

CHAPTER XIV

THE HOHENSTAUFEN EMPERORS AND THE POPES

I. THE GERMAN CITIES BEGIN TO TAKE A HAND IN POLITICS

The German towns first become conspicuous in political affairs in the twelfth century. We find them participating in the struggles of the time, fighting their bishops or neighboring lords, or even the emperor himself. They begin also to have their own annals, in which the local events are given a prominent place.

No German town was more important than Cologne, with its great commerce and its influential archbishop. The following passages from *The Greater Annals of Cologne*, the first part of which was probably written in the form in which we have it about 1175, give a vivid picture of the pride of the burghers and their dubious relations with the emperor.

118. How the people of Cologne fought Emperor Henry V in 1114. (From the *Annals of Cologne*.)

Remembering his dislike for the people of Cologne, the emperor got together a great army of Alemanni and Bavarians and of Saxons, under their duke Lothaire, with the purpose of reducing to shame and insignificance this most flourishing among the cities of France and Germany. He first attempted to take and destroy the fortified town of Deutz, so that by stationing a garrison at this point he could cut off the people of Cologne from receiving anything by water. As soon as the people of Cologne heard of this, they called together under their standard great numbers of their most valiant young men, crossed the

Rhine with a strong force of bowmen, and, drawing themselves up in battle array, awaited the attack of the emperor with stout hearts. When the emperor observed their bravery he took counsel with his followers and determined to draw out the battle until evening, when the enemy, supposing his troops to be worn out, would begin to withdraw and so be the more easily overcome.

In the meanwhile the cavaliers of both sides had a free field and rode against one another as if they were taking part in a spectacle; but when a great cloud of arrows came showering in from the side of the Cologne people the knights of the enemy fell dead or wounded. There was in the emperor's army a corps whose armor was made of horn and so could not be pierced by iron. When these removed their armor, however, in order to get a little air, for it was very hot, they were immediately covered with arrows, and all but six fell on the spot.

When the emperor saw that the enemy did not give way but steadily held its own, he decided that he would yield the field, since the position proved ill chosen, and accordingly retreated that night behind the Wagenburg. The next day he directed his army against Bonn and Jülich, two fortified places belonging to Cologne, and plundered and burned everything within reach.

On his return, Archbishop Frederick, Duke Gottfried of Lorraine, Henry of Zutphen, and Count Theodoric of Are intercepted him with great bravery, but in vain, for some of the most distinguished on their side — Count Gerhard of Jülich and Lambert of Mulenarke — were taken prisoners, and Eberhard of Gandernol, a valorous man, was killed. But when Count Frederick of Westphalia and his brother Henry came up with heavy reinforcements the emperor was forced to give way and barely escaped the pursuing enemy by flight.

For the third time the combatants met in a great engagement on the plain of Andernach, nine miles from Cologne, and here the people of Cologne won the victory, as is their wont. The emperor had under his standard a very strong

force, footmen as well as cavalry, made up of Saxons, Franconians, Alemanni, and Bavarians, as well as valorous knights from Burgundy. He appeared before Andernach with this mighty host, but proposed to fight the battle with the help of his dukes, for he himself took no part, but awaited the outcome of the conflict at a little distance.

Then appeared the ranks of Cologne in battle array, far fewer in number but nowise inferior in bravery, under the leadership of their duke and archbishop, Frederick, and of the former Duke Henry of Lorraine, Count Theodoric of Are, Count Henry of Kessel, and others equally valorous and well versed in war. In the first onset Duke Henry, with a small detachment, rushed upon a far superior mass of the enemy, but was forced to retreat to his camp.

Then amid a frightful din of trumpets both armies, eager for the conflict, set upon each other, and for a long time the struggle remained undecided. At last the chosen youth of Cologne, in a wild rage, resolved either to conquer or die, and began to slash about them with fearful effect, so that the enemy was compelled to flee. Then Count Theodoric, a brave knight to whom the victory was chiefly due, since he had pressed forward with his followers against the enemy like a lion, began a fearful slaughter on all sides.

Many free men of knightly rank were killed or taken prisoners. Duke Bertolf of Carinthia, a faithful adherent of the emperor, was captured and taken in charge by Count Theodoric himself. None of the leaders on the side of Cologne were either killed or captured except Count Henry of Kessel, an excellent man, who, through the turpitude of his followers, fell under the horses' hoofs and perished. He was honorably buried in Cologne near the cathedral of St. Peter.

In describing the events of the year 1187, toward the end of the reign of Frederick Barbarossa, *The Greater Annals of Cologne* report another incident which serves to indicate that no great degree of mutual confidence existed as yet between the city and the emperor.

In the bishopric of Cologne there was fearful apprehension. The rumor had spread that the emperor wished to lead an army through the territory of Cologne, ostensibly to aid the French king, but really with the purpose of surrounding and laying siege to the city. He had already constructed a bridge of boats and planks over the Moselle in order that his troops might cross. Excited by this, the townspeople put the moat in order and set to work to construct new gates. The archbishop supplied his people with guards and provisions and saw to the walls and moats of his various towns.

Now the archbishop was not on especially good terms with the emperor, since he seemed rather to incline to the side of the pope, who was hostile to the imperial party; and it was this suspicion of the emperor's disfavor that led the people to accept his rumored plans as true. Nevertheless it is clear that the emperor was not at this time planning to attack Cologne, and consequently he was much irritated when he learned of the excitement and preparations.

On the day of the Assumption he held a diet at Worms and complained, in the presence of the princes, of the conduct of the archbishop of Cologne and the people of that city, who had dared to bar his way through a part of his realm and had circulated such a shameful rumor about him throughout the Roman Empire. In consequence of this he had caused the Rhine to be blocked since the festival of St. James, so that the people of Cologne could not procure the grain and wine which usually reached them by river.

At this time a mighty feud prevailed between Bishop Baldwin of Utrecht and Count Otto of Geldern over Veluwe. Fire and murder raged, and it was said that all this happened with the approbation of the emperor, for during the feud neither of the parties engaged could bear aid to the people of Cologne, nor could any ships pass up the river.

The excellent annals of Liege throw much light on the troubles which were constantly arising between the townspeople and their bishop or the neighboring secular

Rumor in Cologne that Frederick Barbarossa was about to attack the city.

lords, commonly over matters of feudal dues and feudal dependence.

119. Situation of the towns in the Netherlands. (From Reiner's *Annals of St. James in Liege*, 1203.)

In this year [1203] the burghers of Huy rose against their bishop [of Liege] on account of a certain due which he had claimed in an unjust manner. They took possession of the apparatus for carrying on a siege, which was coming by ship from Namur. The vessel they dragged overland to the market place; they barricaded the entrance and exit to the burg. But soon they repented and all betook themselves to Liege, where they rendered satisfaction barefooted to the bishop in the presence of the clergy and people.

A bitter feud broke out between Duke Henry of Louvain and Count Louis of Los over a certain due paid by the town of St. Trond. This town belonged to the bishop of Metz; he had taken it from the count of Los and given it to the duke. But the people of St. Trond rose in opposition and would not yield to the duke. Now Count Louis of Los proceeded to grant all his towns, namely, Montenaken, Brusthem, Hallut, and all the land he controlled, to [the church of] St. Lambert. He offered all these at the altar of the church as a legal gift before clergy and people, and in the presence of the bishop, Duke Henry of Ardennerland and Count Henry of Moha. He then received the lands again from the hand of the bishop as a fief. The bishop took possession on St. John's day of the aforementioned towns and the lands.

As the harvest approached the duke [of Louvain] summoned his forces and proposed to lay siege to the town of St. Trond. He set up his tent in the village of Landen and remained a week there, destroyed the crops in the region in a manner hard to believe, and assembled a great number of soldiers. The count of Los, however, went to the bishop, whose man he had lately become, and asked his help. He also got together from his own lands and elsewhere heavy reënforcements. The bishop ordered his dependents—knights, burghers, and those of his household—to defend him, and ordered the count to be at a village called Waremmé on a

certain day. They all came together accordingly and took their station in the said village. There they awaited the outcome, hoping rather for war than peace. In the meantime negotiations were carried on for a week at a place between Montenaken and Landen, but in spite of the intervention of the clergy, who tried to bring about an adjustment, no peaceful settlement could be reached. At last the count of Namur intervened and effected an armistice, which the others had been unable to arrange.

[During the succeeding years there was no end of disorder, due mainly to feudal complications. Finally, in 1212,] on the 1st of May the burghers of Liege sallied forth to fight Duke Henry of Brabant. But the next day they returned in disorder and fright. The third day the town was invested and immediately taken and pillaged. On the fourth and fifth days the enemy robbed the people of all their gold, silver, and everything in the way of valuables; women and girls were carried off to the enemy's camp and many burghers taken prisoners. On the sixth day the burghers who were left concluded a peace, but a miserable one; on the seventh day the army withdrew from Liege; on the eighth it laid siege to Musal, but did not take the town. Waleffe, on the contrary, was turned over deserted to the duke. A week after Ascension day the army of the duke returned home. The count of Namur demanded some security that the duke would keep the peace, for he feared the duke's power. The bishop kept in hiding with a few followers.

The next year, however, fortune favored the people of Liege, who under their bishop gained a glorious victory over the duke of Brabant and his army. After a very full account of the affair, our chronicler closes his report of the year with peaceful news of progress.

This account of the year must come to an end. But I will first tell of three useful products which we have discovered and which are well worth mentioning. I mean the marl, which is good for enriching the soil; the black earth,

New troubles in 1212. Liege is taken and plundered.

Reference to coal.

which is much like charcoal and is very useful to smiths and other workers as well as to the poor people for making fires; lastly, lead, which has been found in several places near us.

II. OTTO OF FREISING'S ACCOUNT OF THE ITALIAN CITIES

Otto, bishop of Freising and uncle of Frederick Barbarossa, may be safely assigned the highest rank among the historians of the twelfth century. In writing his great *Chronicle*, or History of the World, he doubtless allowed himself to be too much influenced by Augustine's *City of God* and by the gloomy theory of Augustine's pupil Orosius,¹ who set out to discover all the evil he could in the past; but Otto nevertheless exhibits a good deal of critical ability at times and shows really remarkable philosophical insight in some of his reflections. It would tax the skill of a modern historian better to state the conditions in Italy at the advent of Frederick Barbarossa than does Otto in the passage given below. This is taken from his *Deeds of Frederick*, which he undertook after the completion of his *Chronicle*; but he lived only long enough to present the first four years of his nephew's reign. In response to a request which he sent to the emperor for information in regard to his career, he received a letter which opens as follows:

120. Emperor Frederick's letter to Otto of Freising (1157).

Frederick, by the grace of God Emperor of the Romans and at all times Augmenter of the realm, to his well-beloved Uncle Otto, with his favor and best wishes:

The Chronicle which you have affectionately sent to us and which your Wisdom has compiled, or rather brought out of dark oblivion into luminous harmony, we have received

¹ See above, p. 58.

with extraordinary pleasure: we hope after the fatigues of war to refresh ourselves with it from time to time, and by means of the noble deeds of the emperors rouse ourselves to similar acts of virtue.

As to what we have done since the opening of our reign, that we would gladly state briefly for your information were it not that in comparison with the deeds of earlier times wrought by the famous men of the past, ours seem but shadows of deeds. But since we are aware that your remarkable ability enables you to exalt humble things and to write much about unimportant matters, we consent to narrate in a few words the little that we have done in the Roman Empire during a period of five years. In so doing we rely more upon your flattering presentation than upon any merit of our own.¹ . . .

The extraordinary account of the Italian cities as they existed in the middle of the twelfth century, which Otto of Freising gives, shows that they already exhibited many of the traits which distinguished them in later centuries. Of their bad habits none is more striking than their readiness to call in foreigners to aid them in settling their perpetual broils. Milan, it will be noted, had already begun the career of conquest, which was later to make her one of the most important states of Italy.

[The Lombards after their arrival in Italy] gradually laid aside their fierce barbarian customs and intermarried with the natives. Thus their children have derived from the mothers' race, and from the character of the country and the climate, something of Roman culture and civilization, and retain the elegance and refinement of Latin speech and manner.

In the government of the cities and in the management of civil affairs they also imitate the skill of the ancient

¹ Then follows the emperor's dry summary, in four or five pages, of the previous five years.

121. The towns of Lombardy. (From Otto of Freising's *Deeds of Frederick*.)

Democratic institutions.

Romans. Furthermore they love liberty so well that, to guard against the abuse of power, they choose to be ruled by the authority of consuls rather than by princes. They are divided into three classes, namely, "captains," vavassors, and the people. To prevent the growth of class pride, the consuls are chosen from each class in turn, and, for fear that they may yield to the lust of power, they are changed nearly every year.

Reasons for the wealth and independence of the Lombard towns.

It has come to pass that almost the whole country belongs to the cities, each of which forces the inhabitants of her territory to submit to her sway. One can hardly find, within a wide circuit, a man of rank or importance who does not recognize the authority of his city. . . . In order that there shall be no lack of forces for tyrannizing over their neighbors, the cities stoop to bestow the sword-belt and honorable rank upon youths of inferior station, or even upon laborers in despised and mechanical trades, who, among other peoples, are shunned like the pest by those who follow the higher pursuits. To this practice it is due that they surpass all other cities of the world in riches and power; and the long-continued absence of their ruler across the Alps has further contributed to their independence.

Attitude of the towns toward their emperor.

In one respect they are unmindful of their ancient nobility and betray their barbarian origin; for, although they boast of living under law, they do not obey the law. They rarely or never receive their ruler submissively, although it is their duty to show him willing and respectful obedience. They do not obey the decrees that he issues by virtue of his legal powers, unless they are made to feel his authority by the presence of his great army. Although, in a civilized state, the citizens should submit to law, and only an enemy should be coerced by force, yet they often greet with hostility him whom they ought to receive as their own gracious prince, when he comes to demand his own.

This situation brings double evil on the state. The prince's attention is occupied with gathering together an army to subdue the townsmen, and the citizens, though forced to obey the prince, waste their resources in the struggle. The

fault, in such a case, lies wholly in the insolence of the people; the prince, who has acted under necessity, should be absolved before God and man.

Among all these cities Milan has become the leading one. . . . It must be regarded as more powerful than any of the others, in the first place, on account of its size and its multitude of brave men, and, secondly, because it has brought the two neighboring cities of Como and Lodi under its sway. Led on by Fortune's smiles, as is the way of this fleeting world, Milan has become so puffed up with pride that she has dared not only to incur the enmity of all her neighbors, but, fearing not even the majesty of the emperor himself, she has recently courted his anger. How this came about I shall presently relate. But first I wish to say something of the prerogatives of the empire.

Greatness of Milan.

There is an ancient custom, which has existed ever since the Roman power devolved upon the Franks and which has been preserved until our own times, that when the kings wish to visit Italy they should send officials of their household ahead to go through the various cities and towns and demand what is due to the royal treasury, called by the inhabitants *fodrum*. The usual result is that when the ruler himself arrives, most of those cities, towns, and castles which have ventured either to refuse to pay the tax altogether, or have paid it only in part, are razed to the ground as a warning to posterity.

Collection of the *fodrum*.

Another right which is said to be derived from ancient custom is that when the emperor enters Italy all magistracies and offices are suspended and all things are regulated according to his will and the decisions of men skilled in the law. Even the Italian judges are said to recognize his supreme jurisdiction, to the extent of assigning to him for his own use and that of his army all that he needs of whatsoever the land produces, scarcely excepting the oxen and seed necessary for the cultivation of the land.

The emperor's rights.

The emperor camped for five days, it is said, on the plain of Roncaglia and held an assembly there, to which came princes, consuls, and notables from all the cities. Many

The emperor holds an assembly in the plain of Roncaglia (December, 1154).

matters came up for discussion in consequence of the complaints that were made from this quarter and from that. The bishop of Asti and William, marquis of Monteferrat,—a noble and great man and almost the only baron in Italy that has kept himself independent of the cities,—both made grave complaints of the insolence of the people of Asti, and the marquis complained also of the people of Chieri.

The consuls from Como and Lodi also gave accounts calculated to draw tears of their long-endured sufferings under Milan's oppression, and this in the presence of the consuls from Milan, Obert de Orto and Gerard Niger. The emperor, who wished to visit the region of northern Italy and look into these matters, kept these two consuls with him to conduct him through the Milanese territory and help in the choice of convenient places to camp. There came also to this assembly ambassadors from the Genoese, who had recently returned laden with the spoils of the Saracens from Spain, where they had conquered the well-known cities of Almeria and Lisbon, famed for the manufacture of silk stuffs. They brought to the emperor lions, ostriches, parrots, and other valuable gifts.

Frederick's ire aroused against Milan.

Frederick, wishing, as we have said, to see something of northern Italy, led his troops forth from Roncaglia and set up his camp in the territory of Milan. The Milanese consuls aforementioned led him about, however, through arid regions where provisions were neither to be found nor procured at any price, and the emperor was thereby so angered that he determined to turn his arms against Milan, first ordering the consuls to return home. The whole army, distressed by great floods of rain, was so exasperated by the double discomfort of hunger and bad weather that they did everything in their power to increase the emperor's irritation against the consuls aforesaid. Another thing which contributed not a little to his indignation was the fact that the Milanese not only refused to permit the towns that Milan had destroyed to be rebuilt, but they insulted his noble and upright character by offering him money to bribe him to condone their villany.

III. STRUGGLE OVER THE THRONE BETWEEN PHILIP AND OTTO

In the year of our Lord 1198 there arose among the German princes a great feud and a most terrific struggle over the throne. To begin with, the archbishops of Cologne and Treves claimed that the choice of a king belonged of right to them; and after taking counsel at Andernach with Duke Bernhard of Saxony and with other bishops, counts, and many nobles, they gave notice of an assembly to be held in Cologne, on *Oculi* Sunday,¹ to which was also summoned Duke Bertolf of Zähringen, whom they thought of choosing for king.

So few came to the assembly that it was impossible to carry out their plan; at the same time they received news that the eastern margraves, together with Duke Bernhard of Saxony, the archbishop of Magdeburg, and other princes of Upper Germany, had met at Erfurt to choose the new king. Thereupon they sent Bishop Hermann of Münster and other men of note to the assembled princes to beg them not to make any choice in their absence but to meet with them at some place to be agreed upon, in order that they might together choose a worthy emperor and protector of the Church, acceptable to God.

When the messengers arrived at the assembly, they learned that the princes had already agreed upon Duke Philip, the [late] emperor's brother, and chosen him as king. So they returned, and reported what had happened to their bishops, who were thereby highly incensed, for no king had ever before been chosen in Saxony, nor by these princes. . . . It is, nevertheless, certain that Duke Philip sent messengers to the archbishop of Cologne, offering him much and promising still more if he would ratify his election. This the bishop absolutely refused to do, for he felt that it would be neither safe for him nor honorable; and, after holding

122. How the rivals, Philip and Otto, were elected. (From the *Annals of Cologne*.)

Evidently no clearly defined college of electors existed at this time.

Philip elected by the North German princes.

The archbishop of Cologne chooses Otto as emperor.

¹ Namely, March 1st, the day on which a portion of the church service begins with the word *oculi*.

a consultation, he chose as king, Otto the Pious, count of Poitou, son of the late duke Henry [the Lion] of Saxony.¹ . . .

Philip
assumes
the crown.

Duke Philip, driven by the necessity of strengthening his cause to seek help on every side, succeeded by means of gifts in gaining the support of most of the princes. He made himself master of the royal towns, had all the people do him homage, assumed the title of king, and, on the Sunday after Easter, entered Worms wearing the crown. In Lower Germany, he sought to gain the favor of the nobles of Lorraine, among whom Walrav, son of Duke Henry of Limburg, came over to his side and was invested by him with a royal castle called Berinstein, as a fief. . . .

Otto takes
Aix-la-Chapelle
and is crowned
there.

At Cologne about this time, a star was visible at about the ninth hour,² which was considered by all as a good omen for their king who was chosen there three days after the star appeared. Hastening to Aix-la-Chapelle — the royal residence — to be consecrated, he found the city hostile to him and garrisoned with the troops of Duke Philip under the above-mentioned Walrav. He undertook the siege of the town and with great effort and expense brought it to submission. Upon his entry he was consecrated by Archbishop Adolph of Cologne and placed upon the throne.

Even Walrav was taken into his good graces and now received from him, as a fief, and as a token of reconciliation, the same castle of Berinstein with which he had already been invested by Duke Philip. The archbishop, however, who conceived this to be a menace to his territory, conquered and destroyed the castle. Walrav, estranged thereby from King Otto, returned to his allegiance to Duke Philip, and, in all the wretched confusion to which Germany now fell a prey, he was an instigator and leader.

Toward the beginning of October, King Philip got together a very large army and, with the King of Bohemia and his other allies, took up a position on the river Moselle,

¹ Otto had been given Poitou as a fief by his uncle, Richard the Lion-hearted of England.

² Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon.

with the intention of moving into Lower Germany and devastating the bishopric of Cologne. King Otto and the archbishop of Cologne also gathered together their adherents and encamped on the opposite bank of the river. The citizens of Cologne came too, in well armed and well manned boats.

For some time the outcome seemed doubtful for neither side dared to attack the other. Finally, King Philip and his followers took courage and attempted to effect a crossing, while the forces from Lorraine made a stand against them in the river itself. The battle continued until nightfall with varying fortunes. The following morning the Lorrainers retired to their camp, thinking it unwise to measure their own small forces against the innumerable host of the enemy, who immediately crossed the river. They gave the men of Lorraine, who prepared to make a stand at Andernach, no opportunity for an engagement, but laid waste the land far and wide with fire and sword. Remagen and Bonn, with many outlying villages, were burned to the ground, and there was no one to stay the ravages of the enemy, for every one fled before them to the most strongly fortified places.

Philip's
troops devastate
the land.

The atrocities which they committed in their brutal insolence are too revolting to relate. I will describe but a single case among many, which will furnish some notion of the rest. A nun whom they had stripped of her clothing was covered with honey and rolled in feathers; in this horrible condition she was placed on a horse with her face toward the beast's tail. When they had paraded this ridiculous, or rather, lamentable, spectacle for several days the matter came to King Philip's ears. He, in holy indignation, had all who had taken any part in the affair drowned in boiling water.

Atrocities
committed
by Philip's
troops.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

General Summary: ADAMS, *Civilization*, pp. 247-257; MUNRO, pp. 184-202. *A. References.*

Conditions in Germany under the Hohenstaufens: BÉMONT and MONOD, pp. 479-487.

Frederick Barbarossa: BÉMONT and MONOD, pp. 301-317; BRYCE, Chapter XI, pp. 167-181; EMERTON, pp. 282-312; HENDERSON,

Germany in the Middle Ages, pp. 246-290; *Short History of Germany*, pp. 78-90; TOUT, pp. 245-273.

Peace of Venice: HENDERSON, *Historical Documents*, pp. 425-430.

Henry VI: BÉMONT and MONOD, pp. 319-321; BRYCE, Chapter XIII, first part, pp. 205-207; EMERTON, pp. 314-316; HENDERSON, *Germany in the Middle Ages*, pp. 291-317; *Short History of Germany*, pp. 90-92; TOUT, pp. 304-312.

Innocent III and the Imperial Election: BÉMONT and MONOD, pp. 321-325; EMERTON, pp. 316-332; HENDERSON, *Germany in the Middle Ages*, pp. 318-337; TOUT, pp. 313-335.

The Dispute with King John: COLBY, pp. 72-73; HENDERSON, *Historical Documents*, pp. 430-432; LEE, pp. 155-164.

Frederick II: BÉMONT and MONOD, pp. 325-335; BRYCE, Chapter XIII, latter part, pp. 207-211; EMERTON, pp. 343-352; HENDERSON, *Germany in the Middle Ages*, pp. 337-401; *Short History of Germany*, pp. 92-101; TOUT, pp. 358-392.

The Imperial Claims of the Hohenstaufens: BRYCE, Chapter XII, pp. 182-203.

B. Additional reading in English.

BALZANI, *The Popes and the Hohenstaufens* (Epochs of Church History).

KINGTON-OLIPHANT, *History of Frederick II*, 2 vols. Rather old, but the most complete account in English.

FISHER, *Medieval Empire*, referred to above; also GREGOROVIVS, Vol. IV, Book VII, Chapters III-VII; Vol. V, Book IX, Chapters I-VI; MILMAN, Vol. IV, Book VII, Chapters VII and IX; Book IX, Chapters I-V; Vol. V, Book X; NEWMAN, pp. 511-518; and MATHEWS, pp. 68-163, for some of the documents.

C. Materials for advanced study.

In the great series of *Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte* (see above, p. 261) the following relate to the period under consideration: BERNHARDI, *Lothar von Supplinburg*, 1879; and *Konrad III*, 1883; TOECHE, *Kaiser Heinrich VI*, 1867; WINKELMANN, *Philipp von Schwaben und Otto IV von Braunschweig*, 2 vols., 1873-1878; and *Kaiser Friedrich II*, 2 vols. (to 1233), 1889-1897. The volumes on Frederick Barbarossa have not yet appeared.

JASTROW-WINTER, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Hohenstaufen*, Vol. I, 1897.

LANGEN, *Geschichte der römischen Kirche*, Vol. IV (von Gregor VII bis Innocenz III), 1893.

LAMPRECHT, *Deutsche Geschichte*, Vol. III.

BLONDEL, *Étude sur la politique de l'empereur Frédéric II en Allemagne*, 1892. Excellent.

ZELLER, *L'Empereur Frédéric II et la chute de l'empire germanique du moyen âge*, 1885.

LOSERTH, *Geschichte des späteren Mittelalters*, 1903. An admirable general account of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with remarkable bibliographies.

OTTO OF FREISING'S *Deeds of Frederick* was continued after his death by his secretary, RAHEWIN, and carried down to 1160. (In the octavo edition of the *Monumenta*, and in the *Geschichtschreiber*, Vols. LIX-LX.)

Gesta Frederici Imperatoris in Lombardia, auctore civis Mediolanensi, edited by Holder-Egger, 1892. An Italian account of Frederick's invasions.

Greater Annals of Cologne (see above, p. 296). (In the octavo edition, and the *Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. LXIX.) Comes down to 1237; of great importance for the Hohenstaufen period.

Chronicon Urspergense (to 1229). (In the octavo edition.) Brief, but excellent for opening of thirteenth century.

The Chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck, an abbot who died in 1212, is especially valuable for the end of the twelfth and the opening of the thirteenth century. In Book IV, Chapter XIX, there is a very amusing letter written by Henry VI's chancellor to his old teacher, narrating his experiences in Italy. He describes Virgil's achievements as a magician, and exhibits the direst confusion in his classical reminiscences. For example, he discovers both Parnassus and Olympus in Italy. (In the *Monumenta*, and in the *Geschichtschreiber*, Vol. LXXI.)

The *Libelli de lite* (mentioned above, p. 295), are useful for this period.

HUILLARD-BRÉHOLLES, *Historia diplomatica Friderici II*, 6 vols., 1861. A collection of the documents relating to the reign of Frederick, with a volume which serves as an introduction.

JAFFÉ'S *Regesta pontificum*, referred to above, p. 85, closes with 1198. A similar work, beginning with the pontificate of Innocent III, has been prepared for the thirteenth century by Potthast, 2 vols., Berlin.

Since the opening of the Vatican library to scholars, the French school at Rome and other learned bodies have undertaken a series of publications of sources relating to the papacy. For an excellent account of these enterprises, see an article by Professor Haskins in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. II.

The sources