. zyy f!)"

The aforementioned Metropolis of Salzburg, Eberhard I ( 47 \*\*4) was the leader of the south German papal party and a staunch opponent of Barbarossa. He had carefully planned his career. First he persuaded his brothers to convert their Castle Biburg iii Lower Bavaria into a Benedictine monastery, where he became the first abbot in i i 33. Afterwards, his contacts with the king and pope during his efforts to have Henry canonized enabled him to rise to the position of Salzburg's church leader. Eberhard conspired with Byzantium, France and Hungary and resisted all invitations from the emperor. However, nothing came of his aspired sanctification, even though he already had a notorious reputation for holiness during his lifetime."

### THIRD AND FOURTH ITALY OF BARBAROSSA

In the fall of i i63, Frederick was back in the south - it was his third Italian campaign - to finally attack Rome and Sicily. However, he encountered more and more difficulties in northern Italy: the Veronese, Paduans, Vicentines and other cities rebelled. The Venetians, hitherto on friendly terms with the Germans, feared Frederick's new trade and financial policy and became hostile to the empire. In the spring of I• 4 , they used Emperor Manuel's money to drive out those dissatisfied with the German rulers, neighboring towns exploited by them to rebel and to joined forces with Vicenza, Padua and shortly afterwards also with Verona, which had previously been traditionally loyal to the emperor, in the Veronese Btind. The papal court, which had repeatedly sent cardinals to Venice, rejoiced.

Ten days before the planned Sicilian campaign, on zo. April i, Antipope Victor IV died in Lucca.

Chancellor Rainald von Dassel then, without his lord's decision to appoint the high-ranking Cardinal Guido von Crema as Paschal III (1164 - 1168) as the new antipope. He initially resided in central Italy and was soon recognized by Frederick, but found fewer supporters than his predecessor, who had been the emperor's rule was particularly strong in Germany, where the Wittelsbach Konrad fell away from Barbarossa, who had elevated him to Archbishop of Mainz only a few years earlier. Now he went over to Alexander III and became a cardinal, while the emperor appointed Imperial Chancellor Christian von Buch as chief shepherd of Mainz in his place (1167-1183), an excellent organizer, diplomat and troop leader who was unconditionally devoted to him."

Once again, the Hohenstaufen had to abandon the Sicilian campaign. In fact, he was not even able to suppress the rebellion in Upper Italy in the summer and returned to Germany in the fall to gather new troops, while his administrators extorted seven times more from the Lombards than the empire was rightfully entitled to. According to the Lodeser Anonymus (the continuator of the *Libellus of Acerbos Morena*, a victim of the Roman plague anno 1167), the oppression must have been immense, would have been the height of exploitation. Barbarossa listened to the complaints of the Italians at his court in Lodi and initially - the tactic of the perfect politician - showed great compassion for them; in the end, however, he disregarded the complaints of the Lombards, indeed for nothing, and as a result did nothing. The next year, Pope Alexander sailed across the sea to Mesina, where he stayed for almost three months as a guest of King William I, then traveled to Ostia on Sicilian warships and, in November 13, arrived in Rome, admittedly only after Alexander's vicar there, Cardinal John, had dealt with the Romans, who were outraged by the German destruction of cities and tax policy, and above all bribed them with enough money. In the meantime, Imperial Chancellor Archbishop Christian had conquered the entire Papal States, but was unable to take Rome itself, which is why he at least ravaged the surrounding area to the best of his ability. Archbishop Villanus was expelled

from Pisa and

the cathedral canon Benincasa was made the new chief shepherd by antipope Paschal III - for Pope Alexander a -dog that feeds on sputum. Fierce battles also broke out in the archbishopric of Salzburg, where chief shepherd Conrad II, who had only been gifted the imperial abbey of Niedernburg in Passau by Barbarossa, sided with Alexander."

At the Imperial Diet of Würzburg at Pentecost i i6, the Emperor made those present swear, under threat of losing their fiefdoms and offices, never to recognize Alexander as Pope, but to always adhere to the obedience of Paschalis or his successor. Even two envoys of the Engian king were said to have sworn in, although this was already disputed at the time. The Primate of Germany, Archbishop Conrad of Mainz, had not sworn. He escaped unnoticed in Würzburg and hurried to France to join Alexander, who continued to rely on the Normans and again conspired more intensively with Manuel I *of Byzantium*."

In November i i6, Frederick crossed the Alps for the fourth time to finally conquer Sicily and the city of the Holy Father Alexander. 5A sizable army consisted mostly of troops from the geistic princes. At least eleven bishops led their soldiers and three abbots. For the first time, however, there were also Brabant zones among them, bands of oaths from Brabant, professional warriors who were soon feared for their brutality and led by William of Cambrai, a former cleric.

The emperor also got his money's worth. He liked to cash in on Gei-

So hostages, too hostages, zoo hostages, but above all money, large sums of money, sometimes 500 pounds imperial, sometimes 6'x'o pounds lucchese, from Bologna money, from Imola, Faenza, from Forli and Forlimpopoli, from Ancona money. And, of course, as much as possible was hemorrhaged according to the tried and tested government method. Because the more devastation, the more fear. The more fear, the more money and subjugation. The more money and subjugation, the greater the power. So Your Majesty devastated castles and villages around Brescia, Bergamo and Bologna. And

What you couldn't do yourself, there were the allies, the the dreaded Pavesen, for example.

In the spring of 1066, the Germans advanced in two separate columns of troops. With one group, the Kaiser, breaking all resistance by force without squeamishness, marched along the coast of the Adriatic Sea against the Sicilian Empire, which, after the death of Wilhelm I in 1066, was now headed by the eleven-year-old Wilhelm II. The second army group, the along the Tyrrhenian Sea against the city of the Holy Father Alexander was sensibly led by two archbishops, Reinald von Dassel (Cologne) and Christian von Buch (Mainz), the latter, incidentally, not only a particularly warlike but also sex-loving prince of the church who kept a harem of beautiful girls."

As the Romans had just attacked the neighboring, dead little Tusculum, Reinald immediately threw himself into the city with a kind of vanguard to defend it, whereupon it was surrounded. And when Archbishop Christian von Buch rushed in from Ancona with a contingent of the main force to relieve the city, he was, greatly weary

det from the onslaught in the heat of the day, on May 17, Whit Monday, in the midday hours by the poorly armed but vastly outnumbered Roman army - the Lodeser Anonymus mentions more than 30,000 men - heavily besieged, almost defeated. But then Archbishop

Reinald, who had followed the course of the battle from Tusculum, himself waving the banner from the heights with his band of horsemen flashing under battle axes, routed the popes with the - perhaps now somewhat inappropriate - field cry "St. Peter help" and the chorale "Christ, The fleeing troops of the Mainz shepherd regained their strength, and now, in hours of hard work, the impending fiasco was turned into a total victory, the "most brilliant", according to Hauck, known in the Middle Ages. A Cardinal Alexander laments a second Cannae, Archbishop Reinald after reports to the diocesans of Cologne that his Holiness has been struck dead and writes the "incomprehensible

Success", as deeply humble as it is pious, "not to our powers and merits, but solely to divine goodness and Huid. -The unfortunate Romans were slaughtered like cattle on all roads and fields from Tusculum to Rome; the number of slain is estimated at nine thousand. When the knights turned back from the bloodbath, they captured such a number of Romans that the Archbishop of Ytainz, myself and Chancellor Philip counted a little over five thousand prisoners ...- - According to the Lodeser Anonymus killed more than 2000 Romans, captured more than 3 , knights and footmen. -They led them all bound to the city of Viterbo and threw them all into the dungeon there.""

**ST. STER IN Ü LAMMEN, BARBAROSSA tM TIME OF HIS  
REST AND "A WONDERFUL  
DEADLY PESTI LEHTIA"**

The defenders of the place immediately began to destroy Rome. At the end of July, the emperor, informed of the events and summoned by antipope Paschalis to the

- He was in front of the city walls with his Solda- teska to cut the seed and harvest the grapes. Rome's conquest, even the capture of Alexander, was far more important to him than any victory over the Normans. Already in Apulia, he had approached in rapid marches and drove his army from the march to Stiirm.

An attack on Castel Sant'Angelo was repulsed by the papal bodyguard. But on 24. July i r67 "the emperor conquered the city of Leost, which was defended only by the popes, and the next day he and his archbishop's army leaders stormed St. Peter's Basilica, which at the time was a complete fortress bristling with weapons and with throwing machines on the roof. For days, even a whole week, they had been trying in vain to conquer St. Peter's until the Germans, who were always attacking in vain, were able to take refuge in the neighboring church.



Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, whereupon its sanctuary burned down completely, but the fire *spread* to *St. Peter's* and a small part of the cathedral went up in flames.

King Conrad's 5th son and cousin of the emperor, Frederick IV of Rothenburg, had the cathedral doors smashed with axes. Inside St. Peter's, whose porches were on fire, the slaughter continued as if on a battlefield. The slain and stabbed lay everywhere, even the altars and the supposed apostle's tomb were covered in blood. But no sooner had they been cleansed than a jubilant Tedeum rang out in the cathedral, as befits pious Catholics, even if they had (only) massacred other pious Catholics."

From St. Peter's, Frederick entered into negotiations, proposing to the clergy and Senate that both popes abdicate and that both parties elect a new pope. The Romans and cardinals were prepared to drop Pope Alexander. Disguised as a pilgrim, he fled on a boat across the Tiber to the sea, just before Pisan warships sealed off the city from the river. Frederick was disappointed, but at least he had Rome and it.

Now his pope, Paschal III, who moved to the Lateran on 3<sup>o</sup> J', just one day after the battle of the cathedral, and on i. August -The Emperor Frederick and the most illustrious Empress Beatrix, progenitor of all future Hohenstaufen dynasties, were crowned in St. Peter's.

-with crowns of purest gold, adorned with many precious stones" (Lodeser *Anon/musj*).

Barbarossa was at the zenith of his fame.

Northern and central Italy were once again in chains, the Romans themselves had been defeated (including 4•• hostages in his hands), and his pope had been enthroned in St. Peter's. But only a few Days later, the 5taufer fell from the height of his power, destroyed an epidemic that broke out in the camp outside Rome, the old home disease of swamp fever, malaria probably - soon as

-God's judgment, a judgment "by God's sword alone" because of the persecution of Alexander - all the successes and hopes, what had been fought for over the years. A - marvelous

deadly pestilentia", the Lodeser Anonymus calls it, "breaking in by divine miracle" (divino miraculo), "mirabiliter" (mirabiliter). In addition to thousands of Romans, the emperor's soldiers, the most intrepid warriors, died like flies; even while walking and riding, they often sank to the ground and could hardly be buried for the whole day, including several dukes, numerous counts and barons, a few deaf knights, the bishops of Regensburg, Speyer, Verden, Liège and Prague."

The worst loss for the regent was undoubtedly Rainald von Köln, who was carried off in mid-August. Since his appointment as Imperial Chancellor in the spring of 1166, the stout, blond Lower Saxon had served his master tirelessly, an eloquent diplomat, a gripping organizer and an often foolhardy haidegen, who once captured three hundred Ravennates with ten knights, a brilliant politician of violence, well-read and interested in literature, celebrated as a patron by Archipoeta, the most important representative of medieval vagabond poetry, stubborn, arrogant, often jealous, but also full of verve and ruthless commitment to the interests of the "realm".

During his eight-year term as Archbishop of Cologne (from spring 1166 - 1174), Rainald spent barely one and a half years in his diocese! Instead, he was the Curia's toughest opponent.

As Archchancellor of Italy, which he mercilessly drained through his servants, he soon conspired with the Roman Commune. The chief shepherd of the Rhineland was without mercy against enemies of the empire, was, as was once said, more imperial than the emperor, and a spokesman for total war. Whereas in earlier campaigns it had been customary only to ruin, trample down and burn the annual harvest, under him olive groves and vineyards were completely destroyed, making every harvest impossible for years to come and striking the enemy in the very foundations of its existence. The excesses of bloodthirsty rage were sometimes unlimited, as in the case of the burning of little Crema (p. 5 r3 ff.).

The emperor also fell ill. It was now impossible to march against Sicily, against Alexander, impossible to restore the empire. On the 6th of Aogusr, just three days after the outbreak of the epidemic, Barbarossa set off. He left many sick people behind, then consigned them -the Romans to the Orcus-' (Lodeser Anony- mus). And more than 2000 knights are said to have died on the return march. Even the chronicler Acerbus Morena was now carried off. The emperor laboriously led the ruins of his army northwards, where the Lombards were already rebelling again and blocking the Alpine passes. Barbarossa fought the rebels in vain. He devastated and burnt cities and towns and also won a lot of booty in the process. - a hostage, such as Zilius de Ptando from Brescia. But more and more of them rose up and made peace with each other, and' they all became- together a body- {Lodeser Anonymus). By the end of the year i - \*7, the tightly organized Lombard League already comprised 16 cities, all the major ones including Milan, Verona, Vicenza, Ferrara,

Brescia, Bologna, Venice. They pushed for the removal of the Stauffer tyranny and the renewal of communal autonomy.

The King of Sicily and the diplomatically shrewd, cunning Alexander III also supported the League, the Societas Lombardiae. It became stronger and stronger, Friedrich fell further and further behind and suffered defeats. Only central Italy and Tuscany still seemed halfway devoted to him. He wrote gloriously in an appeal to Germany: -"We would rather die an honorable death before the enemy than suffer the empire to be destroyed in our days." At the last hour, the Count of Savoy, Humbert III, allowed him to pass through his territory, under humiliation, at the risk of his life, in servant's clothing, he fled, while one of his chamberlains played the role of emperor, and made his way over Mont Cenis, the Pak of Kings, and in MałZ I ZS8 to Basel, to Germany, hardly much further now than at the beginning.

The deepest cause of the collapse of the imperial

Power was the papacy, was Alexander III, tirelessly pulling the strings, supporting the rebels, conspiring with Sicily and Byzantium, backed by almost the entire non-German church of the West - it was the church that defeated the emperor and forced him to flee Italy" (Haller)."

### THE LEAGUE OF THE CO M BARDS AND THE ÜRIEDE OF VENED IG

Barbarossa now remained in Germany longer than ever before or since, more than six years, until the fall of -7s: a time without any major events, but full of systematic consolidation of his power and constant observation of his Lombard, Roman and Sicilian opponents. The Italian fiasco had endangered his position and reputation in Germany as little as the anti-imperial Cistercian agitation. Frederick was able to increase his imperial power and secure the Hohenstaufen dynasty by having his second-born, the barely four-year-old Henry, unanimously proclaimed Roman king by the princes in the summer of *i i69* and then crowned in Aachen. And although he forced bishops and abbots to give him church property as fiefs, the imperial church was even more united with him, especially because the clergy, forced to receive ordination from schismatics, were even more bound to him. So he gathered his strength and did not think of **giving up** Italy.

For Antipope Paschal III, however, Upper Italy was lost. How Alexander's supporters had been fought, how all his relatives had been chased from their Tuscan homeland, from Siena and Volterra and robbed of their estates.

Since the fall of *i - 7*, bishops and abbots who adhered to Paschalis were chased out everywhere and replaced by Alexander's men."

The League of the Lombards was also active and successful, now incidentally under the - albeit somewhat contested - leadership of the

Milan was resurrected from its ruins. The confederation eventually comprised 35 cities. It already owned the whole of northern Italy; it took the castles, destroyed some of them, chased away the garrisons and imperial administrators. And in 1168, not far from where the Tanaro flows into the Po, a new, strategically excellent location was founded on royal soil and fortified. So the tradition goes - because according to an analysis of the sources, the city already existed, joined the Lombard League of Cities in 1168 and called itself Alesandria in honor of the pope, to whom it swore allegiance in 1170. And in the same year, Alexander declared in his bull "Non est dubium" in March: "By divine intervention

you have made a covenant of peace and harmony for the Church of God and in defense of your peace and freedom against Frederick, the so-called emperor."

When Antipope Paschal III, last barricaded in the fortress next to St. Peter's, died on 20. September 1168, Calixt III, who was immediately elevated by his cardinals, played the role of Pope.

( - - - \*7 1, the previous abbot John of Struma, a monastery near Arezzo, no longer played a significant role. During the

He was the third antipope loyal to the emperor during the struggle between Alexander and Barbarossa. He resided in Viterbo, completely dependent on Frederick, and his following was limited to Rome, parts of the Papal States, Tuscany and the Rhineland. Although the emperor supported him financially, he merely used him as a threat against the increasingly honored and powerful

Alexander, and let Calixtus fall i\*77'> Peace of Venice." On

Barbarossa's side, Archbishop Christian of Mainz was the most important statesman in the empire after the death of Rainald.

Tireless like him, skillful, multilingual, he appeared at the end of \*7• fRit blood-colored cloak over flashing armor and under a shining gold helmet like a god of war in Italy, where he became the real lord in Roman and imperial territory.

swaggered up. And although he, ostentatious and pleasure-loving, spent more money on his wives, his retinue, horses and donkeys than the emperor did on his court, although he spent dut-

After he had smashed the heads of many enemies with his own hands, one of the antipopes was able to apostrophize him as "the Christian Christian".

The archbishop succeeded in alienating Venice from the Lombard League and even took action against Ancona with the help of Venetian warships. The Lombard League, battered by internal disputes and conflicting interests, gradually crumbled and the influx of money from Consiantinople, brokered by Venice, failed to materialize. Florence, too, now leaned more towards the emperor, despite its rather neutral stance. As long as the city usually sided with the pope, the latter hardly cared about its pronounced heresy; in any case, there were no ecclesiastical censures. However, when Florence became friendly to the emperor, the pontifical censure was once again issued on by. April I\*73, the papal ban descended. Indeed, anyone who went there for advice and help - schismatics and heretics, as it was now called - was banished, those who pursued "their accursed pļeans with diabolical cunning" against the Church.

On the other hand, Alexander immediately favored those cities that had previously stood by the emperor but had now allowed themselves to be played off against him, the Lucchese for example, the Genoese, suddenly his "beloved sons" again, his "most loyal and devoted". Just as the Holy Father also supported the Lombard League, which was pursuing its communal autonomy, a civil freedom that he, the papacy - as is well known, not only in his time, not only in the Middle Ages - fought against in his own episcopal city. For two years, from i no to i -7-, Alexander III safi with his warriors in Ttisktilum, the nest of rocks, and was not allowed to go to Rome."

In the autumn of I i7', the emperor crossed Mont Cenis from Basel; the closer Alpine passes had been closed by the Lombards. Perhaps, however, he deliberately chose the route of his humiliation, where he had to flee in disguise. It was his fifth Italian campaign, a campaign of revenge. In the army at the head of their knights: the bishops of Bamberg, Augsburg, Regensburg, V#rden, Halberstadt and Naumburg. Long before the battle: the metropolitans of Mainz and Cologne. With the help of his

Barbarossa first burned Susa to the ground, a blow of defiance, and then quickly conquered the western Lombardy, while Archbishop Christian was already operating in the east. The fortress of Alesaridria, built in honor of Alexander III and named after him, was a stronghold against the Hohenstaufen regiment, protected only by ramparts and ditches instead of walls and therefore mocked as a "Strohstadt", but even after six months of siege, it could not be taken despite many storms and lists.

Peace negotiations were finally held with the opponent, but boycotted by ecclesiastical circles, they failed. Agitated by their bishops, the northern Italian cities, which had submitted to the emperor in the preliminary peace of Montebello ann•7 April 1175, continued to fight in October. As Barbarossa *had* meanwhile *dismissed most of his groups, he was* under pressure. ••7 So in January, he asked Henry the Lion, who had given him much owed, in Chiavenna, near fimo, hauntingly, probably Henry, however, demanded the territorially important town of Goslar with its rich silver mines, which the emperor refused and led to a rift between the two cousins that was never repaired.

In the middle of \*76, Archbishop Philipp 1 of Cologne secretly brought an auxiliary army over the little-used Lukmanierpafi. The prelate had brought in mainly Rhenish, Westphalian and Dutch knights and, once again, overwhelmed his diocese with debt. Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg joined them with imperial troops from the north-east. Barbaros himself received the ecclesiastical lords together with Anhanj; in Como. However, before this contingent could unite with the main army at Pavia, the Milanese, who suddenly attacked from the flank with superior forces, completely defeated them on the morning of May 20. May at Legnano. The emperor, who had been thrown from his horse in the midst of the turmoil while his banner had captured a Lornbard army, the "Host of Death", was lost for days and was no longer considered to be alive. When he reached Pavia, the empress was already in mourning.

f-erdinand Gregorovius celebrates the day of Legnano as an "immortal shame", as "one of the purest triumphs in history", "the Mayathon of the Lombard republics", which "liberated themselves and the fatherland". He cheers at all:

-After such dark times, the powerful blossoming of civic freedom is the most beautiful phenomenon of the Middle Ages - dark times - all too true. But what became of the world when it was ruled by the 'bourgeoisie and its freedom? Less misery? Fewer wars? Fewer terrible ones? - Of course, even in this, the Pfaffheit is fatally *flawed*.<sup>s</sup> '

In the meantime, Ernbishop ChriStian had completely routed an army of King William II of Sicily advancing northwards at Carsoli in the Anio Valley in mid-March, but the emperor himself no longer felt able to win after the heavy defeat at Légnano, his first defeat in open battle. Even if this was not a military fiasco, it was still a tremendous loss of prestige for the statesman. Frederick, flexible to the point of opportunism, therefore resorted to negotiation. And this time he turned to the Pope, with whom previous talks had repeatedly failed because he was offered too little.

Now the ruler revealed a great deal. He broke the Würzburg Oaths (p. §i6), the oaths of irreconcilability against Alexander made eleven years earlier. He renounced the prefecture over the city of Rome, Matilda's estates in favor of the papacy and the regalia and possessions of the Roman Church. It was a complete withdrawal from the -terra beati Petri-. He also dropped his antipope, while Alexander III only allowed the prelates who had held on to the emperor during the schism to continue in office and revoked his banishment. However, the agile Swabian was still to succeed in completely dividing the pope and the League and winning the support of the mutually distrustful cities, which had hitherto been united by only one thing: their common enmity against him.

After the preliminary treaty of Anagni in November --7 Schlo8 one in July i ip the Peace of Venice between the Emperor, Pope,



the cities, William of Sicily and Byzantium. The Peace marks the turning point in the imperial policy towards Italy, with considerable weakening in favor of the emperor compared to the original Preliminary Peace. Alexander, who had been in Venice since the MEI in 1177, was recognized by Frederick as the rightful pope, strictly contrary to all the holy Würzburg oaths, and Calixt was sacrificed. He also surrendered the Roman republic tolerated by him, whereupon the Romans invited the pope to return, their envoys fell to the ground before him, and he was able to enter on March 12. March, he was able to kiss the feet of those who had previously excluded and detested him. Property seized from the church was to be returned, in cases of doubt a judge's decision was to be obtained, but for the time being the land of Matilda was to remain with the Emperor for five to ten years. William II was accepted as King of Sicily, a five-ten-year truce was agreed with the Norman Empire; with the Lombards, however, who were allowed to rule themselves - in return for high annual taxes to the emperor - the final peace, important for Frederick, was postponed for six years and only a truce was concluded, which greatly exasperated them and which the Juvalland chronicler commented on with the sentence that the pope had broken faith with his allies. Yet Alexander, he asserted in a letter, would rather have allowed himself to be mutilated than make peace without the Milanese. "But he abandoned the Lombards, reinstated bishops he had dismissed and those he had created himself" (Narratio de Longobardie oppressione).

Of course, the pope did not meet the *emperor* out of a *pure* desire for peace. The churches were disorganized after the eighteen-year schism, obedience and faith were undermined, and in the south of France, in the Po Valley and Tuscany, "heresies" were flourishing. Finances did not flourish. The pontiff still had to seek 10 pounds from the monasteries of Florence. In Rome, even the offerings of the faithful, the sacrificial donations of the pilgrims to the apostle prince's chair had been pawned by Alexander to usurers."

The Pope thus detached the "most Christian emperor" from the tree, recognized him as emperor and his son Henry as Roman king, and also approved Frederick's ecclesiastical measures in the German Empire. The investiture of imperial-minded prelates during the schism was to continue to apply, so that Frederick's position in Germany was fully preserved, but his rigorous recuperative policy in Italy finally collapsed and he was defeated there without two victories. In front of St. Mark's Church, the emperor had to kiss the feet of the pope sitting on a throne and then received the peace pledge from him. Both opponents shed tears of emotion and, moved, once again heard a solemn Tedeum around them - a scenario that was rightly compared to Canossa."

Defeated in the war, Frederick was even victorious in important respects when peace was concluded and played a decisive role in determining future developments. The German empire was once again more firmly established in Italy, as was the idea of the two powers existing in parity since Frederick's accession to the throne, and the pope, to whom he had capitulated, was once again dependent on him. Alexander had abandoned his allies, and now only the emperor remained, who fueled the distrust between the Lombards and the pope and finally had Archbishop Christian and his troops lead him to Rome in mid-March, forcing the reluctant antipope Calixt III to submit by August, but continuing to withhold the occupied church property from Alexander."

#### Dxs DRITTE LxTERANUM ( 79)s ALEXANDER'S DEATH AND THE SUCCESSORS

Alexander III also interfered massively in the affairs of other  
rer empires.

For example, in the dispute between King Henry II of England (i  
ind-ii8q) and Thomas Becket', who as chancellor and close  
confidant of Henry II.

rich's policy even when it opposed the Church. As Archbishop of Canterbury, however, he fought the king on the side of the Pope, which he paid for with his life; four royal knights brought him to justice on aq. December

\*7 n the cathedral. Alexander, who had initially  
Fear of Henry joining the antipope Victor

IV behaved in a conspicuously half-hearted, even duplicitous manner, canonized the murdered metropolitan just three years later. He punished the interference of the Scottish king William I (ri6y-izrq) in the ecclesiastical investiture with the interdict. In contrast, Alfonso I of Portugal (iz3q-i i8y), nicknamed 'the Superior', the victor over the Moors, the founder of the Order of the Knights of Aviz, was a man after his own heart; he confirmed him the right to Portugal's crown, naturally in return for an oath of fealty and annual tribute.

Alexander III issued some of his most important decrees at the Third Lateran Council, which was attended by over4° ° bishops and abbots from many countries from January to March•79. GUt ZU know that Alexander was -the first great legal scholar on the papal throne (Kelly) and many of his decisions were incorporated into canon law.

On papal recommendation, the Council decided to use force against "heretics" with the help of the secular arm, a decree that was particularly directed against Cathars and Albigensians and was based on the equation of heresy with the "crimen lesae maiestatis", the crime of lèse majesté. EK The transportation of weapons and war material to Mohammedan countries was forbidden. Canon zç stipulated that all those who supplied iron, weapons and wood to the infidels or performed services on Saracen corsair ships were to be ex-communicated, deprived of their goods and enslaved by those who seized them. Innocent III repeated the law iul y, and Gregory IX included it in his decretals. A very old anti-Jewish edict forbidding Christians to serve Jews is also repeated by the Conxil and now extended to Saracens (c. x6). Furthermore, the congregation announces

The first attempt to use a crusade against Christians, whereby each warrior was granted a two-year indulgence and anyone who fell was promised eternal bliss.

It was also significant that the Third Lateranum granted the popes the *plenitudo potestatis*, the supremacy over every worldly and earthly power. This is where the hierocratic megalomania culminated, leading in a direct line from Gregory VII via Alexander III to Innocent III, the most powerful pope in history.

Fundamental and still valid in the 20th century. The decree that any future legitimate papal election required a two-thirds majority of the cardinals became valid in the ninth century. Clergy and people were thus definitively excluded - in strict contradiction to the oldest traditions."

Pope Alexander had only reached his episcopal city with the help of German weapons. And soon after the Lateranum, he had to give way to the republican commune again and was only able to hold his ground in the area around Rome thanks to the troops of Archbishop Christian. When the latter was imprisoned for a year in September 1078, Alexander's opponents immediately elevated Cardinal Lando of Sezze, one year after Calixt's subjugation, to the new (fourth) antipope named Innocent III. (1079 - ) . However, he only held office for a few months in a castle between Palombara and Rome, a small fortress that belonged to a brother of Antipope Victor IV. Alexander quickly bought his opponent from this knight for a considerable sum, along with his castle and small fortress, and made his brother in Christ disappear into lifelong imprisonment in the monastery of La Cava.

Alexander III, for whom, despite his growing power, Rome always remained hostile territory, died on 30 August 1181 in the castle of Civita Castellana near Viterbo. He had prided himself on never having waged war himself - because he always made others bleed for him. However, with all his intrigues, 5 turns and vacillations, with all his old and new allies

he was unable to defeat the emperor, even in fifteen years of fighting. Although he did not win Lower Italy and only retained supremacy over the Lombards, he otherwise consolidated his reign in Italy and was still, undisputedly, the first prince of the West.

Alexander's body was brought to his episcopal city for burial amid the stone-throwing and curses of those who had recently killed him. The coronation of his successor, the Lucchese bishop Hubert of Ostia, now Lucius III (1181-1185), was impossible in Rome. He was only able to stay there for one winter (1181/1182). Otherwise he usually resided in Velletri, in Anagni, and after barely two years he was at war with the city. The Romans devastated the places of the Campagna, as far as they still adhered to the pope, ravaged the area around Tusculum, pillaged Latium, their hatred of the priests was such that they once plucked out the eyes of a whole group of them, put them on donkeys, attached pergamines with cardinal names to them and thus sent the final procession to the pope with an unhappy face." Lucius III, an experienced, already elderly diplomat, already a supporter and confidant of Frederick as Bishop of Ostia, muffled in the face of the Italian turmoil, the emerging heresies", the oppression of the Christians by Saladin in the Heiliges Land. The emperor's support was also sought as pope. Chased out of Rome with the whole of the crown, he met the Hohenstaufen on his sixth and last Italian campaign in October 1184 in Verona, after having waited for him there for almost a quarter of a year. The patriarch of encircled Jerusalem and the grand masters of the Knights Templar and the Knights of St. John were also present, and all the potentates sought to stimulate the potentate accordingly with inciting reports. However, although the emperor announced a crusade and both "luminaria" of the western world called for a more stringent "fight against heretics" - rebellious heretics were to be excommunicated and then handed over to the "secular arm", which was included in the decree *Ad abolendam* (1184) November, occasionally the Charter of the Inquisition

no agreement could be reached with the Curia. Friedrich's wishes regarding Henry of Swabia's succession to the throne and the Matildic estates met with little favor. And his fundamentally new Italian policy, the reconciliation with the Normans, the Hohenstaufen-Sicilian marriage of his nine-ten-year-old son, King Henry VI, with the thirty-year-old Constante, a late-born daughter of King Roger II, The majority of the College of Cardinals were perhaps less than displeased by this "heretic's cave" (fovea hereticorum), whose wedding was decided to be celebrated in Milan, which was now in the hands of the high emperor and showered with favor by Frederick, even though Pope Lucius himself had initiated and promoted it. The opposition prevailed and the negotiations in Verona failed.

The climate between the electorate and the imperial court deteriorated noticeably when, after the death of the pope on 19 November 1187 in Verona, the Milanese archbishop Hubert Ctivelli, whose relatives the emperor had played hardball with during the destruction of Milan, was unanimously as Urban III (- 5\*11 7). Although he called for peace and reconciliation, he continued to negotiate with Frederick and affirmed on oath that his Trier opponent not to recognize it. At the same time, however, he incited the German bishops against the monarch, particularly against his right to collect the revenues of dissolved bishoprics and monasteries and the succession of prelates who had died without a will. Ja, in the Trier bishopric dispute, he personally consecrated the emperor's enemy as archbishop in the summer of 1186, contrary to his oath and the rights of the empire, and moreover expected a resumption of the Lombards' struggle against Frederick, whereby the previous relationships had been reversed, Cremona had become an opponent and Milan an ally.

When Cremona rose up against the emperor in 1186, Pope Urban agitated against him throughout Italy, forbidding bishops and parishes to fight Cremona under threat of punishment, which the emperor began in May and ended victoriously in barely three weeks, supported by other Lombard allies. His

His son Henry then subjugated castles and towns in the Papal States, and when Urban, who had been united in Verona, attempted to turn the German episcopate against the ruler, the overwhelming majority again refused to do so and backed the Hohenstaufen at the Imperial Diet in November 1186 in the new Palatinate at Gelnhausen.

Only the Archbishop of Cologne, Philip of Heinsbrg, the most powerful ecclesiastical prince of the empire and once a devoted servant of the emperor, opposed this. Since the great expansion of his territory through the Westphalian duchy, he increasingly pursued his own plans and competed with King Henry's political and economic interests. The pope had thrown his weight behind the bishop in order to stir up opposition in Germany, and the chief shepherd of Cologne had also entered into treacherous relations with France, England and Henry the Lion. When the emperor accused him of high treason, he begged for mercy in March 1188 on the feast day of Jesus Christ. Disappointed by the attitude of the German clergy, Urban had already retreated beforehand, at least outwardly, secretly *and* perhaps - *Scheme 11s in* informed circles believed him capable of the worst - only waiting for a new opportunity to fight. But then he died on 20. October in Fer- rara.

When the successor Gregory VIII began his pontificate, which lasted only two months (1187-1187), the Job's message of the fall of Jerusalem reached Europe on October 1187 and stirred people's minds immensely, filling them with feelings of guilt, remorse and revenge. But the loss of the city and its The previous defeat of the Christian army, the largest Crusader force ever to stand in battle, in the Battle of Hattin (near Tiberias in Galilee) on July 3, 1187, which led to the conquest of Jerusalem and the end of the first Crusader rule, now triggered the greatest of all crusades.<sup>12</sup>





THE THIRD CRUSADE (I 9 \*9\*)

-The true cross, the most sacred and venerable relic of Christianity, was in the hands of the infidels, and false reports of atrocities and desecration were spread throughout Europe. false reports of atrocities and desecration were spread all over Europe - Franco Cardini'

-I saw their heads fly and their eyes go glassy, I saw them lying there naked or in torn clothes, with split bones and cut throats, with broken loins and severed limbs, with their eyes gouged out and their bodies open, with their lips split and their foreheads shattered. \They lay there like stones among stones, as **they had never been seen before.**

The Arabic clsrnistr lmsd ad-Din'

-But if you will ask Us for the cuteness of the Fricden, We will give you back the Holy **Cross** and will grant freedom to all the **captive** Christians who are in Our whole country, and will keep peace with you and allow you a priest at the tomb and give you back abbeys that were once yours in our pagan times, and will do them good and allow Niger to come throughout Our lives, and will keep peace with each of them.-  
Saladin to Frederick Barbarossa-'



The so-called Third Crusade took place exactly four decades after the Second. But since the Second, the weapons in the Orient had never rested. The crusaders in the evening country, from the popes, their bulls, decrees and letters of exhortation, to the bishops, special legates, authorized recruiters, right down to the priests and other popular harassers and liars, were also rare. Prominent among many were, for example, the Cardinal Henry of Albano, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Grand Masters of both orders of knighthood (or, as some also believe, orders of robber barons; in any case, the same thing). By the end of the 12th century. This type of Christian war preaching was already organized throughout Europe by the end of the 12th century.

Shortly after the catastrophe of the Second Crusade, Bernard of Clairvaux had the holy impudence to preach another Crusade at Chartres. And even Alexander III, confronted with four antipopes - Victor IV, Paschal III, Calixt III and Innocent III of blessed memory - still found time to call for a crusade, despite or because of all the divisions in the Church. And in 1169 again. Indeed, Gregory VIII, who pontificated for only two months in the late autumn of 1177, fired the world with two crusade bulls even in this short period of time, but fueled the God-ordained undertaking with seven encyclicals.

Yet there was no shortage of promises, especially when it came to such things. Thus the crusade bulls that have appeared since the middle of the 12th century (for Spain in 1163) have seldom been stingy with "gracious wisdom". In two bulls, in 1177 and in 1181, the crusaders, who fought for two years, were granted a complete indulgence, which was granted to them by the crusaders.

Those who argue for only half as long are only exempt from half of the bonus. A consistent calculation. However, towards the end of the rz. By the end of the 19th century, however, it was possible to gain indulgences not only for personal bloodshed, but also for money! The matter capitalized in ever more imaginative, fruitful and terrible ways.

### FEUDAL GALLOWS BIRDS IN THE "HOLY LAND"

The oriental occupying powers were already conducting crusades on your own.

Amalrich I, King of Jerusalem (ri63-\*\*74), supported by Byzantium, from where he got his second wife, undertook no fewer than five campaigns against Egypt: i 163, i 164, i 167, 168 and 169. In 168, he massacred the population in Bilbais, east of the Nile Delta. Although his offensives did not bring any lasting results, they did bring advantages for the moment, "rich booty, high tribunes and considerable trade concessions" (tax collectors), in Cairo even a Christian garrison for a short time, in Alexandria at least a Christian flag on the lighthouse roof. When Arnalrich, who inspired Archbishop William of Tyre to write his history of the kingdom, appeared before Fustat, once the Arab capital of Egypt for over three hundred years, immediately after the massacre in Bilbuis, they set the inhabitants ablaze themselves with twenty thousand barrels of oil and ten thousand torches, so that the fire burned for fifty-four days.

Rainald of Chatillon was probably the most unveiled and uninhibited figure on the Near Eastern religious stage.

- \*53 the prince of Transjordan. One Muslim source calls him "one of the most powerful and evil Franks", "one of the worst enemies of the Muslims"; more succinctly, Hans Wollschläger: his Christian baptized predator--.

The feudal gallows bird, with whom Temples and Knights of St. John allied themselves, was one of the Catholic star bandits of the era, indeed of the entire Crusade period, and he coerced important merchant and pilgrimage routes of the "infidels", especially the Syrian-Egyptian trade. Plundering, scorching, killing, he roamed around even during the truce, attacking Muslim pilgrim ships, transports going to Mecca, large caravans, one of which he once slaughtered down to the last man. He tortured harmless travelers, threw them into dark dungeons and shouted: "Tell your Mohammed to save you!"

He also plied his trade at sea. In 1196 he even raided Christian Cyprus, which belonged to Byzantium. For three weeks, he exterminated the Christians there in the most terrible manner and devastated the island to such an extent that, according to the Catholic Hans Kühner, it never recovered from these wounds. He also waged open warfare on the Red Sea with fast galleys. Even his sixteen years of Muslim captivity, which he served in Aleppo between 1160 and 1176, did not cool his Christian blood. He now marched against Mecca to destroy it, albeit in vain.

In Transjordan, he also cooperated with Bedouin gangs in his traditional attacks on trade caravans. A raid in 1189 on a sole caravan - which allegedly included Saladin's sister, whereupon he ordered the Christian shrub knight to be decapitated with his own hands - led to the downfall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem: Saladin requisitioned a huge army, and in the same year, in 1187, he fought his greatest victory at the Battle of Hattin. Saladin's army finally collapsed.

Some villages in the "Holy Land" were conquered and recaptured more than ten times. They were conquered and recaptured more than ten times, their crops were burned, their livestock stolen and their inhabitants murdered. There was incessant warfare, and the local Christians naturally suffered infinitely more since the Crusades than before them, because now they were enslaved or killed simply because they were Christians.

Gradually, the Muslim resistance grew stronger and stronger, with the Turkish military leaders, who had risen as minor troop commanders, outplaying the Arab princes. After Nur ad-Din had already been fighting the Christian invaders since the middle of the ix. After Nur ad-Din had driven back the Christian invaders since the middle of the ixth century, I I IAq Antiochičt, I I Ja took Damascus without a fight, the nephew of one of his sub-leaders, Al-Malik al-Nasir Salah ad-Din Yusuf, known to the world as Saladin, finally carried on the "holy war" victoriously.

-The desire for holy war-, writes the biographer, official and confidant of Saladin, Baha ad-Din, who probably gives the best overall picture of the important man, "held his heart and all his senses captive, so that he spoke of nothing but dayon and cared for nothing but armor and soldiers for the holy war-<sup>7</sup>

Sultan Salah ad-Din (-3 --\*Şi3), the founder of the Kurdish Ayyubid dynasty, was a troop leader of the Zangid Nfiraddin of Damascus, who died in i -74 and whose power he usurped. Saladin is said to have ordered the liquidation of the old reign.

The only way Sařadin could have succeeded in establishing his regime was through terror, consolidating his power through murders and massacres, which he sought to legitimize by taking up the idea of the "holy war" against the Crusaders and acting as a champion of Islam - a recipe for government already used by Niiraddin and his father. Although he was probably more concerned with the leadership of an intended Islamic empire than with Islam per se, Sařadin was a devout Mohammedan, a highly capable ruler and, all in all, far superior to all Crusader leaders in terms of moral integrity. It goes without saying that the Christians demonized him to the utmost, calling him the "dog of Babyřon", the "son of perdition", the "blood-dripping monster", and so on.

At first, Saladin apparently sought a certain coexistence on a status quo basis with the invaders. In any case, he concluded a truce with the Latins in ii80 and t i85, which he kept, as he always kept his word, even to his enemies, in contrast to the Christian chieftains, as was the case with-

For example, Rainald of Chatillon, who did not care about any agreements, ruthlessly broke treaties and sneered in Saladin's face shortly before his beheading: "That is the custom among kings, I have only followed the generally accepted path. Or were Catholic rulers, both secular and clerical, not constantly breaking promises and oaths, just as they needed to and apparently without any scruples?"

**"... WE SHOT THEM DOWN LIKE GAZELLES  
THE ACH LAUGHS WITH THE HÖR1'4ERS FROM HAJJIN**

In a counter-offensive, Saladin, the little one-eyed cur, beats back the Knights of Christ further and further. His goal without doubt: Jerusalem. ShOf1 \*7 he had made a first foray into the kingdom. i 18 Balduin IV had died there' a crowned leper youth who had called his kingdom himself

He defends the kingdom of Jerusalem, a terminally ill man, *in* a way that commands the respect of even his *Muslim* opponents. However, under his successor, the equally attractive and incompetent Guy de Lusignan, and his corrupt court clique, the kingdom of Jerusalem collapses within two years.

Saladin advances.

At the end of June i -57, he crosses the Jordan. His Egyptian fleet threatens the Christian supply. On July z i 1187 he conquers Tiberias in a lightning attack. The Christian army retreats under Guy de Lusignan, who had taken over the supreme command and even stripped the castles of their garrisons, approached. Against the advice of the Count of Tripoli, Raimund St., who correctly recognized a trap by Saladin and also feared the lack of water in the hot season, Guy was persuaded by the Grand Master of the Templars, Gerhard von Ridfort, and Rainald von Chstillon to attack as soon as possible. This leads to one of the most fearsome slaughters of the Middle Ages at the Horns

of i;laJtin, west of the Sea of Galilee, where Jesus is said to have once called out: "Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you . . ."

Although the Christians, probably numbering just under 20 000 men and facing about as many Saracens, had brought the "Holy Cross" from Jerusalem under the care of the bishops of Acre and Lydda, they were exhausted from the march in the barren mountainous region and at the mercy of thirst in the Sandwiiste. In the battle, which Saladin only began when the heat broke out, they pressed on towards Tiberias in order to reach the water - like dogs with thirsty tongues hanging out ... - but the Sultan, whose archers, supplied by seventy camels loaded with arrows, incessantly showered the enemy with bullets - "we shot them down like gazelles ..." - blocked their path and covered the wells. The Saracens also set fire to the dry grass on the ground where the army of the cross was fighting, and the wind smothered the Christians in fire and smoke. Guy held up the cross. But countless surrendered with open maws. Most were killed, the others captured, only about 200 escaped. -There were so many dead and captives among them," says the great contemporary historian Ibn al-Attr, "that whoever saw the fallen did not believe that they had captured a single one, and whoever saw the captives did not believe that they had killed a single one. -- The slave markets experienced an unprecedented glut and plunge in prices: three denarii a Christian.

"They sought refuge on the hill of I;latt," writes the chronicler Imäd ad-Din, Saladin's secretary, "so that he might save them from the deluge of destruction, and ijattTn was surrounded by the banners of destruction. The blades of the swords sucked the life out of them and scattered them over the hills, the arrows shot at them, wild death ravished them, misfortune crushed them, defeat crushed them ... I saw their heads fly and their eyes glaze over; I saw them lying there naked or in torn clothes, with their bones split and



Their throats were cut, their loins broken and their limbs severed, their eyes gouged out and their livers slit, their lips split and their foreheads smashed. They lay there like stones among stones, the like of which had never been seen before.

Among the prisoners, "staggering in their shackles like drunkards", were the last king of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan, the Templar master, and Rainald of Chatillon, whose head was cut off by Saladin himself in fulfillment of a double oath, *but* only when he refused to convert to Islam. More than two hundred Hospitallers and Knights Templar, Rainald's closest accomplices, are also beheaded. Only the Grand Master remains alive, as is traditional in Grand Fear.

Scholars and proms accomplished the bJutige work, ascetics;  
 • Everyone asked if he could kill one of them, drew his sword and rolled up his sleeves. The Sultan safi with a happy face, while the "unbelievers" - here, for a change, the Christians - scowled ... There were those who *cut and* cut cleanly and were thanked; those who refused and were absent and were excused; those who caused laughter - others took their place. I saw those who laughed aloud and murdered, who spoke and acted: how many promises they fulfilled, how much praise they earned, eternal reward they secured for themselves with the forgotten blood, how many pious works they accomplished with the necks they cut! A terrible disgrace in Sultan Saladin's life. Of course, he managed to relieve the population of them. And for his part lay in the plain of Tiberias "like the lion in the desert, like the moon in the fullness of its splendor".<sup>o</sup>

The "True Cross" held in the mass slaughter with the Bishop of Acre was also captured. -They actually believe that it is made of the wood on which, they think, the one they worship was crucified," writes Imäd ad-Din. "It seems that a f t e r they learned of the loss of the cross, they escaped

none on the day that was unfortunate for them: they perished in death and captivity ..." The "true cross" disappeared ... But clerical propaganda resurrected it, so to speak, with the - fromme- lie that only half the cross had been led into battle at Fjattin, that the wood had first been divided as a precautionary measure in order to preserve the treasure of grace flowing from it for the world, just in case, and the eventuality occurred. For even divided relics, an ancient Christian doctrine and belief, convey an undivided effect of grace ... A commode relic, as has been shown time and again.

For example with Guy de Lusignan, Jerusalem's last king. On his word of honor to leave the country, Saladin had given him his freedom. However, Guy soon went back on his word of honor in confession and fought Saladin again. However, he now quickly won one Christian fortress and port city after another, winning Acre, Nazareth, Caesarea, Sidon, Ascalon, Jubail and srand on zi. On September 18, 1187, from Jerusalem, which was overflowing with refugees and still had boys under arms, a total of sixty thousand fighters, "heroes of error with lances," says Imäd ad-Din. The Christians were merely on the offensive, attacking and defending themselves in every possible way. -Every heart on both sides burned with the fire of longing," claims the Arab chronicler. For both sides, as Ibn al-Attr also emphasizes, saw the war "as a matter of religion, as an - inviolable sacred duty". -It did not require orders from superiors to cheer on the soldiers, all defended their posts fearlessly, all attacked without looking back.""

The Christian defenders wanted to die in the Church of the Resurrection. -Our heads shall fall here," they shouted, "our souls shall perish, our blood shall flow here if we want to lose our lives. Like countless other churches, they had turned the church into a fortress and erected their catapults on the walls. But on October 2, Jerusalem surrendered, significantly on the same day that the prophet's journey to heaven took place".

What counts: No one loses their life. No one is even injured' nowhere is plundered. Not a drop of blood flows. Remember the monstrous massacre at the capture of Jerusalem ioqq!

Saladin now allowed the defeated to ransom themselves. He ransomed several thousand impecunious Christians, and even gave some of them presents. He granted freedom to captured fathers and husbands, even safe conduct - -at his own expense he offered them protection and food and ordered his port officials to embark them under decent conditions (Oldenbourg). Many others were bought by his brother and successor al-Adil and then released with Saladin's consent.

Nevertheless, countless people still ended up in slavery. The rich Christians did not help their poor brothers, but rather, like the high Catholic clergy, refused to pay the ransom. Only the Templars and Knights of St. John paid for fear of a popular uprising, but they paid far too little. Saladin then released another zoo of people, and his brother Malik-al-Adil took a thousand poor people as booty and also released them. He also granted them further payment concessions. On the other hand, the Catholic Patriarch of Jerusalem, Heraclius, after plundering the Dome of the Rock, the Church of the Resurrection and other churches - he, not the Muilims - with gold plates, gold and silver work from the Holy Sepulchre, overloade d with treasures, "bent under the weight of the gold he was c a r r y i n g , and followed by wagonloads of carpets and silver tableware", marched past the outraged " unbelievers " to freedom. He had already occasionally squandered the pilgrims' gifts with women of pleasure. His jeweled mistress, the "Patriarch", was well known in the city. Now he embarked for Europe with all his wealth - and preached there, from Orr zti Ort, a new crossroads. Catholic refugees were robbed by their own barons, others were blackmailed by Italian ship captains, until Saladin became free transfer'.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, some fifteen thousand Christians are said to have gone into slavery, scattered everywhere, seven thousand men, eight thousand women and children. -How many well-protected women were dishonored, ruling ones dominated, young girls married, noble ones given away, how many miserly ones had to surrender, how many concealed ones lost their shame, how many serious ones were made a mockery, preserved ones brought out, The free taken possession of, the honorable used to the point of exhaustion, courageous girls put to the test, virgins deflowered, the arima- fient disgraced, the beautiful sucked dry with red lips, the brown stretched out, the untamable tamed, the satisfied made to weep!"

Saladin proved to be tolerant after his victories over the Christians. The new Eastern Christian emperor Isaac Angelos (later dethroned and blinded by his brother Alexios III) congratulated him on the conquest of Jerusalem, asked for the holy cities to be returned to the Greek Church and was granted them. Saladin protected the so-called Holy Sepulchre from arsonists and allowed all unarmed Christians to continue their pilgrimages and free access. He did not destroy the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, as his officers demanded, but allowed services to be held in it and other churches, reinstated the Greek clergy, tolerated Roman Catholic priests and was equally generous towards the Jews.

In the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem (ioqq-i i8y) and in the kingdom of Acre (r i8q-iz9i), there is friendly intercourse between the Christian and Islamic nobility. We also learn that Sultan al-Malik al-Kamil cared for the beaten Lord of the Franks like a Good Samaritan.

-The men whose parents, sons, daughters, brothers and sisters we have killed with much torment, whose possessions we have taken away and whom we have driven naked from their homes-, wrote Oliverus Scholasticus in the early i3rd century. Oliverus Scholasticus (who himself preached the cross for years on the Lower Rhine, even constructed a siege engine, later

They fed us with their own food when we were dying of hunger and treated us kindly with many benefits, while we were given over to their rule and power. Yes, we hear that Christian altars were also set up in several mosques in Acre for the worship of Christians.

Almost unanimously, the Latin chroniclers now praise Saladin's chivalry, greatness and humanity. Even the local Christians felt liberated. But the Western Church had nothing to oppose Saladin's counter-offensive other than a new crossroads, the so-called Third (ii8q i rqz). And the initiative again came from the Vicars of Christ, as the Roman hierarchs now called themselves."

#### THE POPES SOUND THE ATTACK

Alexander III and Lucius III had already called for a crusade, albeit without success, despite Barbarossa's promise to promote it with the church in Germany. Bishop William of Tyre, one of the most famous historians of the Crusades, the infamous Patriarch of Jerusalem and the masters of both orders of knights also made a pleading and propaganda tour through Europe, appealed to the rulers, made pleas before them and moved everyone to tears. But neither the Hohenstaufen was willing to make a personal commitment, nor was King Henry II of England, whose Imperial Diet advised him to take care of his own country. And since he stayed at home, Philip II, King of France, also wanted to stay at home - just to be on the safe side. For who knew whether, while one took the cross, the other did not take his country.

Lucius' successor Urban III (i8§-i7) residing in Verona because of the Romans who were hostile to the Pope) was, on the one hand, completely involved in his battle with Frederick - in the dispute over

the coronation of H4inrich as Mifkaiser, in the dispute with the Patriarch of Aquileia, in the Trier bishopric dispute, whereby he, the Pope, broke his oath and on i. On June i i86, he consecrated Folmar, who had been rejected by the emperor, as archbishop in order to keep silent about further disputes and points of contention, particularly of a financial nature (regalia and spolia claims). However, regardless of his harsh course of confrontation with Frederick, which was not free of embarrassing fluctuations, and regardless of all minor quarrels with other crowned Christian heads, Urban

III also wanted to crusade, but died of a stroke after the conquest of Jerusalem. And Urban's successor, the highly aged former Bolognese jurist Alberto de Morra, Gregory VIII (- \*\*7- \*\* - 7), had not even been consecrated when he, tormented and outraged by the news of the fall of the Holy City, issued a call for a crusade, which was followed by six further calls for crusades - although his legals had already traveled to Germany, France, Denmark and even Poland as a result - virtually his "main occupation" (Kelly).

Everyone, but especially "Our beloved son in Christ Frederick", the illustrious emperor (the pope also addressed his biological son Frederick, whose coronation predecessor Urban had refused, as "future emperor"), was to take part in the crusade, if not, as Frederick naturally did, with the sword, then by fasting, which he prescribed for clergy and laity for five years, three days a week. He guaranteed all crusaders forgiveness of sins and, also long since obligatory, eternal life. However, Cregor VIII also granted an indulgence, an important novelty, to all those who allowed themselves to be represented on the crusade or donated money. Immediately before his death in Pisa, on

•7 December i7. the Pope called for peace between Pisa and Genoa in order to win both for the new war."

With Gregory's successor Paolo Scolari, Clemens 111 (\* 7 i iqi), a wealthy Roman with a wealthy family, the Roman Empire, which had been banned from the city for six years, returned. papacy in mid-February i i88. Clemens was able to

even resided in the Lateran, like none of his predecessors. He was granted sovereignty and all sovereign rights, but had to recognize the Senate, which has been in existence for '4 years, leaving the city administration largely to it and occasionally and annually providing it with considerable funds.

For the rest, Clement III continued Gregory's grand line and, although politically inexperienced and ailing, he stirred up war near and far, Rome's struggle against *Tivoli*, for example, or against Tusculum, which he himself wanted to fight and whose citizens he wanted to excommunicate if he were not soon to become **head** of the city.

*Above* all, however, this Holy Father and his legals, chased throughout Europe, persuaded the Western princes to embark on a new crusade, in the interests of which they pursued the coordination of forces, the unity so demanded, promoted and celebrated in all wars, which the Pope now considered absolutely necessary for the continued existence of the "Christian Republic". After much hesitation, the emperor finally allowed himself to be persuaded by the papal legals to accept the pope's offer at the end of March.

'ig in Mainz to lift up the cross. His throne stood empty, God himself (or initially his Son) had taken it, as it were: - it was the "court day of Jesus Christ".

Those assembled voted unanimously in favor of the God-ordained undertaking. For the sake of a major war, many small feuds and hostilities were stopped - indeed not for the first time; the Trier bishopric dispute was finally settled and the Papal States occupied by the Emperor's son were returned, albeit with the explicit reservation of the Empire's property rights. And, of course, the Pope now promised Henry's imperial coronation. For a new crusade, Rome needed above all to reach an understanding with the Hohenstaufen dynasty, but was looking for all-round alliances.

desgenusscn.

Significantly, one of Clement III's first government measures was to achieve peace between Pisa and Genoa, whose cooperation in the new war was indispensable. And the warring kings of England and France

The two rulers of the 11th kingdom, the ageing Henry 11 (IIJ4- I) and the young Philip II (i r8o-izz3), both not unintelligent and as energetic as they were wrong, made peace as a result of papal efforts and, at the pope's insistence, also took the cross. Of course, each of the two rulers also had his own special interests in the East, one more in Syria, the other in the kingdom of Jerusalem. In any case, the pope acted as a conciliator all around in order to win his war.

To cover the expenses, the English King Henry - he throws himself to the ground in a fit of rage, bites the carpet, almost identifies his anger with that of God: "Almighty God's disfavor and wrath are also my wrath, my disfavor - demanded a general property tax from all subjects who remained at home, a tenth of their property and income: the much-vaunted Saladin tithe, the first crusade tax, which Philip II. Philip II levied it immediately, but only the English church supported it eagerly because the English king gave it a share of the revenue. It was mainly the poor who were fleeced, while the wealthier knew how to avoid the tax. (How similar the times are!) Otherwise, the clergy refused to accept it, as they suspected it was an attempt to

-The nobility kept the tax from their subjects themselves. The Catholic nobility kept the tax from their subjects themselves, as participation in the crusade exempted them from any payment. From now on, as already mentioned, crusade vows could be redeemed with money, an increasingly popular source of income, a prelude to the future abla- ble trade."

### **THE DEPARTURE OF THE CROWNED REIGNERS**

Barbarossa was the first to set off after a year of hard armoring and careful political preparation. After all, they wanted to avoid a repetition of earlier catastrophes. On xi. May zi8q gr set off from Regens-



burg on the move. Largely organized by Cistercian abbots, the Third Crusade (1189-1192) was also accompanied by many abbots and monks, as well as a number of bishops, such as the canons of Meissen, Münster, Osna-brück, Würzburg and Passau.

The Hungarians remained relatively unscathed. Barbarossa only took from their king Bela III "what he loved of goods and men". There was already friction in Bulgaria. And in the Byzantine Empire, where Emperor Isaac I. Angelos had allied himself with Sultan Saladin out of fear of his western brothers in faith, they openly fought each other. The basileus imprisoned Barbarossa's envoys, denigrated him himself, the Greeks attacked the Westerners, who conquered Philippopolis and Adrianople, threatened to occupy Constantinople and liquidate the entire empire. They robbed and ravaged Thrace so extensively throughout the surprisingly fierce winter that Isaac Angelos finally gave up his resistance, took forty hostages, including his son and brother, and at the end of March 1190 had the battle-hungry troops cross the strait at Gallipoli into Asia Minor."

Slowly, the army worm rolled forward through Asia Minor with heavy losses.

The Greeks deserted, the Turks joined forces with Saladin, and soon people were so hungry that they were eating horse hides and roots. Many were also killed by the harsh winter, by scattered Turkish cavalry swarming around. On 28. May 1190 a Turkish contingent was defeated before Iconium, plundered, destroyed the capital in part and, as Aimone of Briançon, Archbishop of Tarantaise, confessed to another prince of the church a few days later, "their inhabitants with the sharpness of the sword. Certainly no small business. -For," writes the prelate, "the city of Iconium is equal in size to Cologne."

They had now been traveling for about a year since leaving Regensburg, and when, after crossing the impassable

Taurus Mountains in summer and the emperor, a good swimmer, wanted to bathe in the river or seek a ford by crossing it in the afternoon, the sixty-seven-year-old drowned on June 10. June 10 before everyone's eyes, no one knows whether due to the heavy armor or a heart attack or whatever. "God protected him from this disaster," comments the Arab chronicler Ibn al-Attr laconically. And this is how he glorified it for the West.

Most of the crusaders returned home soon afterwards. Some are said to have committed suicide, others to have converted to Islam. The slowly disbanding troops, led by the young Barbarossa's son Duke Frederick of Swabia, moved on unhappily, the dead ruler in their midst. His entrails were buried in Antioch, his remains, which were supposed to rest in Jerusalem but were never given, have been lost. The army, ravaged by plague and death, "Like 'excavated corpses', weakened and discouraged, the army soon crumbled further and further apart, with only the hundredth part reaching Acre in October 1192, where it perished with Barbarossa's son."

The departure of the newly reconciled English and French had been delayed in the meantime, as they first began a profane war among themselves, as if to practise the holy war. Henry II's son Richard, Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitou, known as the Lionheart, who was the first ever to conquer Jerusalem immediately after Saladin's capture of the city.

(- 1191, the cross taken, was one of the most warlike Christians and incessantly involved in militant conflicts, if not with his vassals, then with King Louis VII of France (1171-1181), with his own Varer Henry II of England, with whom he never reconciled until his death, with his elder brother and others.

Again, out of concern for his war, the Pope urged mediation. Cardinal legate John of Anagni reached a truce between the fighting kings, apparently bribed by England, Philip II told him.

in the face: -You have smelled the scent of Sterlingc.- The cunning Philip, of course, who according to general opinion fought his war with the Saladin tithe, drew Henry II's son "Lionheart" over to him through an intrigue, and already in the summer of 1189 the prospective crusaders were once again clashing, whereby the old and already terminally ill Henry was now hopelessly defeated and in the general collapse, two days after his unconditional surrender, blessed the time."

Now Philip II of France and the young English king Richard I the Lionheart (1189-1199) also intended to care for their souls. At the beginning of July 1190, when the German crusading army was already quite exhausted, their united force set out from Vézelay; then Richard sailed on from Marseilles with his fleet, Philip of Genoa with expensive Genoese ships. When Richard came to Ostia in August 1190 and a cardinal invited him in the name of the pope to honor the capital of Christendom, the crusader gratefully declined, as there was nothing to be found at the papal court but greed and corruption. Löwenherz set sail again, first insisting on the peasants of Calabria and almost being slain in the process. They met again in Messina in September. As a result of an inheritance dispute with the successor to the late King William II of Sicily, Tancred of Lecce, Richard occupied the city on October 5, 1190, robbed it and set fire to the fleet in the harbor. However, the crusaders continued to plunder Sicily for months to come.

On his further healing journey, the following spring 1191, Richard "was carried off to Cyprus by a storm of God's never-failing providence. He gratefully accepted the divine offer and, after a three-week battle, took the island from the Christian prince Isaac Komnenos, who later sold it to the Templars, who in turn returned it to the Lusignan family. And how quickly the time came when the Latin crusaders did not even

more against Islam, but against the Christian by-

Crusades\* Crusades!

On June 8, i iqi, the English king landed at Acre, which had been surrounded for almost two years and where Philip II had been operating since zo. April. Bonfires greeted the new arrivals. But soon there was incessant strife, slander and attacks among the besiegers, who faced many difficulties. Saladin had Acre's bulwarks reinforced by the well-known Egyptian emir Behaeddin Karakush, who had also built Cairo's walls (and was still in Acre himself), and had the city heavily fortified. The walls were so wide t h a t , according to the report of a traveler from the

-In the 4th century, two wagons could drive past each other. The Christian army fought with a variety of siege engines and all of the mining and sapping equipment known at the time. method. They undermined the walls, filled them with fuel and set them on fire. Day and night, ballistae hammered the fortress; one of them was called "God's ballista" (in the eighth century, a nuclear submarine of the U5A was called "Corpus Christi"!). A ballista had four storeys and was destroyed by the "Greek fire" of the besieged, including people and weapons. ("Allah willed it so that the Christians would burn in the fire of this world before they burned in the other.") Both sides carried out their attacks incessantly. As the lockdown had been going on since summer i i8q, they got to know each other, finally fraternized, talked to each other, sang, danced - and then smashed each other's faces in again for the sake of the holy cause, the Christians leading with their crosses, the Muslims shouting:

-Allah is great! Allah is great!", the drums and trumpets roared. "For **Islam!** - shouted the jumping Saladin with tears in his eyes, trying in vain to break through the iron ring of the besiegers from the outside. <sup>12</sup>

**AKKON, THE XSSAKER OF ÖICHARD LOWENHERZ AND  
THE LITURGICAL HERITAGE  
OF THE HOLY FATHER**

After about 30 000, according to other sources more than 60 000 Christians are said to have died during the long siege as a result of countless battles, hunger, disease and plague, the destroyed had fallen into utter misery, the breaches in the walls multiplied, widened and could hardly be closed, the garrison surrendered on az. **July** iq1 against the assurance of life and free departure of all inhabitants with their possessions, the sum of two hundred thousand gold pieces, the release of two thousand five hundred Christian prisoners and the return of the allegedly genuine cross, -the cross of the crucifixion-.

The payments to the Christians were to be made within two months. But after just one week, Richard the Lionheart was furious that the payments had not been made. And although he had already received money from the sultan, who was by no means rich and far too generous, as well as the captured Christians, he surrendered several thousand prisoners and their wives in the afternoon of August. In the afternoon of August, he had several thousand prisoners and their wives and children stabbed - more than three thousand people in shackles. They threw themselves on them as one man and murdered them in cold blood with sword and lance." (Latin sources even mention 4s. even 8000 massacred.) The riters of Christ tore out their intestines to find swallowed gold and burned the corpses in order to probe the ashes. But no sooner had the Muslims heard of the horrific bloodbath than their troops pounced on the Christians, fighting them harder and harder into the night, and since then they have spared no one (from captured Frenchmen) except well-known personalities and strong men fit for work."

The French king could hardly imagine an even more brilliant conclusion to the pious undertaking and, in barely concealed enmity with Richard, traveled to the

August iqi returned home by sea, immediately taking advantage of the Royal's absence to invade Normandy. Duke Leopold of Austria also returned, along with many other princes who had been harassed in one way or another by the audacious Lionheart. On this crusade, the Catholic warriors had already sometimes fought against each other, Germans against Frenchmen, Frenchmen against Italians, Britons, the latter against Austrians, and all of them occasionally and quite openly traded with the Frankish knights, who were already strongly influenced by the East.

Richard now waged the Crusade entirely on his own, chasing the Turks out of Jaffa, defeating Saladin in an open battle at Arsuf, but was unable to win Jerusalem or even attack it. The Mohammedans responded to the massacre of Acre with increasingly cruel retaliatory measures. However, when Richard learned of Philip's advance into Normandy, he agreed a *modus vivendi* with Saladin, concluding a three-year treaty on September iqa. On September 13, iqa, he concluded a three-year truce treaty, which essentially guaranteed the status quo, the narrow coastal strip from Jaffa to Tyre conquered by Richard, as well as free pilgrim access to Jerusalem. He then resigned somewhat meekly on q. October i iqz he set off on what was still an adventurous and fateful journey home. Saladin, feverish, exhausted, fifty-five years old, died a few months later, on March d iqj in Damascus in possession of almost all of Palestine, as the greatest, noblest hero of Islam, one of the few, all in a 11, humane rulers in world history.

Two years earlier, in March i iqi, Pope Clement III had already left the world stage for good. And the third, the greatest of all crusades, can be **traced back** to him above all; certainly<sup>8</sup> also, whoever finds it remarkable, please: the use of the mephitic bell (*tintinnabulum*, *campanula*) - it should not be underestimated, especially since the ringing of bells is generally attributed apotropaic significance, demon-scaring power, the defense against ominous forces. No wonder that, according to the *Lexicon for Theology and the Church*, it was "later hindered under Islamic rule ...".\*

# ANNEX

## NOTES ON THE SIXTH VOLUME

The full titles of the secondary literature cited can be found on p. 605 ff., the full titles of the most important source chronicles and abbreviations in section list of abbreviations on p. \*7. Authors from whom only one work was used are usually only cited by name in the notes, the other works are cited with keywords.

### i. CHAPTER

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**sche Herzog 521**
- 8 Annal. Quell. iozl. LfhK IV' 37\$- HEG 7\* 5 >KG UI/i, z8q. Hirsch I zi6, z6a, j6q, j66. III \*74 - muck III aq d. AnG, 4' 447- Looshorn I z8z. Bauerreiss 11 3y. HOlcZLD80^ !!! 577- 5tern/Barrmug zoa f. Hlawitschka, Vom Frsnkenreich x ya f. **Curh** i8 f. Fried, The **Way 6qj, yoj. Seibert, Libertas** Joy ff. Vogfherr, Die Reichsklöster 3o f. Vgl. also Moraw jso and Zerz, fräscnr '7\* frith reference todic Ortoncn
- 9 Tliietm 7.3' Annal. Quedl. row, tory, i or 5. LMA I# z rxq lFahlbusch), V ' 14 f. Vt qy (Struve), o8. HKG III/+ \* 4- lësch I 3Öz ff. II 5oq If. Hi ff. gi f. 7\* If. Hauck 11 448 - q56 ff. Köhler q9 II. Jq. Bauerreiss 37- HolrZmann II yr i ff, dy9. Bannasch 8i ff. sb f. \*7^ f. z" If. zis If. Cf. also zyj fi. zyo If. Ftcc(tenstcin, **Grundlagen** no f. Schulze, Hegemoniales Kaisertum j18 ff. Fried, The Way 7 7. Seibcrt, Librias 5o8 f.
- 10 Thietm. 6,t8; 6,0o. LMA IV xo38. Hauck III 397. 4 - 4 1 - 4\* - .tz8 ff.433 if. Holtzmann II 3;ry. Stern/Bsrmtu# zez. Fleckenstein/Bulst i 3x f. Fleckenstein, The Court chapel 11 i8z. Brühl, Germany - rr "nkrei'h B j mi Y<rw<is auf Fleckenstcin, Oie Hofkapel]e II7 ff. i8q, z i r. u ff. Clsudei cyp. frinz, Grundlagen un4 beginnings z8t If. SchuJzc, Hcgcmonialcs KalscftUFD 3^7. 3 - If. Guth a3. Bannscch yo ff. Wolter zza, jrz. tried, Der w'eg 6o6 f. \*3 \*43. 6d8, 68d, 6g3- 774 \*' 777- 7@3' @^^- 8y8
- i i LMA IV zo38 (reversible borxt). Loos- horn 1 y5, z8i. Brackmann ao6. Daniel-Rops y3. Stern/Barimu B 202 f. FleckenSYPin/Bill5\* ' 34- Brühl, Germany - France 6qo If. Ptinx, Grundlagen and Anfiingr r8 f. Woltrr zi 8. Fried, The Way 63i. Cf. also Gush i i, z5 iz R. Schneider, Das Franltenreich 8y j
- Fichtenau i pt**
- 4 Bricfsammlung Gerbörts ed. Weigle zj6, no. iql. Quoted by Fichtensu ibid. 5 z, who writes in note 33: - The letter ... contains Gerbert's true opinion.
- i 5 Fulb. v. Chartr. de perc. capit. PL Iq i p. 3jq. Hrah. de proc. Rom. mil. c. i q, Vgi, c. d. LMA III i y i j. The Little Pnuly }, i i i t f. Earthman 3 If, rq. Heirs J8 ff. Further **literature on Vegoz** and his **Ve-** brcitung p. 6a f. Still in late m. Jahrhundert btrichtct Horst Herrinnann, Heretics in Germany \*7. from an estimate that -among the approximately 98o million Christians in the world - there are only too many non-Pacifists. ió LMA V iyia f. Hoffmann, **God's** fricde 7' f. Hornus i6\$. Cram i tt. SpruceuA" 544 -
- i7 l.eø IV. ep. z8. John VIII. cp. i o. l'cuenigerzz'.\*J7 koIgt d. **Dörries** II 8. Finkc ntzq. **Auer**, Der kriegsdienst 1 3i8, 11 Jq. Ders. in: MIÖG 34'. Schieffer, Winfried-Banifatius §q. Fiehtenau i45. Iss. iss
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- iq Heuss iaa f. Etdmann z ff. jo If.  
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- 20** LMA 11 i8œ ff. IV i98y If. (Comamine), VI uz. Group 1 i 3. Neuss iaa f. Erdmann ya ff. If. jz9 ff.  
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•41. heirs th. Erdmann 38 ff. 83 f. Becker, Say no i66.
- 22** Csn. Apost. c. 83. syn. A rel. (3i) c. j. Cone. Chslced. f4T (I) C. 7. syn. turon. (pdf) c. §. syn. **Mazisc.** (j8j) c. j. **Ayn. Talracon.** (y z6) c. a. Syn. tol. lö3 j) c. yr. Syn. burdig. '+3 s%aisl -- r. SF-. T° . '+ry - 6. Kobcr, The Deposition 6gj f. Erdmann i z f. Prim, Clergy and War q If.
- 23** Voigt §6. heirs 5y f. Koeniger °37- Erdmann iz. Prince, Klerue and Krieø If. y9 f.
- 24** Hellinger i i8. Schubert, History of the Christian Church I 36i. Montgomery 1 i8q. Voigt 6 £rdmann zi. Prinz, Clergy and War +\* 7 i 79 -
- 25** Schubert, History of the Christian church I t6o. Erbcn §5 ff. Kö- niger >37- +uer, Krfgsdienst 1 j;i8,  
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- 27** Donin I jot f. Group 11 i8q. King zzi. Voigt 3o. Ganahí qa. v. Schubert, Gexchichte der christlichen Kirche 1 i6o, II yz. Prim, Clergy and war 8 f. 6q  
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- 29** Thietm. r,q. LThK 1- Eolj. LMAY toiq. Hauck ll B}3 Schnürer II i3. **Seller** 47 f. **F'rie5 \*4** If. **Prinz,** Klerus and War I3g I]. Lindner 13.1 ff.
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- 32** LMA Yl zz88 f. l-UKA ! 4^J - !! 5o f. 68. Sommerlad ll aye. Group IV iqq. Auer, Kriegsdienst des Klerus l 3xj. Fried, Der Weg 7 i
- 33 Tliietrø. q,zq, 6,y . Wipo c. i z. Adalb. v. Br. z,i f. z,q. Herm. v. Reiehenau root. Vita Bemw. c. zø. bulb. ep. i iz. EThK 11° z86 f. IV° td38. LMA IV iq68, V 1881 f. VI øy6. Dresdner 88. Kretschmann, Die stammesmäßige Zusammensctiung 9. Crupp III+4 f. ordmann i, 6q f. th f. Bannasch, i6o f. Heer, Kreuztüge i8. Auer, The ReichskriepdlHst . 17  
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- 36 Montgomery I i6j. Grans j68. Frinz,  
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- 37 **Grupp III 137; IV 443. Preidel I 93**  
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- 47 Vita Bernw. i. Thietm. ö, i9. An-  
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- 7\* Thietm. i,i6, 6,q3, 6,59; 6,6z; 6,66, . 9i . -i 6,90. Hirsch II 3jo ff. 334 f. Auer, Kriegsdienst MIÖG qo5. Claude I ^i7 °74 ff. i8z If. **z87, 297. Leyser 163 f.**
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- 7t Thietm-7-47- \*nn. Hildcsh. tour. Vita Meinw. c. i z. LMA +4\* Hirsch III it ff. Trillrnich, Thiermar4 o Note r6y, z67 . Bannasch **84 f. 175 f. 250 ff. 260 ff. 279 ff.**
- 71 Thietm, y,63. H rsch II jqz f. III t If. Holtzmann II 5, Flecken- sreiu, basics zo6
- 76 Thie - 7'§^ \*- 7\*f9 f- y 6a. VI i iq6. Hirsch UI 6o. Holzmann II y9. Claude 1 z9o f. Epperlein, Friinkische Eroberungspoliik z9q f. Thicttff. 6 91- 7,64i 'i. LMA V zyy If. Hirsch 1 zo7 , III 86 If. **Holz-** m""n iI Jaq f. Auer, Der Reichskriegsdienst z **36. Claude** I zj6, za i. î'tinz, Grundlâgcn und Anfänge iRj f. Schulzc, **Hogemoniales Kai-** os
- 78 Thietm. ä,5. adi2M v. Brern. -.4 i,ø6 f. LMA II i q3, VIII \*\*74' Høuck III 638. Loushom I z3i. Holtr.mann 1 43i ff. Schöffel I i qt y9 LP z ,zø5. JW i ,5oi. Thietm. 6,too f. Kelfý i}4 f. LMA III 3aä. Hirsch II 38z f. Gregorovius 11 i ,3. Halter II I66. Seppelt II 39^ !- Schulzc, **Hegemoniales Ksiserturn** joz. Fried, The Way 6tq
- 8o LP a,z66 f. JW i, yoi If. Thietm. 6,ieo. Kelly s55 f. LMA V 5q3. VII 17ø f. Stag II3\*4 **Gregorovius** 11 i, 5. Scppelt II 19\*
- 8i Thietm. 6,1oo- LMA IV 3 r8. Schaller, Zur Kreuzzugsenzyklika i y. All references there
- 8z Vgi, the appendix ibid. mii krii- edition of the encyclical i5o If. Kühner, Luxikon @. Erdmann zoo If. Scppelt II jyj considers the document to be genuine and for the beginning of the crusade funfi- 83 Kelly i §6 Gregorovius 11 i, 3 . Seppcli 11 3 3. Trillmich, Thietmar q note 3z8. K.-J. Herrmsnn, DasTuskulsnerpapstum i ff. Wol- **ter 255** 84 LP z,z68. JW i, ed If. Thietm. **6,roi.** itelly i56 If. ayz If. Kühner, Gbko "7T i66. Dec. Dælmpe- rium **tzy.** LMA j z8 y. Deer II j8y If, 3 y III zar . **Hsuck** III y z8 f. 5 z6 t. Cartellieri, Weltgeschichte all Machcgmchichrc II apo, quoted from Schulze' Hegemoni9les Kai- scrtum o6 f. Seppelt II jyj ff. Sep-

- pelt/schwaiger i z8. Haller 11 i68 f. Hermann, Das Tuskulanerpapsttum q ff. i. Prinz, Grundlagen und Anfangs r80
- 8 Thietni. y,i. Ann. Quedlinb. I O13. LMA Ili 80j, V11 spy ff. Kelly i 56. Hirsch 11 j8 '4 44\*q - Hauck III 5ii. Grepprniuc II i, 7. **Seppelt II 394 f. Wolter 253, 255 f.** Írinz, Gttindlagen and Anfänge i80
- 86 Thietm 7.' 7" Ann. Quedlinb. **1014. Kelly 157. LMA IV 295.** Hirsch II 4\*7 ff. Gregorovius 11 i, 7- 9- Sch "lzc, Heg<monisles Kniscrtum jo6 f. Prinz, Grundlagen unJ Anfgngc ztlo. Wojrowycsch p
- ®7 Thi "t+- 7.-\* - irsch II gjj. Fried, Die Fnmierung+7 Ders. Der Reg 8çH
- R8 Tÿiiet n. y,4 y. Kelly i7 . Hirsch IT y8o ff. III 1z§ If. i jx. Gregorç+vius 11/i, in. Hauck III yzo, z6. Seppelt II 395 f. Herrmann, Das Tuskulanerpapsttrum zç. Erdmann o f. Schulzc, HegemOniaTes Kaiscrtum i o. írinz, Grundlagen und Anfün- ge rso f. Fried, Die Normierung i}t
- 89 Kelly i5?. LMA I i85q. II i -s\*- \* ç 2. Hirsch III uy ff. i z ff. 97• Gregnrovius 11/i, io f. Seppelt 11 3q6. Herrmann, Ewas Tuskulaner- \* &>< 47Prini , Grundlagen und Anfänge i 8 i. Wulter a8o. Schul7.e, HegemonialeS Kaisertum j io. Fried, The Way Szy
- 9o Mr. v. Reichen. iozo ff. Ann. Quedlinb. root. Kelly s7- LMA I 8yy. II zzy6 f. 1118o . IV z978. VI 49\*. \* 17 Hirsch 111 i 5 ff. i5q ff. ix8 f, i9i f. iqq If. tq8 ff. z to ff. Gregorovius II/¥, 3x. Seppelt !!! 307- Prinz, Grundl9gcn **und Anfünt.-c** ib i. Herrmann, Das Tuskulaaier- papsttum jt If. Wolter z8i>ff. fi utH 48 Schul7z, Hegemonialcs Kaisertum y i i f. F-ricd, Der Weg \*°7 f. 79 i f.
- yz r.Tim. j,z; y, rz; §,j.Tít. f,G. **LMA III 8oj. Hirsch III zry. Deschnr, The Krcuz t y If.**
- yz In detail: **Descfiner, Das Krcuz.** i5 y If, i 58 ff.
- §j y. Kyn. Tnl. c. io. Winicre+ 370
- yt Syn. G"sl. c. 4 u. c. d. /ol'cr z7j If. mis Qucllenhinweimn iind Betegeis
- qy MG €Dlt\*\*-.7\* f. Hirschli 111 zi 3 ff. esp. a i J f. u. z i8 f. Prcrcrin r i 5 ff. which I follow closely in part. Cf. also Grupp III 16l. WoltCr i83 ff. Seppelt II 39ti
- 96 Perevrin J i ff. See also Mehnert. Thciner I i8o ff. Grupp IV q@. Plüchl 11 r63. Wolter z85 ff. Lute =--- -4s- \Vintercr jyj f.

## z. KAPJTEL

**KAISER KONRAD II. (1024-1039)**

AUftakt of the Salian Jahrhundert

- i Wipu j. VgJ. also H9uck III yy6 z Hautl 111 5d
- y Ot'n v. Fr. Chron. 6,z8
- y Strtvt, LMA V 7 jpp
- y Wipo c. z. **LMA VII y yco If. Breü- lau 1 i If. Hlawitschka, LInter- sarchungen zu den Thrx'nw'cchseln 79 ff. Kcller, Zwischen r-pio "sl r Begrncru-g 73 I- gl. also Struvc z y ff. K. Scctmü, Zam **Haus- um** Hcrrschahsverstindnis z r ff.**
- b Wipo c. i ff. Herr. v. Reich. ioza . Otto v. Fr. Chron. 6,t8. LMA 1 q°7' III 803 f. V 1338. LThK [° 9d8. Brcfi fair i i ff. +7 - \*ö f. Biaehof zs ff. Hlawifschlç.'I, Untersuchungen zu len Thronwechseln f. Husch- ncr, Konrad II qq f. Sireich 11 qn . Schulze, Hegenionalcs Kaisertum jjo ff. Schnirh, Kaiser Kontod II. '8j ff. Keller, Zwischen regionaler **Bçft'02Ur\{\ t7 f. zop. Boshof, Kö- nigtum z8 ff. fchwarzmaier, Vnn Speyer nach Rom § ff. Brunner j46. Martens zjj ff. To the M9in2cr**

- Afiu B on synods as early as the io. century: H-hl i i y ff.
- 7 Wipo c. q. Otto v. Fr. Chton. ö,z8. Taddey z88, io 8 f. LThK 1 79q f. LMA 1 qzy. IV 465, V i 3.38. Brc8-ftu 1.8 f. JJ jqz f. j8z Anin. 3. Hauck lil i4 f. Htawitschka, Untersuchungen zu den Thrnwechseln 8i f. iz8 ff. Schulze, Hegemonialcs Kaisertum jvi f, Engler zJq f. Huschner, Konrad 11. 9 f. Schnith, K;ifSer Konrad 11. i83 If. Bosliof, The Salians 33 ff. 38 f. Schwarzmaier, Von Spcyer nach Rom4 8, o If. Brurtner t§6 If.
- 8 Wipo c. 6 (here dus iter regnis per regna as capitulary); c. io; i q f. z5; z8. Herm, v. Reich. rozf ff. zojo. Otto v. Fr. 6,i8 f. dtv-Lexikon z, aS8. Kindlrs Lite- rzturlexikon is\*7 lll 7-o ff. LThK 1' 968. IMA III 8oq. V I j 3 g ' 343• VIII z nt3 f. HEG I roy. Sieindorff 7- BreBlau 1 qz ff. Aoi ff. Hauck III 5dz. Trillmich, Tstcn Emperor Con- /88\* - S77 ID "taz. Engler z6o. Schutze, Hegcmniales Kaisertum j 3 f. Boshof, Die Salier Jq ff. 44 ff. 8 ff. Ders. Königiiim i f. Schnith, KaiStr Konrad II. z86 ff. Husthner, Konrad J1. s . 9 f. R. Schneider, Lsndeeerschließung i i 9 f. *IMaurer* 16z. Kraft jqd ff.
- 9 Ann. Qucdlinh. ioz5 ff. Ann. Hitd. ^ 37- LMA Ili 8oS, İ ^4+5- 3J9- VII ioz, rqz ff. HKG 111/i, z88 f. does not seek to en- cure this, but rather has to concede most of it himself. Bre8lau II i ° - 35 i - i's ff. 379. i\*-. '\*s' Üäl4Ck 1.11 f - 54+ j yi ff. 563 ff. Holder 11 ry5, i8o f. zor. Boye zy1 If. 5ëppelt J14•• \*. Flecken- stein/Bul\*- '14 ff. •s . EngJer t6o, t63 ff. Müller- Mertcns/Huschner 86, zo4, zq5 ff. Stern/Bartmutl zcd. A. Fticlic cited in Boshof, Die Ss- lier 83 ff. 86 f. Ehlers74 . Wolrer j t j f. j j . Schni'h, Emperor **Konrad** II. i 8q, iqz. Weinfurter, Herrschaftslegitimation und Königs- autorität yq ff. Kolmer, Christ 8. - On the spiritual *brotherhoods*, see for example Sprandrl, version 7+ ff.
- 10 Wipo c.6; 13 LMA III 4-V 1)38 f. Brefilnu II 3 q ff. Trillmith, Wipo, Taten Kaiser Konrads 11. 1.7 ff. LMA 111 8od, V i 38 f. BrefiJau 11344 ff. Boshof, Die Ssliet 83, 8q. Müllfer- teriens/Huschner S8 ff.
- 11 MG Const. 1.8 f. No. 3g. DUO C. 7' r ff. I6; i\*. 37- Herm. v. Reich. \*°7. °38. Otto v. Freis. Chr'in. 6,zq, 6,3i. HECi 1 7°°. Brcfilau i \*i 7+ ff. äo ff, i is ff. i z ff. 83i f\*. +79 f. 11 i z5, ayq If. joy ff. Steindorff 1.3 i q If. Gregorovius 11/ i, i 3 ff. iq. Woltc< 3\*7 f. Seppelt 11 boo. Hlawitschks, Vom Franken- reich If7- BOchof, Die Salier u ff. 47 f. j f- 77. Schulze, Hegemoniatcs Kaisertum i34 Keller, Zwischen regionaler Begrenzung qz, s4 f. i9y. Miiller- Menens/Huschner 7-, zoë. Huschner, Konrad 11. qj f. Brunner z i 3. Schnith, Emperor Con- rad 11. 7. \*s\*- Deschner, Der Mo- loch af7 -
- 12 WipO c- +7i 34 . Herm. v. Reich. to 3§, roy y. Oiro v. Fr. Chron. 6,Ji. LMA I 926 f. III +74 f. (H. Keller), 4 f. 79- V 133a (Struve). VI 93 793- VII qxz. HEG 1 7<\*' !! 5q ff. Brcltlau 11 z i i ff. \*4 ff. t 5o ff- G regotov i us 11/i , i 8 f. Ps u- !<8 +\*- 4 If. i y3. Wolter 3.8 f. St:lenniH, Kai er Konrad 11. i87, i9i f. Boshof, Die Sslier 5z- 77 If. 8q ff. Huschner, Konrad II. q8 If, i y LMA II io8y. HEG I yzi. BreSlsu II i i5 If. BoShof, The Salians 7- . Eng- Ier zöz u LMA II i° 7 !- ! 7i j j9, VI i y9o, VH g84 f. Boshof, The Salians 65 ff.



- \*5 Thietm. y,jo. Wipo c. 8; r 5i zq If. j5. Herm. v. Reich. io3z ff. I°57-LMA II io88 f. IV iad , VI I3f5• VII 3\*77 HEG I 6ay f. 7zi. Taddey roj7- telly z6d. Breglau 8z IN. If 8 ff. ä9 ff. 86 If. z54 If. z6q ff. Boshot, The Salians 6 ff. 69 If. 86 ff. Keller, Between regi pension 8 . 97
- i6 Thietm. 8,x. Wipn c. 9, iq. Arim Hild "sh. zox8. Adam v. Br., Schol. 47 LMA II j6, V jo6, ! \*7 f. V\T ; . HEX 7\*°- 9'° . Br ƒhu ð pB F. z y f. 11 3ji f. Mtntel 1 jzq. Fleckenstein/Bulsi iqq. Trilfme, Wipo. Deeds of Emperor Kontad II. y6a Aøm. işfi. Epperlein, Franconian Embrungspolitik zq8. BoShnf, The Salians 7-
- 7 Wipo c. tq; j3. aunt. Hildesh. io3z. LMA 11 S3 r f. HEG 7^°- CIO. BreBlau 1 z76 If- z8q If, day ff. 11 6 If. 79 ff. qq ff. i i8 If. s• ff. Menze11 jzş f. Hauck III x3z f. Flecken- scein/Bulst \*49 ! Epperlçin, **millng** kische Eroberungspolicik zy8. Boshot, The Salians 7-. 7 If. 9z
- 18 Menzel I 3z . Fleckenstein/Bulsi in8. Dçér, Pagan and Christian liches 8, Kossmann, Germany and Poland ø3 r f.
- iq LThK IVR 57 '371. LMA I i8 j8. I V r4 34' +465 f. i8i i f. ViII i i f. izin f. iaøj. HEC- 11 z6z, Ferdinandy zo9 f. Hóman, Stephen 1. izz, ijq, zzy. Silagi i z f.
- zo Script. Rer. Hung. II Sz3. Thiwim. q, q. **Wipe c. i, z6. Hcrm. v. Reich. role.** Ann. Hildeşh. rock. Ann. Sangall. mai. iojo. Ann. AItch. to o. LThK III' 6z5, IV' 3to. LMA III i88q, IV i3iz, i8ii f. VIII i iz f. Keller, Reclams **Lexikon** W3, 68. Kühner, LEXIKON7 y. HEG I Too. Steindorff I i a8 ff. i5q ff. BreBlau I a9y ff. 3 rd ff. Pierer i8, rßq. Bün-
- Mittelalterc I zjß If. Ferdinandy it z f. Buchner 6ya note who. Trill- me, Thietmsr of Merseburg Wy Arim. zz8. Decr. The holy Kronc Ungams lz. On the later formation of leggings vg1. for example Dçér, Heidnisches und Chrislichn I if.
- 21 dry-Lexikon +7. ^77. Keller, Reclame 1-cxikon a68. LMA VIII i i y.
- Bónis 180 ff. Pierer 18, 184. Hó-** man, Srephan I. i z. Den. History table with the other members. age I q7. \*\*7. which I follow in part. Vg). also the previous statement
- zz LThK Y1\* i6z. LMA V rzj8, VI rpiz (Roberg). Hauck III 6aø. Seegrün 6j. Vgl. also the following. An-reinforcement
- 23 Adam of Bremen -.47- °. I i. -' 3- LThK VI' i62. LMA V iz38 f. VI i°9d- HKG IIIJi, zf4, zf9, a64 f. Werict/Welte 11 ji8 ff. lteindodf 11 6y. Breßlau 1 i 9 ff. I°4\* if. Donin V 46d. Hauck III 6a r If. Boshof, The Salians -tq
- 24 ° \*- 8 \*\* \*-37 ff. bcs. z,yy; z, 59 also 2'7+. Of the destruction of the Hciden- deg hl, Olaf beinerkt Adam ibid, da B -der g)uckseligscce König- alle Vogeldeuter, Magier und Beschwörer und die übrigen Trabantcn des Ancichrists-, sll die- 9e °e °Ungeheuer-, to persecute bc- schlog, "dømit durch Bescifigung diesescs Argcrnisces die christlichc ding-Noujuks ø4• Bónix i 8o ff. Hó- man, History of the Hungarian

Religion in scinm country is firmly  
may want to found. And he had at  
Bich **'ie)t** BischÖfe and Prie- seer . .  
, - See also Adsm,5c1rpI. az  
- LThK VII' 69t f. LMAVI zj8a ff.

(Ehrhrdr). HEG I 'pş8. Getzer/  
^X/el e VIf óşj f. dtv-Lexiken , zz .  
And the church became more and  
more dominant in the north  
compared to the church in  
Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

For a long time, the church had an organizational and spiritual preponderance over the secular power {Ahasver von Brsntd). HEG II 88q ff. Breßiau I iqr ff. Pierer in, zip. Hauck 111  
6 ff. 644 Kummer tsi, zo8 ff. zt8. A. Heusler cited in Kummer ibid. si r. Schöffel I i io. Bosl, Europa im Mirtefslrer z , drew. Vg}. on Hitler's field bishop Werthmann: D#schncr, Die Vertreter Gottes i ff. Reprinted again in Oers. Above without zo8 If. On the whole complex: Ders. Die Piilitik der Päpste II zy ff. esp. 5 ff, iso ff. zoi ff.  
z Ann. Hildesh. io3q

CHAPTER 3

KnlxR ÜE1f4R1CH HĪ.

-DER FROMME ÉRIEDEI'YSBRI24GER  
(ioj9-io\$6)

i Wipri Frol., c. i  
z Fleckenstein, Rex Canonicus 63  
3 Schnith, Medieval rulers  
\*97\*  
p HKGHVn z 8p  
5 Wipu c, zj f. LMA IV zo39 f. V  
343 HECi 7\*j. 11 Zo. Steindorff I  
ty ff. Ffauck III y6 If. Fleckenstein,  
Rex Canonicus 6 . Hla- witschka,  
Vom Franknreich df. 5rhnith, K  
"isec Heinrich III. ted f. Huschner,  
Henry III. i i i. Struve  
zi 9. Schulzc, Hegemoniales Kai-  
S€tüg£U374 .Schmid, Zus  
**Haus-** und Herrschaftsverständnis  
der Salier 3i. Stötmer, Bavaria and  
the Bavarian dukes 5 r3 ff. Dik-  
kerhoff g47 Fuhrmann, Deutsche  
Geschichte im hohen Mitte l s}ter y j  
6 Wipo c. xi, z8; j3. Adam v. th. 3,d  
f. LThK I' ijq. LMA I 9y, III  
iae9 f. VI izqi f. Meyer v, Knonau  
+\*4- +\*8. GtcgOFOviuS 1\*+ 4i-  
Among the major donations of Hein-

richs 111. to the high clergy vgi.  
btw, bus. steindrff 7 ff. 8 ff.  
Pét If. y8 f. Toz If. u. o. Cf. feroer  
for example Cociting z68 f. -  
Gregorovius IlfI, 4s Hauck 11 175.  
§80. Flek- kenstein, Rex  
Canonicus 6j. Trill- mich, Wipo.  
Deeds of Kaixer Konrad  
II Stig note z36. Boshof, Die Sa-  
lirr pj f. roy. Krller, Z 'ischen re-  
gion;iler **Bcgre** -u°g 7+' lzt f.  
Huschner, Heinrich III. zo6 f.  
Fuhrmann, Deutsche Geschichte im  
hohen Mittelalter 5j. As far as  
Aske- se, Cindy and Reform are  
concerned, it should be noted that  
the monks there also inspired the  
Feinschmtcker- tum and the  
multitude of kindnesses. -fn Ctuny  
learned to eat Eurtpa!- Cf. van  
Winter qr f.

- 7 Tadéq o.LMAİM8 ÖVi o  
lStrUV9) ISS' 97\*- HKG 111/  
i, z89. HEG I 7z . Steindorff I q f.  
io ff. Meyer v. Knonsu I i. Flek-  
kenstein, itex Csononicus 6 . Fol-  
ter 56a f. Hlawitichks, Vom Fran-  
genreich i65 f. Schutze, Heg;tmo-  
niules Kaisrreich 3yq. Boshof, Die  
Salicr qz ff, q6. Fuhrmsnn, Deut-  
sche Geschichte im hohen Mittel-  
alter 5i. Schnith, Emperor Henry  
III. i96
- 8 **Wolter 362 f.**
- 9 Lsmp. Ann. ioy6. LThK X' qei f.  
L'idA J7f Boy. 5tcindozfĪ Ī zb' II. yp,  
\$y ff. Il34 f. Hauck III 5y3 f.  
Hal- ter II xni. Hlawitschka, Vom  
Fran- kenreich i6j. Kelleri  
Zwischen re-  
gional Begrenzu-g 7i- Bnshnf, l3ie  
Salier \$6 f. Fuhrmsnn, Deut-  
sche Geschichte im hohen Mittel- 9ltcL  
}3 ff. Cf. also the following. An-  
mctkung
- 10 f-amp. Ann. rond tf. Herm. v.  
Reich. icupt. Ann. Altah. io4 d.  
LiVIA 1 66 i f- i Ryo f. Ill 8oy, iot3,  
10jo, I V 950, 1601 , VI 2, ff. 586 ff.  
Hfi€ I 7-c. Brel3lsu 11 8q ff. t 76 II.



Page is7-16q

ip7 ff. Sceindorff I z8z. Köhler 6 ff. Schulze, Hegemonia- les **Kaiserutrn** j8j f. Hlswitschka, Vom firnkenreich 16g f. 8oshof, Lothringen, Frankreich und das Reich 6j ff, 66 ff. 6q - 7\* ff. 7 ff. Oie Salier ioi ff. r i . Husch- ner, Heinrich III. i i i. Schnitt, Kai- ser Heinrich III. '97- Keller, Zwi- schen regionaler Begrenzung 8i. Fuhrmann, Deutsche Geschichte im hohen Mirtelalter yt f. Cf. such M. Werngr, Der Herzog von Lothringen 367 ff. esp. 38z ff.

**419 ff.**

I I+37° f. HI ioz3. HEG I 7\*- Sceindorff 11s f. Boshof, The Sa- lier io5

i i Wipo s. Note i. Mr. v. Reich. 46 f. re q. Lamp. Ann. io46 f. io93. Ann. Allah. '49- LMA I i7 o f. III i5zz.

IV 5i5 , 1601. HEG

I 7zä. Sreindorf II 3 ff. i8 ff.4 ff. 8j f. io6 f. z8o f. Keller, intermediate regional limitation 8o. Porst, Die Katharer7 q. Boshof, Lorraine, France and the Empire

\$ t/. 103 Cf. Izp ff. The Sslicr ioq ff.

**13** Wipo, Pcotogus. LNA \* °7 Kretschinann, Die stsmmesmäßige Zusammensetzung in. Boshof, The Salieres. f i8 ff. I could not think of a greater coirimenta r to the Wipo omissions than those two särze Dieter Birmbachers iq8 in his essay Das Dilemma dtr christlichen Ethik:-  
-What the theologian **introduces into the erhic dbarce** as the supposed '**word of God**' depends on what he personally c o n s i d e r s to be timely. Since the Bible not only contains the Sermon on the Mount with the call to love one's enemy, but also contains the books of Samuel with the call to genocide, it is not a

It is a wonder that it can be quoted at political rallies just as well as in field services on campaigns of destruction: God wants in each case what is the order of the day ...- On this in detail: Bugg)e, Oenn sie wissen nicht y6 ff. 68 ff. Cf. also i ff.

\*4 Knsn. Chron. a,z ff. Lord. v. Reich. iojq f. LThK II° 3. VIV 3qq. Livla I içJ8 f. II 6, ö3i. Ill yco f. (gray). VI öi y f. i 8o. VII°7 Steindorff I ö3 ff. 9i ff. ioo (as almost always with further sources, such as

all )ahrbüicher to point this out at least once). 8os- hof, Die Salier i i8 f. Cf. also Cnué 38o ff. Scbm ugge 7- notes in passing that -xeir der Re- formzeit eine Vielzahl von Reli- quienFd)schunggn und AbIaßfäl- schungen- entstehen.

**15** Mr.. 'v. Reich. 'wz. LThK If' 3. Steindorff t oj ff. Schünemann 67

**16** Dipo c. ; z6. Mr. v. Reich.

ioj9 ff. Lamp. Allie. IO§5. Ann. Al- ish. ou. HEC I 7\*q f. HBG I 3+4- LMA7• IV i jiz. VI 5iq (Györffy), **1931**. Steindorff I 77 If. zoz ff. GYçgoro'ius }Vt, zo. Piezer 18, I8t.

J-^ -^ ! 49s- Further zzo f. Schünc- mznz yi f. fleckenstein/Bulst i6o f. Kellct, Zwischen regionaler Begrenzung i io. Boshof, The Salians

ICO

**17** Herm. v. Reich, io5o ff. LThK V' °74- MA IV r i6z f. Jaunes 's f. 4 5' 4y6, dq3, 1--t. 57+ i hq. (This last set is found in Janner as unobjectionable" s kzeplierres Zi- tat.) Weller iro f. Kolmer, Regens- burg in der Sslierzeit zen ff. Reuter 3io. Störmer, Bayern und der bsey- rische Herzog y z f. Fñr Bnshof, Bischöfe und Bischofskirehea i iy ff., who calls Gebhard II colorless, Gcbhard IY. -unlucky-, stands with Gehhard SIL the Rcgcn-

- The church of Burg politically .in the mincl- etc., scrvicis, uperae, 'Opus servile punkt 'tes Reichsgeschcbens-, Gebhard iil. seJbcs ist oder hedeu- etc., dit im frühen Mittelalter die Unfreien infrilge ihrer bibhvrt- tciidste unter denRegensburger **Abhiingigkcit unbcgrcliti** made them liable to service. H. k. **Bischiifendes i i. Century -.** schulze, Grundsirukruren I ryo f. i \*8 Lamp. Ann. io46. LMA 1 fioi f. VI 9ji f. 6teindorff ff, i y, i io f. f'ie- Vp.); qlieh i i ff. him ff. II yi ff. with rer i8, i 8j. Spot iin/Btitsi iöo the indication that a part of the dmit- 19Steindorff I r9d ff. (with rohlr. quel- schtn MediiviStcn in the lastlenhinscn). Nqtürliuh met decades the existence of a frei- suchc K 9tastnphen, wic always, en Baucmtums in the early Mitfel- **armrn** r. uersL and gewö5nlikh the :iTcr prinzipicll **hcsrrei'ct**. Possibly also Ciplnlla/Borchnrdr r r i If. dus. also j)anz silein. Div hcrrxhc "Jc 'ry **:o W rzcr/Wc)çc IV 6z2. f.MA IY i sz** aristokratisrh-kJeriko)e feit wur- (Bonckmann), ij8y. Sfeindorff I s f. tij. Erdmann s7 \*. Boshnf, de devon, **zumit** desr direct, **koiln1** Die Salier i la. K-llcr, Zwischen re- hcrührc. She governs and comman- Bcyrcnzut'g 6y Dannenhauer. 66 f., Adam v. Brème" j.8. Herm. v. diertc. She alone speaksthe Rtich. logo. Ann. Alrah. io\$f. isr **Chroniken d-r Cieschicl I tsscl'rci-** HET' ! 7\*\*I II yz f. IV her. "Von anderen Lcutcn -,ü- II. ... isr nothingto 'i+iz f. V" 1 44\* /tt • ^ 44 Scclin- vermelden. Des Vulk aufdem And iirlui-dorff II ry f. go, 3i 8 ff. jq5 f. rum grögccn part abhüitgigig, un- it has to go, to cc" and Abgat'cn to untrichrcn. To Mvter v. Kno tau I i7. Janner I saggn it has ni<hrs. It has no history in the S^7 /f.Vjil. attch yz7f. or Glaeske reason.- No \$s ff. Hi.1wirschka, Vum Frnknkn- Trace of -agricultural romanticism-. Jciler empire i6q. B"shof, Luthringen, Attempt at idealization kraIf France and d-\* \*+\* '4- 93 vcrFehl. Dagege 1 )'crrscht Anpsç. The SsTier \$g ff. Goecting It is gemdezii -cine G runderfnb- z5 b ff. z6S f. z75 ff. Keller, Zwi- schen rcgiunuler rung des bäuerlichen, Rö- schen **Begrenzung So.sener,** Bauern im Mittelalter i z ff. Schnitt, Kaiser Heinrich III. ryy f. Vt;l. also is ff. that heifit fear is carter. Dcucsehe fcschichte masters in the hrihcn Middle Ages a Cirunderfahrtig of the I oppressive fr"ndien- y5. Huschnct.
- 'icr c the total population usually consists of more than yo percent farmers. Ygl, attch 'lers. Crundherschlfht, Bcl'tz.ien y ff., finch Geen, Leb<n im Mittelaltvr 37 ff., the S. i6z iitimerkt, dali die Ahg0 hc von den Erten der Bau- ern an den I-terr- -sclzü'zun{ swcisc eine Dritclcl, vielleicht s" r die Hslfte des Gesamtertags sus- mache . On top of this came ne' h the mostly vi-

h"ff, The biTlungcr joy.  
Dahlhnus jry f, nct'nt dev  
Rommc)sher| Ir Silhcr +iine der -  
Hsupr)\eldquulle" des  
Königrums-. On St. fiimuiJ and  
Judas ctis in detail ibid. joy ff.

**22** LMA IV 1587 ff. HEG I 777. Stein-  
dorff I 137 ff. II 263, 338 f. Erd-  
mai'n z z

**23** LMA IV 'S67 ff. (Kaiser). Stein-  
dorff 14 i f. KcJ)rr, Zwischeli regi"- II filgl  
ÏËt Ft\*^\*^"h \*9 \*. B"shnf, The  
Salicr i to f. Duden zqi

- zq LMA IV j 1 f. Boshof, The Saliat  
1.11
- O. Brunnet zir. in LM/t IV jj ff. r po  
f. (R. Kaiser) II joy, yzz, sl j. III  
89. Hausmonii, Oie Spuren der  
!8<-8\* >4 f. Hoffmann, Gnttes-  
friede i8q. Schlsinger l 4i
4. CHAPTER
- Em POPE DkANCT HIMSELF  
î IGBEN OEft A1't D EREN ...  
The Holy Väier nm the mine  
of the i th century
- i L£ °.°7° ff. j < -s q ff. i ,yz3 f. Mr.  
v. Reich. ioj3, iodj. Adam  
v. Bt. 3.7- Rod. Glab.4.5• i.j.  
De- sid. Csin. dial. j prol. ken,  
Chr.  
C8Ss- °.77 (Scr. VII 68s). Bonito,  
ad amic. y. R-tr. Dann. de abdic.  
episc. 3. Kühner, Lexiko" 7®f, Kel-  
1 f9 ff. LMA 1 85q f, lt isog, IV  
\* 54s- BrefJlati II \*74 ff.  
Steindorff 1 ayy ff. Gregorovius II/  
i, i 6 ff. (here Victor III.) Hf r, zo  
ff.  
Dresdne 6y Hauck 11 g;pf  
56q ff. Schniirer II iz8 f. Halter 11  
iqé ff. vor f. Seppelt 11 oj ff. Sep-  
prlt/schwaiger r jr. Lauiemann  
<57- Fleckensiein/Bulsi i6q. Gon-  
tard zo5. Herrmann, Fragen zu  
einem päpsilichen Amtsverzicht  
io7- Herrmann, Das Tuskulantr-  
papsttum ie ff. Anton, Bonifsz von  
Csnoosa y4 z ff. Wolter Jyj f. Enq-  
ler \*7 f. Chamberlin 8 ff. Keller,  
Between regional boundary q6.  
Tellenbach F +4+. Schnith, Kai-  
ser Heinrich III. i98 f. Fuhrmann,  
Oeutsche Geschichte im hohen  
Mittelalccr 6 f.
- \* 8 \*-\*7\* JW r,5t ff. PL i z,  
577 f. Kühner, Lcxikon 7s f. Kelly  
tJ ff. LMA 1¥ 1668, VII i 9o8.  
HEG 1 7 ff. Steindorff 1 z6o ff.  
} - ff. Gregutovius II/i z\* ff. \*7 f.  
Scppelt II4< ff. SeptliMhwaiger  
i 3z. Haller II zo3 ff. Fleckncscein/  
Bulst i6q f. Engier zS8. Wolter zy  
fl.374. 379 ff. gy ff. Cher"- berlin  
9o ff.
- 3 Desid. diall. ) prol. Notit des Lu-  
pus Barens. protospat. SS V 5q.  
Kühner, Lexikon 8o. Kelly i6z f.  
LMA 11 z i38. Schnñrer 11 zi8 f.  
Gontsrđ zo5. Gregorovius 11/i, z9.  
Guttenberg 1.98. Seppelt/Schwaiger  
37 f. 8pecht z6i ff. Specht/Fischer  
passim. Dolley 343 +- Fuhrmann,  
Deutsche Geschñchie im hohen  
Mittelalter 58, Sieindodf II zö ff.  
(again with numerous sources)  
counts the papal murder among the  
-fatalities, as do other modern  
authors, vg1. ctwa Frech 3o8
- 4 JW 1,5z8 f. LP 2,274. Herm. v.  
Reich. ioq8, io5z. Kühner, Lexi-  
con 8o. Kelly i6o, iÖ3. LMA 1  
z8yq i. II Jz5. III47 - Sieindorff II  
8 n. jz f. 7yz f. Gregorovius II/z,  
i9 ff. Mentel 1 3 r. McCabe, A  
History 6. Haller II zo8. Gontard  
ZO5. Änlon, Bonifflx vyn CanDssa  
§zq ff. esp. JJz f. Fuhrmann,  
German History in the High  
Middle Ages y6, s
- 5 Herm. v. fteich. ^ 49 Kühner, Le-  
xikon 8o. Keller. Rclam's Lexicon  
330 b. LThK VI' 8z f. LMA V  
1880 f. Steindorff II 55 f. Sq ff. i8é  
ff. Oonin tI y3j, Böhme° °7  
Gregorovius 11/i, yi ff. Haller II  
zoq ff. etc. Erdmann 1 iz. Tellen-  
bach ryq ff. Lord, Middle Ages  
zen. Seppelt/Schwaiger i 38.  
FUhrmsnn, Deutsche Geschichte  
im hohen Mittelalter 58 f. Boshnf,  
Bischöfe und Bischofskirchen ia7-  
Kolmer, Regensburg in der  
Salierzeit zoz ff. Frech 3o9 ff.
- 6 Erdmann io8 f. Kühner, The Kteuz-  
trains, Studio Bern -4 \*- -m
- 7 Kelly iS3 f. Gregormvius II/i 3J.  
Erdmann icry f. Hallec 11io9. Fcech  
3o9

- 8 Paul. Diac. hist. L\*\*S 4'4 - \*'' Chr. Cass. z.8ç. Pett. Dam. ep. §.g. LdlTfp. AFtn. to§§. HcrFlt. V. Reich. io53. Kühner, Lexikon 80 f. LThK VII' i6 i ff. LMA IV 365, i i nt f. V i880, VI yq3 ff. Stein- dorff II \*\*7 . 16s ' +7y . 2.id ÜÜ. typ ff. \*4 ff. Gregorovius 11/i, yi ff. ) 5. J9- Böhme\* °7- Weiler iz f. Dresdner a8 f. Seppelt/Schweiger **iso. Gontard** zi3 f. Holder 11 zi3 ff. Erdmann -7 - r ii. Lauienisnn 36 i. K ühncr, Die Kreuzzüg, Studio Bem 4- -- +97°- Fuhtmaiin' Deutsche Ce- schichte im hohen Mirrelslrut y. **Heer**, Mitrelaler zo . To the anti- normative ?'uitik Lcos cf. above all also Dcer, Papsctum und Norm4nnen 8z f. y , zoo
- q Lamp. Ann. rol j. Htrm. v. Reich. io5 . HEG I io6z f, LMA 11 zi rS f. VII 88q f. Steindorff II zoo If. \*4\* If. Gregorovius II/s, yy f.
- Hauck III 688 f. H 'llcr II z y. Gontard z u f. Erdmarin II j. Kühner, Oie Kreuztüge. Deér, P;ipsitum and Norinsnnen zy, i i j. Fuhr- m;inn, Oeutsthe History in the High Middle Ages 59
- io Herr. v. Reich- roy 3. Lamp. Ann. ioyq. Brunoiiis epiw. Singnini lib. de symon. 5,6. MG Lib. de litc 11 P. 5 o f. LTh K V- 3z9 f. VI° 8z f. LMA V 377- HEG I 45 f. 11 zyi. Steindorff ll xyz ff, xy 8 If. w6 If. Gregorovius II/i, 36, j8. Erd iann i to ff. Haller 11 z i5. Kiihner, Ge- zeiten I i6j. Ders. die KiBuzziür.e
- 1 i LMA VII yç3 If. Schieffcr, Emperor Heinrich III. °\*7 SF, In: Die groden Dtuischen 1- i q5fi, ö8. nncH Tellenbsch 133. ibid. r4 o ff.
- z HKG if|r z8y (core)+f). Mirbt ego. Böhmer iq. Group III r yo. Haller 11 xi i ff. Mchnct 56. Boel--- - is- Deschner, OaS Kreuz i6 i, i6q, i98 ff. Tellenbach i3a ff. Schnitt, Emperor Henry 111. iqq f. Fuhr- mann, Adalbert of Bremen's admotion 9i ff.
- 13 HEG II So f. Heller II i qq f. Ull- \*\*\* 3,3 \* \*\* 34- Frech i ff. 3i f. Kelly i6 ff. LMA V i 880 f. VII 5j f. (Miethke). Haller II iqq f. zzy ff. McCabr, A History vf lht Pppes 6. Jordsn, Investitur- streit i6 f. Ullmann 383.Tellenbach '34- rech j13 If. 3§1 f. Scidl Mayer I io6 If. Schnith, Ksiser Heinrich III. Iq9 f.
- '4 LP II\*77' JW I yqq If. Lamp. Ann. °°54 ff. Herm. v. Reich. io5q. Tsd- dey 4i\* < r i65 f. LMA II qz3, 59 , V z°7 f. Steindorff 11 jo8. Meyer von Knon;iu I io ff. zç ff. Gregorovius llfi do f. Sepplt III 3z If. Scppeli/Schwaiger iqz. Hal- ler II zzy ff. z3o ff. Erdmann r i6. Anton, Bonifuz of Canossa<sub>se</sub> If. Frech \$II f.
- 5 LP\*°\*7\*• S34- t, yj} ff. Pl. 'qy, 86d If. **Lamp.** Ann. roy8. ann. Al- tah. mai. Io§y. Kelly i66 ff. LMA I no, VIII i i8 f. HEG 11 z8d, y5q f. Meyer v. Knonau I zq ff. o ff. bed. y'i, 5i If. 77 If. Gregorovius 11/i / . t8 f. Dresdner 9j. Seppel' III jq ff. Seppelr/Schwaiger iqz f. Hal- ler II zz5 f. Erdmann i i6. McCabe, A History j. Zimmermann, Papal Depositions rço. Tellenbach 1z6. Jordnn, Invctiturstreit i 5 ff. rrech 3zi f. Under Stefsn IX. began the momentous union of the Re- form papacy tn with the Pataria, the known Milanese sex movement, about which I wrote in my sexual history in the section -Zwülf juhte Zölibatskrieg in Msilsnd - wrote (Dss Kceuz mit der Kirche 7 . i
- 16 LP II\*79- yW I \$ y6 f. Kelly+\*7 f. LThK 11' zo6 f. LMA I iiz, i860, VIII i i t3. Meyer v. Knonsu 1.85 ff.

- i i 8 f. Hauck III 67\* ff. Davidsohn 1  
f. Gregorovius Ifi, E8 f. Holder  
11 az6, z} . Hägermann i6i f.\*7\*  
Stein- McCabe, A History 8. Tellenbsch  
tz6 f, i3d. **Jordan**, Investiturstreit  
i8. Zimmermann, Papstabsatzun-  
geni d i f.  
Empress
- 7 Kelly i6y ff. LfViA l iiz. 4eyer v.  
Knonsu I i iq ff. i zy f. • i4 f..  
Grenrovius l>\*. 49 ff. Son of David  
I r83 f. Hauck III 68i, 68d ff. a98 ff.  
Group III i 5o f. Seppelt/Schweiger zd  
Lump. Ann. ioyq. Vita Bcnn. io. u f f.  
Haller 11 zy y ff. jurdan, Inve-  
LThK 1' 698. crupp III soz ff. Lau-  
temann 7 \*ff. yrq ff. His 11 So.  
Stehkümpfer 7i \*f. bts 93 ff. Schief-  
fer, Archbishops and Episcopal Church  
Meyer i4 f. Couc oz f. Vollrath x8ö f.  
Lamp. Ann. iotiz, in66; io74 f-  
Vita Bcnn. io. Taddey you. Kühner  
. Kelly s7- LMA [ z i z, 666 f. V  
i65z. VII 46 f. LThK 1' 4 -  
ö98 f. Kindlers Literscurlexion 1  
7 q f. Meyer v. Knonau l i i, i j If.  
°74 ff. esp. >7 f. II qz ff. 3qi ff.  
, 59c ff. 6oi If. Gregorovius  
11/  
, 6o. Beissel l i i y. Hauck III 6d6 If.  
If. 7°+. 7°5- 7\*9. 75\*. Hsller 11  
+4- jvlcAbe, A History ii. Stein-  
bach, Die Ezz.onen 86j. Boshof, 11  
Heinrich BV, ifi, 3 i ff. 4 - Epper-  
lein , Heinrich IV. i i5 ff. Jordan,  
Investiturstreit ii. Schnirh, Emperor  
Hauck Heinrich IV. zoq. O. Engels,  
The  
Empire of the Salians 3zS f.  
If. Erzbischööt und Bischofskirche  
q ff. Erkens zqy If. Thomas, Julius  
Caesar -S. Ders. remarku iw,  
zur Oatierung -4 ff. Giese z8S. On  
the Anno arigedichtcicn miracles  
cf, bee. Coui doz ff, especially  
hey ff.  
z6 Lamp. Ann. iod3 f. LThK f ' 79 - zz  
666. HEG 11 z8}. Meyer v. vius
- stiturstreit i8. Blumenthal.  
Deschner, AbermslS hz8 f.  
i8 Fell y i\*7 +. LMA III 3nJ, 97\*.  
V drew f. VI 4qj, VII iq q f.  
v. Knonau I nt6 ff. Gregorovius 11/ zy  
i, §i f. Hauck III 688 ff. Wühr 6j.  
Erdmann i ro, riß ff. seppelt/  
Schwaiger in. '4 Haller II  
xj9 ff. Jordan, Investiturstreii iq.  
Montgomery I i6 ff.  
iq Kelly i68 f. Kühner, LexikOn.  
Meyer v. Knonau ff. '77ff.
- ai6. Ciregorovius 11/i, 53. Haucki  
III 689 f. Davidsnhn i zzo f. Erd-  
mann my f. McCahc, A Hi5tOV/  
8 f. Scppelt/Schwaiger nt7 Haller  
>44- J an, Investiturstreit xo.  
Zimmermann, Papstabsatzun-  
geni d i f. 147 f.  
**zo Meyer** v. Knonau I ar8 If.
- III yoa H. Haller 11 y5. Zimmer-  
Schieffer, mann, Papsrabsctzungen iq8  
zi Petr. dam. ep. j.6; y. i 3. Kühner,  
Lexicon 8d. LThK III' Bio. LMA  
p66, V izo. bleyer v. Knonau l  
zzjIf. Gregorovius 11/i, @ If. Do-  
nin1 jy8. Davidsohn I xoi. Zim-  
merm;irln, Pspstabszurigen  
+4 ff.  
Meyer v. Knonau z5o ff. Gregorn-

11/r, }8 f. Hauck III	ff.'	Knonaul zyy ff. co, 3o6 ff. 3Io ff.
Haller 1 -4i f.		jis f. 377 ff. j8j ff. q@. Il i6a f, t3
Lamp. Ann. 74-Thcud. Vita		qq. Gregorovius llf i, öo ff. Hauck
Conr. MG SS VIII zr z ff. Adam	IIIy8 .-	Hallcr11 ag6 f.
Br. 3,3d. LThK I° 6q8, '79s VI'		McCahe, A History ii. Erdmann



- "p f. lyle f. Bcumonn, The Auc'uritas yjs f.
- \*7 LMA I 1j, YII 889- 9} \* \*- J4\*- montana). Meyer v. Knonsu 1 \_šo If. zq5, 65 ff. Cf. also 6o5 If. 11 i i3 f. itiz If. Erdmann i- r If. Deschnr, The Politics of Püpsc 521
- 28 Meyer v. Knon9u I j66
- zq Meycrs Taschen]cxikon V jo7 ff. LMA I 1439 f. VI 88o f. HEG I 447 f. Erdmann 124 ff. Haller II 257 ff.
- CHAPTER 3  
Hel mRICiv I. 1 IO 5 '  
AND GREGOR I (' 73+ iï
- 1 Lamp. Ann. ' ts
- 2 Ü§İstÖİ6 C. §
- 3 Defenaio Huinrici IV Regis c. y
- 4 Excerpta
- 5 Lib. de unir. cccl. cnserv. z, z f.
- 6 Lstnp. An't. ZO f4. '^\*3, a f. I ' : \*e'7T \*^A. Alrah. zo6y. Hei- ly^7 . LMA IV col i. Meyer v. Knonau I 3 f. 8 ff. 274 ff. bes. iy8 f, ee f. III z8 f. Hauck III 676, 725, 747 f. Schnith, Kaiser Henry IV. zoq f. Boshof, Henry IV jo f. 6 f. Eppcrlein, Henry IV i i§ ff.
- 7 Lamp. Ann. io63; io66; io73. Adam v. Br. j, jj If. j, \6 II. LMA 97 . 11 qd , IV zou f. VI 636 ff. Me\$et v. Knonau II i5z If. Hauck III y j} f. Boshof, Henry IV r8 f. Sebnirh, itaisrr Heinrich )V. z i o. Eppcrlein, I-Heinrich IV. i i 8 f. FenskC -4 ff. Giesc z8y f. JohaneK 79 ff. esp. 9I ff. but does not want to be included in the Vergnhcn van io65 -simply Verschleuderung von Reichsgot - see I red)
- 8 Lsmp. Ann. io6i. +°7°. LMA !U zzo6, VII i 866. Meyer v. Knonau I 3z8 ff. 11 y, i 5q. Hauck III yjz. SchmiUUFdn77Note " 9
- 9 Lamp. finn. io6), 7 Taddy . LMA VI 57 , VH 8zq. Meyer v. Knonau I \*7\*, 11 y If. z8 If. Eppcrlein, Heinrich IV. o . Schnith, Emperor Henry IV zoo
- 10 Lamp. Ann. tayj. See Vira Benn. 9 Meyer v. Knonau II zi5 ff. Fenske -4 f. 28 ff. j f. R. Schneider, Landeserschließung i3 y if. Voll rath z8r f.
- 11 Lnfftp. Artie- +°73 f. Vits Brnn. i 5. home v. Bosau zy. LMA II 9εj. HEG 1.1 zqo f. Meyer v. Knonau II z z ff. z z ff. z5j f. z63, zqd ff. 3 ff. 3i9 ff. Schnith, Kaiser Heinrich IV. aio f. On the significance of Worms (not nuc fiir the sa- lier) cf, Müller-Martens iso f. Fenske boo ff. zo8
- 12 Lamp. Ann. 74- R!- -ucI Iebd. 107- Meyer v. Knonau II jz8 ff. 3.17 f. Lcyser i 5i. Peuter zgn i 3 kteyer v. KnonoU !!! 4.4 f. as mostly with a F'ütIe van Quellen-  
**belegen**
- 14 Helm. v. Bnssu ry. Meyer v. Kno- \*\*\* 4f, q8y ff. 95 ff. 5oq
- 15 Schmale I No. 66. lsmp. Ann. roy}. Hel m. v. Bosau 1y. Meyer Y. Knonau 11 49a ff. \$03 ff. Excurs V. 74 If. Schnith, Ksiser Heinrich IV. z
- z 6 Plcy'e' v. Knonau £'6 Of.
- 17 Lsm. Ann.' .LThK II' z38. Schmale I no. i ff. +7- is. +ii- LMA I iqz , 114\*4 f. IV i66q. Meyer v. Knonau 11 IO3
- 18 Kelly s7 . LMA Y i6j f. Mgyer v. Knonau 11 roy. Narrow I No. 8S
- ' 9 LMA IV i 6Sq. ?Vlcyer v. Ktionau II ff.
- io Schmale I No. zz. On church princes and men of power, see H. Herrm9nn, Kirchenfürsfnen yp lf. Lea i8, who calls Gregor a Zimmer's son, lists popes of Proccaric origin.
- 11 Schmsle 1 No. j; zq; i<- s9' 7>'

- rrro. Hauck III y§\$. Finke z z47 .  
 Falco zoo. Erdmann i8 ff. Høller  
 II z6y. Kühner, **Tabus** j . **Epper-**  
 lein, Henry IV iz i
- 22 Hauck 7iz f. Finke i y.  
 Emerson p. XXIV McCabe, A  
 History iz
- 23 Schmafe I Nf. 66; 73 +  
 ß-Meyer v. Knonau II 37- Hsrt-  
 mann, Autorii9ten iøi Kirchen-  
 recht q3q. Dickerhoff y9- Kum  
 Komplex Macht und Recht vgi.  
 Gpody >7 If.
- 04 Schmale 1 No. i8, 6§,7 j. ioq.  
 Cirupp IH r5i. Haller 11 3o9 f.  
 Struve any f. Vgi. also - 4 u. zøj f.  
 - What the päpstlicher Ju-  
 The declaration of the Bambrger  
 K)eri  
 kers Gumperc too, who died  
 on zo. April zo8y in  
 Quedlinburg under the  
 presidency of the papal legate Odo  
 of Osciñ, the later Pope Urbsn II,  
 øgcndcn syn- ode of Gregorian  
 prelates is noteworthy. If the  
 clergyman  
 c o n f e s s e s freely,  
 the  
 Roman bishops recognized the  
 primacy of jurisprudence for  
 themselves: W. Hartmaøn,  
 Oiscipu- ins nprl est Supef  
 tnaqistrum i87 f.
- 25 Schmale I no. øy. LMA III qy8 ff.  
 HEG II gz. Caøpar zoi ff. Haller  
 II z76 f. Jordan, vestiture dispute  
 yz. Gauss y6 ff. Fink, Papacy and  
 Church 33 ff. Lautermann zqr
- 26 Schmale I No. 38. LMA III97 ff.  
 HEG II z. Haller II z6 . See also  
 Fuhrmann, Ecclesia Romzna aa. -  
 If Hans Albert io8 holds the mnder-  
 nen religious pr3gft18 ismuø voy  
 that he is no longer concerned with  
 the wshrhreit of a conviction  
 gchc, -sortdc n with its nurzcn for  
 life-, one can assert analogously of  
 the papstrum gcñ generally.  
 ttn, since B this, recently  
 published Gre- gor, is not about  
 the truth of a  
 Conviction grhe - that would be in  
 such an almost unparalleled Lü-  
 gon and counterfeiting  
 gcsrrüpp seek more than kutios  
 gcñug -, alç rather to theirøn benefit  
 fijr dos  
 Papacy, not for the "Lord, who  
 must always stand up for alks, but  
 for the Lords themselves.
- 16a Ambrns, ep. ai,q. Emerson XX  
 IV, McCabe, A HlStOry --. \*4-  
 Wühr  
 s'. i\*- Seppe]t/Schwaiger iyi.  
 Haller II z66,i/7 f. zq8 f. 3o8 If.  
 Erdmann zoo If. Schramm, Ksi-  
 ser, Rome and Renovatio zoo.  
 Uil- **mann foz**, 4op, t3 j. **Jordan**,  
**Inve-** stiturstreit z f. Hitsch 4s
- 87 Schmale 1 no. sq; go. LMA VI  
 57 Meyer v. Knonau II zy ff.  
 Vg). also j . Heller I -78 f. tq3 f.  
 Erdmann nty ff, Blattmann qS  
 -s Schmalc I No. zø. Vgl. ctwa djs  
 modern Gcgenposition the pride  
 Yes Acheisten bei Gelhausen 16z  
 ff.
- z\$ narrow i no. jl3; §§. LMA VII  
 ij1j. Meyer v. Knonau I1 j8ø fi. t  
 i f. 3o ff, Wühr 58
- jo Schmale 1 No. 83
- yr Schmalt I No. ay. Meyer v. Km-  
 nsu 11 ) 5 ff.Wühr ) k. liens i q.  
 Oeçr, Pspsttum and Normans y6  
 If.
- 3B HEG II y8q If. Meyer v. Knonau  
 11 zo3. BÖhmer fizø If. Laehr j3.  
 Haller Ij 3ØØ, 3Ø8, 3Iq. Erdmann  
 i jz, zy6 If. 7z. Jordan, Invesi-  
 tuntreit 3z f.
- 3j Schmale 1 No. øi. IVleyer v. Kno-  
 nau II 33q, 3ai. Gschwind4 f.  
 Mirbt yq. Heirs yø. Erdmann i6o  
 ff. i85 ff. 1 3 \$b. **Boti, zay**  
 z5o f. Hsiler 11 a6y, z96. Stppelt/  
 Schwaiger ryo, ry6. **Jordan**,  
 Inve- stiturGtfeit jz, sy. Kühner,  
 Die Kreuzzüg, Studio Burn.  
 Desch- ner, Oac Kreu\* +7+ Cf.  
 also gnereJl H. Herrmann,  
 Passion der Grausamkeit i a8 ff.



- 34 Erdmann i ö f. i96 f.
- 35 Meyer v. Knonau lt zr 3 ff. Wühr i . s\*- McCabe, A History i z. Haller 11 a6o, z6 , z6y, zq4
- 36 Schmale I no. iq, 3q, di; q3; 5q. Meyer v. Knonau 11 3q9 f. 4i'. 44 f. Gregorovius II/i 76 f. Wühr 5o f. Neuss i 3 . Erdmann ^45 f. iqq ff. Haller II z<7 >- <-u-temann )64. gauss gr. Kühner, Gectiten 1.167. den. Die Kreuzziigc, Studin Bern. Jordan, investiturstreit 33 f.
- 37 Narrow I No. , q; xy; a8
- 38 Lamp. Ann. i-r7- Narrow I No. \*\*i 7I- IOZ I3q. LMA I 745' IV i \$q8, VI I7q f. Davidsohn I z3z *Ih. MrCaWe A History* ii, L4. Heller II a8 i. Jordan, Investitutstreit , go
- 39 \*RIVP. \*!\*tn. \*477
- 40 Schmale I No. 6oi tzy, LMA VI j9j f. Meyer v. Knonau II dqz. Erdmann iso ff. 2°7 f.
- 41 Schmale I No. j; i i f. j9. hsuck 7,9 - 777. holder 11 ayi ff. zy8. Jordan, Investituttreit z6, 6 f. Weinfurter, Die Sslier und the empire. Introduction I io L IA V  
**477 ff. VIII 54o**
- 42 Lamp. Ann. ieye. Meyer v. Knonau 11 54 o ff. q6 f. Hauck III 78d. Seppelt/Schwaiger i 5z
- 43 La mp. Ann. ioy6. Schmale 1 y8; 6j, 65 f. LMA V 47r ff. esp. yq f. HEC II zq . Meyer v. Knonau 11 so f. li r ff. 6z8 ff. 6zp f. Honey 7\*6 ff. Jsnner 1 J8. Seppelt/Schws i f i q. \*!\*° !!! \*79 ff. Jordan, investituttreit 37 f. Latt- temann zqd ff. Schnith, Kaiser Heinrich JY. z q f. Epperlein, Heinrich IV. zz
- 44 Lamp. Ann. t 6 . Cf. Schmale I jj. LMA I i3tq ff. esp. iqi6. HEG 11 x9 f. Meyet v. Knonau II 6a8 ff. xj8 ff. 66o ff. Hauck III yq5 ff. HnllCē \*7i Z8 i ff. z88.
- jordan, Invęsticurstreir j8 f. Epperlein, Henry IV. zzz £. Sthnith, Emperor Henry IV. zi 5 f. Schmidt/Fritz i47 finn. q
- 5 'Lamp. Ann. roy6. Schmale I No. i jz, vJ;I. such i 33. Meyer v. **Knonau II 6yo** ff. 6y4 II. 66p f. Hauck lt1797 . On the change of sides of the Archbishop of Mainz Siegfried cf. Staab s7 .
- 46 Lamp. Ann. tcr:ry. LMA 11 i 3q, rer f , v i9yy. HEX lt z94 f. Meyer v. Kilon\*\* 739 - 747 715 \*- 26i f. Haller 11 z8 ff. Jor- dan, Investitiurstreit f. SchmidJFrin 3qq Anm. z. Jnhaneke roy f. Gocz, The Thironcrbe 6 f. The only German Pralat The Bishop of Augsburg Embriko did not reconcile with the Pope and evaded his imprisonment by fleeing in secret. cf. Horn \*s6 f.
- 47 Heine 11 3o. Engler passim esp. j38 ff.
- 4# L-mp. Ann. e7- Schmidt/Friez **4o7 Ann. 4 ff.**
- qq Lamp. Ann. --75- LMA V i63z (Siruve)
- yo **Lamp-** Ann. -7- **Meyer v. Knon** 8u ff y o. Engler j8 ÝY.
- I i Schmale I No. j8 f. y : 7°. 77- **Wein 11o f.**
- 52** Schmitlc I No. 'og. Lamp. Ann. +W7- Meyer v. Knonau II y j f. 759
- j/ Lsm p. brin. io}8; rc'6j; ipod f. 1O7§ ff. LMA JĪ ^4t-, VII ioi f. i fi6 f. Siegb. Gembl- Chron. MG **SS VI j6q. LMA II lggz, V[I oyo** f. z86j f. **Meyer v. Knonau III g ll.** 8 f. H\*uc|C M 8o8 iT. Kosminski/51 "tskin I zj8. Hsllcr lt -\*s. - 7 ff. Jordan, Investiiturstreit dj ff. Rñrig z3 ff. Miniers so ff. SeheibeJrcüier z f. Boshof, Oie Salier zjō f. Heinrich IV. 8o ff. Sraab 57 ff. On the meagre

- Sources on Rudolf of Rheinfelden and his family vgi. Hlswitschka, Zur Herkunft und zu den Seitenverwandten des Gegenkönigs Rudolf v. Rheinfelden iyj ff. Summary of the results si; ff.
- 14 Otto v. Fr. Ciesta i,i. LMA ¥11 7-+ Meyer v. Knonau III io ff. zj. Mvuzel I 35 6 f. Weller i 5A Ü . Guttenberg 4\*- SeppeltfSchwai- get i \$5. Haller 11 -\*9 . Bosl, Geschichte **Bayerns** I 6z. Flick zxxj. Jordan, Investiturstreit go. Bas- hol, Heinrich !V. Bl ff.
- 55 UrhK I' 3za. I° 47' f. LMA 477 ' Meyer v. Knonau III Z3 ff. 3y, 38 ff. 6i' 7+ ff. 96 f. i y, i j8 ff. i z f. i 6 ff. x 8 ff. z8 f. Menzel 3f7-Ooshnm I 457 f. rries i#8 f. Delbrück III i 3x ff. Weller i yz ff. Jordan, Investiturstreit q6. **Bos]tot**, Heinrich JY. 86, 8\$ f. On the Passau Ammann in detail and very **positively**: Boshof, Bischöfeund Bischofskirchen t jq ff. On the Kroatcngreueln see Deschner, Die Politik der Püpeste 11 zio f-f, esp. Izo
- 56 Schmale I No. H4: 1\*- r<+ \* Kiionau III i6i f. Hauck III 8i i ff. 8 zg. Boshof, **Heinrich I**- 7 lf.
- 57 Schmalc I No. zoy. LMA IV yjt f. Meyer v. Knongu IU z z \*- -4 \*\* Gregorovius III/I, pj ff. Mcnzcl I jj8. HslIcr lf zp6, Too j8 Schmale I No. io7; i nt. Meyer v. Knonau lt j86 f.
- q Schmale I No. 7- Meyer v. Kno- nau 111 Z44 ff. a5z ff.
- 60 Schmale I No. 8, 93 f. roy f. i i6. Meyer v. Knoneu III S6 f.
- 61 Meyer v. Knonau III zs7 Hu uck III 8zo ff. Boshof, Die Sslier zq f. Heinrich !V. 9o f. Epperleiii, Heinrich IV. iz t
- 6z Ono v. Fr. Gesta i, i. Vita Benn. i8. LMA75 f. Meyer v. ltno- nsu Ali z8q ff. **Hau "k** III 8zz f. 8x5 f. Erdmann zi . Jordan, Der Kaisrcgdcankep ff. Lsutemonn **Izo** f. Boshof, Oie Salier aqø f. Henry IV qi f. Epperlein, Henry IV, i z
- 63 Narrow I No. z, \*5. 95- \* Y +7 I Meyer v. Knonnu III 3oo f.
- \*4 Schmale I no., q; 6; 8; yi f. 86, i iz; 14 : 4 . A wealth of source references in hlirbt }qz ff. 5q8 ff. u. Dresdner zy. See also Hauck 7J . Halter II z6y f. McCabc, A History iz. The often religiously based vetoing and hating continues. Thus Eder Baeger writes zo6, referring to many examples: ... Television shows deliver the cruel images of the consequences of religiously motivated hatred almost digitally into the living room.
- 65 Schm;ilc I No. i io f. i i 3; i i6. Meyer v. Knonau III j i r ff. Hauck I II 8zx. Erdmann i 8 f. Haller II z9o, jpi f. Jordan, Inve- stiturstreit q8
- S6 LMA I q8 f. Meyer v. Knonau II I 3oi ff. i6, 36s ff. Vii. also 3yq ff. Gregotovius IIfi q5 f. Hauck III 8z7 . Jordan, Investitur- streit 49
- 66 HEG II 5SZ f. Meyer v. Kriionau III joi ff.
- #7 Ibid. II 44d f. 56 f. III jxo ff.
- 68 Otto v. Fr. Gests i,y. HEG II zqq. **Meyer v.** Knonau III jjz ff. **Men- zell** j88. Hauck III 8a8. Rühr 6q. Delbrück III i 36 ff. Haller II joz. Jordan, Investitutstreit q8 f. Bos- hof, Henry IV qz f. Ders. Die Salier zdf } f. . Eppcreiin, H e n r y I V , i z4
- 69 Helmold v. Bosou jo. Ann. P "lid. io8z. Vita Benn. zo. LMA IV zi \$9 f. Meyer v, Knonsu Ilt 3 o f.3f3 • 4+7 ff. ty f. Huuek III 8 r. Haller 11 joz. Jordan, Investitur-

- strcit Ag. Boshof, Henry IV.  
\$3 f. Epperlein, Henry IV '4-  
TwcllrnkamP 49s !-  
70 Mtyer v. Knonau 111.3;r7 ff.  
yr Ibid. 38y ff. 3qi ff.  
71 \*\*\*- 41" !\* 4t7' M "leczeK zo f.  
speaks \Pibert - somewhat non-  
mili- türixche Fühigkciten- .ils to  
his opponent  
7fi Ibid. q\$Q ff. Cf. also the filg.  
Aqlm.  
74 Ebd- 47° - d9o ff. at ff. 5za ff.  
Gregornvius 11/1,97 ff, i e n  
ff.4 ff. Hauch fff 83 t f. Holder f I  
joq ff. Jordan, 8 f.  
74 **Hieron. ep. 128,5. Vgl. auch**  
I Z},.IÖ f. 1.16.A. Mt-yer v. K  
tDtntl lllyz t ff. Gregnrovius ll,/ i  
tok ff. Hauck 111 83ø f.  
Seidlmcyer i i s. Haller 11 joy.  
McCabc, A Histr'ry i j.  
76 MÖntgomery \*7^  
Meytr v. Knonau llly sè ff. s 5.5 ff.  
@r f. Gregorovius 11/i, i i i ff.  
Hauck llly 8io. group llly i \$8.  
scidlmcyer 1'i. Neusr ;7. 1 yy.  
MvCahe, A Histow ,4- Bernhard  
tg. Jordan, Tnvesci'ursrcit jo  
77 On the Ganxn: *Schmale-Mit*,  
Quel- len zum Investiturstreit 11  
passim,  
esp. 61 - °74 - \*& {f. 2.yi ff.  
{all friendly to the king), rzo ff.  
(hostile to the king). LMA 1 zooy  
f. VI i 9o, VIII z s- LThK II' Lily  
f. jt'rdan, Der Ksisergcdankc ßy f.  
94 ff. +<7 f. Erdmann ai6 ff. Jor-  
dai, Investiturstreii yi ff.  
Rents\*hler d. Hsrimuini, Autori-  
lütén im Kirchenrecht Edo  
78 rrdmaft° >37 ff. iji ff. Numerous  
79 source references in Mirht 6oa ff,  
Further: Weller '54 - y/f.  
McCabu, A History ii. lur-  
dsn, Investiturstreit 5o f.  
80 Schmale I no. 44. LMA IV i 5zo f.  
Cschwind 4t f. Ellinger 9 , ion ff.  
Halter 11 ryq. Zimmermanii,  
Papstabscizungeß z i 5  
8j Numerous sourceshelcgc at  
Dresden Neo ff. i zz il. Squad III  
!47 DaVidsohn '4i f. Hellingcr  
52  
8z Laces II iyq f. Mehncr 47 l'rcsdn-r  
83 j6, Davids"hn I as LMA IV 38fi,  
84 VII zi zy f. Zimmer- mann, Diis  
dunkle jnhrlitinttrt G f.  
85 w'otrenbach-Hulu'.msm I yj.  
Dresdiic- ° 37 f. Group 1 )qi. Gut-  
tcnberg l io6 ff. Kist zs f. Cf.  
Dollingrr i56, i6 . Similar disputes  
between the bishop and  
Gomhcircritija b es *etc* z.. 8- uncrn  
Hein rich IV. in Constance, where  
the **Ksnoniker** Bishop Karl  
{Karl- **Mann**} 7°-I°7\*  
ÜCzichtigten, den Schntz (t)tesnurtis)  
dus Kon-  
sran7'er Mü41stCrs for sitl1 and hci-  
nen Anhl^R\*Osgcraucht z.u hshcn:  
Maurer i 7 f.  
86 LMA VI z6 f. I Es{, VI Bl r \$o5.  
Pie- rer t\*-. 4^4- ycr v. Knonau J14  
op- **Pfleyer** 3i f. **Auer**, Kriugs-  
+service in MIQej ! 34 - "v  
8y Vits S. Nili c. yq ff.Thietm. i.+7-  
Warrcnbach/Hr'ltrinann -78 f.  
*Dresdner 9i. i-tzrcmu n n Ge-*  
*history of Italy IV i. H. i i3 f.*  
Weller 9ti. !Süttner i66. !7I. Pfler-  
ger z\$ f. H'iltzmann I zfi i. Zim-  
mermann, Pn psr:ihsetzuigen, Das  
dunkle Jahrhundert o. Prinz,  
Klcrus und Krieg iijz ff. Hcictrich  
'po. See also Lee z6  
8h Ra'her, Ja coiijt. z.z. A+{am v. Br.  
**3,37; 3,48; 3,55. Dresdner 16.**  
**Schöffel I 129 ff. 200 f. Huizinga**  
°4 f. Vt;l. also JuhaneK 79 esp. 89  
ff. and vot nlem Weinfur- ter, Die  
Salier und ders Keich, Ein- *lösung*  
9 u. *ders*. HerrsrhPhslegi- timstion  
79. Of course - this is part of the  
job - many other prelates were  
also hard-hearted his brural. We  
need only recall St. Anni' (p. +7  
ff.) or . n bishop Benno 11. of  
Osnabrück

- (i o 8-io88), for a time building at Speyr Cathedral, of which even his Vito reports: -In collecting the interest, which was demanded every year, he was extremely strict. He often forced the peasants to pay their debts by beating them: Vitii BcnnoniS c. 8, quoted from Wein- furter ehd.
- 8p Rathcr, L(h. Apolog 7 Ders. synol. j. fctr. **Dam. ep.** ,y. He himself, of course, felt proinsse, naturally
- only to prevent bad things from happening: cp. g.y. **LMA Y!!!** 457 f. Drc"Jncr \$ , zgz f.
- 90 LMA VII ioi9 f. Davidsohn 1 i iz f. ty ff. '49- Haller 11 iq8. Franzen i8q. Oic corresponding The books of the Theiner brothers, Ranke-Hei- nmcn", Eunuchen, **Deschner**, Das **r.reuz** ntit der Kirche, and for the present Mynarek, Eros
- and clergy passim
- 91 Kühner, Lexicon 77 . Looshorn I i i 45 Böhmer i i. Schöffel 1 i98. Pflger j) f. Haller 11 i 98
- 92 Dresdner 85 ff. r iS If. nto ft, rJ8 q3 Dresdner wo. Harimann, History of Italy III a. H. sz6 f. IV r. H. zz f. SchnÜrer 11 +74. 183. vehst rij If. my ff. FälCO +7> Zimmermann, Das dunkle Jahrhundert 9i
- 94 Oresdner yo, iy f. nto f. rij
- 95 Kobet, Die körperliche Züchcigung433 If. Dresdner i 5} f. i6q. Hsuck !!! '44 \*. Davidsohn 1.7 yj. Group III jqy
- 96 Capit, v. j, y8St c, ¥ 6 . Capit. v. j. 8oz c. z z. Drc5dn ^47- Mx)er 11 zyo. v. Schuhen, History of the Christian Church 11 6t8
- qj Pallsd. hisi. Lausiad. c. yi. LMA IV i r68 (Shield). Koher, Die körperliche Züchtigung 386 ff. qj6 ff,
- y8 LMAV 35 f. Group III i 3y f. Hentig I +7i- Frankfurter Rundschau zo. Feb. i qy3
- 99 LhIA IV iq 8. Meyer v. Knonau IV u ff. bcs. in ff. Menzcl 1 36o. **Wellet** i 6. Fries i 5}
- 'co Kübner 87 f. Kelly i7 3 ff. LMA VIII iS6} f. Meyer v. Rnonau IY 177 If. i8i ff. z6q f. Gregorovius 11/T, kig ff. Haller II 3to If. yzj. **Kühner, Das Imperium 149 f. Jor-** dun, InY€Stiurstreit i4 \*i<<--- mann, Henry IV ia8
- [OI Kiihner 88. Kelly thy ff. LThK X' qj i f. LMA VIII ia8z. Meyer v. Knonau IN i9i ff. a6y **If. Grego-** rovius II/i,7 ff. Halter II yr j f. doc Meyer v. Knonau III 6z ff. izz f. jz8, qzi, yo9, IV tO3 4 - Zoepfi ion ff. Hum °57 ff.
- IOJ Notb. Vira Bennon- 8. EThk II° zjq, yq8. LMA I iqt7 11 qq3 f. IV 94 ' \*15q f. Taddy 7i f. Meyer v. Knonau zo8 ff. zzi ff, az6, Z32 If. esp. zqn ff. Vogtherr qq9
- IO{ LMA II +76z. Myer v. Knnnau IV zzz f. zqi ff. Beumann, Die Auctorit;nS 3.3 f. Vogtherr q q f.
- 105 Kelly i7 6. Meyer v. Knonqu IV °76 If. 33j ff. 338 ff. j 8 If. 326 ff. Gregorovius II/i, i iq f. Hsller 11 31¢, 3zy f. Jordsn, investment dispute 51 '
- 106 KellF +75 . **Meyer** v. Knonau IV3p4 ff. 418 ff, bly f. Gregnrnvius II/i, ii8, izz. Haller 11.3 +7 f,
- ¥07 LMA 1 i qS. Meyer v. Knonau IV 9\* ' \*\*7 ' 3W£ 4\* \* f. 4% 4% Gregorovius 11/r riq ff. McCabt, **A History 15 f. Haller II 317 f.** jordan, Investitursrrcit 's'

## 6. KAP1TEL

## THE FIRST TRANSITION (zoy r-zopP)

i Lace-up II jz5 a  
Kawcruu

- 3 Anns Komnene cit. nsch Group III  
**253**  
 4 Schwinges, in: HEG 11 i89  
 5 HEG II i8o. Atiya zz ff. Mai-r, Die Verwandlung zqq, ' z53 f. Heer, Krtuzzüge 7 ff.  
 6 LMA V ty to ff. i 5i 3 ff.  
 7 HEG II i8o (Schwinges). Kosminski/sk "skin I --7- Kawerau r j7. Erdmann i )o. Cf. 65 f. Heer, KreuzzügC z4 ff. aø ff. io3. Kühner, Die Kreuzzüge, Studio Bern zi. to., i. Aiiya qi f.  
 8 Kelly oy f. LMA V iyi8. HEC It iqa. Kühner, The Crusades 4. zo., z. **Fleer**, Kreuzzü 7.  
 9 LMA V yø8. Kühner, Lcxikon 7-Bünding-Naujoks 85. Kühner, Die Krcuzüg0 ra. zo., y. 5ch'tjler, Our Krcux.zugsei3zyklika z jš lī.  
 IO c)'el' Y. Ñi10ItDU I\*4\*\* if. Knsminski/5ksskin 1 zt6. Perno-> 41 Oldenbourg 5i. Kawerau i 3r. Hter, KreuzzügC z8 lf. LMA I tj64 , V j7 6 , Y]] 97g L Erdmonn jto lf.  
 TI Me0z-! ! 'z4 Kosminski/Skaskin I z26 IN. Pirenne jz f. *Oldenhour* 4\*s. Hoer, Crusades jz. Kühner, The Crusades 4. io. IO. Eban \*46f. Montgomery 88  
 13 HEG IN 6R 3 f. Meyer v. Knonsu IV a81 f. Group III z8o f. Kosminski/Ska "kin I z26 f. Oldenbourg yi. Atiya i ä. Heer, Krtuzzüge 3z. Montgomery I i 88. Cf. also Ftied, Die Formierung i i6. Gociz, **Lesen** inn V ittelalter zS f. Grupe z8. Slave trade was also still quite common in Germany in the i th century. F' 76. On the history of poverty: Geremek 47 ff. 6q II. Cf. also Gurjewitsth i 5, 87s lf. Arnold s - Wurm iod f.  
 +4 Kosminski/Sks5kÎn °o7 Ostrogorski jo f. Heer, KreuzzüÙbe 6 , 79. IO). S. 9UCH the relevant chapters of my books Mir Cicrc and the Fascists, The Politics of the Popes in the 20th Century, etc. Century and s.  
 15 LMA I 384 f. Meyer v. Knonau IV qdi If. Grupp UI z8o. Oldcnbourg 4f6 f. Aiiya j. Kühner, The Krenz. ^\*gç +4- ^ -- 7- **Heer**, KrtuzzügC z f.  
 '6 With. -. Yyrus, Hîst. in part. transm. gest. Zii. nsch Lsutemann 566 t. Vg). also Fulch. Carn. Hist. hitrosolym. i, i ff. LMA 11 zi q f. Kawerøu i3 i f. Durant z65. Zim-merling jq f-  
 ^7 Koræ j, i6j If- Ygí. >' +49- <+- Dit transformation z65 f. Noth \*7- Further parallels: iyq ff. Atiyø i , i 8. army, centerfalter z i5  
 '8 LThKPPfKLMAlpf f lFWs II 4 lf. Ullmari\*\*4 7  
 i q KosminskiGksskiFt I j1j7- Kawerau i yr f. fvfongtomery l i88  
 20 Meyer v. Knonau IV4 © I f. Grupp IU z8o, Atiya i6 ff. jy. Kühner, Geziten 7i f. Ders. Die KreuzzügC nt. to., 8  
 zz LMA II z16o. VJJJ ii8 j. Menzel I 3ø\$. Grupp III z8o. **Erdmonn** 3oa ff. Atiya i8 f. **Heer**, Kreuzzügc z7 f. Montgomery I i88. Ebøn I 6 f.  
 22 LMA IV Wqz- Fries -4\*- At'r\* 37. Maier, Die Verwandlung z q. Kiihncr, The KreIJZz "8- 4 '7 '1-  
 \*3 v. Schubert, Geæhiehte dec christ- lichen Kirche f zi8 ff. Hær, Miirel- slter z3)  
 24 Atiys z6 ff. Kühner, The Kreuzzüge 14. \* -'  
 25 Moran, SuEe 1,1\$7. Mcn2el i \$6z. v. Sc5uberr, Geschichte dcr christli- chcn Kirche 1..7 Ariya ja f. Küh- rtér, Pie KrcuzzügC rd. la., y. To- ynbec 4oo  
 zr Giiib. Novig. Gesta z.q. Eppelshei- mer I i 3z. Kiødermannfoieirich i i9. v. Wilpçrt I a6r. dlv-Lexikon i 5.zi 8 f. LMA VII 959 ff. tl. Short). Sernoud z6, 38. Erdmann s7 ff.



- zyj ff. Kühner, Gezcigen I ^75-  
Ders. die Kreuzzüge u. in., 9.  
Heer, Kretzitzüg jq f.
- \*7 LMA IV roi 5. J\_ThK IV' zi 8. crc-  
gOrOYtuS l f/- . °7. \*-9- 9emoud  
j f.
- 8 Fulcb. Cam. H. H. i,q. Cf. also Gui  
b. No i g . Gests i,j. LMA III 17\*§  
f. Meyer v. KFloßIOU IV 4\* i Pier "r  
p, 806. Grup}i III z8o. Atiya  
f. Army, Crusades j5 Char-  
pentier r r. Lautemann j68 f.
- zq Guib. Nuvig. Gesta i,q. LMA V i  
io. Group III z8o f. Pernriud  
**26 ff. Atiya 51 f. Heer, Kreuzzüge**  
jy. been, invatituncreit y8
- 30** HEG 1J7 C "rmak i6 ff. z6 ff. See  
also Deschner, AheFmlls Kfz ff.  
§5A ff. for the references to vol. 1  
in the text. To the Lc-  
of the Jews among the €hrismt in  
detail: Ourmnt d5 ff. VJ j. also y ff.
- 3i **Browe, Die** Judcnbekämpfung  
z6. Eckert/P-hrlich z7 ff. Stern,  
Der preuilische Stsst und die  
Juden I/i, 6s f. Eban nti f. Kisch i  
j f. Czer- msk jq ff.
- 32 Kisch 43, 47 ff. Seiferth 89, 105. A.**  
Müücr E r. **Animals**, Det  
pøeugisckc State and the Jews Pi  
Sz f. Roth iq8 f, Vgi. such Heidrich  
rq6 ff.
- 33** LThK VIII' i6r. Kühner, Lexicon  
6q. Phrkes izz. Browe, Die Juden-  
bekainpfung z6. Ders. Die Juden-  
mission i6, i i x f. zu ff. Roth zyj.  
Ebnn +4\* -
- 34 veins, hisi. y,§z. GregoroviuS Hf i,  
10, 13. Etkeri/Ehrlich 3 r. Etian  
**147. Falck 117 f. Vgl. Deschner,**  
**Abermals 452 f.**
- 35** LThK 1' nt3 f. Bnshof, Archbishop  
Agobard i or ff. i i ff. Oeschner,  
But again by j
- 36** Eban\*47' Heer, Kreuzzüge 36 f.  
Schopen qq. Wollschläger ziz. Vgi.  
also Zöllner, Geschichte der  
Krcutzüg y6
- 37** LMA IV ic'oz. Meyer v. Knonau  
IV q9i. Schiffmann z6 ff.  
Eckert/Ehr-  
lich )z. s- Seiferth roy. Wollschlä-  
ycr z z z f. In Speyer already had  
Bishop HuDzmann l 7i- -9-). n9for  
payment, the Jews were granted a  
number of privileges.  
and auvh this -as custodian of the  
king-: Heidrich i9o ff.  
**bes. 197 f. 205**
- 38** Taddey yo3. Meyer v. Knnnuu IV  
yj, yti f. ja ff. Schiffmann o ff.  
Brnwc, Die §udenbekainpfung j6j  
f. Eckert/Ehrlich Hz. Wollschlä-  
yw z ff. xupi6 !!! 7+- Boshof, The  
Salinr z6o. Zöllncr, Gcs<hi<htc of  
the Kreu2zug §§ ff. Heidrich zoy
- 39** hleyer v. Knonsu IV dq f. Ludwig  
zz. F-lck iz6 f, Kupisch JI y§.  
Schl'ith. Emperor **t-teinriclz IV,**  
**40** zz LMA V t f o
- 4^ Ciuib. Novig. Gesta i,4- Olden-  
bourg 59. pcrnoud zp f. Atiyn Hz.  
Heer, Crusades y. Zöllner, Ge-  
schichte der Kreuzzüge j f.
- 4\* LMA i z86 F. Muyer v. Knonau IV  
yoy. Schünemann 7-
- 4J f'ernoud j6 f. (here Ann's  
Kommene zic.) Army, crusades jy  
f. Customs, c<s<kicht< d<c K'-  
^^^ ^ 57 !-
- 44** LMA l rtr f. VII Izo f. Pcrnoud  
z f. gi f. Meyer, On the  
assessment  
\$47 ff. Zehner, Geschichte der K  
rcuzzüge yz, }q
- 5 LMA **1.2.366**, 11 5oo, IV r q8 f. Zjill-  
ner, History of the Crusades 5z.  
Durunt 6r. Cf. also Lea zfi
- \$6 LivlA 11 3Z8 ft. 33d. Pcmoud }j ff.  
Zöllner, Ceschichte der Krcuzzüge  
i f. y9
- 47 Fulch. C9ftL 1.4- Alb. Aquens.  
z,z8. LMA l i i f. VI i r 5r, m 8.  
group III z8t. Ariys q6, yz f. Fcr-  
nouJ -3. 49 // sy ff. Haller II jzj,  
338. jordan, Invcscicurstreit j8 f.  
Tail'. K reurzüge J3- 43 \*-
- 4\* Fuleh. Carn. i,1ç- ff. LMA VI i ty i.

Ciruyy Alt z8 . Army, Crusades

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- 8 f. Montgomery 1 zgp. Gsbriell  
4'- Zöllner, Cescftichre der Kreuz-  
züge 60 f.
- 4s Fulch. Cstn. 1, I i f. Atb. Aquens. j,  
If. j, z8. Steph. Carn., ep. ad  
Adelam. Hsller II 8. Ätiy- s4 Hccr,  
Kreuzzüge j8, AZ, 49. ' - denbolirg  
<\* - 4\*7 f. Johansen 6yz
- So Haller [I jj8. Atiy0s4w 'ollschlii-  
ger z r\$, **Zöilnct**, Geschichce der  
Kreuzzüge 6q f.  
i i Guil. Tyr. §, i6 If. Anpn. Gests  
Franc. zo.y. Sreph. Grm. ep. ad  
Adel. Al. Aquens. 3.32. LMA 1  
x86 f. y i6 ff. Menzel 1 36y. Atiya  
jy- Hcer, Kreuzzüge o. Cornoud  
7 f. Kühner, Die Kr uzzüge nt.  
to., i i. Oldenbourg. •4- Ga-  
brieli '4
- yz Raimund. Agit., hist. Ftsnc. z6.  
Alb. Aquens., Hist. hieros. q, ja ff.  
f -4- mon. gflSta Franc. 33. ottO V.  
fr. chron. 7.4 i e r e r q, 8oy. Men-  
zel 1 366 f. Hsller 11 338. atiya y .  
Pernoud 54. 76, 8 J If. Heer,  
Kreuz- züge 5o ff. Montgomery I  
i8q f. Kühner, Die Kreuzzüge iø.  
to., r i . Ottenbourg d68.  
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Zöllner, Ge- schichte der  
Kreuzzüge 65 ff. 7° ff.
- yj Alb. Aquens. 6, z8. Anon. Gœra  
Franc. :t9. Haller II j j8. **Atiya ya** f.  
Pernoud \$y f. roo. Chörpencier iz f.  
Heer, Krcuzzüge 4z, 53 f. Zöllner,  
Geschichtc der Kreuzzüge ya If.
- 54 8 °- Gmta Franc, 38, d ff. Guil, Tyr.  
8, zo. Alb. Aquens. 6, t3. Fulch.  
Carn. i, io ff. °7, +i ff. Otto v. Fr.  
y, q. Ehøen r48. Oldenboorg r Per-  
noud too ff. Kühner, Dic Krcuzzüyc  
**IA. Io., r2. Woifscil}9ger TL3** ff.
- ss **Anon.** Gesta FtAriv. , . Fulch. Corn.  
r, ir. Ekkelt. Uraug. Hicr- osalym,  
zo, z. \X/crzer/Wcl e Yl z8o. Neuss  
5, nj, y. Hertling 7\*. Buonai-  
**uti II 19o ff. Ludwig 22. Atiya 55.**  
Heet, Kreuzzüge 56 f. Minel-  
9lter xiy. KÜhner, Die Kreuzzüge  
z . 'o., iz. Wo]lschl\*ger z "4 f.  
Zöl|- ner, Gcschich c der Kz'ettzzÜ@  
7+ !
- y6 Hay jqj. Fuhrmann, Püpsce i i,  
it f. 5
- S7 **Kelly** +77 Haller II jjp. Olden-  
bourg ø6 . jordan, Investiturstreii  
yq. Wollsthläger ze5. Becker,  
Pøpst Urbsn II. Part 1 i, 4- Cf, I  
3°7 .
- j8 To a not inconsiderable  
In part, the previous ban- ds of the  
criminal class have fixed the sen-  
sence of the 'great Frenchman'.  
And anno Domini iqq8, as I write  
this  
VI. volume to its conclusion, Pope  
John Paul II  
II. another criminal to the honor of  
the Alsre, the Croatian Kar- dñsl  
A]nIzije Srepinsc, a bcsou  
ornament of this honorable society.  
For more details see my Polfiik der  
Püpste inn zo. Jahrhun- dert 11 pro  
If. l'cs. z38 ff. u. aqã ff.

## 7- A PITRL

The EøDE OF SzLIERZErr  
AND THE İNVESTITURSTRİİTS

- r Zimmermann, Heinrich IV. rz8z  
Gregorovius If\*+. \*7^
- 3 Taddcy 5o5. LMA V 34- ' -r-° \*-  
Knonau IV q6o ff, dy8 f. Haller 11  
338 I(. Jordaø, Investiturstreit 6o.  
Boshof, Die Sslier zyq ff. Schnith,  
Kaiser Heinrich IV. zy f. Gotz,  
Dtr Thron-rbt 3 \$f- I I \$b-
- 4 Kelly +77 . Gtegorovius II/i, i 3q f.  
Haller II J4 f. Jordan, Investitur-  
srreii fio. Zimmermsnn, Papstab-  
set zungen 2J 3. BoShof, The  
Snlier zfiø
- 5 °. ^9 - I - 773 f. Kelli \*7 - LMA  
VII| I 9o8. Gregornvius 11/i, i 9 f.  
Halter II 3h. Servavius, Pa-  
sChfİS II- 4\* f. 7\* \*- j 39. **Boshof**,  
The Salter afio
- 6 Hauck 111 88z ff. Gregorovius II/i,



- i3q ff. Haller 11 3ji. Jordan, Investiturstreit **60. Heer**, Kreuzzüg zzo. Boshof, Die Sslier z6o
- 7** Hcilmold v. **Bosau Hz** f. Vits Heinrich IV c. 9 ff. Menzcl ! 77 Frieszj i65 f. Haller 11 35o. Jordan, Investiturstreit 6i f. Boshof, Die Sslier z63 ff. Schieffer, Erzbischöötē und Bischofskirche 55. Schmid, Zum Haus- und Herrschaftsvcrsändnis qj ff.
- 8** Helm. v. 8osau 33. Pierer V 33. Grcgorovius IIfi, i4 8. Hauck III 88d f. Looshorn l q3i. Teuffel t f. Fries **x6t. Boshof**, Die Salier z6S. Jordan, Investiturstreit yo. Schnith, **Emperor** Henry IV z28 f. Ders. Kaiscz \-cintich Y. z y. &anke cit. after Fuhrnmann, Deutsche Ge-zj schichte im hohen Mittelster \*4 Weinfurter, Herrschsfislegitima-  
-!-" 55 f. Schmid, Zum Haus-Understanding of rule yz f. For further honors paid by Henry V to his father, see Heidrich zI y ff.
- 9** Huuck III 886 ff. Boshof, The Salians \*73 f.
- o** Gesta Alber. i f. K ühtier, Lexikolt °7- Kelly 3xi. LThK VII ' 3<7' rer VI4•7 f. Gregorovius 11/i, nto ff. esp. ua, rib ff. Haller II H4 ff. Jordan, Investitursireit 68 f. Schnith, Kaieer Heinrich V. >37 f.
- 11** Goethe's aphorism literally means: "The best thing we have from history is the **enthusiasm it inspires:** }"tax. u. Reflex. 49S. Zir. after drv-Lexikon der Goethe-Kitate I **z67** . **Gcsts** Alber. a f. LThK IV' i5o. LMA IV 96j. Gregorovius IJ/i, Id8 ff. Hauck III 89y ff. Haller IIj4 If. jordan, Investituntreit 68 f., Boshof, Die SAUIT i7 \*\*. Schieffei, Archbishop's Courts and Episcopal Church zz ff. esp. <4
- 12** Helm. v. Bosau jg f, Taddey 5o5. HEG 11 ç . Gregorovius 11/i, i5z Of. Hauck III poz ff, Haller 11 jy8.
- Büading-NautoLs 8z. jordan, **tnve**-stuturstreit 6q ff. Fenske 8. Boshof, Die Salier t8o f. Schnith, Kaiser Heinrich V. i 8  
Helm. v. Bosau o. VitaNorb. i6.  
Taddey 7i5 l y, III zr55, V ziz5 f. VIII ri jy. Menzel 1 38o f.  
Holtzmann, Aufsätze ij 5 ff. Hal-  
lnr 6o f. Bnshof, Die Saliet z85.  
Hößinger, Emperor Lothar III zyj f.  
According to Vita Norb. the - lrr-  
teacher- (haereticus) Tanchelm  
erwa-3 Ktrle-. -They even  
drank his bath water, carried it  
away as aeliquie ...- Kelly i8ö.  
u LMA IV 688 f. VI zi36.  
Grcgorovius II/i, iy8 ff. Haller II  
36i. Boshol, Die Sslier z88 f.  
Kelly W8, i8i. Gregorovius IIfi r q  
ff- i6j. Jordan, Invcstituretreit73•  
Boshof, Oie salier a89 f.  
u undi6 LP z, z 5, j,r6z f. i6q. JW i,8zz f.  
a,2 i5. Kelly i8o f. L7hK VIV iyeo.  
**LMAYI** §§z, VIj] 6z r. Gregotovius  
!!\* '-4 - Ty1. Hsuck III yz. HaI-  
ter II 36a ff. Boshof, Die Salier i9o ff,  
Jordan, Investiturstr ' 73 f.
- \*7 Kelly i8i f. LMA 11 i j9y, VII zra j,  
VIII yqo. HEG If 31Á f. ÜkcbS/Raab  
1 j88. Menzel I 8i ff. Gregorovius  
ui , zyz. Eichmxn/Mörsdorf zÊL  
Kosm (nkvsKaWn 1 \* .  
Haller 11 3ö ff. Bosl, Europa im  
Mitrelalter i8j. Jordan, Investitur-  
Gtrgit75 If. Ckodorow d If. Straft  
9y ff. Bnshnf, The Salians zqz ff.  
z98 ff.  
z B LThK II' 89x. LMA i39y {Malec-  
zek), VI i84 f. Cf. HECi II 77,  
Kosminski/Skaskin 1 i 38, Hsller II  
3yz. Becker, Pope Urban II "Part i,  
where I.

Scitt 3M4°3

## CHAPTER 8

LOTøAR VO' SUPrLfiGEBURG.  
ÑBIEG TOP KiRCHE Uxn PnPST

x Hauck IV yq

2 **Bernhardi 346, 425**

y Kosminski/SkÅskin I jzj

4 Enge)/Epperlein 34'

§ Orto v. Ft, CltrPn. 7\*ts. Gcsta y,z6.  
Helm. v. Bosau y1. Lž tA (V \$59.  
Bernhsrdi ff. zt ff. Stimnting rzj.  
Rculing saq. Schrcidt, election of  
king and succession to the throne 3ø  
f. óz. New

stec, Lothar IH. i 9 f. Schnith, Kai-  
or Henry V. - s f.

6 *Ono* v. Fr. Gesta i,W. Vita Nor-  
berti zi. LMA I 9q f. {Gerlich).  
HEG 11 jzz. Bernhardi 6ff.  
Schmidt, King's election and  
succession to the throne aa If.  
Neumeister, Lothar III. no f. Petke,  
Lothar von Siipplin- gønbung iy 5.  
Dtrs. Kanzlei, Kipel- le i 3 ff. bee.  
i6, which proves Adalbert's greed  
for money.

7 **Helmet of Boeausa:** \*p. Vita Nor-  
**berti 21. LMA II 1792. Bernhardi**  
i8 If. Btenzel I . Heller III 68.  
Dörries, Fragen der Schwerimis-  
sion zz ff. Bünding-Naujoks i i f.  
Eosminski/sksskin I t y. jordan,  
Invextitursireit yt, q5. Thieme nt8.  
**Engel/Epperlein 341. Dobb 368**

the German ðecolonization of the i  
c. and i y. **Century** with the Nazi  
war of plunder in Eastern and  
Southeastern Europe. Neumei-  
ster, Lothar IU. nti. Petke, Chancellery,  
chapter z(y. For the borderless  
superiority of German **agriculture**  
**in the Middle Ages over** that of  
its eastern neighbors, see Bentzien  
qi f.

8 Herb. i,z6; a,qi. Codex diplomat.  
Saxoniae r I,i Nr- 4°- Nach  
Lautewiarin 'km f. LMA fV zrqq.  
Binding nsujoks \*7 \*. Dcmm 6o.  
Thieme y§8. Beutnann, I-4efdcn-  
Mission and crusade spirit

ziq If. Sprandel, Flandrisch-Lübek-  
**Fischer** Fernhandel i 3i f. - It is  
worth recalling Adsm of Bremen's  
view, z,6q, that the Slavs were  
Christians long ago, and that the  
Hałm "4ir drr Für- seen did not  
prevent the conversion of the people°.

9 Helftl. v. ' ^^^ 4 "

10 Neumeiscer, Lorhsr I!!- '4\*

Herb. ,c6. Looshorn, The heilige  
Bishop Otto 3°7- Kist 6. Guwcn-  
**berg I 54, 126 ff. Demm 40, 44 u.**

-Caption board- S-97 To the complex  
-Børg und Herrschaft- gçnerell see  
Schulze, Grundscrukturen der  
Verfassung 86 If. esp. 9z ff. 9y  
If.

1k Herb. z,1 ß ,24- Ebø z,8, j,6.  
LMA YJ iy8o f. VJr 86 K. Vff  
zoSB. Oo- nin IV 7 \* Looskom,  
The ficiligc Bischaf O "03\*7•  
duck lv 8ç If.  
5q3 If. esp. 6oø. Cf. öro. Demm  
yj f. Clsudc II zo. Kist 37- At\*--  
Chancellery, Kapclle za

13 **Helmet.** V. BoSau 53i 79' LMA II 36y  
ff. IV io6a f. zi p, VI i38 i, vI1 86  
If. VIII i6zz. Taddey 86z. Bern-  
hsrdi z j If. Menzel T \*\* ,4\*4•  
Laosltoth, The Holy Bishop Otrø  
i68, rio, t 3 ff. 3>7- Ofüll {

: i ff. Hauck IV174 ff. 393 f. Kist  
j7. farmer zy. Jordan, *lovesciur-  
streit 71, 95 ff. Kossmann, Das un-  
bekannce Ostscce*)and 6t8 f. Beu-  
mønn, The Papal Schism jS. Dent  
17- Claude II i6 If.

14 Ebo 3,io. thousand zz. LMA I 3i6 f.  
Bernhardi taq ft.

15 LMA VII, \*7- Bernhardi us ff. 6o6  
f., as gçtets with a wealth of source  
references

z6 LMA IY 64 6, V zzz. Bcmhardi  
i ff, j ff. Schmidt, Königswøhl  
4\* /\* Petke, Lo'har von Süptin-  
genburg ry8 f. Nrumeisrrrr, Lothar  
UI. nto f. i47-Ders. Heinrich V, i35

17 Ann. Ssxo r i i 5 Otto v. Fr. Cliron.  
7. \*7- Cesta -. 7 LMA IV 1§}§

- zoy6**, NIII a 4 . - 4s Bernhardi Hz i ff. iz ff. Petke, Lothar von Süpplingenburg i6y f. Ders. Kanzlei, Kapelle jo8. Schmidt, Königs-election öo. Neumeister, Lothar III. °4° f. EnR\*\* 37- >8 . also Fichtcna" °\*4 II. Goetz, Leben im Mittelalter 3q f. Pitz po
- 8 Orro v. Er. Chro^ - 7\*7'  
I3§\$. Ann. f'siherb. zxx8. Bemh "r-di i3y ff. i yo f. y 6. Haller III q6. schmidt, Königswahl 6o ff. Petke, **Lothar von Süpplingeribu-g** 7 f. Chancery, chapel 3o8. New master, Lothar III u f .
- iq Ann. Patherb, i is f. Ann. Saxo i izy. LMA V 9qi, izjq. Bernhardi --y ff. -ii, -q'f. -i' ff. u3 ff. New --7- Schleffer, Archbishops **and Episcopal Church** zp. **Petke**, Chancery, Chapel i r8- °57- Neumeister, Lnthar III. rq
- 10 Vits Norb. 3 ff, 9 ff, ii ff. esp. iq f. Ann. Sato i izä. Ann. Pslid. i rz6. Gesta Alber. io. Taddey ß6i. LThK VII' Si 8 f. IX x5 f. VII' 9o3 f. LMA V in, VI it33 f. VII i roy. Bernhar- di 88 f. 9y If. azz IL Pcike, Kamlei, Kapelle jo3 if. jiz ff. Engels, The Salian Empire s 7
- 21** LMS V\*\*\* 7\*- BernhaCdi \*?7 \*- 3 f. 4fi f 5wfU3fSS3ff .  
MCC a
- zz LP z,3\*7- Ann. S. Disib. i iz5. Ann. Ccccan r iii ff. Kelly r8i ff.  
writes Lothar: - in an inconspicuous step, the new king asked him to confirm his choice -. LMA IV i 8ö3 , V ixo. HEG 11 577'  
HKG Ihm, 7 f. Bernhards Hz f. z6q f. Gregoyovius Ifl8. +74 ff. Hal- ler II z6 f, Jordan, Investiture Controversy  
79 Hoffmann, Petrus Diaconus 88 Neumeister, Lothar III- +4<
- 23** Falco v. Benev. Chron. i°°7- Alex. **Teles. i,8** ff. LMA VII 8gz, 9 i7- HEG 11 57\* \*. Bernhardi -73 ff. Paulus I iq8. Halter III zf ff.
- 24** Vice Norberti 79. Kelly z86. LThK I° j8j (Seppclt) I' S74, V° y y f. LMA I 68 f. Bernhardi z8f ff. z86 ff, oo ff. 3i3 ff. j iq. Hauck IV i36 ff. in detail. Haller 111 z9 ff. Jordan, Investiture Controversy qi
- 25** Vito Nnrberii i q. Cod. Udalar. zq5 ff. Kelly I8q ff. LThK I' j8y, I- \$74- ' yi . LMA 1,568 f. II igen, VII 937 f. HEG II f7' °Fnhardi 3 - 3^4 '3\*7- 3yi ff. j3q ff. 347. 3s i f. See also 4® i ÄUSbührlich Hauck IV ij8 ff. Halter III 33 ff. Jordsn, Investiturstreit qr f. Claude 11 z8 f.
- z6 Otto v. Fr. Chron- 7.\*. Ann. S. Disib. i i 3i. Anno Saxo i iso f. Anselm. Gembl. i i 3o f. Ern ald, Vita Betritt. z,I. Bcrnh. v. Gairv, ep. iso. LMA VI zy. Bernhardi jjj ff. ii4 ff. Hauck IV +47 ff. Halter III jj ff. 4- JO£dän, Investiturstreit qz. Neumeiter, Lothar III, ip f.
- \*7 LThK I' 3z8 f. LMA I i83. Ff1bflf- di 4\*5
- z8 Co't. Ud "lr. zj 8 f. **Perr.** Venefab. ep. i,)4. HEG 11 5y8 f. 8emhsrdi **46s. Hat'er tjt 3/ ff.**
- i9 Ann. Saxo z ijz. Ann. flälid. zi3z. Ann. Path. i i yi. Vita Norb. zi. LMA I i zi3. Bernhardi q38 ff.
- 3o *Otto* v. Fr. Chro\*- 7\*- - 7'<7- Rahewin, Gesia y,io. Ern. Vita Bernh. i, . Vita Norb. ii. Kelly i 8}. HEG II 3z5. Bernhardi7 3 ff. q8s ff. Gregorovius 11/t i85. Holtzmann, Det Kaiser ah Ivlarschnll 8 . 3q f. Jordafi, Investiturstrei pj f. Perkc, Kanzlei, Kapelle 3ry f. Höfiinger, Emperor Lothar III. °57• Cf. also Clausstn s9 f.
- 31 Heller III 4i f. Jordan, Invstitur- streit qq. Bernhardi 9z If. 59c
- 32** *Otto* v. Fr. Ch£O° 7.+q. Cesia Atheron, iy. Helm. v. Bosau q. Bernhatdi 56o If. 6iq If. 633 f. 7i 5
- 33** Ann. Saxn i1j6 Ann. Patherbr. i i 6. Ann. Magdeb. i i yS. Bcm-



- hardi 6o8. Hermann, The Slavs  
3fi4' AhlhclIT\*34 Engel/Eppe lein  
3zo ff.
- 34 Otto v. Fr. Ctron- y,zp. Ann. Saxu r i  
j7 . LMA IV t i i aI, Bernhardi aj9  
If. 66O - 7< !/- 888 !8- 8 7
- 5 Otco v. Fr. Chrx'n. 2,zo. Annal.  
\$axo i t 3 y. Ann. Palid. l +37-  
Brtn- hardl 7°q ff. 7 4 If. Haller Ill  
q f.
- 36 Otto v. Fr. Chron. 7,to. Ann. Saxo  
ii jy. LMA VII a z i , Bernhardi  
716 ff. 722 ff. 738, 745 ff. 752 ff.  
I-faller UI ff.
- 37 Otto v. Fr. Chron. 7,zo. Ann. Sax. i  
r yy. Ann. Disib. I37- Bemhardi 7  
5 f. 77 - 7\*3 >. Haller Ill qy f.  
Neumeister, Lnthar Ill. \*47- --  
Participation of rulers' wives in  
feasts or meetings s. such  
VosG +7+ f.
- q. CHAPTER  
THE CRSTE \$7AU FERKÖ4IG.  
KnxuzztIGE AS VOvfi FLIESSBA14D  
AND EAN HBI LICE6 KizICHEN LEHR
- i Cardini jq  
z Bemh. v. Clairv. quoted from  
Ronner  
318  
j Kupisch 79  
q Schiller, quoted from Wollschläger  
zsz
- f Helm. v. Bosau 54. Otto v. Fr.  
Chro8. 7.°j ff. Gesta Alber i \$.  
LThK I' z8 f. LMA I z83, III ioJ9,  
[Y 'o/4s ' z yjy L . z8pe, VI z §8 z.  
HEG H3j j f. Mendel I 39i f. Haus-  
marin I6y If. Halter, Des altdeutschn  
Kaisertum i i y If. ia6, i3o f.  
Ærs. UI g z í- 98 í f rðøri, In seem-  
rtirsircit ior f. Höflinget, King  
Konmd III. z66 f. Neuineister,  
Konmd III. iyo ff. Engels, The  
Srsufcr 3i If. 38
- 6 Helm. v. Boisu J6. finnal. Saxo i i  
jq. LMA IV toy , V i 8qq, VIII x nt6.  
HEG II jj3 f. HaJlr, The ali-  
German Kslc&ttUTfi ^ +7 ] U rdsn,  
Ïnves'icuntreit oz f. I z z. Hoffin- ger,  
King Konrad III. z66 /. Neu-  
rneister, Konrad UI. iy 3. Engels,  
Die Stouter 38 f.
- 7 LP z,383; 3,r 38. JW i,qiq. Kelly  
185 ff. LMA VIII 1666
- 8 Oxo v. Er. Clizon.7aT \*- 7.\*p- Kelly  
By. LMA VTR zt. HEG IT S7^ £-  
Cregornvius 11/i, i88 ff. Haller,  
Das altdeutsche Kaiscmm izo.  
Ders. Ill qq f. Jordan,  
Investiturstreii too
- 9 Otto V. ÆEIs, Chro^ 7\*\*3s 747'  
Kelly zgl. LMA VJIT z7'z. Gzegozo-  
vies It/i, iqí f. Halter, Des  
altdeutsch-  
schc Kaisertum we. Ders. Ill yr If.  
Jordan, Investiturstreit io5. Schal-  
ter, Herrschaftszichen 8i f.
- 10 LP z,38 f. J W a,i If. Ono v. Fr.  
Chron. y,3i, y, q. Joh. v. Salisb.  
Hist. pontif. <7- °<--  
rq, z . Gottft. v. Vit. SS xi,z6i-  
Ktly 7 . LThK ' \*°4d f. LMA IU ,  
i y6q, IV7 \$. IÖO f. V irßz.  
Gregorovius 11/i. io6 0. holder  
lll  
5i ff. 56
- z ' A now. Gesra L-rsnc. jp, t§ IN. Alb.  
Aqueue. \*.17- > -- ' - Heer,  
KreuzÛge be f. Wollschlägr  
\*77 Publicans. History of the  
Crusades 77 - A crusade from  
Norway to the Middlemoer region  
took place from i ro8 to i i t i  
under King Sigurd (Jónzlafari  
-dtr jeruslemfsrhc-). He is  
supposed to seek the  
christianization of StiStian Sweden  
through a  
-Crusade- attempted. In the end, he  
became gei8te8sick urid  
-know\$It- what he, exactly  
rloe'men, jd fidCh VOJ2er was. Øl.  
LMA VII i8q6 f. and HEC II 88q
- 12 Alb. Aquens. 7.46. Otto v. Fr.  
Chrun. 7.7 LMA I i)66, III 43d f.  
IV i 5qq f. (Despy). Measure 37 .  
Praver 4qo If. Atiyø 57 f. Heer,  
Kreuztügç 8o ff. Oldenboutg ryz  
If. Wßschlåggr z28. ZÖflncr,

Gwhi<5'c dir KrcuZZîgç 7\* ff.

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- i 3 **Atiya** §6 f. Gabrieli 6 i  
nt Fulch. Carn. 3,3y. Pernoud iz5
- iy Pasch. II. ep. ad archiepisc. tt episc.  
ct abbatcs Galliae io9q. LMA 1 i  
366, i 8z3, IV iqqz, VIII toil. HKG  
III/i, 5i 5. Pierer 9, 807. men-  
zel 1374- \*rrnoud i lg f. r 36 f. Ol-  
denbourg roy f, dzi f. Heer, Kreuz-  
ziige 8j f. Gabrirliff. -  
Atiya ö f. 6z. Kühner, Die Kreuz-  
zñge iz. Zöllner, Geschichte der  
Kreuztüge 8y ff. Thnrau i 33
- iö LThK ' 9 z ff. LMA V 6 i3 ff. q8z  
ff. VII 8y8 (Hiestand), VIII  
§ II. f-tenzel l y . Piutz a7.  
Neuss ma. Hrrtling '6'. Atiya 6 .  
Heer, Miētclal'er\*^7 Ders. Kreuz-  
tüge p5. Oldenbourg a§-477 Ben-  
ninghoven 3 ff. i i
- +7 St. v. Dusb. i.i. Fuchs/Raab I 3Q}  
f. LThK V' q83. LMA V 6r3 f. VII  
87 8, VIII §3Ö . HKG III/i, 53o.  
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6o f. Hter, Crusades s5. 99' Schu-  
macher 38d. Charpentier i 3 ff. Ol-  
dCnbourg•i4- radford zo ff.  
i8 FuchsfRaab II779 f. LMA V i68,  
VIII 33d et seq. lDemurger). HKG lli/i,  
5zq f. Atiya 6o. Army, crusades q5  
f. Montgomery l t9e. Charpen-  
deep 3}
- i9 Atiys Sr. Heer, Kreuztügc q3 f. Q ff.  
Charpentier 3o. Benningho- ven ø f.  
Zirmerling pi f.
- zo LMA 111 r 565 f. Atiya 5q f. Mont-  
gomery I r9o ff.
- zi Otto v. Fr. Chrori 7.4- 7.3o.  
Gesta'37• r tō5 If. (Ferluga),  
N i\*i. \* ' 3'7- M<sup>o</sup>ntg<sup>o</sup>=r ' 8s  
Kammen 5i Note in  
zz Otto v. Fr. Gesta i,31
- t3 On the prehistory of the crusade: Orro  
v. Fr. Gesta i,H ff. Further i,jy f.  
Chron. y,3z f. Vira Bcrnh.  
.q. LMA V iyi i. Nerer q, 8oy.  
Hsller III 6o  
zd Otto v. Fr. Geste r, qq ff. **Weizer/**  
Bet 1.8 q f. LThK I' iozz, II  
z68 ff. LMA 1 iooy f. iqqa ff. V z18 ,  
VII zy6§. Keßly Igg, jz§. Heer,  
Crusades 8y f. Franzen 3py.  
Dickerhoff 47\* \*-
- 25 Otto v. Fr. Geste i,q . Bernh. v. Cl.  
ep. zjs: \*47- 3"- sermo in coena  
Dom. j, Wetzler/Welte 1 8qo. Pierer  
s. °7 Menzel 1 397 Halltr, Das  
altdeutsche Kaisertum rit f. Ders.  
III 6o f. Bernhart ij6. Heer, Kreuz-  
züge 8y If, qI, q3, Kühner,  
Cezeiten I i 86. Lautemann 37i  
z6 Helm. v. 8oiauy q. Otto v. Fr.  
sta i,36
- 27 Otto v. Fr. Gesta .43: .\*7
- z8 Helm. v. Bosau §q f. Otto v. Fr. Ge-  
sta i,j9 ff. i,jj. Niket. Chonizt.,  
hist. i,5. LMA V zi 83 f. VI i 3y9.  
HEG II 7 s- Menzel 1 i9z. 399 Ati-  
ya 6q. Hter, Kreuzziige ioo. Per-  
noud i J8 f. Wolllychläge- 37- Zap-  
peri i iq f. Zöllncr, Geschichte der  
Kreuzzüge 89 f. pz If, Neumeister,  
Konrad III. i5ö. Hößlinger, King  
Konrad III. i6a
- 29 Gerh. fteichersp. De invest. AnCi-  
chr. i,69. helm. v. Bosau 6o. Odo  
Diogil. 6. pierer 9, 8o7. Menzel I  
Zoo. Hallen, Dss ardeutsche Kai-  
sertum sz} ff. Dass. III 68 f. HeeT,  
Kreuzzügc jco ff. Kühncr, Ge-  
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Höflinger, King Konrad III. zS8 f.  
ya Wetzler/Wette 1 4\*- Haller, Das  
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ner, Gezeien i 8q. Bradford 33
- 3 r Otto v. Fr. Gesta .4i. Helm. v. Bos-  
sau 6z If. esp. 6y. Bcrnh. v. Čiairv.  
ep. tyy. LMA YI zz6j, VIII x 8j.  
HEG II io3, 3jS. Hauck IV 6z8 ff.  
Ahlheim y i. Claude II q. Bün-  
ding-Mautoks 98, ion. Engel/Ep-  
pcrlein jz6. Stooß zzt An<- 4- f-i  
also Print, Die Grenzen des Rei-  
ches i z7

- 32** LThKI 7+. LMA I j I6 f 7 -  
Hauck IV 6jo. Ahlheim 34 f.
- 33** Wetzler/Welre XI 86d. LThK X' 8iq  
f. HKC III f, q
- 34** LMA 1 5qi f. IH.-R. Singer) 111  
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root ff. (LacarraEngclS) ioo8, roi j  
ff. II zo8 f. qzz ff. Ballesterosf  
Berctta 5q f.
- 35** LMA I qj f. VI i 863, HEG 1 i s,  
ioo8 f. rote f. HKG III/i, i t f.
- 36** LMA I 3q3 f. VII i37 . HKG III/  
r, roy. HEG i r'm8. Hassatter. Cf.  
also Denecke xi3, ziy, Hassauer/  
Brühl, Deschner, Opus Di.aboli  
°87 ff. esp. two ff.
- 37** LMA 1,394 - 4 f. VI i 5qq, VII  
yz8. HEG I im8. HKG illf i, i 5j f.  
\*®. BallesterosfBeretta 68 f.
- 8** LMA VII 4°7 . Ballesieros/Bcretta  
6q. Vones ii ff.
- 39** LMA 11.957 - \* - 97+ - Qy9 f.  
Vincke q ff. Ballesteros/Berena  
7• f. Montgomery z8z
- 40** LMA IV 36z f. Y 188j, VI 8gy, YII  
iy56 f. HEG II igj, p3x. HKG 111/i  
a5o. Erdmann z6q
- 41** LMA 1.19' '® 5. \*I 8q5, VIII  
sç3. HKG Illfr, af i. Ahlheim i f442  
HEC 11 zio. Erdmgn°7 ff. Hal- ler 11 -  
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zy. Kühntr, Die Kreuzzüge f. frird,  
Der päpstliche SciiirZ für  
Laienfürsten 6j ff. Vone- 7s +-
- 43** The New Brnckhaus 1464 Kindlers  
Liicaturlexikon l z6o3 ff. LMA 11  
78ff. HEG 11\$17, sho f.  
Erdmann zd\$ f. Ahlheim jjj. Cf.  
Becker,  
Pope Urban TJ. Part z, jj j ff.
- 44** 1, 'LYA 7 App, gqo E. }{ zoy\$T, VI} f  
i 38o f. HEG 11 qz8 f. Ahlheim 3j}
- 45** LMAV 1§3, III §O/. Vg}. au<h LMA  
III6qy and HEG 11948 Ahlheim 35y  
f.  
and the literature listed there
- 46** Otto v. Fr. Gesta i,z6; i,7 i. Niu-  
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- i . CHAPTER  
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- r Acerb. Mor. i i6z  
z Nikei. Choniat, cited by Cardini  
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- 3** Csr dini qz f.
- 4** Lod. Anon. r167. Narr. dc Longob.  
nbpress. i iyq ff. Otto Mor. i ry ,  
z6o f.
- 5** Orto by Fr. Gesia i,i ff. LMA IV  
9i - 9f9. -° i-\* 7q8, VI I ' f. VII 4°i  
f. Hampr i o ff. **Hslrr, The Old  
German Empire** i z f. Mey-  
er-Gebe1 \*\*7 \*f. AQQflit +79- U.  
Schmidt, Königswahl und Thron-  
folge z)ç ff. Ygi. also the previous  
note.
- 6** Ono v. Fr. Gesta, Prof. Cf.  
Friedrich's 1st letter to Otto, in:  
Schmale, Bischof Otto von  
Freising und Ra- hewin x, 8s.  
Taddy 9eq
- 7** Kelly i9o LMA IV ql I. Hampe  
+47 ff. Haller, Das altdeutsche  
Kai- sertum i j6. Jordan,  
Investiurstreit i nt f. Cardini x®- 7  
9d f. Appltl r8o f.
- 8** Otto v. Fr. Gesta Pro1. z,i z ff. a, ty  
ff. Narr. de Longob. o6press. i i y5.  
Otto Mor. i i . LMA VIII 883.  
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se;'fufn 13s ff, Ders. III 9o ff. Jor-  
dzn, Investiture Controversy i ii ff.  
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Mer- ttns, Reich und Hauptorte der  
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Ottonians and Salians. To the up  
The development of the Italian  
cities: Sprandel, Verfassung ioz ff.  
On the origin and development of  
the Alpine cities ibid. r io ff.
- 9** Ono v. Fr. Gests t,ai ff. Otto Mor.  
^\*S4 f. Nsrri- dc Longob. obpress.  
zly\$. schrr "le, Bishop Otto von  
Freising and Rahewin j36  
Arm. 6y. Cardini ion f. Cf. also  
the mr. Note.  
io Otto v. Fr. Genta i,jo ff. Otto Mor.

- i i 55. Gerh. Reickersp. Oc inxessii Antichr. i, o. Kelly i9o ff. LMA IY i8x). Gregorovius 11/i nto ff. Hampe i 5z f. Haller, Dss altdcut- sche Kaisertum wo f. Ders. Hl 9o ff, jnrndan, Inveititurstreit i i8. Heer, Crusades 8q f. Wollichlägr zJ'. Czrdini io3 ff.
- r i Helm. v. **Bosau** 8 i. Kelly i9i f. Gregorovius 11/i, xzj ff. Holtzmann, Der Kaiser ale Marschall i ff. 6 ff. m ff. 36 ff. fi. Hampe I j 3 f. Koch z8x. Cardini ioJ f. Ap- pelt i8z
- iz Orro v. Fr. Gesta z,3 y. Otto Mor. i i y. Kelly i9r f. Cardini roy ff. z o ff. According to Merz j6z  
-the numerous armed conflicts  
The nobility's activities are 'the essence of the nobility'.
- i j Otto v. Fr. Gesta z,33 ff. z, 6 f. Otto Mor. i r 5. Gregorovius IIfi >\*7 ff. Hampe i 5i. Halter III q} f. Jordan, Investiture Controversy i r8 f. Schmale, Italian sources i i. Potter - 7+ \*och z8i f. Apprlt i8a
- u Otto v. Fr. Gesra z,jq f. Hsller, The ancient imperial ru +4+ - Oers. III q6. Jordan, Investiturstreit i iq. Potter - 4 KOCh z8z
- I follow Cardini far and wide.
- i6 Otto v. Fr. Cesta z,5i. Gtiil Tyr. i8,7 ff. Otto Mor. i i 5y. Haller III y. Cardini i iq
- i7 LMA IX i3z (hiir Hugo Falcandus zitieri). Seidlmeyer r3z. Hampe i yi f. Halter, Das altddeutsche Kaisertum npt f. Ders. IIly f. Jordan, Investiture Controversy i iq f. Heer, Crusades io3. Gehr zy. C-ardioi i i8 f. Koch x8z f. Appelt i8z
- i8 Rahewin 3,io ff. j,iS. I-MA IV r3, VII qi8 et seq. Hsuck IV xi3 ff. Hampe i f. i \$7 f. Hsller, Oas altddeutsch- sche Kaisertum iq6 f. Den. III ioo ff. Jordan, Investiturstreit rz6. Grebe z7 . Töpfer iy3 f. Cardini
- \*!- \*- > --4 Appelt r8z
- i q **Rahewin, Gesta 3,12 f. 3,19 f.** 3,z6 f. Hampe i yo. Haller, Das altd- deutsche Kaisertum \*47 . Ders. 111 red ff. Jordan, Investiturstreit rz6. Cnrndini izö f. Appet i8q
- in Rahewin, Genta j,3n ff. Otto Mor. i158. Nurr. de Longrb. obpr. i iyy If. Cardini ita f. up ff. rio
- 21** Rahewin, Gcsta ,zi, ,z9, 3,3d If. Otto Mot, i fi 8. narrat. de long. obpr. Cardini x3i
- 22** Otto Mor. i iy8. Narr. de Lens obpr. i i 5q. Haller, Das alideutsche Kaisertum yep ft. Cardini 7 j £ f. '14- ^44
- 23** Rahewin, Gesta q,i8 If. ,zj. Fool. d. Long. obpr. rzy\$. Kelly zpz. H "u<k IV xxd. Haller, Dss sltdeu- sche Kaisertum i 3 f. Ders. III ^ 7 ff. §crdan, Investiturstrit jz**24** Itakwin, Gesta StJ2 If. \$,}z f(. Otto Mor. i i sy
- 25** **Rahewin, Cesta** ,j8 If, ,y8 If. q,y i. Own Mor. r r yq. Narr. dc Leng. obpr. i r 58 f. **LMA** III 33q. Cardinl \*4\* - +45 ff. On the money- bedarf of the (htssischn) nobility overcr- h;jupt vgi. Meiz 363 ff.
- z6 Rahewin, Ü \*° 4-55
- \*7 Rahewin, Gesta 3, 6 f. Vgi. Otro *Mon. t t* 59 u. Nart. de Lang, obpr. i i q f. Cardini i q5 f.
- 28** RahCWIn, Ceeta '57- Narr. de Long. obpr. i i 5q f.
- 29** Rahewin, G'sta .7°- " \*- i i6o. Acerbus Mor. i i6a. Cardini **146**
- j0 Rshewin, Gesta ,s - 4,fq ff. q,63. Otto **tor.** i röo. Narr. de **Long.** obpr. r tyq f. Gerh. reichersp. de invcstig. Antichr. 1\$3 ff, jW z,d rft ff. MG Const. i,z z ff. LMA VIII i6ö6 ff. Kelly i9z ff. Gregorti- ViüS \1/I- \*37! Davidsohn 47 f. Hampe t68 f. Haller, The Old German eche Kaiscrum z jt. Ders. III J I f If. Jordan, Investiturstreit i 3i f.

Stire oc-y ik

3i Rahewin, Ges-° 4.6o If. Haller III 3z 114 f.

**Rahewin, Gesra 4,64 f. 4,74 ff.**

Otto Mor. i r6o. Gerh. fleichersp.

De investig. Antichr. i,55. Gregorovius 11/i, z3q. Hampe i69. Halter, Das altdtutsche Kaisertum i 55.

Den. Hl i iä ff. Heer, Kreuzzüge roy ff. Jordan, Investiture Controversy i yi. Koch z86

33 Gregorovius 11/i z19 f. Hampe 7-Hitler III Izi +- 37d. Jordin, Invststfttt rsttel t 13 t b.

3d Otto {Acerbus?} Mer. i i6i. Fries zo5. Haller, Das altdtutsche Kaisertum 57- Herde yy ff.

y5 Otto (Acerbus?) Mor. i i6i f.

36 Narr. dc Longob. obpr. r 6o If. Orto Mor. i i6o. Otto {Acerbus\*} Mer. i i6i. - Among the very few contemporary Christian critics who denounce the great fate of the animal in lower so-called culture are Nelly Moia, cf. for example Für die Frau- en 3jq f., Geint d'Pafen ijq ff.

and others, also Hans Wollschläger, Horst Herrmann, cf. for example Was ich denke izi ff., Peter Singer and Ed- gnt Dahl, see Das gckreuzigte Tier i8o ff. In addition also the emphatic references in G. Sire- minger, Gottes Güte und die Übel der **Wtl rol** f. jo8, 3y3 f. u. a. See also

Srremingcr, Die /esuanische Erhik zjp. I myself have been zü3Jich - not really unpleasantly - only recently got confused about the competing neighboring churches. Eckhardt Hensch "id z8 wrote: - The downright mficiose €n- determination of the Catholic Church in particular to the point of laxity, indifference and indolence seems to have infected even its sworn opponents **and most malicious critics** (Nietzsche, Deschner, etc.).

hsben: Even in them, there is hardly any reference to past Christian criminality in the way animals are treated.... - In fact, however, I do occasionally believe it, admittedly in my latest %cn - for a bite of meat -. But I admit: far too rarely! And not just today, I would prefer to have a book against the plague of Christianity.

and to have written a couple of dozen in favor of the animals.

37 Narr. de Long. obpr. z z6z. 2otz, Presczn - 77 ff.

38 Nzr. d Long. obpr. n6fL Schmale, Statische Quellen z3. **Zoct**, Priisenz i8j f.

q Narr. de Long. obpr. i i6z ff. Acerbus Mer. i i6z. dtv-Lexikon i .jq. LMA III i 88 f. VI Oavid-\* 74- son ! 477- \*-pc zyo f. Sein izj ff. Hsller, The Old German Küsertum i7 ff. Herkenrath 6th Grebt i 5th Koch z8y. **Another** Cologne mtrropolitan, Rafnald's successor, the cathedral dean there, Pfiillipp von Heinsberg, whose remains rest in Cologne Cathedral, was killed together with the Romans shortly before his election as bishop I° 7, Albsno. He owed his career to Barba- rossa, to whom he then came as a result of the

A achczusammcn6alfung 6eim Ausbau seints Kölner Territoriumis in Gcgensacz mat.

40 Acerbus Mor. i i6z. **HämQ^** +7+ f. Haller, Das altdeutsche Raisertum ifio f. Ders. III n8 ff. ui ff. Jordan, Investiturstreit i 3q f.

q r **LThK III 426. LMA III 1521**

42 Hisc. 4ucum **Venet.** SS ^4-7 - z,Jzä ff. Acerbus Mor. z i63 f. Lod. ArtOI1. () \*\*4 \*. **\*6y. KeDy** ¥\$j f. LThK II' i typ. LMA It y o, V i j5z, VI iy 3, VtII i 568 f. Grego- **fQVItls** ll . >4 Davidsohn I d8q f.

- Hampe zyj f. Hsller, Des olcdeutsche Ksiærtum zój If. t67. IU i3j f. Jordan, Investiitursireit I j2, iq3. Schmate, Italische Quellen Anm. y#. Appelt z8 f.
- 43 Acerbus Mor. **z16A. Lodes.** Anon. (A z267. Note Ceccan. SS zp,z8g Bese, LP a, iz f. LThK VI' a8q. Gregoroviøe II/I, zqi. Son of David I  
AQQ. Hämpe +7-s Hiller. Das sitdeutsche Kaisertum i68. He. UI  
"4. +4- Jo-døn. Inves iCurstreit +37 ^hmsle. ltslIkhe Qucllen 8 If.
- 44 Hampe"74 f. Haller, Das altdeutsch- svhe Kaiseriuin \*7- Ders..III i 3 f. Jordsn, Investirurstreit i 38 f, Ap- pelt t88
- 44 Lod. Anpn. (?) i r66 f. Narr. de Long. obpr. i i67. LMA 11 y 5 f. Gregorovius 11/i, zdt f. Hampe +7 f. Hsller, Das altdeutsche Kaisertum røq f. Dtrs. 111 i47 f. Appelt i89. Cardini i94
- 46 Lad. Anon. (? ^\*7- Gregorovius II/t, z j f. Hauck IV z08. Haller, The alrdcutschr Ksisertum 79 If. III ij8. loudscmsnn Org. csr- dini iyg
- t7 Lod. Anon. (?) ^\*7- \*! IA IV y6O. Gregorovius II/i, z tš If. Hampe +77- Haller, Das altdeutsche Kaisertu7• Ders. III i ø8. Cardini r9a f. Zu Rpm all Ftstunø (- Rn- mana arx-) cf. R. Schieffer, Mauern, Kitchen stud Tiirme xxq If.
- 48 Lod. Annu. (?) Ii6y. Gregorovius 11/I, \*47- \* 9< +47. . Halter, has altdeutsche KBISeFtttYt "7\* - **Ders. III 148. Cardini 197 f. Appelt** i89. On epidemics in the Middle Ages in general vol. Keil ioq ff. See also Dirlmeier išo fi.
- aq Lad. Anon. (?) I r6y. v. Wlpcrt î 7 . Menzcl I4 iz. Hauck IV z26. H "nt- pc zyy If. Grebø z y ff- jø Narr. de Long. obpr. r zóy. Lad. **Anon.** (?) y y6f f. LMAY 1zæ. Gre- gorovius If i. a47- ° P° '7 ff, Haller, Das altdeutsche Kaisertum **174, 177. Ders. III 149. Jordan, In-** vestitursreit i4o f. Cardini iq8 If. Appelt i8q 1.
- 51 Menzcl ] zj. Hsuck IV z7 š. Da- vidsohn I4 8p t. Hampe z8 r Í. Hai- her, The aldcutsche Kaisertunt +77 f. Jordan, Investirurstreit uz ff. Cardini zoi f. Appelt i9o
- 52 LP i,øao f. Kelly r96 f. LMA 1 j53, Gregorovius **11/t, zaø, z3 j.** Haller, **has** altdrutsche **Kaisertum** Wq, Cardini tøç if.
- 53 LMA IV 55 6, kenzel 1 qi6. Grego- FOYItS l<+ \*4 ff. Davidsohn I 5iq f. y38. Halfer, Das altdeutsche Kaisertum i8i, iq8f. Ders. III i7 3. Cook aqo
- 54 Narr. de Long. obpt. i t74 f. LMA 11 i 8oq, V i8o6. Menzel I qzd ff. GregoFov IUs II/' \*49 . Hampe i8a ff. Haller, D8S alrdeutsche Kai- sertum i8r ff. Ders. UI °74- J- dan, Investituistreit ry8. Koch zoo. Appclt r9o f.
- 55 LMA 5 7 f. VIII \*47- Hampe i8S. HalJer, Das altdeutsche Kai- sernim i8q f. Ders. 111 r7 6 í. Jo- dan, Investirurstreit ^4- ! Koch z9o, Engels, Die Starter 9s f. Car- dini zr6 If.
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## ABBREVIATIONS

of sources, scientific journals and reference works

- Accrb. Mor: Acerbus Morcns, Gschichis scribe, d. i i6y; son of Orto Morena
- Adalb. contin. Regin: Adalbert von Weichenburg/Msgeburg Coniinuatio Regifonis
- Adsm von Br., Gtsta Hamm.: Adam von Bremen, Gestz Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum
- Adalb. v. Utr.: Adalbold of Utrecht, Vita Heinrici 11 imperatoris
- Adem. v. Chub.: Admar v. Chabanncs, Historic (also: Chronicle)
- AHVN: Annalen der Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, **Cologne** i8jj ff. fflb. Aqvens: Albert v. Aschen, **Historia Hierosolymitana**
- Alex. Teles.: Alexander v. Telcsc. De rebus gesiis Rogerie Siciliae regte libri IV
- Ainbros: Ambrnxius of Milan
- Ann. Altah.: Annals Altahenscs maiores
- Ann. Hildesh.: Annales Hildeshcimensei
- Ann. Lob.: Annales Lobienscs
- Ann. Magdeb.: Annales Magdtburgenses
- Ann. Patherb.: Annals Patherbrunnensis
- Ann. Quedlinb.: Annales QuedlinburgORRS
- Ann. Ssngall.: Annales Sangallenses **maiores**
- Ann. Sazo.: Annalista Saxo, Arnold, Abbot v. Berge end l'4ienburg
- Bernh. v. Cl.: Bernard of Clairvaux, sermo in coena Domini
- BOftitO: BoniZn v. Sittri, Label ad BtflitCtfft Cod. 1-kial.; Codex Udzlrici
- DAS: Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters ( i q3y-r9 §), from r q5 i (vol. 8) Deuuches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters
- Ekkch. Ur "ug,- Ekkcha d v. Aura, HierosolYnti-a
- Falco v. Bcnev.: Falco v. Ocnven', Chronik
- FMS'.: Early Medieval Studies, Berlin **1967 ff.**
- Fuleh. Carn.: Fulcherii Carnotensis, **Historia Hierosolymitana**
- Gerh. v. Reichersb.: Gerhoh v. Reichersberg, De investigatione Antichristi Cesia Albr.: Gesta Alberonis archiepiscopi Treverensis auctore Balderico
- Gesta Frana.: Anonymus, Gtsta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum
- Guib. Movig: Guibrtus Novigenis, Hixtoria quae dicitur Gesta Oci per Frzncos
- Gui]. Tyr: Guillelmus Tyrensis, Historia remm in partibus transmarinis gcStarum
- HEG: Handbook of European History. Volume I: Europa im Wjndel von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter, herausgegeben von Theodor Schieder, 3rd ed. i99z. Volume II: Europe in the Early and Late Middle Ages, edited by Fcr-dl "and Seibt, 9@7
- Helm. v. Bosau- HelmoTd von Bospu, Cronica Slavorum
- Herr. v. Reich: Hermann von Reichen- au (Hermannus Coniracius), Chronik HJb: Historischen Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft 1880 ff.
- HKG: Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, hrtsusgcJben by Hubert Jedin. Bnnd 11t/i: The Medieval Church: From the Ffishminclalter to the Grcgnrian Rnform. 5ondemusgabe i98 . Volume 111/z: The medieval church: From the ecclesiastical c]ien Hochtmittelalrcr bis tum Vorabend der Reformation. Sondcrsusybe i98 **HZ:** Historische Zeitschnk, Miinchen i8jq II.
- jbFL: Jahrbuch für frankicche Lsndesforschung, Erlangen et al. i qj ff.
- JW: P. Jaftt, Regesia pontificum Romanorum "b condita ecclesia ad annum post Cbristum natum MCXCVIII, x. Inquiry, edited by G. Watiembach i885 ff. Reprint i950
- Lump. v. Hersf.: Lamps of Hersfeld, Annals

- Lib. de unit. cccl. conserv.: Liber de uni- iralincischen Archives und Bibliothe- rare zcclesiac conservanda kcn, Zeitschr. des Preu8ischen btw.
- LMA: Lexikon des Mittelalters I-IX Deutschen Hisrorischen Insriuls in iqse- iqqsRom , i8q8 ff.
- Lnd. A non-: LodeserAnonymous Rahewin:Rahc-'in, Gcsta Frederici HH LP: Liber Pontificalis z vols. ed. L. Du- u . IV)
- chcsne 1886 ff. z. Anti. rqqy Raimund. figil.: Raimundus Agilensis,LThK: Lexikon für Théologie und Kirche HiStorja Francorum qui ceperunr Ieru- r. 3rd ed. i93o ff. 3. completely revised. anti. salem
- igg3 If {formerly vol. +7) Rath. v. Vtrona: Rather von Verona: Syn- MG: Monumenta Germaniac historica odica; De contemptu canonum RhVjbl: Rhcinische Vierteltahrsblättrer. i8z6 If. Mitteilungen des Insti'ut3 für gcschriht- MG Const.: Lsgss. Constitutioncs liche Lzndeskunde der RheinT;txde an MG SS: **Scriptores** lische Lzndeskunde der RheinT;txde an MIÖC: Mitteilungen des Instituts für der (Jniversitfit Bom, Bom tg3t-igy; Austrian Historical ResearchB -ss® 1880 ff. Rome. Sslcrnit.: Romoald of Salerno, Chronicle
- Narr. de Long. obpr.: Civis MedioIsnen- sis anonymi narratio de LorigobardieSigeb. Gembl.: Sigcbert von Gembloux, obpressione ei subiectioneChronik
- NDB: Neue deutsche Biographie, Thietm.:Thieimar von Meneburg, Historische commission at the chronicle Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities-Vita Benn: Viia Bennonis II. ep. Osna- schaften, Berlin iqy3 ff. brugonsis
- hidsjb: Niedersächsisches Jahrbuchfiir **Bernw.:** Vito ed Historical Vifia Heinr. IV: Vita BernwardiLanöesgcscckichte, toris Heinrici IV. imptra- Math.: Visa Maxhildis posterior Notk. It nmmission for Hanover, Hildesheim iq3oIL Vira Meinw.: Vits Mcinwerici episcopi Patherbrunnensis
- Gesta Kar: Notated Gesta Karoli Vito: Wipo, Gesta Chuonradi 11 imp- Odo. Diog.,: **Odo** Diogilensis {Odo v. ratoris Deuil), Chronicle
- Ono, v. Fr.: Otto von Freising, Chrnica sive hisroria de duabus civitatibus =ZDPh : Zeitschrift für deutsche Philolo- Chronikgie , Halle r86q ff.
- Ono v. Ft.: Otro von Freising, Gesta Fre-ZKTh : Zeitschrift für Katholische Thep-derici 11 u. II) logie, Wien u. a. i82+943i !947
- Otto Mor: Otto Morena, Otionis Mort- ZOF: Journal for Research on Eastern Europe. Län- Europe. Län- nae ciusdemque conrinuatorum libellusder und Völker im östlichen Miiteleuro- dt rtbus a Frederico imperarore gcstis ps, Marburg iqyz ff.
- Pslld.: Pslldadius, Historia LausiacaZSRG GM: Zeitschrift der Savignysiif- Peter v. Ousb.: Peter von Ducbutg, Chio- t)ing fiir Rtct tsgeschichse, Geimani- nica ccre Pruisit sche Abteilung, Weimar i88o ff.
- PL: j.-P- Migne, Pstrologiae cursus com-KA: **Zcirschrift der Savignysiif- pijltje. Series larina für Rechrsgcschichte, Kanonisri- QFIAB:Quellen und Fnrschungen aus sche Abteilung, Weimar iqj i ff.**

## REGISTER

The following index includes in this volume 6 enchain names of characters, including fictitious, legendary or falsified ones, as well as the names of all more or less fictitious or mythical figures from old literature or other traditiOijCti.

Since all quotations were taken literally from the sources, several names appear in different spellings.

In certain cases, one and the same search engine is used to perform the search. Person with several name variants included in the register. Cross-references are largely omitted in order to save the user inconvenience.

First names, titles, ranks. Relationships and dates are given pragmatically, not systematically, so that the reader does not have to look them up unnecessarily. As a rule, secondary characters are characterized more precisely than the better-known ersonen.

The register was compiled by Dr. Barbara Gerbtr, Hamburg.

- Abselard pa, z , 6p  
 Aha-Ssmuel, King of Ungsrn  
 (30&t-zo+it +7S. 'y6  
 A bl'o, Abbot of Fleury zoz  
 'fbdal'-az'z, grandson of s1-Man úrs  
 \*7  
 Abd'r'røhmàzz f J f ., Xa)iz of Córdoba  
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 Abraham iyi  
 Acerhus Morena, son of Otto Mo-  
 rcna, chronicler [ø s 1. Í49\*1.  
 Í493].  
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 Karolingerzelt j  
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 Adalbero, Bishop of Brescia (qq6-  
 rosy), iialian chancellor Otibs If, and  
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 II, Bishop of Mem. öy Adalbero IU.,  
 Bishop of Metz i6q Adalbero, Bishop  
 of Wünbutg zy6 Adslbero, Archbishop  
 of Bremen 3js  
 Adalbero, Archbishop of Reims (c.
- Adalbero, provost of St. Paulin and  
 archbishop of Trier, brother of St.  
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 Chancellor, i ia imprisoned  
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 Adalbert, Msrkgrat 17S  
 Adalbert of Saarbrücken, Archbishop  
 of Mainz (Ada!hert I.) j9y  
 Adalhold (Adelbold), Bishop of Uc-  
 law and **Biograpj**\ f-feinric's If.  
 -dcs Hciligcn- zy, GB, 6z, 8 , 8a  
 Adaldag, Archbishop of Hamburg-  
 Bremen (q3y-q88) q8  
 Adsm, Abi of Førf's, from Lucca {9 by  
 Albrich bestelli) 3\*7  
 Adam, Cremonesc, murderer of the Cardi-  
 nal deacon Heirtrich ja8

- Adam de Palatino, hanged by Frederick I /zo
- Adsm von Brçmen, Domscholar and **Chronist (gest. 1076) 104, 163, 318**
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- Adctber, Bishop of Würzburg 33° 317
- Adele of Normandy. Gatrin Count Scephans t'on Blois, Tochter Wilhelm -the conqueror- 3yy
- Adelgar, Bishop of Worms s7<
- Adelgaud, fibt von Eberschimmün-sier, relative of **Rudolf** of Rheinfelden a8q
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- A hlheim, \*- 47\*.'4\*®
- limo of **Bourbon, Archbishop of** @Ö13 @ES ( 2030-107 \* 3
- Aimo of Briari)son, Archbishop of Aio, **Tarantaise 56r**
- Archbishop (killed) 3i
- Ajtony, prince, Aufstiindian under Stephan I. tyo
- Al-Afdal, F'atimiden-WOgil 4S5
- Alarich, Westgo'enk6nig jzz
- filberga, guest of the bishop Hildebrand 3zq
- A Iberich, Fürsc der Römeç (around 9 o) 3\*7
- Alberich III, Count of Tu\* ° 1 7 )
- Alberich, Consul and Henog of Rome, brother of Benedict VIII io9 Albero (Adalbero), Archbishop of Trier 3\*\*'- 433- 437- 44\*\* [447]' 44 - 4 7
- Albert, Bishop, Pope of the Ccüt Psschalis' 11. j8q
- Albert, Bishop of Bologna jiq Albert, Bishop of Freising yi
- Albert of Aachen, chronicler of the **First Crus# 37°- )7S 37#. 377a 37L379-W7**
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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Karl Heinrich Leopold Deschner was born on 23. July 1914 in Bamberg. His father Karl, a Catholic forester and fish farmer, came from the poorest of backgrounds. His mother Margarete Karoline, née Reischbick, a Protestant, grew up in her father's castles in Franconia and Lower Bavaria. She later converted to Catholicism.

Karl Deschner, the eldest of three children, went to elementary school in Trossenfurt (St. Id) from 1929 to 1935, then to the **Franziskaner**-seminar Dettelbach am Main, where he initially lived externally with the family of his baptismal and financing sponsor, the clergyman Rscs Leopold Baumann, then in the Franciscan cloister. From 1935 to 1941 he attended the Old, New and German Grammar Schools in Bamberg as an internate student with Carmelites and English Misses. In March 1941 he passed his school-leaving examination. He immediately volunteered for the war and was wounded several times - a soldier until his capitulation, finally a paratrooper.

Initially enrolled remotely as a student of research sciences at the University of Munich, Deschner attended law, theology, philosophy and psychology lectures at the Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschule in Bamberg 1947. From 1947 to 1951 he studied New German Literary Studies, Philosophy and History at the University of Würzburg and received his doctorate in 1951 with an article on Lenau's poetry as an expression of metaphysical despair. He and Elfi Tuch had three children, Katja (1951), Barbara (1958) and Thomas (1963 to 1989).

From 1947 to 1956, Deschner lived in a former hunting lodge of the Würzburg prince-bishops in Tretendorf (Steigerwald), then for two years in the country house of a friend in Fischbrunn (Hersbrucker Schweiz). Since then he has lived in Haffurt am Main.

Karl Deschner has published novels, literary criticism, **essays**, aphorisms and, above all, historical works critical of religion and the church. Over the years, Deschner has fascinated and provoked his audience at over two thousand lecture events.

Since 1947, he stood trial in Nuremberg for kitchen abuse. Since 1971, Deschner has been working on his major work - *Kriminalgeschichte des Christentums*. Since there are no poets, civil servants' cells, research grants, honorary salaries or endowments for such an unruly and disturbing mind as his, he was only able to carry out this enormous amount of research and writing thanks to the selfless help of a few friends and readers, above all thanks to the support of his fifty-fifty friend and patron Alfred Schwarz, who supported the publication of the first volume in September 1986.

# **BERSERKER**

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## **BOOKS**

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