

The Histories of a Medieval German City, Worms c.1000–c.1300

Translation and Commentary



Translated by
David S. Bachrach

THE HISTORIES OF A MEDIEVAL
GERMAN CITY, WORMS c. 1000–c. 1300

*To the Memory of David Warner, An Excellent
Medievalist and a Generous Colleague.*

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Translation and Commentary

Translated by

DAVID S. BACHRACH

University of New Hampshire, USA

ASHGATE

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Preface

Over the course of my career I have been fortunate to make the acquaintance of a number of scholars whose work has an important impact on my understanding of the medieval world. Among them, David Warner stood out as an exceptionally generous colleague, who gave of his time and wisdom to a junior member of the small society of English-speaking specialists in Germany history. His excellent translation and commentary on Thietmar of Merseburg's *Chronicon* opened the way for numerous subsequent translations of texts that were focused on the history of the medieval German kingdom and empire, including this present volume. It was therefore with shock and sadness that I learned of his all-too-premature death in May 2013. As a small measure of my gratitude to David, I dedicate this book to his memory.

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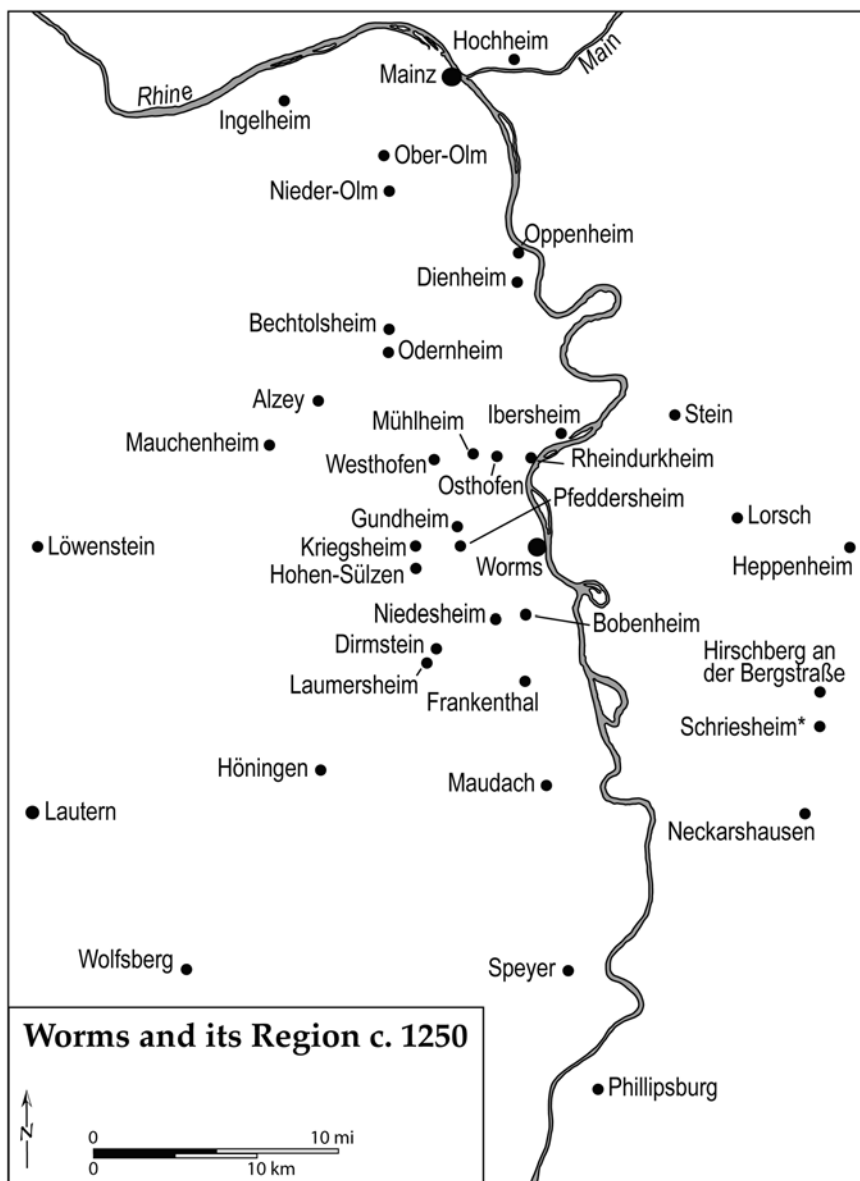
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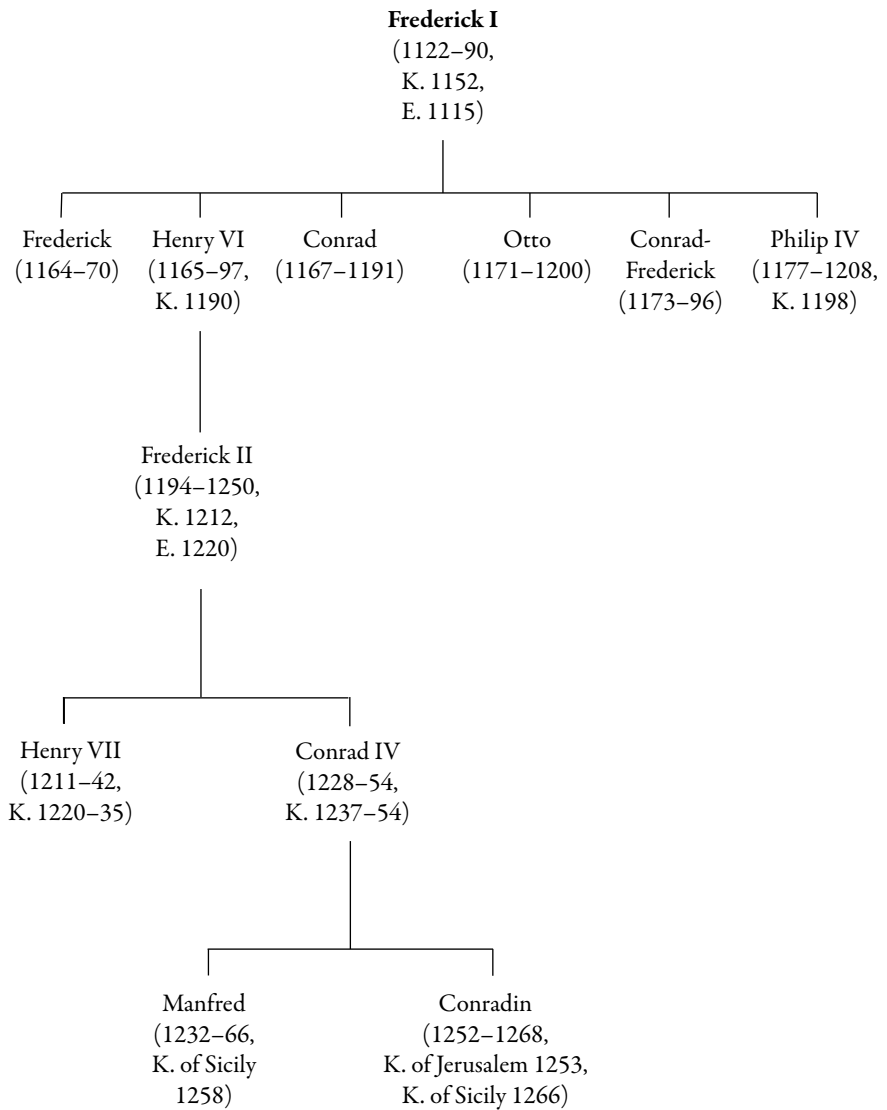
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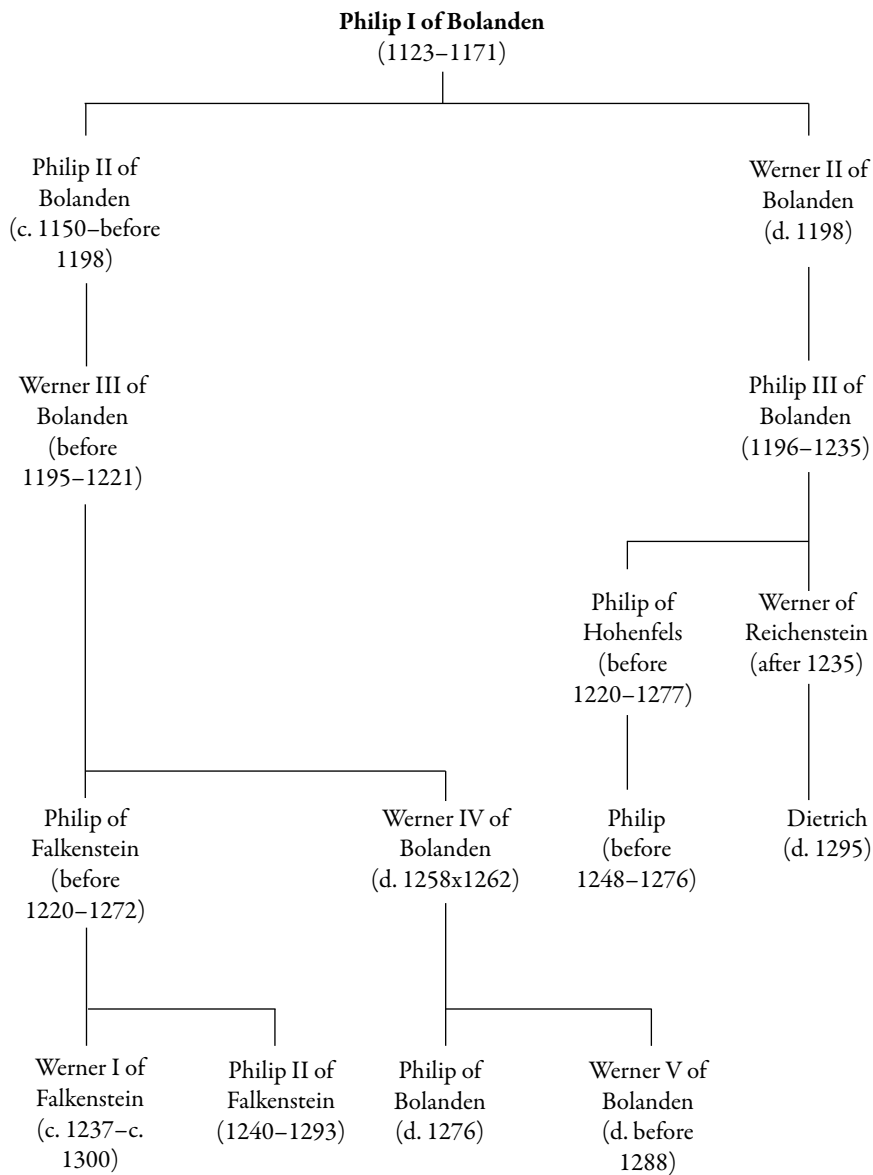






Key: E. = emperor; K. = king

G.1 Simplified Genealogy of the Staufen dynasty



G.2 Simplified Genealogy of the Bolanden-Falkenstein-Hohenfels Family

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Introduction

The study of cities and city life during the High Middle Ages offers an opportunity to examine a particularly vibrant part of European culture in an age when the vast majority of the population was tied to a grinding existence on the land that changed with glacial slowness over the centuries. Cities, by contrast, were comparatively effervescent foci of change, experimentation, and development. Urban centers were home to the greatest concentrations of people, wealth, learning, art, technology, and architectural development throughout the medieval millennium. They housed the leadership of the Church, and often served as seats of secular government as well. It was in cities that merchants from throughout the western world, as well as the Islamic Caliphate and Byzantium, congregated, sold their wares, introduced new foods and languages, and generally broadened the horizons of the urban dwellers with whom they were in contact. Urban spaces provided the crucial meeting points for clashes, and occasional fruitful interactions, between Christians and Jews. Cities, and the records that were stored there, also illuminate the roles of women in society in a way that simply does not exist for the countryside. In sum, cities, with their small minority of the general population, played an oversized role in charting the course of medieval history.¹

During the High Middle Ages, the inhabitants of cities also played a central role in the development of new ideas about government, freedom, and liberty. It was during the High Middle Ages, from the eleventh through the thirteenth century, that the concept *Stadtluft macht Mann frei* (city air makes a man free) had its first flowering. City men across Europe established communes, chose their own leaders, expelled their ruling bishops, established military and economic alliances with other cities, and negotiated on virtually equal terms with kings

¹ The scholarly treatment of medieval urban history is vast. For some useful starting points, see John Mundy, *The Medieval Town* (Princeton, NJ, 1958); Fritz Rörig, *The Medieval Town* (Berkeley, CA, 1969); Susan Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns* (Oxford, 1977); Daniel Philip Waley, *The Italian City Republics*, 3rd edn (New York, 1988); David Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City, 1300–1500* (New York, 1997); and idem, *The Growth of the Medieval City: From Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century* (London, 1997).

and emperors. City law and city judicial institutions provided a framework for the development of citizenship as a contrapositive of status as a subject. It was this struggle for political liberty, perhaps even more than economic, social, or religious matters, that drove men to war in their own self-interest.

The City of Worms

Worms provides a particularly valuable and illuminating point of entry for the study of urban history, not only in the German kingdom, but in the Latin West as a whole. From its foundation as a Roman legionary camp during the reign of Augustus (31 BC–14 AD), Worms played a central role in the economic, political, and social history of the Middle Rhine region (see Map 2), and in the broader kingdoms and empires to which it belonged (see Map 3). Because of its propitious location along the left bank of the Rhine, with easy riverine access to Mainz and Frankfurt, Worms enjoyed substantial population and economic growth throughout the early medieval period.² Perhaps the site of a royal palace in the sixth century, by the mid-eighth century, Worms certainly was among the most important political centers in the Carolingian empire of Charlemagne (768–814). It regularly hosted both royal assemblies and armies during the first two decades of Charlemagne's reign, with eleven attested stops there between 770 and 790.³ It would be fair to characterize Worms in the period before 790, and the catastrophic fire that it suffered in that year, as playing the same role in Charlemagne's empire as Aachen was to play after 800, namely as a *de facto* capital.⁴ Worms maintained its position as a leading economic center under the later Carolingians and Ottonians (919–1024), the first dynasty of the nascent German kingdom, during the ninth and tenth centuries. The city served

² For an overview of the history of the city and its urban development, see Carlrichard Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas: Studien zur Profantopographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1975 and 1990), II: 113–32. For the earlier period of Worms' history, also see Thomas Kohl and Franz Josef Felton, "Worms. Stadt und Region im frühen Mittelalter von 600–1000," in *Geschichte der Stadt Worms*, ed. Gerold Bönnen (Stuttgart, 2005), 102–32.

³ Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 115–16.

⁴ This observation first was made by Friedrich Maria Illert, "Forum Germanum. I. Grundrisse zur Geschichte der Wormser Königspfalz," *Der Wormsgau* 2.3 (1938): 11–125, here 113; and affirmed by Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 116.

as the host for important synods, royal assemblies, and mobilization points for royal armies on no fewer than 28 occasions.⁵

In addition, during the tenth century, Worms was on the forefront of the decision by the kings of the Ottonian dynasty to begin a wholesale transfer of public authority from counts to bishops.⁶ Indeed, the bishops of Worms were among the earliest prince-bishops in the German kingdom, and played a leading role in what scholars have denoted as the “imperial church system.”⁷ In this system of government, the German kings delegated considerable authority to the bishops, transferring to them vast resources in return for extensive service obligations. It is during this period in the late tenth and early eleventh century that the bishops of Worms assumed authority for administering justice, managing royal estates, and mobilizing military forces.⁸

The political and military power of the German episcopate, as it developed under the later Ottonian kings and subsequently during the Salian dynasty (1024–1125) is exemplified in the career of Bishop Burchard I of Worms (1000–25).⁹ As bishop, Burchard undertook numerous legal and political reforms, with royal support, that assured episcopal control over the law courts

⁵ Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 116–17.

⁶ Regarding the increasing importance of the bishop as the public or royal official in the city of Worms and its associated administrative district, see Heinrich Büttner, “Zur Stadtentwicklung von Worms im Früh- und Hochmittelalter,” in *Aus Geschichte und Landeskunde. Forschungen und Darstellungen. Franz Steinbach zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden und Schülern* (Bonn, 1960), 389–407, here 397–401, and Andreas Urban Friedmann, *Die Beziehungen der Bistümer Worms und Speyer zu den ottonischen und Salischen Königen* (Mainz, 1994), 84–100.

⁷ The classic treatment of the imperial church system is Leo Santifaller’s “Zur Geschichte des ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystem,” *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 229.1 (1954): 1–54. The heuristic value of the imperial church system model was challenged by Timothy Reuter, “The ‘Imperial Church System’ of the Ottonians and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33.3 (1982): 347–74. This provoked a significant response and defense of the model by Josef Fleckenstein, “Problematik und Gestalt der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche,” in *Kirche und Reich vor dem Investiturstreit*, ed. Karl Schmid (Sigmaringen, 1985), 83–98.

⁸ The first ruler of the Ottonian dynasty to appoint German bishops as counts was Otto III (983–1002). See the discussion by Hartmut Hoffmann, “Grafschaften in Bischofshand,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 46 (1990): 375–480.

⁹ Regarding the central importance of Burchard’s *Decretum* for the development of canon law, see Greta Austin, *Shaping Church Law Around the Year 1000: The Decretum of Burchard of Worms* (Aldershot, 2009). For the political as well as pastoral work of Burchard, also see the collection of studies in *Bischof Burchard von Worms 1000–1025*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann (Mainz, 2000).

within the city.¹⁰ Burchard also asserted direct control over the military duties that formerly had been the responsibility of the count, including both the maintenance of the city's wall, and the mobilization of the troops who were owed for royal military campaigns.¹¹ Burchard combined these secular aspects of his office with a deep commitment to pastoral care, which resulted in his compilation of a handbook (the *Decretum*) detailing the proper duties of priests and bishops, which was intended for the use of the clergy in Worms, and his own episcopal successors. Burchard's biography (Latin *vita*), which was composed shortly after his death in 1025, provides a clear image of what contemporaries considered the ideal bishop who served both the pastoral and political needs of his diocese.

The remarkable and enduring success of Worms as a center of economic and political power continued and even grew over the course of the eleventh century. The city was at the forefront of rapid urban development along the entire Rhine corridor, with a concomitant expansion of its wealth and importance in the politics of the German kingdom.¹² In the second half of the eleventh century, Germany was convulsed by the investiture controversy between King Henry IV (r. 1056–1106) and Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085). These two leaders of the western world were engaged in a titanic struggle over who had the dominant position within the Catholic Church and subsequent control over the appointment of churchmen to high ecclesiastical office. The men who were appointed as bishops, and the men (and women) who were appointed to lead monasteries, assumed control over the vast economic resources that had been granted to their institutions by German kings and others over the previous centuries. Consequently, their loyalty was crucially important to both the king and to the pope.¹³

¹⁰ See Knut Schultz, "Das Wormser Hofrecht Bischof Burchards," in *Bischof Burchard von Worms*, 251–78.

¹¹ Gerold Bönnen, "Bischof, Stifte, Stadt, Bevölkerung, Burchard von Worms und seine Civitas am Beginn des 11. Jahrhunderts," in *Bischof Burchard von Worms*, 311–48.

¹² The economic history of Worms would repay further investigation in light of the extensive archaeological excavations undertaken in recent decades. See, for example, the recent synthesis by Mathilde Grünewald, *Unter dem Pflaster von Worms: Archäologie in der Stadt* (Lindenberg, 2012). However, the increasing economic power of the city in the eleventh century, building from an already strong base, was recognized by Büttner, "Zur Stadtentwicklung," 389–407.

¹³ For a valuable overview of the topic of the political, moral, and military conflict between royal and papal power, see Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*, translated from the original German by the author (Philadelphia, PA, 1988).

The citizens of Worms, as well as the large and wealthy Jewish community in the city, sided with the monarchy in this conflict, which set in train an enduring political struggle against their own bishops, and ultimately the establishment of political independence under an urban commune.¹⁴ The political institution of the commune (Latin *communio* or *communio civitatis*), was a sworn association of citizens that was dedicated to protecting their rights and liberties. Communes first flourished in heavily urbanized northern Italy during the eleventh century in the absence of a dominant secular power. This relative vacuum of political authority allowed individual cities to chart their own political courses, and to develop institutions for self-governance. Ultimately, many of the cities in northern Italy, such as Milan and Sienna, became self-governing and dominated the rural regions around them (*contado*), including the rural nobility living there. In Italy, the city governments and communes often were dominated by an emerging elite of wealthy merchants and craftsmen organized in guilds.

The development of urban political institutions in German lagged behind this phenomenon in Italy. However, the alliance of the German cities with King Henry IV brought tangible benefits in the form of trading privileges, immunities from taxation, and freedom from tolls imposed on merchants by both secular and ecclesiastical magnates. The privileges granted by Henry IV to the city of Worms, and to its Jewish community, initially were economic in nature. However, the break between the city and the bishop meant that the citizens had an opportunity to devise methods and institutions to rule themselves. These nascent political institutions were formally recognized by the monarchy during the late twelfth century in the course of renewed political conflict and civil strife in the German kingdom brought on by a struggle for dominance in northern Italy between the Emperor Frederick I (r. 1152–90) and the papacy.

As had been true of the transition of Worms into a city dominated by its bishops during the tenth century, the rise of the commune at Worms also was precocious and presaged the widespread development of urban communes

¹⁴ The relationship between King Henry IV and the city of Worms has been a major historiographical topic for well over a century. Carl Koehne, *Der Ursprung der Stadtverfassung in Worms, Speyer, und Mainz* (Breslau, 1890) remains a foundational work. For more recent scholarly work, see, for example, Bernhard Töpfer, “Stellung und Aktivitäten der Bürgerschaft von Bischofsstädten während des staufisch-welfischen Thronstreits,” in *Stadt und Städtebürgertum in der deutschen Geschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Bernhard Töpfer (Berlin, 1976), 13–62, who treats the 1070s as setting a crucial precedent for royal political relations with the cities that led, ultimately, to independent city government, and Gerold Bönnes, “Gemeindebildung und kommunale Organisation in Worms und Speyer (1074 bis ca. 1220),” *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 74 (2010): 19–56.

throughout the German kingdom.¹⁵ In Worms, as was true in much of northern Italy, part of the new political leadership in the city consisted of merchants and craftsmen, who were organized into guilds. They were joined, however, by the rising class of ministerials, whose power and wealth was based on generations of service as the high-ranking servants of secular and ecclesiastical magnates.¹⁶ A citizen of Worms, named Eckenbert, whose family gained prominence through their service to the bishops of the city, figured prominently in the church reform movement, and was immortalized in a *vita*, written shortly after his death in 1132.

As the conflict between the German crown and the papacy for control over the Church continued through the twelfth and thirteenth century, the citizens of Worms remained steadfast in their loyalty to the kings of the Salian (1024–1124) and then of the Staufen dynasty (1139–1254).¹⁷ By contrast, the bishops of Worms tended to support papal claims to supremacy in the Church. These opposing loyalties led increasingly to conflicts within the city. Influenced by a combination of factors, including a desire to control their own markets and hinterland, as well as their loyalty to the royal government, the citizens of Worms struggled against their bishops, and ultimately established complete secular control in the city under an elected government of wealthy and socially prominent citizens.¹⁸

The long-simmering conflict between monarchy and papacy developed into a death struggle during the final period of Emperor Frederick II's reign (1212–50). In 1245, Frederick was excommunicated and formally deposed by Pope Innocent IV (1243–54). Innocent, working with many of the ecclesiastical princes in

¹⁵ With regard to the role of the citizens of Rhenish episcopal cities, and particularly Worms and Mainz, at the forefront of efforts to secure their own political rights, see Burkard Keilmann, *Der Kampf um die Stadtherrschaft in Worms während des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt, 1985). The development of the urban government at Worms is traced in detail by Gerold Bönnen, "Zur Entwicklung von Staatsverfassung und Stadtgemeinde im hochmittelalterlichen Worms," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 150 (2002): 113–60.

¹⁶ On the conflict and cooperation between the leading merchants in Worms and other Rhenish cities, and the rising class of formerly royal and episcopal ministerials, see Keilmann, *Kampf um die Stadtherrschaft*, 4, 27, 43–7, 86–7, and *passim*. For a valuable introduction to the topic of ministerials, see John B. Freed, "The Origins of the European Nobility. The Problem of the Ministerials," *Viator* 7 (1976): 211–41, as well as Benjamin Arnold, *German Knighthood 1050–1300* (Oxford, 1985).

¹⁷ For the extensive military support provided by the city of Worms to the Staufen kings during the civil war period of the 1240s and 1250s, see David S. Bachrach, "Making Peace and War in the 'City-State' of Worms, 1235–1273," *German History* 24 (2006): 505–25.

¹⁸ Bönnen, "Gemeindebildung und kommunale Organisation," 19–56.

Germany, recruited Landgrave Henry Raspe of Thuringia to serve as anti-king in 1246. However, Henry's death the very next year forced Pope Innocent to try again, this time turning to Count William of Holland to serve as anti-king against Frederick II and his son and successor King Conrad IV (1242–54). The cities of Germany, with Worms in the lead, adhered to the Staufen cause and remained loyal until the death of Conrad in 1254. Following Conrad's death and in recognition that his heir, Conradin, was just two years old, Worms inaugurated a new period in its own political history and the history of the German kingdom by founding, along with Mainz, a league of cities, named the Rhenish League because most of its members were located along the Rhine river.

This league, which ultimately included more than seventy cities, served to protect the commercial and political interests of its members against the efforts of secular and ecclesiastical magnates to harass urban citizens, impose tolls on them, and to threaten their legal and political autonomy. In response, the members of the Rhenish League mobilized both armies and fleets to combat these magnates, ultimately waging war against a number of lords to secure the rights of their own citizens.¹⁹ The members of the league also negotiated with various claimants to the German throne, most notably the English prince Richard of Cornwall (titular king of Germany 1257–72), who was the younger brother of King Henry III of England (1216–72), and King Alfonso X of Castille (1252–84). The league came to a formal end in 1257. However, Worms continued to negotiate as a virtual equal with kings and royal claimants until the accession of Rudolf of Habsburg as German king in 1273 (died 1291). Rudolf came to Worms in 1273 to gain the city's recognition and support, in return for which he granted extensive privileges and rights.

In the course of the civil wars of the 1240s in Germany, and the subsequent interregnum between universally recognized and accepted kings (1254–73), the city of Worms became a *de facto* city-state, conducting its own internal and "foreign" policy, often in conjunction with other cities located in the Rhineland.²⁰ The story of Worms' transformation from an episcopal city into an independent city-state is told by two late thirteenth-century chronicles. One was written from

¹⁹ See the discussion of the establishment and effectiveness of the Rhenish league by Gerold Bönnen, "Der Rheinische Bund von 1254/1256: Voraussetzungen, Wirkungsweise, Nachleben," in *Städtebünde-Städtetage im Wandel der Geschichte*, ed. Franz Josef Felton (Stuttgart, 2006), 13–36, and the monographic study by Martin Kaufhold, *Deutsches Interregnum und europäische Politik. Konfliktlösungen und Entscheidungsstrukturen 1230–1280* (Hanover, 2000).

²⁰ Bachrach, "Making Peace and War," 505–25.

the perspective of the secular urban elite, and the second from the perspective of the late thirteenth-century bishops of Worms.

In sum, Worms played a leading role in the history of Rhineland for the better part of five centuries, under royal dynasties from the Carolingians to the Staufens. The location, size, and wealth of the city also meant that it played an important part in the major economic, political, religious, and military events on the broader German and even European stage, particularly during the period c.1000–c.1300. Students of urban affairs, Christian-Jewish relations, as well as the development of political and legal rights will find in Worms a precocious city whose history will repay close study.

The Textual Genres

The four texts translated in this volume provide information about the city and people of Worms in the period spanning the early eleventh through the late thirteenth century. The first two works, from the early eleventh and early twelfth century respectively, were composed as *vitae*, that is sacred biographies with a particular focus on the holy nature of the protagonist.²¹ The most important early model for the genre of the *vita* was Sulpicius Severus' *Life* of Bishop Martin of Tours, which was written during the first quarter of the fifth century. *Vitae* throughout the early medieval period followed closely upon the model established by Sulpicius Severus and focused very heavily on miracles that were attributed to their subjects.²² In these works, the secular activities and temporal biography of the saints generally provided the framework rather than the focus of the text.

In the tenth century, however, there was a major change in the content of *vitae*, particularly those that were written about bishops in the German kingdom and empire. A focus on miracle stories tended to give way to accounts that provided details about the bishops' careers, including not only their pastoral and sacred

²¹ For a somewhat dated but still foundational introduction to *vitae* as a genre, see Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints: An Introduction to Hagiography*, with an introduction by Richard J. Schoeck and trans. V.M. Crawford (Notre Dame, IN, 1961).

²² Regarding Sulpicius Severus' hagiographic treatment of Martin and a detailed discussion regarding the deployment of miracle stories and their intention, see Clare Stancliffe, *St. Martin and His Hagiographer: History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus* (Oxford, 1983). Also see the translation and commentary on Sulpicius' *vita* of St. Martin by F.R. Hoare, "The Life of Saint Martin of Tours. Sulpicius Severus," in *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints Lives From Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Thomas F.X. Noble and Thomas Head (University Park, PA, 1995), 1–29.

duties, but also their secular obligations, including those such as supervising justice, undertaking building activities, and even participating in military actions.²³ The early eleventh-century *vita* of Burchard I of Worms (1000–25) is firmly in this new tradition, and provides considerable attention to what may be thought of as his “secular” duties.

The *Vita Eckenberti* can also be understood in this new tradition with the extraordinary difference that Eckenbert was not a bishop, and only became a priest at the very end of his life. There had been occasional *vitae* of laypeople before the composition of Eckenbert’s *Life*. However, the subjects tended to be from the uppermost strata of secular society. During the ninth century, a series of *vitae* were composed about the lives of Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious.²⁴ During the tenth century, Mathilda (died 968), the wife of King Henry I of Germany (919–36) and the mother of King Otto I (936–73), was the beneficiary of two separate *vitae*.²⁵ During the early eleventh century, King Henry II of Germany (1002–24) also was the subject of a *vita*, which was composed contemporaneously with the *vita* of Bishop Burchard of Worms.²⁶ However, Eckenbert’s *vita* was an exceptionally rare text in that it focuses on the life of an ordinary layman of middling status, who never achieved high office either as a layman or as a cleric.

The third work in this collection, the *Chronicon Wormatiense*, is not easily characterized as belonging to a single genre of historical works. The author’s focus on the career of individual bishops at Worms shows important similarities in content with the genre known as *gesta episcoporum*. The episcopal *gestae*, which had their origins in the ninth century, were modeled on the series of papal biographies collectively known as the *Liber Pontificalis*, whose origins can be traced back to Late Antiquity.²⁷ The careers of individual bishops in a

²³ For an overview of this topic, see Stephanie Coué, *Historiographie im Kontext. Schreibenanlass und Funktion von Bischofsviten aus dem 11. und vom Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1997).

²⁴ The four *vitae* and one *gesta* of the deeds of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious have been translated with helpful introductions and notes by Thomas F.X. Noble in *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious: Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thégan and the Astronomer* (University Park, PA, 2009).

²⁵ These *vitae* have been translated with a valuable introductory discussion by Sean Gilsdorf in *Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid* (Washington, DC, 2004).

²⁶ Adalbold of Utrecht. *Vita Heinrici II imperatoris*, ed. Georg Waitz MGH SS 4 (Hanover, 1841).

²⁷ With regard to episcopal *vitae*, see Michel Sot, *Gesta Episcoporum Gesta Abbatum* (Turnhout, 1981).

particular diocese were presented in detail, often for the purpose of justifying the possession by the bishopric of particular rights or properties. The author of the *Chronicon* clearly was attuned to this purpose for writing episcopal history, and consistently makes claims on behalf of the bishops' rights and authority. The author also uses the technique commonly employed in episcopal *gestae* of including documents, which were copied into the narrative, to demonstrate the veracity of a particular point that was being made.²⁸

However, the *Chronicon* also differs in very substantial ways from the more "traditional" *gestae* of the previous century. First, the text is not organized as a series of biographies of bishops. There is very little discussion of the background, education, or family of the four bishops who held office in the period covered by the *Chronicon*: Henry II (1217–34), Landolf (1234–47), Richard (1247–57), and Eberhard (1257–77). In fact, although the actions of the bishops comprise a dominant theme of the text, the bishops, themselves, cannot be seen as an organizing principle for the work in any way. This factor leads to the second major difference between the *Chronicon* and *gestae* of bishops, namely the enormous attention given by the author to the actions of the citizens of Worms, even when these actions did not directly involve a bishop. Taking the content of the work as a whole, the author of the *Chronicon* can be understood as both interested in episcopal affairs, and as a partisan of the episcopal office and prerogatives of the bishops of Worms. However, he also clearly was deeply concerned about the welfare of the city of Worms and its people, whose interests the author suggests were best protected by a powerful bishop.

The final work in this collection of texts, the *Annales Wormatienses*, represents a relatively new genre, namely the history of a city. The earliest histories that were written about and by the lay citizens of cities appeared in northern Italy during the mid-eleventh century.²⁹ The number of these urban chronicles rapidly increased during the twelfth-century as large numbers of northern Italian cities attained a substantial level of self-rule, and sought a variety of ways to justify their independence, particularly from the German emperor Frederick Barbarossa.³⁰ The *Annales* certainly fits within this paradigm of citizens seeking to justify their

²⁸ Ibid., 49.

²⁹ See the valuable introduction by Edward Coleman, "Lombard City Annals and the Social and Cultural History of Northern Italy," in *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sharon Dale, Alison Williams, and Duane J. Osheim (University Park, PA, 2007), 1–27.

³⁰ For the important connection between the composition of urban chronicles and the struggle for political independence in northern Italy, with a focus on the city of Genoa, see Frank Schweggenstette, "City Chronicles," in *Transforming the Medieval World: Uses of*

independence, in this case from the bishop, and their relatively autonomous position *vis-à-vis* the German kings. What is striking about the *Annales* is the place where it was written, that is, in Germany rather than in Italy. This is among the earliest urban chronicles to be written north of the Alps, and may well be the first text of its kind to be composed in the German kingdom, thereby illustrating yet another instance of Worms' precocious nature.

The Texts

Vita Burchardi

Bishop Burchard I of Worms was one of the most important clerics in the German kingdom during the first decades of the eleventh century. In the intellectual and religious sphere, he was responsible for creating the first thoroughly systematic presentation of canon law in his *Decretum*, which was composed in twenty books. This work provided the framework for the great legal scholars Ivo of Chartres (1040–1115), and subsequently Gratian, who drew heavily upon Burchard's work for his own monumental *Decretum* composed during the 1130s, which became the single most important work of canon law during the next several centuries. Burchard also was active in the sphere of secular law, issuing his *Lex familiae Wormatiensis ecclesiae* sometime between 1023 and 1025.³¹ This latter text provided a code of conduct for the dependents of the bishopric of Worms, and illuminates the social structure of both the episcopal household, and the broader population of the city and countryside of Worms.

In the political sphere, Burchard played a role in royal and imperial politics from the moment of his ordination as bishop, and continued to work on a variety of matters in the service of the king until the very moment of his death. The bishop had important working relationships with both Otto III (983–1002) and Henry II (1002–24), and met both of these rulers frequently. Among his more important actions, Burchard led a major military contingent on campaign in Italy with Otto III in 1001, and played an instrumental role in aiding Henry II to gain the German throne in 1002. However, Burchard's closest relationship

Pragmatic Literacy in the Middle Ages, ed. Franz-Josef Arlinghaus, Marcus Ostermann, Oliver Plessow, and Gudrun Tscherpel (Turnhout, 2006), 127–49.

³¹ The text of the *Lex* appears in *Constitutiones et act publica imperatorum et regum* vol. 1, ed. Ludwig Weiland (Hanover, 1893), 639–44.

was with the future king, Conrad II (1024–39), whom he raised and educated in his own household at Worms.³²

The *Vita Burchardi* begins with a lengthy prologue in which the author indulges in the topos of humility and emphasizes his unworthiness to compose a work about such a worthy man. Then, following a sketch of Burchard's family and education, the *Vita* provides an account of the events that led to Burchard's consecration as bishop, including the deaths of his three immediate predecessors in rapid succession.³³ In this portion of the text, the author provides a brief but exceptionally positive account of the episcopate of Burchard's elder brother Franco who served as bishop of Worms for two years (998–99).³⁴

Consistent with the new tendency in *vitae* of bishops, the core of this *Life* then focuses on Burchard's secular duties, particularly his restoration of the city and bishopric of Worms, and his participation in imperial politics, including military affairs.³⁵ Here, the author pays particular attention to Burchard's foundation of churches and monasteries, and his ejection of the Conradine family, whose scion Conrad II became king in 1024, from the city of Worms.³⁶ This powerful noble family had joined with the Ottonian dynasty in the previous century when Conrad the Red (died 955) married Liutgard, the daughter of King Otto I (936–73). However, the family fell out of favor as result of Conrad the Red's revolt against his father-in-law in 953, and the subsequent loss of his office as duke of Lotharingia.

In this central portion of the text, the author also introduces Burchard's sister Mathilda, whom the bishop recruited to serve as the abbess of the convent of Nonnenmünster, located in Worms. This passage provides valuable insights regarding the efforts of aristocratic families to provide all of their children, including girls, with a liberal education. When asked by her brother to serve as abbess, Mathilda is recorded as refusing since she claims that her knowledge of books was limited to her reading of the Psalter. However, after Burchard continued to pressure her, Mathilda finally acceded to his wishes, and promised to serve as abbess. Then, according to the author, Burchard told his sister to read immediately works on canon law, the *Computus*, the lives of the fathers, Gregory

³² See Herwig Wolfram, *Conrad II, 990–1039: Emperor of Three Kingdoms*, trans. Denise A. Kaiser (State College, PA, 2006), for the only English monograph-length study on this king.

³³ *Vita Burchardi*, chs. 1–5.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. 3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, chs. 7–17.

³⁶ This latter issue is the focus of *Vita Burchardi*, chs. 6–7.

the Great's *Dialogue*, and other books.³⁷ The implication is that although Mathilda only had read the Psalter up to this point, this native German speaker's command of Latin was quite strong.

In the final section of the *Vita*, the author returns to the topic of education, and focuses most of his attention on the learning that took place at the cathedral school in Worms under the leadership of Burchard. The text presents students as composing questions and airing their concerns about biblical passages, which then were submitted to Burchard for consideration. The two longest chapters of the entire *vita* purport to present one of these student questions, and Burchard's response, and thereby illuminate an important element of the pedagogical system that was in place at the cathedral school during the early eleventh century.³⁸ The text then turns to an account of Burchard's final months, and the scene at his death-bed. The final chapter is a condemnation of those who criticized Burchard during his life.

Burchard's *Vita* was written by a member of his own household, likely within two years of his death, and was dedicated to Bishop Walter of Speyer (1004–27), Burchard's close friend.³⁹ The author of the *Vita*, whom some scholars have identified as Eberhard, a canon at Worms, certainly knew Burchard intimately, and related many details that could only have been known to a confidant.⁴⁰ However, the author also drew heavily on the contemporary historical work by Alpert of Metz, the *De diversitate temporum*, which illuminates the ways in which historical works could influence each other in the lower Rhineland during this period. Alpert had dedicated his account of contemporary affairs to Burchard and provided a copy to the bishop through the auspices of his own brother Immo, who was a canon at the Worms cathedral. It was from this text

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., chs. 18–19.

³⁹ Regarding the dedicatee, see Stephanie Haarländer (formerly Coué), "Die Vita Burchardi im Rahmen der Bischofsviten seiner Zeit," in *Bischof Burchard von Worms*, 129–60, here 130.

⁴⁰ With respect to the identity of the author, see Heinrich Boos, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Worms III: Annalen und Chroniken* (Berlin, 1893), xxvii, who makes the argument for Ebbo, a canon at Worms. Haarländer, "Die Vita Burchardi im Rahmen der Bischofsviten seiner Zeit," 130, accepts this identification. However, also see the concern raised by Austin, *Shaping Church Law Around the Year 1000*, 54 n. 5, who points out that there is no real evidence that Ebbo was the author, and that the text could have been written by another canon at Worms.

that the author of Burchard's *Vita* borrowed phrases, descriptions, and even whole scenes when describing his own protagonist.⁴¹

The author of the *Vita* reflects on his intentions and methods in writing the text throughout much of the lengthy prologue. Foremost in his mind was an effort to use his work to counteract what he claimed were slanderous attacks against the dead prelate's memory; as he put it, to "block the mouths of those speaking slanderously against him."⁴² In addition, although this clearly was an agenda-driven work of hagiography, the author also works diligently to present what he has to say as being both accurate and supported by eyewitness testimony.

In describing to the dedicatee of the *Vita*, Bishop Walter of Speyer, how he came to write this work, the author notes a conversation he had with another unnamed close associate of Burchard, the gist of which was that only an intimate confidant of the Worms bishop would be able to write a thorough and accurate account. The author then describes a session in which this unnamed friend asked a series of questions about Burchard, which the author then answered, thereby providing the initial basis for the *Vita*. It was on this foundation that the author wrote the text about those of Burchard's "good deeds that we saw, and those that we learned about from religious men."

Throughout the remainder of the *Vita*, the author frequently notes his sources of information, remarking either that he had witnessed an event himself, or that he had the information from an eyewitness. The author also distinguishes between eyewitness reports and simple hearsay that he could not verify. In discussing, for example, the relationship between Bishop Franco of Worms and Emperor Otto III, the author observes that the two men were secluded for 14 days in a cave next to the church of St. Clemente in Rome. He adds that "there are some who say that while they were there, they were frequently consoled by divine visions and words."⁴³ However, the author added, "since we have found out little about this matter, we leave it to be discussed by the common people."⁴⁴

The author's focus on eyewitness accounts, and his discounting of information that he could not confirm as accurate draws upon a very long tradition dating back to Isidore of Seville's widely circulated definition of history in the *Etymologiae*. Here, the early seventh-century prelate argued that history is

⁴¹ By the time Alpert wrote *De diversitate temporum*, he was living at Utrecht, and dedicated his work of history to Bishop Burchard. Alpert's brother Immo lived in Worms, and was a canon of the cathedral there. The various borrowings from Alpert's work are detailed in the notes of the translation below.

⁴² *Vita Burchardi*, prologue.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, ch. 3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

the presentation of events that actually took place in the past, and that the best source of information comes from those who witnessed events themselves.⁴⁵ In making these claims about his own text, the author of the *Vita Burchardi* placed his work rather firmly in the genres of historical works such as *annales*, *gestae*, and *chronica*. As a consequence, he not so subtly removed it from the genre of sacred biography common during the early Middle Ages that was intended far more to serve a strictly pedagogical function regarding proper holy behavior, and the participation of the “hero” in this behavior. This historicizing of the *vita* is characteristic of the episcopal *vitae* composed in the German kingdom during the tenth and eleventh century, noted above.

Nevertheless, it cannot be forgotten that Burchard’s *Vita* is a highly partisan text and consequently provides a vivid picture of how the bishop’s supporters wished to have him viewed in the immediate aftermath of his death. As such, it offers important insights regarding contemporary concerns about the proper balance that imperial bishops had to strike between their roles as shepherds of the Christian flock, and officials of the German kingdom serving as agents of the royal government. The potential for conflict between these two roles long had been a matter of concern to churchmen, and a number of episcopal biographies from the tenth and eleventh century demonstrate this tension.⁴⁶ Crucially, the author does not attempt to attribute any miracles to Burchard, which again is a characteristic of the new style of episcopal *vitae*, and which marks a fundamental break with the genre as it had been popularized in the early medieval period following the model of the *Vita* of St. Martin.

The value of this text for understanding the intellectual and spiritual concerns of the eleventh century does, however, impose some limits on the historical accuracy of the text regarding Burchard’s specific acts as bishop,

⁴⁵ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911, repr. 1957), 1.40: “*Historiae est narratio rei gestae, per quam ea, quae in praeterito fact sunt, dinoscuntur.*”

⁴⁶ Perhaps the most famous case is that of Archbishop Brun of Cologne (953–65), the younger brother of Otto I of Germany (936–73), who in addition to his arch-episcopal office also served as duke of Lotharingia. Regarding the efforts to demonstrate the compatibility of ecclesiastical and secular duties in episcopal *vitae*, and particular with regard to Ruotger’s *vita* of Brun, see, for example, Hartmut Hoffmann, “Politik und Kultur im ottonischen Reichskirchensystem zur interpretation der Vita Bunonis des Ruotger,” *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter* 22 (1957): 31–55. Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Church and the Cosmos in Ottonian Germany: The View from Cologne* (Oxford, 2007), provides important insights regarding education at the cathedral school at Cologne, which was developed by Brun. For a broad overview of the topic of episcopal *vitae* in the imperial tradition, see Coué, *Historiographie im Kontext*.

despite the author's own claims to have presented an account that was grounded in truth. Certainly, the broad outlines of his episcopate as laid out in the *Vita* are consistent with Burchard's career. However, the effort to assign all positive developments in the city to his episcopate, and the concomitant effort to present affairs in the period prior to 1000 as mired in destruction and despair cannot be taken at face value. In practical terms, it is clear that Worms in the tenth century retained its economic vibrancy, and that Burchard came to a wealthy see upon his accession at the cusp of the new millennium.⁴⁷ In addition, the major building projects attributed to Burchard by the author of the *Vita*, and particularly the refurbishment and expansion of the city's walls, dated back to the tenure of several of Burchard's predecessors beginning in the middle of the tenth century.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, when read carefully in conjunction with other contemporary narrative works, as well as with the extensive charters that concern Worms in the early eleventh century, the *Vita Burchardi* provides considerable insights regarding the development of episcopal power in this crucial period of transition in the city of Worms and in the German kingdom as a whole.

Vita Eckenberti

Eckenbert (1079–1132) grew up as a member of the urban secular upper class at Worms. His father was an official of the episcopal court, likely a ministerial, and his mother came from an even more prominent and wealthy family. The marriage of these two individuals is, in itself, a testament to the evolving social status of the members of the ministerial class, who were of unfree origin. The very important duties, in both the military and administrative spheres, carried out by the ministerials gradually served to ennoble these men, and their families, so that it was conceivable for a man of unfree legal status to marry a woman from a prominent family.

However, in a manner similar to Francis of Assisi in the early thirteenth century, Eckenbert rejected the wealth and secular power afforded by his family's position and sought out a religious life. Yet, Eckenbert's transition from the secular to the ecclesiastical world was very gradual. As a consequence, the *Vita*'s depiction of the various stages of Eckenbert's *conversio* provide considerable insights into the world of the urban upper class, including the educations that

⁴⁷ See, for example, the discussion by Mathilde Grünewald, "Neue Thesen zu den Wormser Stadtmauern," *Mannheimer Geschichtsblätter* new series 8 (2001): 11–44.

⁴⁸ For the tenth-century improvements to the city walls of Worms, see Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 124–6.

they provided to their sons, their sources of wealth, their expectations regarding sexual mores, marriage, and children, the political life of the city of Worms, and the connections between the city and its agricultural environs. The biography also sheds light on the broader church reform movement that swept the German kingdom during the first half of the twelfth century.⁴⁹

The text opens in a manner consistent with the form of the *vita* common in the early medieval period by describing the birth of Eckenbert and the signs displayed at the time that indicated he would become a holy man. The first third of the text then describes the course of Eckenbert's life from his childhood to adulthood, identifying the conflict between his familial and social obligations in the secular world, and his personal desires to live a religious life focused on learning. In the course of describing Eckenbert's youth, the author provides a great many details about the expectations for aristocratic or simply wealthy families to provide a thorough education to their sons that would prepare them for the many complex duties they would face as adults. In particular, the author draws attention to Eckenbert's relationship to an abbot named Stephen who "was accustomed to have many sons of nobles in his company to whom he provided examples of both honesty and of court administration."⁵⁰ However, because Stephen saw special promise in Eckenbert, he provided him with an even more in-depth education, arguing that "knowledge of literature would not be in any way harmful for one intending to have a military career and would be very useful to one planning to leave the secular world."⁵¹

The middle third of the text treats Eckenbert's process of conversion as a young man following the death of his mother, and his accession to his family's property. It was during this period that Eckenbert had a near-death experience from illness. From this point onward, he increasingly used his wealth for religious purposes, and eventually conceived a desire to establish a religious institution where he could lead a life separate from the secular world. Eckenbert and his wife both took up religious vocations, and moved outside the city into the suburban district where the newly founded religious institution was being constructed.

The final third of the text describes the gradual development of several monasteries, churches, and a convent, which Eckenbert founded with his own resources, and with donations provided by pilgrims who came to share in the common religious life established by the holy man. The author describes some

⁴⁹ For an important introduction to the reform movement in Germany during the first decades of the twelfth century, see John Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley, CA, 1983).

⁵⁰ *Vita Eckenberti*, 2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

growing pains in the new religious communities, including the jealousy of the local clergy, and divisions among Eckenbert's disciples about who should provide religious leadership. This section also provides a number of important insights regarding the construction of stone churches, including details about the dimensions of the foundations that were required to raise high walls. These details suggest that the author was familiar with major construction projects, and may have taken part in the building of the stone basilica that was carried out under Eckenbert's leadership, but at the direction of a trained builder. The text ends with the death of Eckenbert in 1132, but lacks any of the acrimony found in the *Vita Burchardi* against those who would presume to issue calumnies against the memory of the holy man.⁵²

The anonymous author of the Eckenbert *Vita* would appear to have been an intimate associate of his protagonist, and the tone is indicative of a work that was written soon after Eckenbert's death in 1132. In addition, the lack of specific miracles attributed to Eckenbert indicates that the fog of time, as often happens, had not yet permitted unusual events to take on the patina of sanctity. The one miraculous quality that the author attributes to Eckenbert is that he knew what his disciples were doing while they were not in his presence. The author then forbears the opportunity to describe Eckenbert's miracles more fully, claiming "It would take too long to write about the many other things that the Lord carried out through him."⁵³ The author does claim that Eckenbert's miracles were recorded in full elsewhere, but if this did happen, that text has not survived.

Unlike the author of the *Vita Burchardi*, the man who composed the *Vita Eckenberti* did not muse on his own historical method, or even his intentions in composing the text. There is no discussion of sources, and the author acts as an omniscient surveyor of Eckenbert's life, rather than as a collector of information. In addition, there is no indication in the surviving text that this work was written for a particular purpose, other than the self-evident hope of preserving Eckenbert's memory. However, the fact that the one known manuscript of the text (see below) was kept at Eckenbert's monastic foundation of Frankenthal suggests that the author intended his work for an audience that also was intimately familiar with Eckenbert's life.⁵⁴ This familiarity likely explains the author's decision to use Eckenbert's many sinful acts in the secular world, which were certainly well known to his contemporaries, to tell a story of redemption

⁵² *Vita Burchardi*, ch. 24; and *Vita Eckenberti*, 18.

⁵³ *Vita Eckenberti*, 17.

⁵⁴ Frankenthal is located approximately 12 kilometers south of Worms.

and conversion rather than attempting to present Eckenbert as acting in a holy manner from childhood onward.

As a consequence of the author's choices, the text certainly can be understood to illuminate contemporary views regarding the social and religious values of an important element in the urban secular leadership of Worms during the late eleventh and early twelfth century. In addition, the many details regarding the lives of wealthy families in the city of Worms provided by the author also likely reflect the actual behavior and expectations of this same class of people. Finally, since these matters provide the context for the main story and do not impinge directly on Eckenbert's evolution, the author's frequent discussion of the physical topography of the city and its environs provide important insights into the structure of urban life.

Chronicon Wormatiense

The *Chronicon Wormatiense* was written during the last quarter of the thirteenth century, likely by a cleric in the employ of the city's bishop.⁵⁵ As noted above, although the *Chronicon* demonstrates a significant pro-episcopal bias, the author also displays a generally favorable attitude toward the citizens of Worms, except in those cases when they came into direct conflict with the bishop. Nevertheless, the author does take the opportunity to point out the various political squabbles in which the citizens indulged, not only internally, but also with local secular magnates. This focus on the frequent conflicts within the city provides a less than subtle argument for the importance of a strong bishop to guide the affairs of the diocese.

Unlike the *Vita* of Burchard, the authorial presence is virtually invisible in the *Chronicon*, at least in the form in which this text survives. The author never claims to have seen the events he describes, and never appears to provide overt editorial comments. In addition, there is no discussion of having obtained information from eyewitnesses. In place of this kind of evidence, the author, consistent both with traditional episcopal *vitae* and with many historical works composed in Germany during the thirteenth century, buttresses his account with numerous references to documents, many of which he quotes in his work.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Boos, *Annalen und Chroniken*, xxx.

⁵⁶ For the extensive deployment of documents in thirteenth-century German narrative sources also see, for example, *Gesta Episcoporum Traiectensium*, ed. Ludwig Weiland MGH SS 23 (Hanover, 1874, repr. Stuttgart, 1963), 400–26, composed c. 1232; Aegidius of Orval's *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, ed. I. Heller, MGH SS 25 (Hanover, 1880), 1–129, composed c. 1250; and *Vita Henrici archiepiscopialtera*, MGH SS 24 (Hanover, 1879,

This reliance on documents takes three forms: the direct quotation of a text that purports to support the narrator's historical account, reference to written documents that are not quoted in the text, and finally through detailed reference to recent affairs, including matters such as financial costs and the terms of treaties, without either citing the documents from which this information came, or even mentioning that the author had consulted documents.⁵⁷

The *Chronicon* is organized, as befits its title, chronologically, and begins with a brief discussion of the Merovingian past of Worms, noting that Queen Brunhild (died 613), of Gregory of Tours fame, had stayed at Worms. The bulk of the text treats the period from the 1220s through the mid-1260s, with just a brief comment about affairs in 1297. This last reference may indicate that a later writer added this passage to a text that otherwise was completed some time before, and perhaps even as early as the 1260s.

After the initial passage about Brunhild, the author listed the catastrophic fires that plagued Worms over the course of the thirteenth century. In what appears to be a subtle bit of editorializing commentary, the author of the *Chronicon* then provides an account of the arrival of the friars in Worms. These itinerant preachers, including the Franciscans, Dominicans, Austin Friars, and Brothers of the Sack, all had special papal privileges that permitted them to preach and hear confessions without receiving the authorization of the bishops in whose sees they operated. The author then ties the arrival of the friars to the exceptionally disruptive inquisition launched by the Conrad of Marburg (1195–1233), a one-time confessor of St. Elizabeth, the margravine of Thuringia (1207–31). As a partisan of the bishop, the author was very much attuned to the role that the friars played in usurping episcopal authority over both pastoral care, and the control of ecclesiastical resources. The initial section of the text concludes with yet another catastrophic event facing Worms and the entire German kingdom, namely the arrival of the Mongols in central Europe in 1241.

repr. Stuttgart, 1964), 456–63, composed c. 1290. With respect to the general practice of the authors of *gestae* using large numbers of documents, see Sot, *Gesta episcoporum Gesta abbatum*, particularly, 49. With regard to the use of written documents by the authors of the Worms' chronicles, see Johannes Fried, "Ladenburg am Neckar und der Rheinische Bund von 1254/56," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 120 (1972): 457–67, here 466; and the detailed treatment of these texts by David S. Bachrach, "The Rhetoric of Historical Writing: Documentary Sources in Histories of Worms c. 1300," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 68 (2007): 187–206.

⁵⁷ With respect to the historical methods and rhetorical strategies of the author of the *Chronicon* as well as the author of the *Annales*, see Bachrach, "The Rhetoric of Historical Writing," 187–206.

The remainder of the text, comprising some eighty percent of the whole, provides a detailed examination of the multifaceted struggle for political and economic power, buttressed by military force, among the numerous actors who had a stake in the city of Worms and its surrounding territory. These include the bishops of Worms, the archbishops of Mainz, numerous local lords, the cathedral chapter of Worms, and the citizens of Worms. Among the actors described in the *Chronicon* is also the Jewish community of Worms, whose impact on the topography of the city is made evident by the author's decision to use their neighborhood and cemetery as important landmarks in describing events that took place in his history. Moreover, in addition to the series of bishops who held the see from the 1220s up through the 1260s, the author offers sharply defined portraits of individual secular magnates, kings, and not least the leading members of the commune and city council (*Rat*). The picture that emerges is a landscape of constantly shifting alliances, conflicts, and interests across the political community of the city during much of the thirteenth century.

Because the author of the *Chronicon* chose to include or refer to a number of documents in his text, it is possible in many cases to test his accuracy by comparing what he wrote to extant versions of these very same texts. Crucially, in each case that the author draws on a still extant document to buttress his case about the flow of events, it is clear that he accurately depicts both the form and the content of this document. For example, toward the end of his account, the author deploys a document to support his statement that the citizens and bishop of Worms resolved their conflict regarding a building that the citizens intended to transform into an arsenal, and which the bishop feared would be used to undermine his authority. The author then includes what he states are four separate clauses of the agreement. When comparing the text of the *Chronicon* with the still extant version of this agreement between the bishop and city, it is clear that the author accurately restated each of these clauses down to the exact replication of the wording.⁵⁸

Annales Wormatienses

The author of the *Annales* was a layman, and likely in the employ of the city council since he, even more so than the author of the *Chronicon*, deployed city

⁵⁸ For a discussion of this particular passage, see Bachrach, "Rhetoric of Historical Writing," 200–201.

charters throughout his work.⁵⁹ Heinrich Boos, in his edition of the *Annales*, observed that no later than 1295, and likely much earlier than this, the city employed a *notarius*, and suggests that it might have been this man who composed the text, although this hypothesis cannot be confirmed.⁶⁰

In contrast to the contemporary *Chronicon*, the author of the *Annales* tends to play down the fissures within the city community, and to portray the body of the citizens (*communitas*) of Worms as unified in seeking to secure their rights from both the bishop and local territorial lords. In this account, the citizens also regularly play a heroic role in conflicts, particularly on behalf of Emperor Frederick II and his son Conrad IV. In addition, the Jewish community at Worms looms very large in the *Annales*, even more so than in the *Chronicon*. The tone in this account may well be surprising to a modern audience attuned to the hostility between Christian and Jewish communities during the High Middle Ages, and with a knowledge of the attacks on Jewish communities in the Rhineland, including Worms, in the context of the First Crusade. The author of the *Annales* presents the Jews as working with the citizens of Worms for the defense of their common city, usually by providing monetary subsidies for military undertakings. There is not a word of criticism of the Jews, and there is no effort to present them as the fomenters of any kind of discord, civil or religious.

The extant portion of the *Annales* begins in 1226 with a discussion of the establishment of an autonomous city government, which owed its existence to privileges issued by Emperor Frederick I (1152–90). This large city council of forty members was bitterly contested by the bishops of Worms, and the first section of the text concerns the struggle between the citizens and bishops about who would wield judicial and civil authority within the city. This struggle involved not only the German kings, a matter that was complicated by the revolt by King Henry [VII] (1220–35, died 1242) against his father, Emperor Frederick II, but also by the regular intervention of papal authorities in German affairs.

Hostilities between Frederick II and Popes Gregory IX (1227–41) and Innocent IV (1243–54) led to an open break between the citizens and bishops of Worms, who supported the opposing sides in the struggle between the empire and papacy. The loyalty of the citizens of Worms and their political and military support for Frederick II and his son Conrad IV are the main focus of the entire middle section of the *Annales*. It is here that the author provides detailed information regarding the military institutions of the city, and the considerable

⁵⁹ Regarding the identify of the author of the *Annales* as a layman, see Boos, *Annalen und Chroniken*, xxix–xxx.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, xxix.

forces that the citizens were able to mobilize on behalf of the Staufen kings. Integral to this section of the text is also the considerable role played by the substantial Jewish community at Worms in providing economic resources to support the military actions of the city.

The death of Conrad IV in 1254 and the subsequent death in battle of King William of Holland against the Frisians in 1256 resulted in a lengthy interregnum in which both Richard of Cornwall, the younger brother of King Henry III of England, and King Alfonso X of Castile, sought to obtain the German crown. During this period, up through the election of Rudolf of Habsburg as king in 1273, the city of Worms established itself as a virtually independent city state with its own “foreign policy” that it pursued in conjunction with other cities in the Rhineland. The citizens of Worms played a leading role in the creation of the league of Rhenish cities during the mid-1250s, and undertook numerous military operations against local magnates in an effort to impose their will on the surrounding countryside and to compel other powers to respect the rights of the merchants and citizens of Worms. The final third of the *Annales* focuses on these political and military conflicts, offering exceptionally detailed information about the constellation of alliances made by the city with surrounding aristocrats, and also about the political and social fissures within the city itself.

As was true of the author of the *Chronicon*, the authorial voice of the man who composed the *Annales* is largely invisible. There is no reference to his personal experience, or to eyewitness accounts of any kind, although subtle editorializing is evident in the honorifics the author chooses to employ for various bishops and secular lords. Like his contemporary, the author of the *Annales* drew heavily upon documents to buttress his arguments about the course of events. Moreover, as was true of the *Chronicon*, when the documents cited in the *Annales* can be compared to still extant exemplars of these same texts, it is always the case that the author of the *Annales* presented them accurately.⁶¹ When considered on its own merits, the *Annales* provides an exceptional portrait of the urban life during the mid- to late thirteenth century. However, when read in conjunction with the *Chronicon*, modern readers have that very rare and valuable opportunity to see two sides of a series of conflicts, and to understand the specific ways in which political and parochial concerns could determine the depiction of events.

⁶¹ This point is treated by Bachrach, “The Rhetoric of Historical Writing,” 187–206.

Manuscript Traditions

Two of the texts in this volume, the *Vita Burchardi* and *Vita Eckenberti*, have different origins but their preservation is due either in whole or in major part to the work of Johannes Heydeykin, an Augustinian monk who was resident at the monastery of Kirschgarten in Worms during the last quarter of the fifteenth and in the early sixteenth century.⁶² Over the course of several decades, Heydeykin wrote and rewrote a history of Worms (*Chronicon Wormatiense*), the last version of which was put down on paper in 1501 or 1502.⁶³ The text of this last version was published by Johann Peter von Ludewig in 1720.⁶⁴ Heydeykin's *Chronicon* subsequently was re-edited by Heinrich Boos in 1893, utilizing a second surviving manuscript of the text, as part of his broader project to edit the medieval narrative sources for Worms.⁶⁵

Heydeykin was a voracious researcher, and searched all of the local archives for texts to inform his work. One of the texts that Heydeykin included in his account was the *Vita Burchardi*, which he claimed to have copied verbatim from his exemplar.⁶⁶ However, in his investigation of this text for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (MGH) in 1841, Georg Waitz discovered several problematic readings in the manuscript of the Kirschgartner text known to him. He compared the text provided in this manuscript against an edition of the *Vita Burchardi*, which was printed in 1548 on the basis of another, now lost, manuscript witness.⁶⁷ Waitz based his own edition of the *Vita Burchardi* for the MGH on a single manuscript of Heydeykin's *Chronicon* and the 1548 printed edition of the *Vita*. However, Heinrich Boos was able to improve upon Waitz in his own edition of the *Vita Burchardi* by drawing upon a second manuscript of

⁶² See the detailed commentary by Albert Köster, *Die Wormser Annalen: Eine Quellenuntersuchung* (Leipzig, 1887), 10–20 and passim. For the identity of the author, see H. Gensicke, "Johannes Heydeykin von Sonsbeck, der Verfasser der Kirschgartner Chronik," *Der Wormsgau* 3.2 (1952): 79–83.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁶⁴ *Chronicon Kirschgardense Reipublicae Wormatiensis* (Leipzig, 1720).

⁶⁵ Boos, *Annalen und Chroniken*, xix–xxvi, for the chronicle, and the discussion of the Kirschgartner text.

⁶⁶ See the discussion by Köster, *Wormser Annalen*, 14, and Boos, *Annalen und Chroniken*, xxvi–xxvii. The 1548 edition of the *Vita Burchard* was included in the first publication of Burchard's *Decretum*.

⁶⁷ See the discussion by Georg Waitz in MGH SS 4 (Hanover, 1841), 829–30; and Köster, *Wormser Annalen*, 14.

Heydeykin's *Chronicon*, which was not available to Waitz.⁶⁸ As a consequence, the Boos edition of the *Vita* is the preferable text.

A second of the texts utilized by Heydeykin was the *Vita Eckenberti* that he discovered in the monastery of Frankenthal, which, as noted above, Eckenbert had founded in the early twelfth century.⁶⁹ Heydeykin claimed to have incorporated the *Vita* of Eckenbert verbatim in his own text. This was very fortunate because the original manuscript subsequently was lost, and the seventeenth-century *Chronicon Wormatiense* is the only witness to the Eckenbert text. Heinrich Boos subsequently published an edition of the *Vita Eckenberti*, which drew on both of the surviving manuscripts of Heydeykin's chronicle.⁷⁰

Fragments of the remaining two works that are translated in this volume, the thirteenth-century *Annales Wormatienses* and *Chronicon Wormatiense*, also appear in Heydeykin's text.⁷¹ Additional fragments of the two thirteenth-century historical works were incorporated some 75 years later by Friedrich Zorn in his own history of Worms.⁷² In 1576, Zorn, who was the director of the city school in Worms, wrote a polemical history that sought to defend the liberties of the citizens of Worms against the claims of the city's bishop.⁷³ To this end, Zorn drew upon local histories that shed light on this conflict dating back to the thirteenth century, and so incorporated significant portions of both the episcopal and city chronicle from this century when the conflict over the structure of Worms' urban government was quite fierce. Some time after Zorn completed his text in 1576, Franz Berthold von Flersheim made a number of additions, which also appear to have drawn upon local sources of information. This revised text was then published in 1857 by Wilhelm Arnold under the title *Wormser Chronik*.⁷⁴

Johann Friedrich Böhmer recognized the similarities between the Heydeykin and Zorn texts, and concluded that both had drawn upon an earlier common exemplar, which he labeled the *Wormser Annalen* and published in 1845 for the

⁶⁸ See the discussion by Boos, *Annalen und Chroniken*, xxvi–xxvii; and Wilhelm Wattenbach and Robert Holtzmann, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: Die Zeit der Sachsen und Salier, Erster Teil, Das Zeitalter des ottonischen Staates (900–1050)* with the new edition by Franz-Josef Schmale (Cologne and Graz, 1967), 212.

⁶⁹ Köster, *Wormser Annalen*, 12.

⁷⁰ Boos, *Annalen und Chroniken*, 129–42.

⁷¹ See Köster, *Wormser Annalen*, 32, and Boos, *Annalen und Chroniken*, xxviii.

⁷² Köster, *Die Wormser Annalen*, 21–32 and *passim*.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁷⁴ Friedrich Zorn, *Wormser Chronik mit den Zusätzen Franz Bertholds von Flersheim*, ed. Wilhelm Arnold (Stuttgart, 1857).

Monumenta Germaniae Historica.⁷⁵ Karl Pertz, who was given the task by his father Georg Pertz of re-editing the *Wormser Annalen*, followed Böhmer's lead in identifying a single common source for the fragments included in both the Heydeykin and Zorn texts, as well as several other manuscripts that appeared to have passages taken from a thirteenth-century source.⁷⁶ Pertz's new edition was published in 1861, which should not be confused with the seventeenth-century text of the same name.⁷⁷

However, in 1887, Albert Köster was able to demonstrate that both Böhmer and Pertz were incorrect in their view that there was a single common source for the works of Heydeykin and Zorn. Köster drew upon the Heydeykin and Zorn texts, as well as four additional manuscripts that had been identified by Böhmer and Pertz as containing thirteenth-century fragments. Through a close analysis of all of these texts, Köster was able to demonstrate that, in fact, two narrative sources were produced at Worms in this period.⁷⁸

The first of the additional manuscripts utilized by Köster in his analysis was a copy made by a member of the imperial chancery named Jakob Fremel in 1512 of a Worms chronicle that was utilized in a court case involving the city of Worms. This text is now lost, but was copied in the seventeenth century by a notary at Worms named Jakob Linn.⁷⁹ The second manuscript utilized by Köster consisted of a series of fragments that were attached to an exemplar of Zorn's chronicle, which were given the introduction: "*ex veteri manuscripto libro latino chronicorum Wormatensium*."⁸⁰ The third additional manuscript was a sixteenth-century codex located at Darmstadt that included details regarding the history of the city of Worms within a broader history of the bishops of the city.⁸¹ The fourth manuscript, an eighteenth-century text from Frankfurt, was almost identical to the Darmstadt text.⁸²

The first of these manuscripts, originally copied by Fremel, is described by Köster as a bridge between the second and third manuscripts, with the fourth as basically identical to the third.⁸³ The second manuscript, which was appended to

⁷⁵ *Wormser Annalen* in *Fontes rerum Germanicarum* 2 (Stuttgart, 1845), 158–215.

⁷⁶ See Boos, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Worms* III, xxviii.

⁷⁷ Ibid. For the edition by K. Pertz, see MGH SS 17 (Hanover, 1861), 34–73, which he called *Annales Wormatienses*.

⁷⁸ Köster, *Wormser Annalen*, 87–8.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 32, and Boos, *Annalen und Chroniken*, xxviii.

⁸⁰ Köster, *Wormser Annalen*, 32.

⁸¹ Ibid., 32–3, and Boos, *Annalen und Chroniken*, xxix.

⁸² Köster, *Wormser Annalen*, 33, and Boos, *Annalen und Chroniken*, xxix.

⁸³ Köster, *Wormser Annalen*, 33.

Zorn's chronicle, contains the greatest part of what Köster was able to identify as the city chronicle of Worms, the thirteenth-century *Annales Wormatienses*.⁸⁴ The third manuscript, from Darmstadt, provides the greatest part of the text of the thirteenth-century episcopal chronicle of Worms, the *Chronicon Wormatiense*.⁸⁵

Following the publication of Köster's work in 1887, Heinrich Boos, who had already published two volumes of charters from the city and region of Worms, then took up the challenge of establishing the texts of both the episcopal and city chronicles. Boos drew upon the surviving manuscripts of Heydeykin's chronicle, the augmented version of Zorn's history, as well as the four additional manuscripts discussed in detail by Köster.⁸⁶ The *Chronicon Wormatiense* and *Annales Wormatienses*, published in 1893, which are translated in this volume, are the results of his efforts.⁸⁷

Principles of Translation

In this work, I have undertaken to provide a sense-for-sense rather than word-for-word rendering of the Latin texts. At a most basic level, the differences in grammar, syntax, and idiom between Latin and English often require the reworking of the order of sentences, and the addition of pronouns and proper names in order to make the sentence comprehensible to a modern Anglophone audience. Personal and place names also pose difficulties in every translation. My principle has been to use the form of personal names that is most familiar to modern Anglophone readers. For example, I have translated Heinricus as Henry, Johannes as John, and Godofridus as Godfrey. Similarly, when a German city has a well-recognized English version, I have used this rather than the German name, for example, Cologne in place of Köln. Where there is no easily recognizable English name, I have used the modern German place name rather than leaving the Latin name provided in the text.

In addition, however, the translation of the four works in this volume has presented a number of challenges both because of the considerable temporal range in their composition, and because the tortuous manuscript traditions have led to a number of difficult decisions about what to include as representative of the authors' original texts. In considering the first of these issues, it is clear that

⁸⁴ Ibid., 78–91.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 42–77.

⁸⁶ Boos, *Annalen und Chroniken*, xxviii–xxxiv.

⁸⁷ See the discussion by Boos, *Annalen und Chroniken*, xxviii–xxxiv.

the semantic field of some terms changed over the course of three centuries. The most dramatic case is the word *miles*, which in the early eleventh century retained its classical meaning of soldier, and, in particular, a professional soldier. As a consequence, I have translated *miles* in this manner in the *Vita Burchardi*. By the early twelfth-century, the semantic field of the term *miles* was beginning to change in Germany. It still retained its original meaning of professional soldier, but was also coming to have certain social attributes that might indicate the higher status of the man identified as a *miles*. The author of the *Vita Eckenberti* used the term relatively sparingly, and only in its original form, that is, as a soldier. However, the author also made clear that Eckenbert's elevated social status was connected to his status as a *miles*. As a consequence, although this text clearly shows the term in a period of transition, I have continued to translate it as soldier. By the late thirteenth century, however, the term *miles* has completed its semantic migration. *Miles* retained its connection to its martial past, but clearly denoted a social and juridical status. As a consequence, in both the *Chronicon* and *Annales*, I have translated *miles* as knight.

The second issue about what to include in the translation arises from the fact that Heinrich Boos included some acknowledged interpolations in his editions of the *Vita Eckenberti*, *Chronicon Wormatiense*, and *Annales Wormatienses*. These interpolations, which likely were made before the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historians Heydeykin and Zorn found the texts, certainly help to clarify information found in the texts. As a consequence, I have included them in the translation, but have marked them off with brackets, and drawn attention to their status as interpolations in the notes.

Finally, because the *Vita Eckenberti* has no internal divisions, at least in the version that was preserved by Heydeykin, I have added numerical headings at topical transitional points within the text. My intention is to facilitate both the reading and citation of the work.

Vita Burchardi

Prologue

When I decided to write the Life and good deeds of the blessed father, and my dearest lord Bishop Burchard, I immediately decided that I would dedicate and consecrate this work in your name o most pious Bishop N.¹ Your wisdom is known to all, and you are recognized by everyone to have carried out your duties skillfully, not only in your diocese, but in the imperial court as well.² You build up and rule the church granted to you by God with the greatest authority, and you properly are called the father of the poor and the solace of the destitute.³ You demonstrated this very clearly in my own case, in a manner befitting you, when you held out your hand to me in my misery and mercifully accepted me when I had been broken by various labors and was looked down upon and cast out by everyone. My father, I do not deserve such great things. For you do not dabble in matters that pertain to man but rather seek those that pertain to God. As is clear to everybody, you think things through with a pure mind. You do not take into account personalities but rather follow the correct path of heavenly progress without any false step. If I might presume to confess this, your perpetual love has left the marker of Christ's charity impressed on my heart with an insoluble glue.⁴ Although the limited resources

¹ The "N" here stands in for *nomen* (name) rather than for the first letter of the recipient's name. The dedicatee of this text is Bishop Walter of Speyer (1004–27).

² The author uses the phrase *imperiales castrae*, literally "imperial camp" but which is far more likely to have the sense of imperial court.

³ This line is borrowed from the letter that Alpert, the author of *De diversitate temporum*, sent to Bishop Burchard of Worms, in which Alpert sought Burchard's approval for having written about contemporary affairs. The best edition of *De diversitate temporum* is *Alpertus van Metz: Gebeurtenissen van deze tijd en Een fragment over bisscop Diederik I van Metz*, ed. and trans. with facing page Latin and Dutch by Hans van Rij (Amsterdam: Verloren, 1980), 1.17–18. Also see the English translation *Warfare and Politics in Medieval Germany, c. 1000: On the Variety of our Times by Alpert of Metz*, translation and commentary by David S. Bachrach (Toronto, 2012).

⁴ This line also is borrowed from Alpert's letter to Burchard.

of my family prevented me from contributing lavishly to the funeral ceremonies,⁵ my will remains devoted to you in Christ forever. Consequently, I have devoted to your name this little work recording the deeds of your dearest friend. Let your dignity know that these acts were not recorded because of pride, but rather, with God as my witness, to eliminate idleness, and the slothfulness of the heart, and most of all to call to memory his blessed life so that when his most pious deeds are read, they will block up the mouths of those speaking slanderously against him.⁶ If I have compiled anything out of order or unskillfully, I hand them over to your correction and authority hoping that this work will be corrected and kept by your mercy. Finally, let this little work be subject to your judgment so that it can be destroyed if you find it displeasing or kept to serve as a testament to the servant of God if it should please you.⁷

This little work began in this way. One day, while I was sitting considering matters in a rather secret place, and not without some heavy sighs, an acquaintance arrived and spoke to me the following manner: “What are you doing my dear,” he said, “sitting here alone meditating with a troubled mind? Why are you sadly looking down at the ground with your head bent forward, looking even sadder than is your wont? If anyone has bothered you by words or deeds, he has now disturbed me along with you. If you will tell me what has disturbed you and do not hide your concerns from me, but rather call on me for whatever matter it is, you will have my advice and my considered help.”

I said, “My dear brother, you have come here opportunistically and have found me almost as if I had hoped that you would come. For some time I have thought about sharing my thoughts with you either in a letter or in conversation.⁸ But I put this off as many matters blocked my intention. The most important impediment among all of these was that I doubted that I should openly express what I had been thinking about. You, yourself, know how pernicious people are

⁵ This seems to be a reference to the funeral ceremonies held for Bishop Burchard of Worms.

⁶ The image of avoiding idleness and of shutting the mouth of slanderers appears in Alpert's letter to Burchard. The idea of using a historical work to respond to the slanderous comments made about the deceased bishop also draw upon Alpert's explanation for having written about Bishop Ansfrid of Utrecht (995–1010).

⁷ This passage also draws upon Alpert's letter to Bishop Burchard.

⁸ This passage illuminates just how common it was for clerics, including even those below the highest ranks, to write letters to each other in the first half of the eleventh century. This is striking in light of the relatively few letters that survive from this period. See the discussion on this point by Karl Morrison in *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century*, translated by Theodor E. Mommsen and Karl F. Morrison (New York, 2000), 48.

these days and how full of different thoughts. What if someone seeing these things and moved by jealousy were to confound me with harsh comments, saying that it was an overbold thing for me, a poor and stupid man, to propose my little ideas, barely held together in their unfinished and wanting manner, to prudent men. But I don't care.

I admit that I am poor and stupid. But if I am poor, I am not ashamed to become rich. But the rich man is ashamed to become poor, just as we read that the rich bailiff said: 'I am ashamed to beg,⁹ I would rather live as a poor man with Lazarus than be sent to the eternal fire with my riches.'¹⁰ We are all born poor and naked. But He who created the soul also provides food to eat, and He who created the body also provided clothing. He who has done this will provide for me because the soul is more than food and the body is more than clothing. He also did not spurn the poor, but rather chose out the infirm and confounded the strong. If I am unvarnished and dry in my style, I nevertheless indulge in the temerity of speaking because I have hope in Him as my supporter who said: 'Open your mouth and I will fill it.'¹¹ According to His promise, He will perfect whatever I do or say. He will confirm it and make it solid. Therefore, I will delay no longer in saying those things that are to be said. I will make clear, with the support of your love, what this account demands.

My mind drove me incessantly with an unremitting impulse to write the holy life of our blessed father Bishop Burchard, a life consecrated to God, following the small measure of my skill and the testimony of my conscience. I beg you, as a suppliant, for your advice and aid to carry out this work. I know that you are well-suited to this task since you are learned in spiritual matters and are knowledgeable about them.¹² I have not forgotten that you asked me during one of our conversations about the virtues of this man, and that I told you about his sacred studies and worthy manner of life, how he had remained steadfast in the works of Christ, in sacred scripture, in fasts, vigils, and prayer. It was not without tears, I admit, that I mentioned to you how he had frequently calmed worldly tempests, various adversaries, and the terrors of heaven with his constant prayers. This is how we spent a most pleasant day. Do you remember? And why not? Afterward, you sought to convince me day and night with the beating hand of holy desire to write some work about the life and virtues of this man,

⁹ Luke 16.3.

¹⁰ Luke 16.19–31.

¹¹ Psalm 81.11.

¹² The request here for *consilium* and *auxilium* recalls the traditional oath of mutual support between a lord and his subordinate.

or to suggest someone to you who could do so. Complying with your wishes, I will strive, with your help and with divine grace moistening the texture of my mind, to compose some work, however pedestrian, about his life. But whenever I contemplate this blessed man, I am afflicted with groans and sighs. Then I have no option, my dear friend, other than to pour out tears and sighs, turning these miserable thoughts about in my mind in silence.

Who was he, or who am I, or who will I be? I am the one who was mercifully raised up and then left miserably derelict. I began in labor and hardship, almost the most vile of everyone, from a low background and criminal parentage, unknown to anybody, but conscious of myself. There is a similarity in the nation, and a confusion of the head among the people.¹³ For it is not without merit that I am rejected as indolent, that I am spit upon as foul, and that I am despised as putrid. Every day I suffer in the putrid sty of sin and burn miserably to bear unsupportably heavy burdens on my own neck. I soften, like clay that has not been tested in the kiln, to do whatever my wandering soul desires. Then, having done these things about which I moan with a tide of tears, I immediately repeat them one-hundred fold utterly forgetting the salvation of my soul. As a result, my words are full of sadness. But brother, I think you understand these matters along with me since I am aware that you sweated out under these same conditions on more than one occasion.

So where do we go from here? Why, dear friend, have I led you down this path with my empty reason? I say empty reason because we confess these matters with words but we do not follow them up with deeds. My first intention, the reason why I summoned you dear friend was not to set out sadness but joy, not for mourning but for happiness, not to list sins, but to set out virtues. Therefore, I will return to the point where I began and ask you dear friend and entreat you as a dependent that you begin to ask me about the life of this man so that you understand his narrative, or that you correct me as I ask you and teach me fully about his virtues as we discussed before.”

In response, he thanked me saying: “It seems to me, my dear friend, that your request, or rather admonition, should be praised rather than scorned. It is as if you wrote in an effort to search out these matters, and you then admonished me to narrate these wholesome events, and as a result you roused me with your healing words. For you said that you have not forgotten my questions concerning the deeds of our leader. I certainly do remember my question and your exposition about his virtues. I sought then, and I therefore seek again that

¹³ It is not clear what the author means by this sentiment, that is, *Similitudo gentis et commotio capitis in populis*.

you write something about his happy deeds or that you recommend someone to write them. For it is a shame to lower one's sails when a favorable wind continues to blow. Therefore, let your promise be fulfilled. Since fortune smiles let this not be put off any longer. But concerning those heavy burdens and miserable cares about worldly matters, which you mentioned and which up to now you have hardly mentioned by name to me, alas now I am bearing them on stooped shoulders so that I am hardly able to breath or to bear them because of their enormous weight. Those devastating storms of the world, various attacks of adversity, and terrors from the sky, which we rarely felt while our blessed patron was still alive, now plague us daily, and it seems even moment by moment, because of our sins.

We were aided by his pious prayers to God while he lived, so that we were protected from all dangers as if by a wall. After we were bereft of his blessed presence, when his life was extinguished according to the Lord's word, we were left like sheep without a stumbling block, we were dispersed, and we were driven almost to annihilation.¹⁴ When I heard you mentioning these matters, I quietly wept over almost each word, not with naked tears but, with my conscience as a witness, tearlessly in secret compunction. Therefore I ask, begin to talk about this man as you promised. If I am able to make any suggestions to you brother, I will not hold back."

"I admit," I said, "that we were always protected from such dangers by his pious prayers. I then believed, most stupidly, that I could sin with impunity because I thought he would always pray for us. The pious pastor labored mightily before God on behalf of the flock committed to his care, and he sustained many calumnies and calamities in this world while he resisted manfully with a brave heart. With God's aid, we will narrate all of these things fully in the appropriate place. But it is necessary to respond to a particular point, namely the image with which you admonished me to fulfill my promise.

You said that it was shameful to lower one's sails when favorable breezes continue to blow. I agree that this is true, but it is not to be done incautiously. If someone plans to cross the vastness of the sea, first let him strengthen his ship against the dangers of the sea, and then let him cautiously explore the depth of the water to find the rocks hiding under the waves, so that he does not sail into the hidden rocks. Rather, let him direct his ship with the firm guidance of the rudder so that he arrives safely in port with full sails and a favorable wind. In a similar manner, it is necessary for us to call upon his great faith.¹⁵ We must both

¹⁴ Matthew 18:6-7.

¹⁵ This is a reference to Burchard.

sharpen our small talents so that we do not run afoul of the criticisms of the jealous and so that we arrive safely at our destination. The jealous man frequently offers praise to someone when he is present but scorns him in the manner of rabid dog barking in vain when the same man is absent. But since I fear to discuss any further the most evil deeds of men intoxicated with the poison of spite and lacking any of the stability brought by faith, I place my finger over my mouth so that my mouth does not mention the works of men. Therefore, not fearing the jealousy of either the flatterers or the dissemblers, with divine mercy let us begin at once to say something about the acts of this just man. If we should discuss those of his good deeds that we saw and those that we learned about from religious men, we will see the end of the day before we achieve the end that we intend. Therefore, with divine aid, let us begin to touch on matters from the beginning, that is from his birth, and then narrating his deeds briefly we will try to reach the end.”

1. Burchard was born in the province of Hesse to parents who were not from the lower orders, according to the reckoning of the secular world.¹⁶ After being commended by his parents, the boy was brought up to be a cleric at Coblenz. He was then sent to a variety of places for study.¹⁷ Afterwards he was attached to the venerable archbishop Willigis of Mainz.¹⁸ He was filled with the latter’s salvific wisdom and imbued with his noble values. Despite the impulses brought on by his age, he shunned corrupt deeds and gradually turned his soul toward better things.¹⁹ After the first bloom of youth, he shone forth as outstanding in all good deeds, solid in justice, faithful in his conduct, wise in giving counsel, not overjoyed at prosperity, nor disturbed in adversity, obedient to his superiors, compassionate to those in need, friendly to those who were suffering, merciful to his subordinates, very generous, exceptionally worthy in his habits, and

¹⁶ Burchard had a brother named Franco, who became bishop of Worms before him, and a sister named Mathilda. Regarding Burchard’s family, see Wolfgang Metz, “Zur Herkunft und Verwandtschaft Burchards I. von Worms,” *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 26 (1976): 27–42.

¹⁷ It was once thought that Burchard studied at the monastery of Lobbes, but it is now generally accepted that he went to study at Coblenz either at the monastery of St. Kastor or the monastery of St. Florian. See Ulrich Bubenheimer, “Der Aufenthalt Burchards von Worms im Kloster Lobbes als Erfindung des Johannes Trithemius,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte Kanonistische Abteilung* 89 (1972): 320–37, here 321; Metz, “Zur Herkunft,” 27–42, and Austin, *Shaping Church Law*, 55–60.

¹⁸ Archbishop Willigis of Mainz (975–1011).

¹⁹ The author is suggesting here that Burchard overcame the urges of youth, but not too quickly.

strenuous in all the works of God. It is not necessary to praise him for his patience since he never said the least word of contradiction against his servants, who frequently failed him.²⁰

2. He was strong in all of these and in similar virtues. He was raised up through all of the steps to the deaconate by Archbishop Willigis and was placed in charge of a very poor place.²¹ With the archbishop's help, he immediately increased the value of this place with a great deal of labor and beautified it with all of his strength. He built a distinguished monastery, which also served as a cloister for canons, in honor of St. Victor outside the walls of the city of Mainz.²² Then, when the first stages had been completed for the selection of the brothers for the convent, he ordered that the round of daily prayers be sung at particular times and that the brothers keep the outward signs of monastic life.

And so, when all of the ecclesiastical matters had been organized ritually according to canon law, he granted to this church numerous estates and other rights of ownership that he received from his relatives or had obtained as a gift from the king.²³ Thus, because of the pious labors of this man, prayers were said and actions of grace were carried out on behalf of God in that place during the daily office.

As a consequence of Burchard's actions, the exceptionally pious Archbishop Willigis, recognizing the holy thinking of this man of God, chose him to be one of the most intimate members of his household, and appointed him to

²⁰ Compare with Alpert, *De diversitate temporum*, 1.3.

²¹ The reference here is to the clerical ranks through which a young man passes on his way to the priesthood. The rank of deacon is just below the priesthood, and requires sacred and permanent vows. Archbishop Willigis of Mainz gave Burchard administrative responsibilities over one of the properties belonging to the church of Mainz.

²² See the *Passio s. Bonifacii* in *Monumenta Moguntina*, ed. Philipp Jaffé (Berlin, 1866), 482: "*Willigisus autem beatae memoriae pater, mediante domino Burchardo cammerario urbis et preposito sancti Victoris, supremam eidem ecclesie, divina gratia inspirante, imposuit manum; novum et egregium ibi constituens monasterium, et viginti canonicorum in Dei servitio constituens pervigilii cura obsequium.*" *Historia episcopatus Wormatiensis, pontificum, romanorum bullis, regum, imperatorum diplomatibus, episcoporum ac principum chartis aliisque documentis authenticis asserta ac illustrata*, 2 vols. ed. Johann Friedrich Schannat (Frankfurt, 1734), I:331, provides a date of March 10, 997 for the consecration of Burchard as a priest, on the basis of a text that Schannat labeled *Chronicon Wormatiensis MS*.

²³ This seems to be an exaggeration on the part of the author of this text. Burchard made a grant of his familial property in Hessegau to the convent of Nonnenmünster in June 1016. On this point, see Heinrich Boos, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms I. Band, 627–1300* (Berlin, 1886), no. 45.

serve as master of his treasury and chief officer of the city.²⁴ While in this office, Burchard earned eternal praise not only from men but from God as well because he could not be turned from the path of righteousness by money, or gifts, or by respect for persons, as contrasted with certain people whom we see are easily drawn away from a correct judgment by friendship or by jealousy.²⁵ Because of these and many other acts of piety, the fame of this blessed man grew and word of him came to the ears of Emperor Otto III.²⁶ Since the latter was a most pious man, he had great affection for Burchard and received him kindly. The emperor then sent him back honorably loaded with a variety of gifts, promising him his grace in the future.

3. In the meantime it happened that Bishop Hildebald of Worms died and Franco, the brother of the aforementioned Lord Burchard, was established in his place.²⁷ There would have been many things to say about this man if the limits of my skill did not prevent it. But since we have made mention of him, if we are not able to discuss his greater deeds, let us mention his minor ones. Having accepted the episcopal seat, Franco remained for some time within the boundaries of Worms. Then, having put ecclesiastical matters into order, he set out on an expedition to Italy with the emperor. He remained there for a year working energetically in the service of the emperor. Franco frequently participated most wisely in secret matters. Thus, when some major decision had to be made, although he was a young man, Franco acted alongside the emperor with such closeness and authority that it was rare for any decision to be made without his advice.²⁸ He was friendly and kind to everyone, and gained a great deal of glory among many people on account of the many gifts that he gave. Everyone held him in worthy esteem and loved him, and even described him as saintly.²⁹ As a result, he was greatly honored by the emperor and more dear to

²⁴ The author's use of the term *primatus* suggests that Burchard was to be the chief administrative officer in the city of Mainz.

²⁵ Compare with Alpert, *De diversitate*, I.11.

²⁶ Emperor Otto III (983–1002).

²⁷ Concerning Franco's appointment as bishop, see Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronik*, ed. and trans. Werner Trillmich, 8th edn (Darmstadt 2002), 4.61, and the English translation *Ottoman Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, ed. and trans. David A. Warner (Manchester, 2001). Bishop Hildebald of Worms (978–98) died on August 4, 998.

²⁸ See Alpert, *De diversitate*, I.11.

²⁹ See *ibid.*, I.3.

him than all others. The emperor crushed the wicked and governed the state in peace with his advice.³⁰

It then happened that the emperor granted the monastery of Lorsch to the church of Worms. He confirmed this with a charter and a perpetual privilege. He then ordered this grant to be enunciated and pronounced both in the monastery and in the council of the Romans.³¹ At the same time, the emperor and the aforementioned Bishop Franco, having put on hair shirts and taken off their shoes, secretly entered a certain cave next to the church of St. Clemente, and spent fourteen days there in prayers, fasts, and vigils.³² There are some who say that while they were there, they were frequently consoled by divine visions and words. But since we have found out little about this matter, we leave it to be discussed by the common people.³³ But we know this for certain, the day and the hour of his divine death had been made known to the bishop in advance. And he personally offered this news to the emperor when they both arrived home.³⁴ The emperor was very sad about this and asked him with many tears about whom he should have in Franco's place and to whom he ought to grant the episcopacy. Franco then responded, as if he had been coerced, in the following manner: "I have one brother. If it pleases the Lord, I ask that he be my successor. But the Lord shall make His decision in all of these matters and provide someone who is pleasing to Him." Then the emperor swore an oath, with God as his witness, that he would give the aforementioned bishopric to Franco's brother. In order that this be better and more easily recorded, the emperor accepted a letter of request concerning this matter from the bishop, which the emperor placed as a testament in his satchel. What more is there to say? On the same day, indeed, in the same hour in which he spoke, Franco died. His body was buried at Rome with great honor and in peace.³⁵

³⁰ See *ibid.*, 1.11.

³¹ The *Chronicon Laurehamense*, ed. K.A.F. Pertz MGH SS 21 (Hanover, 1869), does not record this event. According to the *Codex Laurehamensis* 3 vols., ed. Karl Glöckner (Darmstadt, 1929–36), I:125, Pope Silvester II issued a privilege to the monastery of Lorsch on October 23, 999 at the behest of Bishop Franco of Worms. But Franco had already died on September 4. In addition, there is no surviving grant by Otto III to Worms regarding the monastery of Lorsch.

³² The church of St. Clemente in Rome.

³³ See Alpert, *De diversitate*, 1.3.

³⁴ It is noteworthy that the author identifies Rome as the home of the emperor later in this chapter.

³⁵ Franco died on September 4, 999.

4. After the bishop died, there were immediately a number of petitioners asking the emperor for the bishopric. A certain Erpho was renowned for his work as a pastor. But this man did not see the fourth day after his election because he died on the third. When he died there were again many others who incessantly filled the emperor's ears with various petitions and promises of money in return for the bishopric.³⁶ Among them, a certain man named Razo obtained the pastoral staff after the greatest effort and not least through numerous promises. He immediately and happily left Italy and returned to a place called Chur.³⁷ When he reached this place he died.³⁸ The returning messengers brought back the staff to the emperor and told him about Razo's death. Then the emperor, remembering his promise, closed his hand and promised that he would not give this bishopric to anyone before he returned to his homeland. Who will not count this among the merits of our blessed father? Who will not praise this aspect of his life, namely that he was chosen by God as the deaths of those other men make clear? How amazing is it that one man did not see the fourteenth day after his election and acceptance of the bishopric and that another did not see the fourth day. We can understand and even see God's miracles. It is not wise or prudent ever to accept any counsel against God. What is pleasing to men is displeasing to God. What the emperor chooses God rejects. He chooses the weak so that He might confound the strong. He knew who feared and loved Him. He preferred him over all other men, called him predestined, justified the one whom He summoned, and magnified this justified man with His own mercy rather than with the praise of men.

5. When he left Italy, the emperor returned to Saxony and arrived at a place called Kirchberg.³⁹ The bishop of Mainz, accompanied by the venerable Burchard, met the emperor here. The emperor received the archbishop honorably and told him about what had happened with respect to the bishopric of Worms. He gave a complete explanation of the miraculous deaths of the two men. After a long

³⁶ Offering money for an episcopal office is the sin of simony. However, the author of this text does not demonstrate any significant moral concerns on this point, indicating that the winds of church reform, which swept Rome and then the German kingdom from the 1050s onward, had not yet been felt at Worms in the third decade of the century.

³⁷ Chur is a natural stopping point for someone moving along either the Septimer or Splügen passes from Milan or Pavia through the Alps and then into the headwaters region of the Rhine for the trip north to Worms.

³⁸ See Thietmar, *Chronicon*, 4.62.

³⁹ He likely arrived at Kirchberg between April 6 and 10, 1000. Kirchberg is located approximately 375 kilometers northeast of Mainz.

discussion, the emperor looked out the window and saw Burchard whom he immediately summoned. When Burchard arrived, the emperor took him by the hand and carefully explained what his brother had asked and demanded on his behalf. He then showed Burchard the letter, which he kept in his satchel. And so, the emperor began to offer the episcopal office of Worms to Burchard. When Burchard vehemently refused and insisted that he was unworthy to take up the episcopal office, the emperor compelled him to accept the office, as if by force.⁴⁰ Finally recognizing that he would not be able to resist this compulsion, Burchard asked that he be permitted to discuss this matter with his lord, the archbishop. At imperial command, therefore, and on the advice that he received from the archbishop, Burchard promised that he would accept what the emperor had commanded. When Burchard said this, all those who were present broke into tears, and the pastoral staff was granted to this most worthy of men.⁴¹

6. After a few days, Burchard received permission from the emperor and departed with the archbishop. He came to a place called Heiligenstadt where he accepted the miter of his priestly office.⁴² On the following day, Burchard was consecrated worthily with the unction of episcopal benediction. Then, after many and varied greetings and embraces, he was honorably dismissed by the archbishop, and visited the bishopric that had been committed to him. Arriving at Worms, he found it destroyed and almost completely desolate. It was not fit for human use, but suitable rather for wild animals and especially for dens of wolves. The filling-in of the moat and the destruction of the wall provided easy entrance to thieves and wild beasts. For they were there. The wolves, after seeing everything, frequently devoured the flocks.⁴³

The men who desired to stop this were frightened by their bold attacks. Moreover, when they did pursue the wolves, the latter escaped harm. The thieves found this place to be most suitable for carrying out their nefarious will, because without the protection of a moat or the obstacle provided by a wall, they faced no difficulty in going wherever they wished. If any of the citizens tried to act against their will, they attacked him by night, stole and carried off everything that he had, and left him dead or half-dead. In those days, the citizens of Worms had

⁴⁰ Compare with Alpert, *De diversitate*, I.12.

⁴¹ Burchard became bishop in 1000.

⁴² Heiligenstadt is located just east of Bamberg.

⁴³ The wolves here are used as a metaphor for the secular lords, who maintained control in the city, and particularly the branch of the Conradine family that descended from Conrad the Red, the son-in-law of Emperor Otto I and duke of Swabia (947–53). These were Conrad the Red's son Otto, and the latter's son Conrad.

no peace, no security, and no protection. At last, the citizens finally abandoned the desolate city. They all went outside the walls, and established their homes and buildings necessary for other purposes there. They then dug ditches and put up fences and other wooden works to defend themselves as well as they could against thieves and wild animals.

Bishop Burchard was greatly saddened when he saw the desolate city. So, after hearing the advice of his men, he encircled the city with a very strong moat and rebuilt the wall everywhere. He then ordered the citizens to build their homes inside the walls and to live there.⁴⁴ Within five years, he recalled all of the citizens who had been driven away. He established peace within these boundaries, and he completely restored the desolate city. But there was one thing that was an enormous impediment to the pious labors of this man.

7. Duke Otto and his son Conrad had a fortress inside the city that was strengthened by towers and various other buildings.⁴⁵ The thieves and ravagers and all of the others who opposed the bishop found a very safe refuge in this house. If anyone acted against the bishop or his supporters in word or deed, Otto immediately received them so that they were able to carry out their destructive acts and even many murders from both inside and outside the city. The man of God endured this shame and these harsh calamities for a long time. But he always resisted their audacious acts undauntedly with his brave heart.

⁴⁴ This passage is a topos designed to enhance Burchard's reputation. The walls at this point were not in ruins. See Timothy Reuter, "Ein Europa der Bischöfe: Das Zeitalter Burchards von Worms," in *Bischof Burchard von Worms*, 1–25, here 17. However, this report concerning the building of the wall can be tied to the famous *Mauerbauordnung*. In the early tenth century, Bishop Tietlach of Worms (891–914) issued an ordinance regarding the maintenance of the city walls that required neighborhoods within the city, and also a series of villages in the region around Worms to maintain specific sections of the wall. Work on expanding and improving the wall continued throughout the tenth century. Thus, the author is attempting to attribute to Burchard credit for the construction of walls that were built a century before he became bishop. It may be the case, however, that Burchard was responsible for expanding the early tenth-century circuit of walls, following a failed effort to do so by Bishop Hildabald of Worms. See Büttner, "Zur Stadtentwicklung von Worms," 394; and Wolfgang Grün, *Die Stadtmauer von Worms Denkmal, Dokument, Maßstab der ältesten Stadt in Deutschland* (Worms, 1998), 263. The text of the ordinance (*Mauerbauordnung*) is published in Boos, *Annalen und Chroniken*, 203.

⁴⁵ Duke Otto of Carinthia (978–85, 995–1004), and his son Duke Conrad of Carinthia (1004–11). Otto was the son of Duke Conrad the Red of Lotharingia (947–53), the son-in-law of Emperor Otto the Great.

The man of God detested this family all of the days of his life and rejected them as invaders of God's church, with the exception of one young man whose own parents and other relatives indignantly scorned him because he was peaceful and took pleasure in the innocence of life.⁴⁶ The venerable man of God summoned this youth, taught him equally to fear and love God, and raised him as if he were his own adopted son. Moreover, because he recognized in him the soundness of his intellect, he loved him far above all the others. Afterwards, God mercifully elevated this youth to the highest station in the kingdom.⁴⁷

When the bishop despaired of being able to resist the strength of the powerful men, he encircled his compound with a wall, and gave the city a circuit of walls so that it had the appearance of a fortress. Within the walls he actively built a powerful stronghold with towers and other structures that were appropriate for battle. Once the right to build a fortress had been granted, and construction was completed, Burchard strongly resisted the bold deeds of his enemies and gave hope to his supporters.⁴⁸ The intrepid man frequently terrified his enemies with his words and his deeds.⁴⁹

8. When the seditious behavior had barely been quieted and the peace had just been confirmed between them,⁵⁰ the bishop set out for Italy, at the emperor's order, with a large military force. He was joined by soldiers from Mainz, whose bishop was also the abbot of Fulda, as well as the men of the bishop of Würzburg.⁵¹ These leaders commanded a large force. After they had crossed through Tuscany with a great deal of effort, the emperor's death was announced to them.⁵² Saddened by this news, as was quite fitting, they returned by the same route on which they had arrived. However, the urban population of Lucca and the surrounding villages gathered together a substantial force of both mounted men and foot soldiers. They closed the roads all around us and their armed men waited for the approach of our men in a manner befitting those who were well-versed in the conduct of war.⁵³

⁴⁶ This is the future king and emperor Conrad II. Conrad's father Henry was a son of Duke Otto of Carinthia, but he died while Conrad was just a boy.

⁴⁷ Conrad became king in 1024 and was the first ruler of the Salian dynasty.

⁴⁸ It is important to note that even a powerful bishop such as Burchard required a royal license to construct a fortification, even within the confines of his own city.

⁴⁹ See Alpert, *De diversitate*, 2.4.

⁵⁰ The reference here is to Bishop Burchard and Duke Otto.

⁵¹ Abbot Erkanbald of Fulda (997–1021) became archbishop of Mainz in 1011.

⁵² Otto III died on January 24, 1002 at Paterna.

⁵³ This may be an indication that the author was present with Burchard on this campaign.

Our men were taken aback when they caught sight of this great multitude and hesitated to cross their lands if they were unwilling to permit this. After an initial discussion, the bishops sent messengers to ask them to let our men pass peacefully through their territories. They were barely granted their request but the men of Lucca did pass the remainder of the day peacefully. But at dawn, after night had passed, the enemy gathered into a single body and began with a great shout to attack our outposts. Few were killed or wounded on either side, but the shouting was heard by the remainder of our force.⁵⁴

All of our men quickly got up and seized their weapons, gathering into a single body.⁵⁵ Among them was a certain Thietmar, a soldier in the service of the bishop of Worms. He was a very vigorous man and excelled in all good qualities. He had a reputation as being the man who was most learned in military matters in the entire army.⁵⁶ The bishop summoned him and asked if it would be possible to end this matter without the further shedding of human blood. Thietmar left promising to do what he had been ordered. He summoned some men and secretly told them what he planned. Thietmar then poured out sweat as he, along with his men, labored to climb a very dangerous mountain, and thus secretly went around the enemy force. At this point, the enemy, after seeing our men, were terrified by their miraculous approach, and completely lost their nerve. They fled in disarray. Our men pursued them and cut down as many as they were able to catch.⁵⁷ The bishop was greatly disturbed by this slaughter. He poured out tears and remonstrated with Thietmar about this. Finally he sent a great deal of money to the citizens so as to expiate his sins. Then, by the grace of God, our men returned home.

9 In the meantime, Duke Henry of Bavaria, having summoned his men from everywhere, came to Worms to obtain the royal scepter for which he had worked exceptionally hard.⁵⁸ While he was there, he began to have discussions about this matter with the bishop of Mainz and the bishop of Worms. He explained to them why he had come. He then promised to do whatever they wished if they consented to his will in this matter.⁵⁹ He promised that he would acquire

⁵⁴ See Alpert, *De diversitate*, 1.8.

⁵⁵ See *ibid.*, 1.9.

⁵⁶ See *ibid.*, 1.8.

⁵⁷ See *ibid.*, 1.8.

⁵⁸ King Henry II of Germany (1002–24), succeeded his father Henry as duke of Bavaria in 995.

⁵⁹ Henry forced a passage over the Rhine in June 1002, and won approval from Archbishop Willigis of Mainz and Bishop Burchard of Worms at Worms. See Thietmar of

the fortified house belonging to Otto and hand it over to the bishop of Worms. Finally, through his many promises and gifts he persuaded these men to accept his will. He then went with them to Mainz and there accepted the royal scepter to the cheers of all of those who were there. When Henry had been raised to the highest office in the kingdom, Burchard did not forget his promises and called on the king incessantly, day and night, for the liberty of his city.⁶⁰

Finally, the king summoned Duke Otto, discussed his views with him regarding this matter, and made clear to him what he wanted. Since Otto was a prudent man, he responded in this manner: "Father, even if you had asked an even greater thing from me, I would have been willing to do it. But I want you to know this for certain, I hope that you and I will have an eternal reward in the eternal kingdom of God for these acts." Following these and similar statements of sentiment the matter was completed and a certain estate called Bruchsal with all of its rights and appurtenances was handed over to the duke in recompense for this house.⁶¹ Thus, Worms, which had for a long time been subjected to an iniquitous servitude, was now freed by the pious labors of the bishop.⁶² On the same day that the duke left this fortress, the bishop entered, having gathered together a great multitude, and completely and avidly destroyed it down to its foundations with his own hands as the duke looked on. Then, using the same material, the very same stones, he built the monastery and cloister in honor of St. Paul, and marked them with the following title: the church for the liberty of the city. Then, when everything had been arranged that pertained to canon law, he installed twenty brothers there who maintained the daily order of prayer at the correct times and with the correct signs.⁶³ In this manner, the man of God transformed the house of war into a church of Christ. What had been a house of contention was transformed into a house of reconciliation in which praises were sung to God and actions of grace were carried out day and night.

Merseburg, *Chronicon*, 5.11. With regard to the central role played by Willigis and Burchard, see Rudolf Schieffer, "Burchard von Worms: Ein Reichsbischof und das Königtum," in *Bischof Burchard von Worms*, 29–49, here 37.

⁶⁰ Henry was elected as king on June 7, 1002 in Mainz.

⁶¹ The king was back in Worms on June 10. See *Die Urkunden Heinrichs II. und Arduins*, ed. Harry Bresslau, Robert Holtzmann and Hermann Reincke-Bloch (Hanover, 1900–1903), no. 1 for the date on which the king was in Worms and no. 20 for the grant of the fortification to Worms. The estate at Bruchsal may be the contemporary city of Bruchsal located 20 kilometers northeast of Karlsruhe.

⁶² See Heinrich Boos, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms I. Band* (Berlin, 1886), no. 44; and Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, prologue to book 6.

⁶³ See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I*, no. 43.

10. There was a forest about two miles distant from Worms that abounded with fir trees. A muddy bog bordered it on one side. In the middle, there was a beautiful hill to which the bishop ordered that he be taken. Because he wished to avoid the tumult of temporal affairs, he had the top of the hill leveled off after the shrubs and trees had been cut down. He first had an oratory built there, and then a magnificent cell in which to celebrate the other offices. It was to this place that he returned to strive in the Lord's service after councils, and discussions with the king, and synods, namely the whole variety of stresses from the temporal world, and it was to this place that he came in order to put secular business behind him.⁶⁴ It was at this time that he was working very hard on his collection of canons.⁶⁵ This place was free of tumult at this time. With the help of Bishop Walter of Speyer and the encouragement of the provost Brunicho, he collected the canons into a single volume.⁶⁶ He did not do this out of arrogance, but rather, as he said, because the laws of the canons and the judgments of penance had been completely neglected and destroyed in his diocese. He divided and distributed this corpus or collection in twenty books.⁶⁷

11. Moreover, the man of God did not cease in his pious labors. He tore down the church of St. Peter because it was far too small and established a new foundation there. He planned out a monastery of magnificent size and completed it so rapidly, in just a few years, that it seemed that it was not built but rather simply appeared as if by his wish.

12. It was at this time that he summoned his sister Matilda, a most worthy woman and exceptionally dignified on every account, and supported her with fraternal love.⁶⁸ This lady was exceptionally skilled and had great ability in women's work. She was accomplished in producing a diverse range of feminine textiles, and surpassed many women in the making of valuable clothing.⁶⁹ It happened at that

⁶⁴ See Alpert, *De diversitate*, 1.14.

⁶⁵ This is Burchard's major canonical collection written in twenty books, the *Decretum*.

⁶⁶ Bishop Walter of Speyer (1004–27). Brunicho witnessed Burchard's grant to Nonnenmünster in 1016. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 44.

⁶⁷ In addition to Walther and Brunicho, Olbert, the abbot of Gembloux, is also named as a participant in the writing of the *Decretum*: Sigebert of Gembloux, *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* in J.A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica* (Hamburg, 1718), 141, and Sigebert, *Chronicon sive Chronographia*, ed. D.L.C. Bethmann, MGH SS 6 (Hanover, 1844), 354.

⁶⁸ See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 45.

⁶⁹ See Alpert, *De diversitate*, 1.2.

time that the abbess of a convent of nuns serving God there passed away.⁷⁰ After her death, all of the sisters asked, as if with one voice, that Burchard give the convent to his sister and commit the care of guarding them to her. The venerable man heeded their petition and summoned his sister. He exhorted her in a variety of ways and finally said: “My dearest sister, you see that earthly things are fragile and imperfect, and that they are full of every kind of iniquity. For gold and silver and stones that we think of as precious are considered sordid by God. We get nothing from them except that our desire for them brings us heartache. Wherever we go, the shadow of death follows us. The one who today lives securely with his delicacies tomorrow succumbs unhappily to death. He is blessed who follows the right course of the path of justice, spurning the glories of this world and receiving that which is divine into the domicile of his pure heart. Therefore, my dearest sister, I want you to set aside your bracelets and earrings and your fancy clothing and accept a holy robe so that you will bind yourself to the eternal King.”

When she heard this, she was very afraid, and marveling more than can be expressed, she said: “Surely you know, my blessed lord, that I have spent all the days of my life in the secular world and that I am completely ignorant of this office. With the exception of the Psalter, I am completely ignorant of books.⁷¹ I do not know how to act in this office. How then, my lord, am I to live this life without causing offense?” In response, the man of God said: “stop and consider why you should accept my desire as soon as possible. What is stopping you, what is standing in your way? It is a most happy exchange to give up transitory things and to gain eternal riches and perpetual life.”

Through these and many other exhortations he overcame the doubts of his sister so that she promised to do whatever he wanted. When the servant of God heard this, he exulted and poured out thanks to God with his whole heart. He immediately ordered her to read canon law, the *Computus*, the lives of the fathers, the *Dialogue*, and other books that pertained to this life.⁷² She immediately strove to begin and to carry out everything that he had ordered. When the man of God saw the enormous will and the pious effort of this handmaiden of God, he placed the robe around her and consecrated her in this divine office. He then gathered the sisters around and commended the convent and the care of the sisters to

⁷⁰ The convent of St. Mary usually called Nonnenmünster.

⁷¹ The implication is that she was taught to read using the Psalter.

⁷² The *Computus* is a text that provides instruction in how to calculate the date of Easter. The *Dialogus* may be a reference to the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory the Great (590–604). Some of these texts require not only a strong command of Latin, but also a firm understanding of arithmetic, in the case of the *Computus*.

her. Having accepted the stole, she shone forth brilliantly in all of the virtues and worthy habits, and provided a divine example to everyone just as if she had raised her entire life according to the rule.⁷³ She wished to minister rather than be ministered to. She did not exalt herself above the others in a manner of a mistress, but rather loved and taught them in the manner of a mother.⁷⁴

It is an amazing thing that this secular woman was not burdened for even an hour by this obligation but rather took pleasure in it. With her brother's help, she also transferred all of her property to the church that she now led. Furthermore, with her brother's encouragement and help, she not only renovated the convent and monastery that she had found desolate, but even rebuilt and re-dedicated this place. She remained there in divine service day and night with the sisters who had been committed to her care. With her brother's help, she at all times arranged the lives of these women in a rational manner just as canon law required.

13. Following Matilda's example and teaching, one of the sisters named Charity, who was devoted to God, demanded from the bishop that she be permitted to have a stricter and more lofty life. When he observed that it was possible to fulfill the will of God in this life with good deeds, this virgin of God nevertheless assiduously asked and incessantly petitioned to be permitted to remove herself as a recluse from her sisters in order to do even greater deeds. Finally, the man of God agreed to her request and ordered that she be enclosed. He set a date to carry out the will of this handmaiden of God, and came to the convent of the sisters with all of the brothers.

When he arrived, he summoned all of the brothers to gather together and placed the virgin in their midst. He then said: "My dearest brothers, you see this virgin, burning equally with love and fear of God, who rejects the oily delicacies of this world desiring to please God. She does not receive the evangelical message with deaf ears, but rather rejects her father and mother, her relatives and friends, houses and fields, and proposes to join herself to God alone. Blush old men and youth that you do nothing similar to this! Why are you silent? For what are you straining in your shame? Behold that this wisp of girl precedes you intrepidly with her banner raised high and does not fear to fight against spiritual weakness.

⁷³ The rule (*regula*) here refers to the monastic rule.

⁷⁴ The author's observation here might be taken as a veiled criticism of the attitude of teachers (*magistri*) in cathedral schools. Regarding the culture of the cathedral school at Worms in this period, see the discussion by C. Stephen Jaeger, "Friendship and Conflict at the Early Cathedral Schools: The Dispute between Worms and Würzburg," in *Friendship in the Middle Ages: Explorations of a Fundamental Ethical Discourse*, eds. Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge (Göttingen, 2010), 49–62.

Behold, she is equipped with the breastplate and the helmet of faith, prepared to fight against the enemy with an indomitable spirit. Therefore, if you are not able to go before her, or run with her, you should strive to follow her with similar examples of piety.”

After he said these and other divine words and celebrated mass, he enclosed her in her little cell. By divine mercy she was dead to the secular world and he commended her to God in the ranks of the dead. She lived there for three years serving God with her angelic life. Having been tempted by many different types of suffering, she returned to her Creator purged to the depths of her soul so that God might be honored in all things just as He is always remarkable in His saints.

14. At this time, Emperor Henry planned to march with his army to Burgundy and came to Worms in the course of his journey.⁷⁵ When he saw that the magnificent monastery was almost completed, he begged the bishop to consecrate it while he was present. Although the man of God resisted this, he finally consented to the emperor’s will, acting as if he had been coerced. Therefore, after all of the filth had been cast outside and all of the soot had been rubbed out, on the following day in the presence and by the command of the emperor, this house was dedicated to God with great praise and with a procession of the clergy and the common people attended by many bishops.⁷⁶

15. After two years, however, a terrible thing happened at the monastery. For on a certain night, the western wall collapsed down to its foundation in ruins. But the miraculous thing was that no bells, aside from one small one, were broken under this enormous pile. As was fitting, the servant of God was greatly disturbed by this event and bore a certain amount of sadness in his face. His disciples, a large number of whom assiduously followed after him, consoled him with these words: “We wonder, with justice, sir, that you are disturbed so much by the unfortunate outcome of this effort since you ask every day during the oblations that matters come to pass as pleases God. God heard your prayers and publicly fulfilled your will. For what is pleasing to God, as is often proven, is just as it is written: God takes whom he loves.⁷⁷ What is displeasing to God, just as you asked, He rejects. Therefore, you should put aside your sighs and take

⁷⁵ This may have been during the summer of 1016. On May 18, 1016, Henry II was 50 kilometers northeast of Worms at Mörfelden, near Frankfurt. On June 21, 1016, Henry II was 270 kilometers southeast of Worms at Kembs (contemporary Alsace in France) on the frontier of Burgundy. See *Die Urkunden Heinrichs II*, nos. 351 and 353.

⁷⁶ This took place on June 9, 1018. See *Die Urkunden Heinrichs II*, no. 393.

⁷⁷ Proverbs 3:12.

up the fortitude of patience. This is praiseworthy and acceptable to God. For God, as you know well, gave these words of consolation among other elements of doctrine: In your patience you shall possess your souls.⁷⁸ Father, listen to these words. Put away this mountain of cares, forget your sadness, because according to the Lord's promise, your sadness will be converted into joy."

The man of God, almost as if he had been startled out of his sadness, responded with a smiling face: "I give you many and great thanks for your consolation and warning. For things turn out just as God wishes. I certainly take joy in the fact that He wishes to make better what does not please Him, just as we asked. But I now ask that you listen and I will tell you what I have learned. One day I entered my large garden accompanied by only two boys when I saw a demon in human form in my vestibule. He was standing on the north side, killing my herbs and fruit-bearing trees. Then, piling them all up, he blocked the path making a great rumbling sound as he did so. When I angrily asked him, because he had taken on the appearance of a gardener, why he had blocked the path, he responded: 'Would that I could block your path to eternal life, I who can bring you so much trouble in so short a time!' Wondering at his boldness, since I thought he was the caretaker of the garden, I said: 'In the name of the Lord you will not do anything of what you have threatened against me and you will build a final end for yourself if you do not cease from your evil deeds.' Having said this, I went to the seat which was in the garden but I did not see him as I looked around. Since I was amazed that he no longer appeared to be present anywhere I asked the boys if they had seen him. They both said that they had not seen anyone other than me, but they confirmed that they had heard me arguing with someone. Then I said: 'I know sons, I know who he is. But I will not fear his threats nor will I place any hope in his words, because the truth is not in him, as the Lord said.'⁷⁹

Then immediately departing I seized this verse in my mind: since I have been prepared by the scourge, my sorrow is always in my face.⁸⁰ The following night, at matins, this terrible ruin occurred in the church. Hearing what happened, I was upset and I admit that I repeated David's complaint, and not without tears: 'I was beaten all night long and my castigation continued into the morning.'⁸¹ Therefore, my brothers, I am glad that in castigating me the Lord has deigned to chastise me. Following your admonition, I will be patient and having changed I will do penance for my actions. I will praise You my God so that You will honor

⁷⁸ Luke 21:19.

⁷⁹ John 8:44.

⁸⁰ Psalm 37:18.

⁸¹ Psalm 72:14.

those who have angered You, and so that You will be kind and cast away all of the sins of men.” After this, he ordered wood and stone to be carried outside the church. Then, when the foundation had been set, he built solidly and in just short of two years the church was back in its pristine state. He gilded the heads of the columns as well as the square stones placed around the walls of the monastery, and then decorated the entire church with a variety of adornments.

16. Burchard then recovered and put to good use a prebend of the brothers serving God, which had long since been lost and fallen into almost complete neglect. After this, Burchard summoned all of the canons together and ordered the brothers to begin again to eat together every day in the refectory according to the rule.⁸² In the same manner, he mercifully restored the prebends of the brothers at St. Cyriacus, which had almost been destroyed by the negligence of interlopers. He also ordered the brothers to reform themselves as well. He restored with great ingenuity all those places belonging to St. Cyriacus that had been almost destroyed or made desolate by age, and he decorated them magnificently with walls and various buildings. At the same time, he rebuilt inside the city the monastery and convent of St. Andrew, which lay outside the walls and had become desolate through neglect. He then reformed the canons as brothers and instituted a regular life to the praise and glory of our God.⁸³

17. At this time, Brunicho, the venerable provost of this see, whom we mentioned above, seeing the constancy of this blessed man,⁸⁴ the manner in which he rejected earthly spectacle, the way in which he burned in the service of God, and how he fled human praise, reformed himself and entered the monastic life. Following the example of the man of God, he cheated the devil and strove to please God alone with a contrite heart and humbled soul. Likewise, other illustrious men left the world following the careful teaching of the servant of God. They fled the city and submitted themselves to the monastic life.

Then, in order to keep the monasteries from becoming desolate, the bishop summoned the brothers from all of the monasteries and spoke to them in the following words:⁸⁵ “I do not want you to be unaware, brothers, that everyone

⁸² Burchard required that the canons, who formerly had led rather independent lives, begin to live the corporate life set out in rule established for cathedral canons.

⁸³ Burchard is requiring the canons, who were secular priests, to begin to live according to a rule in the manner of monks.

⁸⁴ The reference here is to Bishop Burchard.

⁸⁵ It is not entirely clear what the author means here since the previous passage dealt with men entering rather than departing from the monastic life. However, this passage could

who fears God and acts justly is accepted by Him, not only monks, but also canons, and even laymen. It is not good if all those who labor aboard a ship carry out the same task, that they should all be captains and have no navigator, or that they all be navigators and have no captains. It is better that one has the task of being captain, others sail, others check the depth of the sea, others, if it is necessary, climb the mast, and still others empty the bilge, and so they direct the ship in peace. Likewise, brothers, we should realize that we cannot do all things. If all are monks and canons, where are the lay people? Who then will support the monks and serve the canons? But if everyone is lay, where will there be praises and services of God? The family in the church of God is diverse, including not only monks, but canons, and faithful laymen as well. They all act with God's grace. Therefore, the one who is a canon should not leave his convent for the monastic life without permission. Let him work with his brothers in common. If he desires to live a stricter life, let him serve God with pleasing works inside his own convent, let him keep himself from evil, and thus may he not cease to offer burnt sacrifices to God on the altar of his secret heart." It was with such words that he calmed the spirits of the youth and encouraged them to remain in God's service with a more stable frame of mind.

18. In addition, Burchard ordered that each of the young men should engage in oral or written study every day according to the degree of their ability. Then, because they saw that this servant of God was dedicated to study, erudite in the pages of sacred scripture, and filled with the wisdom of God, they did not fear to present sermons, letters, and various other trifling questions to him. While we were present, one of the students composed some questions about the fasts of Moses and Elijah, and, with a humble hand, presented them to Burchard among the various other commentaries that he often presented, as if he were providing him an occasion to give a lecture. He had written as follows:

"If I had not feared the arid understanding of my mind and skill, I would not have brought forth certain views of sacred scripture to the spiritual strength of your clemency, views that constrain the smallness of my soul and force me to fall into a tangle of doubt, so that I might learn the truth of the matter having been instructed by the most learned teaching of your honesty. Since each concept of sacred scripture runs the risk of error, unless the sinner is restored through the satisfaction of confession and recognizes the truth, he incurs a heavy burden of guilt as a criminal. Therefore, suffering greatly from the wound of my

be a warning against monks becoming hermits or recluses in the manner of Sister Charity, noted above.

conscience and fearing to hide it further, I appear faithfully before your holy dignity so that this matter hiding within may be made manifest. I have proffered this composition to you, a composition that is not marked by any boldness of wisdom but rather by the poverty of my thirsty skill, because with God as my witness, I have been compelled to do so.⁸⁶ I ask your holiness to correct me and make me more certain of this investigation, because I know that you bear the form of those about whom it is said in the Lord's word 'it is given to you to know the mystery of the kingdom of God.'⁸⁷ When I make a true confession of my conscience, I will arrive at an acknowledgment of the truth, as your prudence shall show me, and judged free from all of my iniquity, I will participate in your holy innocence. I hope and firmly believe this since, if it were not true, the psalmist would not have said: 'With the saintly you will act as a saint and with the innocent you will be innocent.'⁸⁸ But because the pain of my wound is always plaguing me, it forces me to turn to your clemency. Therefore I composed this trifling question, this little heap, on a scrap of parchment. Setting aside all doubt, I will not cease to rely upon your prudence, which I know will come to my aid.

We read in the books of sacred scripture that Moses and Elijah fasted for forty days, but we must doubt greatly that they abstained from all nourishment. I know and truly believe that our Lord Christ overcame temptation three times in the course of his forty-day fast. But I doubt that any man could do this. Because if Moses or Elijah or any of the prophets had abstained from food for forty days, I assert that they could not have escaped the temptations of the devil's test. For, as I said, it would be easier to test a capable human than to tempt the Lord of all creation. Now, I leave this to you to consider because I fear to discuss it further. For it is written: 'every idle word that men speak will have to be accounted for on the day of judgment.'⁸⁹ I already have proposed the investigation of this matter to many wise men. But since I have not received instruction, the aforementioned sickness grows one-hundred fold. Thus, may your holy wisdom teach me the truth that I not be judged to have fallen into a snare, but rather that I may gain the fruit of true confession and penance. As the apostle said when he promised wisdom: 'confession is salvation.'⁹⁰

⁸⁶ The parallel to the language in the prologue is striking.

⁸⁷ Mark 4:11.

⁸⁸ Psalm 17:26.

⁸⁹ Matthew 12:36.

⁹⁰ Romans 10:10.

19. When the servant of God had looked over this text, he wrote words of correction to the youth on the third day:⁹¹

“At this point, my dear son, I no longer have any doubt that you asked me about the forty-day fast of Moses and Elijah because you have doubts. I want to instruct you in this matter because, with God’s help, the explanation is very clear. For as you, yourself, admitted, if anyone has doubts about established views of sacred scripture, he will be judged to have incurred a grave fault if he does not give satisfaction. If, however, he has been led astray by the paucity of his skill, by the rashness of his age, by his ignorance, or even by negligent contempt, he runs the danger of severe embarrassment. One who knows ought to correct him since the one who saves a sinner from the error of his ways saves his soul from death, as the apostle James said.⁹² We will therefore save your soul from death if you carefully consider with a pure mind these concepts that we will set out.

You wrote: ‘We read in sacred scripture that Moses and Elijah fasted for forty days, but we must greatly doubt whether they abstained from every type of nourishment.’ You are looking at the knot in the sack, but certainly anyone who looks for the knot in the sack will lose his labor. Looking for the knot in the sack is to bring together the most knotty element of doubt from the most obvious and truest reason and to drag together the densest part of the thickest cloud from the most luminescent light. In discussing the most luminescent light, I am talking about sacred scripture in which each of the faithful is corrected in deeds and in words. As a consequence, sacred scripture is called, with merit, the mirror of life. Sacred scripture is the declaration of both laws, of the new and old testament. If any insane person is not corrected by its most lucid judgments, he is deluded, ensnared by the mockery of vanity. Anyone who is ensnared by the mockery of vanity is captured by the exceptionally vain defect of stupidity, neither seeking virtue nor fleeing this defect. Since all defects are to be avoided, certainly stupidity is to be avoided since it certainly is a human defect. By contrast, all virtues are to be sought, and therefore wisdom is to be sought because wisdom is a virtue of God. Anyone who wishes to know the strong virtue of God must seek with the greatest effort and highest diligence. For what is stronger than the strength of God, what is more luminescent than what the radiant sun of the true God illuminates, what is more true than what the hand of truth itself has written?

⁹¹ The author provides an important insight here regarding the didactic methods that were employed in the cathedral school.

⁹² James 5:19–20.

For scripture says: Moses descended from the mountain carrying two tablets in his hands, both of which were written by the hand of God. It was written out on these tablets that Moses, the servant of God, fasted for forty days and forty nights so that he might deserve to receive the God's law. Why should it be a wonder that Moses fasted at the order of One in Whose kingdom no one ever went hungry and in Whose place the prophet proclaimed the following words to correct the people of Israel: 'If I am, shall I not say to you that the world is mine.' He also said: 'Will I not eat the flesh of bulls or drink the blood of goats?'⁹³ For He, who created everything from nothing, never hungered, never thirsted, and never slept in the kingdom of His glory, as scripture states: 'behold, he who keeps Israel does not sleep nor will he sleep.'⁹⁴

Therefore, my son, understand my words of grace. If anyone of our people were in the council of some king or all-powerful emperor while he was inspecting the various riches of his kingdom, could he have been drawn away by the sweetness of some food or drink? For he would have seen the officers dressed in clothing in a variety of types, the celebrated house covered with various ornaments, the purest gold adorned with designs and precious stones, and the king, himself, splendid in his royal diadem, cautiously setting out the riches of his kingdom and clarifying the mystical reasoning of his own counsel. And if the oily and transitory glory of this world appeals so much to this man, as the foregoing natural situation makes clear, how much more would the glories of heaven make God-fearing Moses, who was following His commands, make Moses forget matters of this world? He was present in the sacred council of the King of Heaven. He saw the glory of the Lord, the tabernacle that was not made by hand and was not part of creation. He heard the voice of God saying to him: 'I love you above the others and I know you by your name.'⁹⁵ Moses led his people by his hand through the desert for forty years just as God had led him for forty days. God spoke to him face to face just as a man is accustomed to talk to his friend. As scripture says: he changed a day into a year, he nourished his people with divine food, and man ate angelic bread.⁹⁶

What is this food of heaven, what is this angelic bread? What do you say to these things my son? If you have sought the knot, behold, you have found it. Now untie the knot, and recognize it. Do you think that the citizens of heaven are like the people on earth who labor for their bread sweating over the mattock and

⁹³ Psalm 49:12–13.

⁹⁴ Psalm 120:4.

⁹⁵ Exodus 33:12.

⁹⁶ Exodus 33:11.

plow? Not at all! Rather, faultless God, the son of God, the creator and Lord of the angels is the bread of the just, about Whom it is written: 'In the beginning there was the word, and the word was with God and God was the word.' Behold the angelic bread! 'And the word was made flesh and lived among us.' Behold, the heavenly food came down and man ate the bread of the angels when the word was made flesh and lived among us. For He said: 'I am the bread of life who descended from heaven.'⁹⁷ The world exists through this bread. The people of the Lord lived on this bread for forty years. It is this bread that Moses had tasted when he responded, after being addressed by the burning bush: 'I beg you, Lord, send someone else.'⁹⁸ On another occasion, when he had eaten of it, he said the following to the children of Israel among his many other lessons: 'The Lord will raise up a prophet for you from among your brothers, listen to him.'⁹⁹

He ate this type of bread while he fasted for forty days because man does not live on earthly bread alone, but by every word of God.¹⁰⁰ Everything was created by this word and everything exists as if from nothing because God is the word. The word is with God and God is the word. We understand by this that because God the Father is the Son, and the Son is the Word, and the Word is the bread of heaven, and the bread of heaven is the Word made flesh, since He said: 'I give myself as bread and flesh for the life of the world.'¹⁰¹ He is the life and nourishment of angels and men, and makes both of them into one. While Moses fasted for forty days in his body, He nourished him spiritually.

The devil did not recognize His exceptional power, great mercy, and ancient counsel when he tried to tempt Him three times.¹⁰² He was from the beginning the accuser of his brothers, the judge of iniquity, the inventor of lies, and craftiest master of airy trifles. He lay hidden in the heart of Pharaoh harassing Moses with many attacking questions. He recognized the man Moses but did not understand the divinity of Christ hidden in flesh. He doubted that God was the perfect man. For although he harassed Pilot's wife for the sake of her redemption, the poisonous one doubted that God was man. For he doubted that God was so merciful that he wished to put on humanity in order to renew and redeem his servants with the admirable exchange of his divinity. If he had not doubted and been jealous of justice, he would not have excited the faithless

⁹⁷ John 1:1, 1:14, and 6:51.

⁹⁸ Exodus 4:13.

⁹⁹ Deuteronomy 18:5.

¹⁰⁰ Luke 4:4.

¹⁰¹ John 6:52.

¹⁰² The reference here is to Jesus.

Jews to disobedience and perfidy against God, nor would he have exited them to shout 'let him be crucified.' Because he doubted he did not know. Because he was false and doubtful from the start, he incurred the suspicion of doubt and the danger of desperation. He therefore underwent the suffering of eternal damnation through the ruin of his desperation and was expelled to the dark outer reaches where he justly bears his burning suffering.

Since you also ask about the fast of Elijah, understand these lessons. You have read, and I think you have understood, that after Elijah cursed the people of Gilead, he fled from King Ahab to the river Cherith where he was fed by crows at God's order. After three years, he presented himself to Ahab at the command of God when the burning zeal of the Lord ordered him to kill 450 priests of Baal.¹⁰³ On that same day, he sought rain from God. Then, fearing the threats of Jezebel, the ferocious queen, he fled into the desert and slept in the shade of a juniper tree because of the weariness of his soul. He was then roused twice by an angel and informed about the length of his journey. Refreshed by bread, baked under the ashes, and water, he walked for forty days and forty nights on the strength of this food.

Whence do you think this bread came and from which spring do you think this water was drawn? We read that Elijah was taken up by God in a whirlwind and that he lives bodily in heaven up to the present time. What bread nourishes, or from what fountain do think he is able to drink? I tell you truthfully that, as I said, the One who is the bread of the just without any doubt provides nourishment to Elijah. Drinking water comes from the font of the one who said: 'whoever drinks the water I will give him, will never thirst,' and again 'whoever drinks the water I provide, will be in a well of water springing up into eternal life.'¹⁰⁴ Elijah was just and was therefore fed and nourished with the food of justice. He lives and lived as it is written: 'The just lives from justice.'¹⁰⁵ These few words of correction should be enough for you, my son. Imbued with these smaller lessons, you will learn to understand the greater lessons perfectly and to solve easily similar knotty problems. Everything that is written is written on behalf of our doctrine so that we may have the consolation of scripture and hope in Jesus Christ our Lord who lives and reigns as God for all time, amen."

The aforementioned young man gathered together some of his friends at a time and place that was appropriate for having a conversation. At that time, he, as he admitted, generously distributed these words to them so that he would

¹⁰³ 1 Kings 17–18.

¹⁰⁴ John 4:13–14.

¹⁰⁵ Galatians 3:11.

not conceal such delightful delicacies of the soul by chewing on them all alone. They ate the head with the feet and intestines, as it is written, and shared them out with the other brothers who were there, so that the matter came to our attention.¹⁰⁶ But because this has taken us a long way from our path, I will try to return as quickly as I can.

20. Because God selected our pious pastor for His service, He took care to whip him with his customary mercy, just as we read: he whom God loves, He corrects, and He embraced him just as a father embraces a son.¹⁰⁷ For Burchard was touched by physical paralysis and pressed by the gravest illness. But he was never overcome by this inconvenience nor did he ever despair in spirit. He kept a cheerful face with the greatest degree of patience. Recovering from God's chastisement, he developed this healthy view, namely that earthly concerns are execrable to God and lead not only to the detriment but even to the permanent ruin of the soul.¹⁰⁸ Burchard therefore ordered every member of the household of St. Peter to be asked carefully whether he had taken something away unjustly or had ordered that something unpleasant be done.¹⁰⁹ He ordered that if he had done anything unjust to anyone that it should be done two-fold to himself.

His words were tempered by his discretion so that the firmness of his heart might be understood easily by those listening to him. He tempered everything he said with sweet examples from sacred scripture. He was always careful when giving oral judgments, legal decisions, and when reading sacred scripture.¹¹⁰ It is not necessary to praise his prudence. Many people hurried, not only from the palace but from many different regions, to obtain his advice.¹¹¹ He undertook a volume of fasts, alms, vigils, and prayers that few men of our age could equal.¹¹² For unless compelled by infirmity or great necessity, he sustained his life on bread, vegetables and fruit. Making sure that everyone thought he was drinking wine, he actually drank water. Often after the third or fourth vigil of the night, he went out with one of his closest aides, ordering him to tell no one, and quietly passed through all of the squares of the city and passed through all of the corners

¹⁰⁶ Exodus 12:9.

¹⁰⁷ Proverbs 3:12.

¹⁰⁸ This passage clearly the parallels Alpert's discussion of the blindness that afflicted Bishop Ansfried of Utrecht. See *De diversitate*, 1.14.

¹⁰⁹ The household of St. Peter is Bishop Burchard's own household since the cathedral church at Worms was dedicated to St. Peter.

¹¹⁰ See Alpert, *De diversitate*, 1.11.

¹¹¹ See *ibid.*, 1.3.

¹¹² *Ibid.* 1.14.

and pits handing out alms with his accustomed generosity wherever he found the poor and sick.¹¹³ Every day he entered his oratory before dawn and remained there until the first hour of the day. What he did there is not known to us, only to God. He was indefatigable in celebrating the daily office of mass, offering the sacrifice for the dead as well as the living. He was like a father to the poor who came to him from long distances. He did not permit any of them to leave without first receiving some consolation.¹¹⁴

Whenever the attack of sudden death, or heavenly terror, or the savagery of enemies, or the danger of some adversity threatened, he immediately summoned the brothers to fast and pray. Behold, I write the truth of this matter before God and His angels. Since we have gathered these materials in one place, and while we gather in praise of his many virtues, I admit that I have divined that once he died, there would never be someone equal to him in this place, someone with such brilliant life.¹¹⁵ For although held back by his illness, he remained unconquered in his service to the Lord.

He dedicated a monastery in honor of St. Martin. But when the wall was only partly completed, he was too often held back by his service to the crown, by his illness, and by many adversities, so that he, alas, was not able to complete it. This monastery remains only half completed up to the present day.

21. After these events, Emperor Henry died. His bodied was carried to Bamberg and buried there with the greatest honor.¹¹⁶ After he died, the young Conrad, whom we mentioned above had been raised and taught by the bishop in the fear of God, became the ruler of all things with the aid of God's favor.¹¹⁷ Two years after the king had been raised to the royal throne, the strength of the servant of God began to weaken beyond what had been normal.¹¹⁸ As he grew sicker and felt increasingly weak, he moved into the city and awaited the day and hour of his future redemption. When, at a certain point, he was in the grips of a mighty illness, royal messengers came to him and announced that the king would be arriving the next week.¹¹⁹

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ See *ibid.*, 1.3.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Henry died July 13, 1024 at Grons.

¹¹⁷ Discussed above in chapter 7.

¹¹⁸ See Alpert, *De diversitate*, 1.6.

¹¹⁹ King Conrad was in Speyer on July 14–15, 1025. See *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser: Die Urkunden Konrads II*, ed. Harry Bresslau (Hanover, 1909), nos. 41 and 42.

The man of God was very upset about this legation and about his infirmity because his illness would keep him from receiving the king in a dignified manner and from offering worthy service. In the midst of these concerns, he turned to his habitual consolation. He entered his oratory, closing the door behind him, and remained there in prayer for a full day. When evening fell, he ordered in his customary manner that his disciples be summoned. After the *laudes* and vespers were completed, he retired happily and, by the grace of God, seemed strong to all of us. The entire time that the king was with us, Burchard was strong, as if all of his requests had been answered. When the king departed, Burchard went with him to Tribur, and remained there for three days.¹²⁰ Then, when Burchard had the king's license to depart, in front of many witnesses he said to the king, as if jokingly, that he would not see him again. When he arrived back in Worms, Burchard suffered a severe bout of dysentery.

22. One day, when he recognized that he was nearing his end, he summoned all of his disciples and entered his oratory. There, he absolved all of his debtors of the debts that they owed to him, he mercifully absolved all of those whom he had placed under the ban or whom he had excommunicated, and ordered that letters of absolution be issued to each of them.¹²¹ He then had his entire body washed with the purest water, ordered his neck, his beard, and the top of his head to be shaved, and put on clean clothing.¹²² He then ordered his soldiers, clients, and everyone else present to enter.¹²³ When everyone there was sobbing with a great outpouring of tears, the man of God, although he could hardly move his hand, signaled for silence and said: "Venerable fathers, beloved brothers, dearest sons, with your help I stand before God. I greatly regret that up to this point I have gone before you negligently, that I have arrogantly exalted myself above you beyond measure, and that I have not honored and loved you as was proper. But how does this arrogance and presumption help me now? There is much

¹²⁰ The king was in Tribur on July 26, 1025. See *Die Urkunden Konrads II*, no. 43.

¹²¹ This passage makes clear Burchard's secular authority to impose the ban, or exclusion from civil society, and excommunication which is exclusion from the body of the faithful. In addition, it is notable that letters were issued to each individual, making clear the bishop's decision to release them from the ban or excommunication.

¹²² This ritual of shaving and donning fresh clothing marks Burchard's entry into a monastic life. This act was not uncommon for important men from both the secular and the ecclesiastical worlds. The accepted view was that by entering the monastic life, even at the end of one's own life, it was possible to gain God's grace before facing eternal judgment.

¹²³ I have translated *milites* here as "soldiers," as these appear to be the men who command Burchard's military household.

for me yet to do and there are many stumbling blocks in my path. Yesterday, I was among the wealthy but now I look forward to being the same as shit and ashes. Such is our glory, such is worldly lordship. I left my mother's womb naked and naked shall I return carrying nothing with me except for my sins. Calling upon God's mercy, I hope that I shall have done something good and hope that sometime I shall be found with God. Behold, now I am washed, behold, as I prepare to set off on the longest of journeys, I stand ready, having prepared for the most difficult of embassies.

From this suffering you can easily see how fragile and unstable the bruised glories of earthly things really are—how full of evil, how blind to the future. I now recognize this as if through a mirror darkly, although up to this point I have committed myself to them. I therefore commit myself and everything I have to the One whom I have served from the beginning, to my God, the eternal King, so that He shall defend me, and shall lead me with Him to that place where my soul shall not fear terrible attacks.” He warned us with these words. He was teaching us the word of God, but not in a human voice. Then, at the end, he announced the final dissolution of his earthly body. When he finished speaking, we went outside with the greatest sadness, all of us together weeping over the death of such a pastor. Then the officers, who were there, entered the treasury and the chamber hoping to find money that they thought was hidden there. They carefully looked in all of the nooks and crannies, finally turning over the shelves that were filled with books, deluded in their labor by the vain hope of fortune. Aside from the treasures of the church, they did not find any gold or silver there except for pennies, which the man of God had left in his purse when he paid out other pennies to the poor. His sister, the venerable abbess whom we mentioned above, remained there in prayer and vigil and did not leave him.

23. On a certain night just before dawn, after he had labored for a few days in this grave illness, the man of God got off of his couch and prayed for a while with his eyes and hands directed intently to heaven. Those who were there saw his lips moving but they could not hear what he said although they listened very carefully. Then, again lying down on his couch, he took his sister's right hand and said: “Behold, now I see what I wished.” Then he said: “may the Lord be with you.” When he said this a third time, he gave over his immaculate spirit to our Redeemer, whom he had served, whom he loved, whom he sought, and whom he always chose.

The servant of the Lord had a little cabinet that none of us had ever seen open. He had entrusted the key to his sister so she might keep in loving memory of his life whatever she found inside. Immediately after he died, she summoned some

of us from among the brothers, told us what he had said, and then opened the little cabinet. Inside we found a very rough hair shirt and an iron chain that was worn down along one side as if from use. Seeing this, we mourned, beating our chests, at how often we had sinned against this servant of God. We then admired his good deeds, done before God, and otherwise covered up and hidden. We wept while considering his actions of grace before God. His soldiers were among his followers at the funeral, venerable and illustrious men, who carried his body around all of the monasteries before bringing it to his principal seat.¹²⁴ Having been received there venerably by all of the brothers, he was guarded with the customary offices. The next day, he was buried honorably in the west choir of the church, before the altar of St. Laurence.¹²⁵

24. But what now of those pestiferous men who carp about the life and deeds of this man of God with poisonous tongues? What about the disparaging comments and lies that they have told about him and his supporters, which ought not to be mentioned? You miserable and profane men who have forgotten all decency! You know nothing about virtue, you are utterly without piety, you know nothing except the gluttony of your own stomachs!¹²⁶ You lack any bit of goodness. You can do nothing like he did. But placing his hopes and his salvation in an earthly grave, they attack the deeds of the man of God with lies, although they have no idea how to do similar things. Those who know too much about earthly matters and know nothing at all about God, have their stomach as a god and are confused about the nature of their glory. This priest of Christ turned with all of his strength to God. Whatever good he did, he hid so that Christ alone would know. The one who strives to please God ignores the inane favors and insults of men and passes them by with a deaf ear. Therefore, we hope and firmly believe that he acquired his eternal reward with God for the things that he did, and that he earned the eternal prize for his earthly deeds. May he remain with Christ and keep his eternal priesthood alongside our Lord Jesus Christ for whom there will be praise and glory for ever, amen.

¹²⁴ This is the cathedral church in Worms.

¹²⁵ Burchard died on August 20, 1025.

¹²⁶ See Alpert, *De diversitate*, 1.17–18.

Vita Sancti Eckenberti

1. This happiest supporter of God, who was worthy of the highest praise, was born a citizen of the city of Worms, which once was called Vangionum. He was from a noble family but he was nobler still in the appearance of his virtues. He trod the world as a most vigilant mediator of the law and of the gospels. He was born to parents who were not of humble rank.¹ Moreover, they were orthodox, that is they were glorious in the true faith. His father, named Regenmarus, came from a family of city aristocrats. His father's brother was named Eckenbert and was the treasurer of the bishop of Worms. The father's wife was named Hedwig and was even nobler than he. She happily bore him a son whom Regenmarus named Eckenbert after the boy's uncle.² Happy was the father and happy was the mother in educating and in bearing him because they hoped to find their salvation in this child. The blessed infant had a certain white mark on his brow that looked like a raindrop through which the Lord gave a marvelous sign of his future innocence. Although he lived in the workaday world of this life, he provided instruction through humble words and deeds. He took pleasure in humility. Reckoning that the glory of the flesh was transient, he often restrained those who set themselves forward on this basis.

2. While he was still a child, Eckenbert began to demonstrate his good nature. He learned to temper his peevishness with a mildness that he did not put aside as he grew older. He fled license, was averse to foolishness, favored equality, and loved scholarship most of all. He received the rudiments of education from

¹ Eckenbert died at the age of 53 in 1132, indicating that he was born in 1079.

² A chamberlain (*camerarius*) named Eckenbert appears in several Worms charters that were issued during the 1130s, suggesting, based on the period, that he was the son of the Eckenbert mentioned by our author as Regenmarus's brother. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 64, 66, and 69–71. Also see the discussion by Knut Schulz, "Das Leben des hl. Eckenbert und die Stiftsgründungen in Frankenthal (um 1125)," in *Vita religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. Franz Josef Felton and Nikolas Jaspert (Berlin, 1999), 141–68, here 146.

his guardian Stephen, of blessed memory.³ While the latter was abbot of the monastery of Limburg, he also administered numerous other abbeys because of the constancy of his rigor and industry.⁴ He was accustomed to have many sons of nobles in his company to whom he provided examples both of honesty and of court administration.⁵

Stephen felt a special type of love for Eckenbert and chose him to be his assistant ahead of the others because he foresaw some type of future goodness in him. He therefore gave Eckenbert exceptionally valuable instruction, more than he gave to the other youths. He urged him to become acquainted with the Psalter. He said that knowledge of literature would not be in any way harmful for one intending to have a military career and would be very useful to one planning to leave the secular world. This conversation was sweet to the one listening and he sought the opportunity to follow this path.⁶

3. Eckenbert therefore returned to the home of his parents and applied himself to the study of scholarly works. As a consequence, while paying attention to these matters while he was present at his elders' discussion of their concerns, he fulfilled before he even understood the call: "Turn your ear, forget your people and the home of your father."⁷ How often did he forget to come home as he was applying himself to his literary dishes while his family gathered together in deliciously appointed splendor? While he often was sought in the homes of his relatives or in the city squares, he was rarely found anywhere but in the

³ Abbot Stephen also administered the monasteries of Weissenburg and Klingenmünster. See *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV. Erster Teil*, ed. Dietrich von Gladiss, MGH *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* vol. 6 (Hanover, 1941), p. lxx, and *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV. Zweiter Teil*, ed. Dietrich von Gladiss, MGH *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* vol. 6 (Hanover, 1952), no. 473.

⁴ The monastery of Limburg, which is located approximately 70 kilometers north of Worms, was an important family monastery of the Salian dynasty. See, for example, *Die Urkunden Konrads II*, no. 180.

⁵ The author's observation regarding the instruction of aristocratic youths in monastic schools indicates important continuities in this type of education dating back to the Carolingian period. See, for example, the discussion by Christophe Dette, "Schüler im frühen und hohen Mittelalter: Die St. Galler Klosterschule des 9. Und 10. Jahrhunderts," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 105 (1994): 7–64. Schulz, "Das Leben des hl. Eckenbert," 147–8, also comments on this passage, and suggests that the author's focus on the education that was available to secular aristocratic youths might warrant a reevaluation of this question by scholars.

⁶ The point here is that Eckenbert followed the advice of Abbot Stephen.

⁷ Genesis 12:1.

schools. The eloquence of sacred scripture was sweeter to him than the eating of special delicacies.

His mother was appalled and his father reproached him because they did not want their son to be a priest but rather a soldier and heir to their riches.⁸ He was seized and sometimes was threatened as well. But since he was accustomed to nothing else more than to study, whenever he was bitterly pulled from it, he returned that much more avidly. And when he had learned certain things in reading, he clung even more vigilantly to sacred scripture, every day thirstily accepting the instruction and the morals drawn from it. We have not heard of anyone in this time in whom divine virtue worked at such a young age and who enjoyed so many gifts.⁹ He was Catholic in his faith, strong in the integrity of his faith, founded in charity, and rooted in truth.

4. He arrived at the fifteenth year of his life with these and other signs of virtue.¹⁰ Because the Lord intended him to be his servant, He gave him a handsome face and filled him with many virtues for the benefit of those who saw him. But his true beauty did not come from the silk clothing in which Eckenbert's mother dressed him, gorgeous in its splendor, agreeable along the wondrous length of his youthful body. Rather, he was attractive on the inside, with a goodness that was visible only to God. Nevertheless, he was beautiful on the outside to other people because of the pleasing character of his way of life. Moreover, the growth of his mind was no less than that of his body. From this point forward, he strove with greater discretion to be less vexing to his father, by not openly spending all of his time in scholarly studies as he had done before. If, however, the opportunity came to him to read, he stole the hours, fled the servants, banished leisure, which is the mother of all sin, and spent his time in prayer and in intense meditation

⁸ This passage provides a clear example of the transition of the term *miles* from a strictly military meaning toward one that has social connotations. Clearly, if the family was already of a "knightly" status, this would come to Eckenbert without his having to do anything. The implication, therefore, is that Eckenbert would take up his expected role as a soldier, almost certainly as a high-ranking soldier, a role expected because of his social and economic status.

⁹ The image presented here of the educational opportunities available to Eckenbert contrasts strongly with the contemporary account of the cleric Guibert of Nogent (1055–1124), also from a socially and economically prominent family, who claims that no one could obtain a good education in his youth. For Guibert's reflections on his own education and life, see *The Autobiography of Guibert, abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy*, trans. C.C. Swinton (New York, 1926).

¹⁰ This is in 1094.

on sacred scripture. He learned, moreover, to pluck the resonant chords with his thumb and to give gracious thanks to his parents' ears.¹¹

Around this time, his father died, in sound mind and intact faith. We trust that his sins, even if they were worthy of crucifixion, were absolved by the cleansing of penance, and that the Omnipotent One granted an indulgence having been overcome mercifully by the prayers of the son. When Regenmarus had been buried and after the law had been satisfied, the widow was worried that the enormous quantity of material goods, which had been collected over a long period of time, would be dissipated very quickly.¹² Therefore, following the advice of her friends, she chose one of the numerous nobles, named Nicholas, who was of the same wealth and nobility as herself, to be her husband.¹³ The youth permitted this to happen because he had read that apostolic law conceded to women that they might be indulged in getting married in the Lord if their bonds of marriage had been dissolved by the death of their husbands.¹⁴

The step-father was familiar with his step-son and so once these events had transpired, the blessed youth freely hurried back to the streams of written texts. If he had once neglected them for fear of his father, he now thirstily strove to regain what he had set aside. In the meantime, the young man, who by this time had begun to be covered by a beautiful down, was overcome by the blandishments of his mother, and began to travel around honorably with a variable company of attendants.¹⁵ Having spent quite a long time in activities of this sort, he began to try to find a wife. Nevertheless, by offering up his mother's useless gold, he still acted for the common good.¹⁶

Eckenbert walked down the streets on which the holy churches were located and threw coins at the feet of the paupers who ran to him. He then fled from their praise so that he would remain unknown. Because of these and similar acts, his mother and his closest friends feared that he would become a monk and began forcefully to demand that he immediately take a concubine. The woman whom

¹¹ The reference here is to Eckenbert's learning to play the cithara.

¹² The Latin term *viduata virgo*, does not mean widowed virgin, but rather a widow who is permitted to be remarried.

¹³ Nicholas is identified below as interceding on behalf of his stepson with King Henry V (incorrectly identified by the author as Lothar). He is not otherwise identified in the text.

¹⁴ The implication is that Eckenbert could have stopped his mother from remarrying, and had control over the family's property since he was now of legal age.

¹⁵ The reference here to a "beautiful down" seems likely to indicate that Eckenbert had begun to grow a beard.

¹⁶ This is a reference to Eckenbert's charitable donations.

he chose was a servant of one of Eckenbert's relatives, the nobleman Rüdiger.¹⁷ She had a pretty face, but was even more noble and beautiful because of the worthiness of her manner of life. She pleased Eckenbert. Then, as his mother had thought would happen, Eckenbert began to act in every way as if they had celebrated legitimate nuptials. But seeing that the girl was not free, Eckenbert immediately redeemed her from her lord.

5. In the meantime, Eckenbert's mother died. So, he now had his entire paternal estate, and was established as the head of his household. He had beautiful horses, expensive clothing, as well as arms gleaming with gold. In the meantime, his friends were waiting expectantly to see what he would propose to do. On the outside, he demonstrated to men the qualities of the honest soldier. But before God, he would rather appear as a monk or a regular cleric.¹⁸ He was not a cleric by dress or profession, but rather by his deeds and by the interpretation of his words. He did not lose the privilege of heavenly habitation because of his cohabitation with this woman, because he possessed her for the sake of having a child rather than out of a desire for human pleasure. He had two sons with her. The first, named Wolfram, became a deacon. The other, named Cuno, became a subdeacon.¹⁹ Both lived under canon law. Afterwards, although they both lived worthily with their father, both died before their father.

6. When a certain important man seized a captive from Eckenbert's estate, and Eckenbert was not able to free him by paying a ransom, he immediately sent his servants, seized the poor man from the important man's hands and brought him into his own house.²⁰ Although the important man wished to take vengeance for this, popular feeling rose against him, so that he fled to the monastery of

¹⁷ A man named Rüdiger von Lachen received a grant from King Henry V in 1116. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, p. 503.

¹⁸ In considering the semantic development of the term *miles*, it should be noted that the author uses *miles* here in a professional sense, contrasting *milites* with monks and regular clerics.

¹⁹ Cuno is the familiar form of Conrad.

²⁰ The author uses the term *centurio* to denote the man who seized one of Eckenbert's dependents. Schulz, "Das Leben des hl. Eckenbert," 149, suggests that this *centurio* should be seen as a judge (Germ. *Richter*). Alexander Kaufmann, "Ein Gedicht auf den hl. Eckenbert, dens Stifter des Klosters Frankenthal," *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte Westdeutschlands* 4 (1878): 25–36, here 29, suggests that Eckenbert's opponent was a count named Werinher. For a Count Werinher at Worms in the early twelfth century, see Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 58, which identifies Bishop Adalbert making a grant on behalf of a Burggraf named Werinher.

St. Peter and hid there for many days. While some people wanted to seize the important man from there by force, the holy man stopped them, wishing to spare the important man rather than to savage him. Finally, following the mediation of other leading men, the important man conceded the peace that Eckenbert had sought. But when Emperor Lothar first came to the city, the important man, mixing the truth with false claims and mindful of the benefice that he had received from the emperor, inflamed the latter's mind against the man of God.²¹

When Eckenbert was summoned by the emperor, he did not want any of his supporters to come with him, hoping to spare them. He went on his way, trusting in the Lord and carrying a little book of the Gospels in his hand, which would serve as recreation for him should he be taken into custody.²² He summoned worthy men to serve as his witnesses. According to the census, they were paupers, but they were rich in faith and in the worthiness of their manner of life.²³ Having nothing to lose, they dared to speak the truth publicly. Accompanied by these men, Eckenbert entered the royal hall, but the emperor was occupied with a variety of business and ordered him to come back another day.²⁴ God ordained

²¹ The author misidentifies the king as Lothar (1125–37) in place of Henry V. It is difficult to date this event because the *res gestae* of Henry V have not been compiled, and his charters have not been edited. The author of the late fifteenth-century Kirschgartner chronicle, in which Eckenbert's *Vita* was preserved, provided a date of 1110 for the visit by Henry V, and also for the fire, which caused so much damage to the city's churches (see the interpolation below). However, the *Vita*, itself, places the fire after Henry V's visit (see below). It is possible that two visits by Henry V were conflated here, one before the fire took place, and one after it took place. In this context, a second visit might be connected with a charter issued by Henry V on August 9, 1111 in which the king confirmed a grant made by his father Henry IV to the cathedral chapter at Worms. See *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV. Dritter Teil*, ed. Alfred Gawlik, MGH *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* vol. 6 (Hanover, 1978), p. 706. Certainly a visit after 1111, when Henry V was emperor, would explain why the author of the Eckenbert text gives him this title. However, it is also possible that there were, in fact, two fires that bracketed one visit by Henry V. This interpretation would help explain how there could have been a fire in 1110, as indicated in the Kirschgartner text, and then a fire after Henry V, as emperor, met with Eckenbert.

²² The reference here to Eckenbert's possession of a little book of the Gospels indicates the diffusion of written texts, particularly religious texts, among the members of the urban secular elite.

²³ This passage indicates that the city of Worms conducted a regular census in which the wealth of the citizens was listed.

²⁴ This is a reference to the imperial palace at Worms.

this from heaven so that his soldier would not present himself to the king before the latter had rid himself of the anger he had conceived against Eckenbert.²⁵

When Eckenbert returned the next day, he found the emperor greatly pacified. Eckenbert's step-father, about whom we spoke above, having set out the entire course of events, not only tempered the king's anger, he also gained the king's grace on behalf of the previously unrecognized sanctity of Eckenbert. Christ, these are the gifts of your kindness. From this hour onwards, Eckenbert was so well thought of by the king that he frequently played the cithara before him. Moreover, the king granted many of Eckenbert's requests even though he refused the requests of many others who asked great things of him. Eckenbert ascribed all of these matters to the action of heaven. Although he lived a secular life, he did not like it at all. Whatever he did, he asked God with continuous prayers that he would not have to remain in the secular world. In the meantime, it happened that as raging fate demands human suffering, the whole city of Worms went up in flames, so that only a few churches remained unburned.²⁶

7. At that time, Eckenbert became deathly ill and grew unspeakably sad. There were ceaseless prayers for him in the churches. His relatives wept over their kinsman who was about to die. The beggars mourned the approaching death of the man who had shown them compassion. Priests were summoned and began to act solicitously for the salvation of his soul. Wolfram, the guardian of the church of St. Paul by whose advice Eckenbert had done many good things, wondered that Eckenbert had persisted in such long relationship with his concubine, and urged and beseeched him to adorn his sexual partner with a transition into matrimony, and to hurry to legitimize the sons she had given him.²⁷ Otherwise, Wolfram assured Eckenbert, he was laboring in vain. Wolfram affirmed that his other good works would not suffice for his salvation if he failed to do these. Eckenbert agreed with the man who was warning him and decided he would act if he found the opportunity to do so. Although his friends were opposed, he married the woman whom he had purchased and he made his sons the heirs of all of his possessions.

²⁵ The author switches back and forth between denoting Henry V as a king and as an emperor. Henry assumed the imperial title in 1111.

²⁶ From the context, the author seems to be implying that the fire took place soon after Henry V's visit. As noted above, the author of the Kirschgartner chronicle dated the fire to 1110.

²⁷ The church of St. Paul was founded by Bishop Burchard of Worms (1000–25) in 1002.

Having done these things and received the body of the Lord, Eckenbert closed his eyes and became silent, giving no sign of life. There was no sign of warmth in his limbs. The priests who were there sang dirges and prayers for him while prayers were said for his soul in all of the churches. In the meantime, his body was displayed, dressed in burial clothing. Wolfram, his elder son, came weeping to see his father's face when he noticed a small motion in his body. He hurried to his mother to tell her that his father was alive. Amazed, everyone else came running hoping for God's mercy. A short time later, Eckenbert arose, his earlier life having been restored. Having recovered his health through God's mercy, Eckenbert filled the ears of his silent friends with what he had seen in his stupor: "I was taken," he said "before the tribunal of a great judge, and subjected to a strict interrogation by a certain accuser. He was enormous and seemed to be made of bronze rather than flesh. His face was marked by a fixed constancy and harshness. After he had thrust many thorns of accusation into me, and when all of the invalid ones had fallen away, one wound continued to stick into me as if incontrovertible. For he said, even if he set aside all of the other sins, he still would point out carnal medicine."²⁸

I stood there amazed and grew pale in face of this judgment. I feared even greater things from such a cruel accuser. I was then taken to a tower that had an amazingly steep ascent. A narrow path rose up a steep grade to its summit. I wanted to climb up but someone resisted me in the narrows of this path so that I could not finish what I tried to do. I seemed to be engaged in an unending wrestling match with him but my weakness was unequal to his comforting strength. I was then led to an immeasurably deep chasm in which the distance from its base to its summit seemed to be the same as the distance from the earth to the moon. Under this was another deep abyss, but a step shaped like the edge of the shore separated it from the summit. Bubbling heavy mist seemed to flow in a frothy mixture around a dead horse. I stood there lifeless near a fortress, completely exhausted. I am not certain what I did, but my accuser was nearby. I was cast into the foul pit of horror and squalid despair. But behold, a woman unexpectedly approached and grabbed me with her right hand. After freeing me from my enormous fear of these dangers, she led me back with her pious companionship."

8. Eckenbert told his story of these amazing dangers to the men who had come to learn what had happened. Among other salutary warnings, he noted that just

²⁸ This is a polite metaphor for sexual activity. See Schulz, "Das Leben des hl. Eckenbert," 152.

as there is nothing more wonderful than the joys of heaven, there is nothing more bitter than the infernal flames. He recalled from memory the name of the man with whom he had wrestled. He also made clear that having regained control of his body, he would never again subject himself to such exertions. Eckenbert explained that he once had lent money to a man oppressed by poverty so that the latter could find a home for himself. But when the man had not been able to repay the money on the specified day, Eckenbert began to use the home for his own.²⁹ Eckenbert might have continued to use the house for his own for even longer, had a beating from God not warned him to return it to the man.

The woman who had saved him was Diza of Worms, well known to many people because of the worthiness of her way of life, the large number of her relatives, and her enormous riches.³⁰ For she had gone to the monastery of St. Gregory in the Black Forest in order to see her father who was professed there as a monk.³¹ And because she had left Eckenbert in such dire straits, she urgently commended him to the prayers of the brothers.³² The common prayer of all of the monks followed her recommendation. The matron Diza said that it was by her intervention and by the humble prayer of the monks and priests that the compassion of the Almighty decreed Eckenbert should return to life.

9. Warned by these signs, Eckenbert began to discuss matters with his wife, recognizing that he wished to leave the world. Nor did she deny him his wishes. She certainly had always followed his desires. Thus, their works of piety grew. They gathered together paupers, washing and feeding them. They gave out money. She sewed clothing to cover the naked. Their house became a resting place for paupers. They did not exclude anyone because of sex, age, or station. Rather, each person experienced the grace of consolation there. The mother and the father touched, anointed, and washed the putrid limbs of those wretched people whom neither the servant or serving girl would deign to see. Their grand possessions

²⁹ The author is making clear that Eckenbert was engaged in money-lending, although there is no specific reference to taking interest.

³⁰ This Diza is not otherwise attested.

³¹ The author is actually referring to the monastery of St. George in the Black Forest. Regarding the relationship between the cathedral chapter at Worms and this monastery, see Kaufmann, "Ein Gedicht auf den hl. Eckenbert, dens Stifter des Klosters Frankenthal," 31, n. 1. Also see the discussion by Schulz, "Das Leben des hl. Eckenbert," 155, who emphasizes the importance of the church reform movement in the Black Forest region, and avers that the reference to the monastery to St. George is intended to make clear the connection between Eckenbert and these reformers.

³² These are the monks at the monastery of St. George.

were lessened every day by these acts. Now the pouches of the paupers held the treasures of heaven. Now that his gold was dissipated and his silver vessels and valuable clothing had been sold, the soldier of Christ, who had hidden so long, was no longer able to hide, now that his life as a secular soldier had been cast off. Because he had learned from the scriptures that whoever gave away what he had and desired to abandon himself went from virtue to virtue, Eckenbert sang along with the psalmist: behold, fleeing I have departed and I remain in solitude. Likewise: I shall lead him into solitude who has spoken to his heart.³³

10. Eckenbert left the city and built a few little houses made of rods and mud in part of a vineyard located near the cemetery of St. Stephen the Protomartyr.³⁴ Once she had changed her manner of dress, Eckenbert had his wife remain there with other women in good standing under the discipline of a regular life.³⁵ He was in a little house set apart from the habitations of the women where he spent his time in prayer and reading and turned his eyes toward the contemplation of his heart. He begged the Divine Mercy that a place of divinity fit for divine services be shown to him. The Lord heard him. But, while He illuminated many places in Eckenbert's mind, something wrong appeared in each one.

Then God sent into Eckenbert's heart that he should look more diligently, having rejected all of his own fields as the site for his foundation. He had two estates in a village called Frankenthal.³⁶ Through God's providence, he had not sold them. Eckenbert had kept them for himself in the hope of using them as the basis for constructing a basilica. He diligently inspected them but found nothing there that was appropriate to a cell except that there were wide vistas. If he did establish a cell here, this property would make it possible to expand the cell into the fields.

The soil was sandy, and unproductive because of its natural dryness. It had no forest cover, and no source of irrigation from permanently standing water. Moreover, heavy flooding from the Rhine as well as a bog that touched against almost the entire length of the property ruined both the grain-growing

³³ See Psalm 54:8, and Hosea 2:14.

³⁴ The chapel of St. Stephen is situated nearby the cathedral; however, the associated cemetery was located outside the walls of the city.

³⁵ The implication is that Eckenbert's wife took on the habit of a professed woman and lived under a rule.

³⁶ Frankenthal is located approximately 12 kilometers south of Worms.

and pasture areas.³⁷ Nevertheless, it was here that he hoped to found his future congregation.

The constancy of this man was not moved at all as he diligently contemplated the length and breadth of his entire holding. But it was not enough for him to wander through his own property, he also considered intently the neighboring field as well. This field was three *iugera* in size and belonged to a nobleman.³⁸ The property seemed more suited for the building of a church both because its low-lying area was well irrigated by winter rains, and because it was located somewhat further from the village. Eckenbert asserted that divine providence, which was not lacking in this endeavor, had predestined this land for his ministry from the beginning of time. Moreover, it had made clear the future good that was to take place here with prodigies of the same type that have been reported to us by our ancestors. Some impious soldiers once came to this property, which today holds the convent of St. Mary Magdalene, to take fodder for their horses.³⁹ As they imposed burdens on the horses that were too heavy, and then climbed onto the horses themselves, amazingly all of their spears seemed to stand erect, and to burn like kindling with fire sent from heaven. From this time onward, this place has been named after that event.⁴⁰

11. Therefore, since the site of this field seemed, in the view of the most holy man, to be more appropriate than any other, he began to enter into a negotiation with the man who owned it. When the day set for the negotiation arrived, the aforementioned man, named Ernst, inflamed by divine enlightenment, freely gave the field to the man wishing to negotiate for it.

Having obtained the opportunity for carrying out his work, Eckenbert did not immediately leave the cottage that he established in a suburb of Worms. Instead, he ordered the deacon Godfrey and the layman Gosmannus, whom he had attracted with his pleasing conversation and with whom he had the closest relationship above all others, to begin construction. In the meantime, Eckenbert prayed and read, and gave salvific instruction to those who came to him. But he never went to the site to look around. It happened that the day when the foundation was being set, he was not able to be there because he was engaged in

³⁷ The author of the text was well-versed in the kinds of soil and irrigation that were necessary for productive farming.

³⁸ An *iugerum* is a unit of land measuring 240 by 120 feet.

³⁹ This is in Frankenthal.

⁴⁰ Neither the original author of this *vita*, nor the compiler of the *Kirschgartner Chronik* indicate what this name is.

an important piece of business.⁴¹ The aforementioned brothers, having begun the task of building the site, insisted on completing the work according to the model that had been given to them.⁴² They ought, however, to have used the material that was available to them to copy the example of the church of St. Amandus, which is located in a suburb of Worms.⁴³ Some good men from the villages urged them to expand the foundation in order that, for the sake of divine clemency, it not fail. Piously obedient, the builders consented to follow the advice that these men kindly offered about modifying the basilica so that it turned out as it is seen today. The servant of God accepted this with equanimity since he recognized that this would not have happened except through the providence of omnipotent God.⁴⁴

12. However, the kindler of all evils, the devil, tried in every way to impede the proposed beginning of this sacred structure since he suspected that it would be used for the church. Certain people stole all of the beams that had been carried in from nearby villages to bear the stones. Certain secular clerics worrying about what was theirs rather than what belonged to Jesus Christ and fearing that they would be deprived of their wealth, impeded the beginning of the work as much as they could. These clerics were enraged that their women were frequenting this place and so attempted to lure away the women who resided in their own little convent.⁴⁵

But God's strength prevailed, and with His protection, the work went forward with amazing speed. In the meantime, the servant of Christ, more humble than anyone, left the city and decided to remain in his tiny little house, which was only in the first stages of its construction. But he did not stray from his saintly manner of life. He was constantly at prayer, took frequent part in the readings, and gave wonderful counsel to those seeking it. He offered paternal advice to those weak in spirit. Pilgrims received provisions from the gifts that were given, with divine support, in this place. Widows received food, and paupers received clothing. Eckenbert wore rough undergarments around his middle, and was

⁴¹ The foundation for the church was laid in 1119.

⁴² It appears that Godfrey and Gosmannus were actually brothers.

⁴³ This church was named after Bishop Amandus of Worms, who was raised to his see in 635 by the Merovingian ruler, King Dagobert I.

⁴⁴ Eckenbert accepted the changes in the structure of the church building.

⁴⁵ It is not clear whether the first reference to women should be understood as denoting the wives or concubines of the secular priests, or simply the women to whom they previously had provided pastoral care. The second reference to women appears to denote the community that Eckenbert had established under the direction of his wife.

accustomed to carry an iron chain from his shoulders down to his chest that was divided into four parts in the manner of a cross.

Because of the numerous signs of his goodness, many people were moved by his words and example. They left everything, choosing poverty. As a result, in a short period of time, the place could no longer hold all of the people who had gathered there to be part of the monastery. Recognizing this, the energetic holy man ordered that the entire area be enclosed with a very strong fence. Until the church was completed, he enclosed within this protection the sisters whom he led out from Worms and also those who had gathered there from the nearby village.

The large church was completed and dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene on June 12 on the feast of the holy martyrs Cirinus, Nabor, and Nazarius.⁴⁶

13. [This is what it states in the history of St. Eckenbert.⁴⁷ But the catalogue of our bishops has it as follows. In the year of the incarnation 1125, in the third indiction, on the 14th intercalary day, the basilica was first dedicated by Lord Buggo, the venerable bishop of Worms, on June 12, to St. Mary Magdalene.⁴⁸ In 1110, in the third indiction, when the church of St. Peter, which had partly been destroyed by fire, had been repaired, as happened in the year noted above, Emperor Henry V the king came to Worms with many archbishops, bishops, and other nobles.⁴⁹ He asked Bishop Buggo that he consecrate this house while King Henry was present. Agreeing to this pious request, the relics were replaced in the altar of St. Peter and the church was dedicated on June 6 in honor of the holy and indivisible trinity and the most holy mother of God the eternally virgin Mary, by Archbishop Bruno of Trier aided by Bishop Bruno of Speyer, Bishop Renouard of Eichstädt, Bishop Albuin of Merseburg, and Bishop Herwig of Meissen.⁵⁰ Almost 126 years had passed between the dedication made by the blessed Bishop Burchard, builder of the Worms cathedral, in the time of Emperor Henry II, and the dedication made by Bishop Buggo of

⁴⁶ The church was dedicated in 1125.

⁴⁷ The text within the brackets is an interpolation by the author of the Kirschgartner chronicle.

⁴⁸ Buggo is a nickname for Bishop Burchard II (1120–49).

⁴⁹ Henry V did not become emperor until 1111.

⁵⁰ Archbishop Bruno of Trier (1102–24), Bishop Bruno of Speyer (1107–23), Bishop Albuin of Merseburg (1097–1112), and Bishop Herwig of Meissen (1106–1119). In 1110, the bishop of Eichstädt was Eberhard I (1099–1112).

Worms in the time of Henry V, discussed above.⁵¹ Moreover, this was not the last. In 1142, in the fourth indiction, Bishop Buggo of Worms consecrated the large basilica in Frankenthal in honor of St. Mary, the mother of God and of the other saints. Likewise, in 1181, in the 14th indiction, on the third intercalary day, while Emperor Frederick reigned and Alexander held the apostolic see,⁵² the third part of the large basilica at Frankenthal was dedicated on June 12 by the venerable Bishop Conrad II of Worms⁵³ in honor of our Lord Jesus Christ, his mother Mary, and especially to St. Mary Magdalene and the other saints. The foundation for the basilica of St. Mary Magdalene was first set in 1119, in the 12th indiction on the 7th intercalary day, on April 25th on the feast of Mark the evangelist, by the venerable father Lord Eckenbert of blessed memory. In 1139, in the 5th indiction, the sister church in Frankenthal was dedicated to the honor of St. Stephen. Afterward, however, it was consecrated in honor of all of the saints on the feast of the apostles Simon and Jude, just as it is noted in the *History* of Eckenbert. But the foundation for the smaller sister church in Frankenthal was set in 1125, in the 3rd indiction, on the 14th intercalary day, on May 10th, that is on the feast of Gordianus and Epimachus.

The reader should not marvel if I, desiring to write the deeds of our city, turn to writing the deeds of the monastery in Frankenthal. For it is to the honor of our city that such a great light and shoot spring from it and that it brings forth so many buds, that is, that it creates so many illustrious men.]

14. Therefore, as the priests and deacons came pouring in because of their reverence for this amazing inhabitant of heaven, and since such a multitude could not be without the leadership of a spiritual father, they approached Eckenbert, who was filled with wisdom, and sought his advice about choosing a pastor. They named the person toward whom every person's spirit was inclined. However, fearing that a person sought from elsewhere would be to the detriment rather than to the benefit of the new foundation, Eckenbert sought with paternal advice to turn aside the spirits of those desirous of new things until someone, by God's mercy, would come forth from their own congregation who would be better suited to bear the burden of this labor. But he recognized that everyone's thoughts tended otherwise and that his advice was seen as poor, so he

⁵¹ The consecration of the cathedral by Bishop Burchard I took place on June 9, 1018. See the *Vita Burchardi*, ch. 14. Consequently, there were 92 years between the two dedications and not 126.

⁵² Emperor Frederick I (1152–90) and Pope Alexander III (1159–83).

⁵³ Bishop Conrad II (1171–92).

gave in to the multitude, to the loss of everyone who had not consented to the wiser choice.

They chose a certain church canon named Bechtold of Springiersbach. Once he was established in the pastoral office, Bechtold created factions among the people. Receiving more noble people, he raised up the self-promoters. However, spurning justice, he burdened beyond measure the weak and the common people. At first there were murmurs. Then there were disputes. Finally, rivalries and other matters of this type arose. They were hidden, however, until the sisters were enclosed in the monastery called Lesser Frankenthal. After a short time had passed, the aforementioned Bechtold saw that he was not honored, as he wished, by his detractors. Moreover, business with the outside world was being conducted more by Eckenbert than by himself. Bechtold therefore wished to leave rather than to continue in his effort to rule while not gaining any advantage. Consequently, he absolved everyone from obedience to himself and handed over the care of their souls to the venerable lord Bishop Buggo of Worms.⁵⁴

15. So, at first having set aside, by their own free choice, the decision that had been made by the wiser among them, they now acted with the sanction and paternal love of the blessed man.⁵⁵ Although Eckenbert was a layman, he seemed to be the most humble of the humble. Everyone feared to defend anything that appeared to displease Eckenbert. The young men revered him. The older men honored his sanctity. Whenever he made a declaration about a matter, everyone considered this to have the force of law. This unanimity shone forth among the brothers, and the same sanctity and observation of charity coruscated among the sisters. The latter included Richlindis, the one-time wife of Eckenbert, who saw herself as a servant rather than as a mistress. She was more obedient than everyone else, and she was more reasonable than all the rest. She comforted the ill, consoled the weak, exposed the malcontents, and turned the most obstreperous into the most obedient. She was the mother of peace and concord, and a corroborator in maintaining discipline. She had a heavenly gift so that whenever the lady gave an order to distribute something, a great abundance was distributed to the proper recipients. Supported by two columns such as these, the congregation, established for divine service, begged that they be granted a pastor who was fit to govern this multitude.

⁵⁴ Bishop Burchard II.

⁵⁵ The implication here is that the wiser members among the congregation had argued against the decision to bring in Bechtold, and now were receiving a hearing following Bechtold's disastrous performance.

While the churchmen, who had been summoned into council to choose a priest, were vigilantly working according to the canonical rules and in fear of God, the man of God feared that they would choose his son Wolfram the deacon. Instead, and completely without his knowledge, those who were leading the selection process chose Eckenbert. They chose the unwilling father and presented him to the pleased clerics and joyful laypeople. A few days later, fitted out in a clerical tonsure, he was presented to the bishop. The joyful bishop consoled him, saying that it was not possible to change what God's wisdom and power had ordained. But this humble servant of Christ poured prayers on top of prayers begging most intently that he be absolved of this task. In the bitterness of his spirit, he was bound to point out that he had not asked for this and said: let my tongue cling to the roof of my mouth if I ever order that I be spoken of as being in orders.⁵⁶ Because he said this without premeditation, he was able to get around this oath without offense. Nevertheless, he kept this caution up to his death. He ordered that he be mentioned as being in orders as the prior of the convent although he personally presided in the chapter.⁵⁷

Having accepted sacred orders over time, he did not change the form of his earlier humility, as many people are accustomed to do.⁵⁸ As a certain wise man said: Some have proper values because they desire honors, but their values change once they acquire honors.⁵⁹ Eckenbert did not act in this way. He was humble, truthful in speech, just in his judgments, and wise in giving council. He was conspicuous in his goodness, faithful in his acts, vigorous in his mediation, and outstanding in the general worthiness of his way of life. He therefore busied himself in his priestly status and shone forth in the honor of his pastoral office, not only at Frankenthal but also at three other monasteries called Lobenfeld, Höningen, and Mühlheim.⁶⁰ He confirmed the privileges that they had received just as he did in his own foundation.

16. [It states in the aforementioned *Historia* of St. Eckenbert, which is in Frankenthal, that Emperor Lothar II besieged the city of Worms, but no cause is

⁵⁶ See Psalm 136:6.

⁵⁷ Rather than living separate from the other men in quarters prepared for a prior, Eckenbert chose to live among the rest of the congregation as an equal.

⁵⁸ Eckenbert eventually became a priest.

⁵⁹ The source of this quotation is not clear.

⁶⁰ Lobenfeld is located near Heidelberg, approximately 50 kilometers southeast of Worms. Höningen is located some 25 kilometers southwest of Worms. Mühlheim is located seven kilometers north of Worms.

given there why he besieged the city, or how long he besieged the city.⁶¹ I wonder at this. Nor have I found this in other chronicles. According to the *Historia*, Eckenbert led the sisters from the suburb in Frankenthal during the siege of the city. Similarly, it states afterward that when St. Eckenbert was sent to the siege of Worms to placate the emperor, he did not ride but rather walked there along the road and finished his journey at a place called Neuhausen accompanied by just one brother.]⁶²

17. Seeing a poor man naked on the road, but not having anything to give him, Eckenbert took off his hat and gave it to him, and then departed. Not long afterward, Eckenbert saw another poor man. He then took off his shoes and handed them over to him. When it became clear that he could not do what he had been sent to do, Eckenbert obtained the king's grace to gather together the sisters who had been collected in the suburb. He then placed them on a ship and took them back to Frankenthal.

Arriving some time later at a synod at Mainz, St. Eckenbert fled a rich man's house and remained in the home of a poor man. When the synod was over, he sent a brother to find some hirelings to clean out the stables. While the brother was out, he cleaned out the dung before they arrived. He nevertheless left pay for the men who came. On another occasion, he saw a large number of poor men sitting under a covered gallery destitute of all hope. He bought wine for all of them from a nearby tavern and gave it to them with his own hands, thereby taking care of the thirst of these infirm men. He also had hay carried out and handed to each of the men who lacked a bed. When he came one time to Bobenheim in wintertime, he saw numerous paupers there and not a one who was able to get around without a horse or wagon.⁶³ He burst into tears not knowing what to do. But behold, a man was coming around the bend with a carriage. With a prayer and a payment to the man, he got all of them into the vehicle. When the rain mixed with snow began to chill them, the man of God went to cover them with his cloak, but the brother accompanying him took care of this task before him. With the boys wrapped up in his clothing, the brother headed to the cell wearing nothing but his tunic. In the meantime, having hastened outside, Eckenbert arrived a short time later, accompanying Christ in his poverty. He

⁶¹ The text within the brackets is an interjection by the author of the Kirschgartner text. What follows constitutes a continuation of the *Vita Eckenberti*. There is no other record of King Lothar having besieged Worms.

⁶² Neuhausen is a district in the modern city of Worms, just north of the city center.

⁶³ Bobenheim is located eight kilometers south of Worms.

found still other paupers, oppressed by poverty, had gathered there. Eckenbert received them very happily. Nor did he eat before he had fed them all.

A certain man set out abroad and handed over his property to the holy man under the condition that if he had not returned within a specified time, the property would be granted to the poor for the salvation of his soul. He set out and did not return within the set time. Eckenbert therefore gave the man's goods to the poor. Afterward, the man returned and sought his goods. The holy man, taking over the other's alms as his own, returned his property for free.

Long before, in the time of his youth, Eckenbert had struck one of his servants with a stick because the man had offended him. After Eckenbert's change of life, this man began to hate the holy man of God in a stiff-necked manner. So, frequently making trouble, he made threats that he would never dare to carry out. Eckenbert never contradicted him but rather piously responded: "If my servants struck you, dearest brother, because of my anger, I do not flee from being beaten by you, I desire it. Strike me, impose on me whatever punishments your anger demands." Struck dumb by this, the man could not keep from bursting into tears. He was then lifted up and sent on his way with gifts and a blessing.

This holy man did many, miracles which we have written about in the deeds of the regular canons.⁶⁴ Through God's revelations, he knew many of the words and deeds of the brothers engaged in business outside, and he objected to what they had done, when they returned, as if he had been there in person. It would take too long to write about the many other things that the Lord carried out through him. He had foreknowledge of his own death. He became ill because of too many fasts and vigils. He was not able to hide any longer that his body was weak. Lying in his bed, he did not fear to die, nor did he give up on living for the sake of his flock. In truth, he gave himself over to the will of God. He strengthened the brothers coming to see him with his good advice and he encouraged them to seek peace and holiness without which no one will see God. Then, having devotedly received the sacraments of the church, he went to sleep in the Lord in the third year after his ordination and in the fifty-third year of his entire life.

18. Who could possibly set out how much sadness accompanied his death. At last, the brothers picked up the body of their dear master, covering him with a priestly cloak, and bore him to the church. Because it was Christmas eve, they put off burying him until the feast of St. Stephen.⁶⁵ An infinite number of people of both sexes gathered from all over and asked that the dead man's body be shown

⁶⁴ This text does not appear to have survived.

⁶⁵ This feast takes place on December 26.

to them. When this was done, there was a great outpouring of tears. While some people threw coins onto the bier, a woman who wished to give money to the living collected the coins in her hands. After mass had been celebrated before the altar of St. Mary, he was buried under the flight of stairs of the same sanctuary by the venerable lord Bishop Buggo of Worms in front of an immense crowd of clerics and laypeople. It was 1132, in the tenth indiction, during the reign of the vigorous King Lothar, emperor of the Romans. His wife, the holy Richlindis, who was mistress of the sisters in Lesser Frankenthal, died a happy woman on August 31. Deacon Wolfram, the elder son of St. Eckenbert, died on May 29.⁶⁶ These are among the men, among your illustrious men O Worms, who brought you up from the beginning and who leave in you traces of their sanctity.

⁶⁶ The date for the death of Wolfram refers only to the day and not the year in which he died.

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Chronicon Wormatiense

With respect to Brunhild. Brunhild established many communities of priests and monks in Burgundy and Austrasia.¹ Among these, the monastery of St. Vincent still exists outside the walls of Lyon. Another one, namely Lingenfelt, where she was buried with the permission of Lothar, still exists in the lands of the Hedui.² She dedicated many churches and places to St. Martin to whom she was especially devoted. She did so much that if you were to compare the expenditure with Brunhild's resources you would be surprised that a woman built so many churches in a single generation. When she was campaigning against Lothar, Brunhild stayed at Worms, which was the capital of the Vangian people.³

On the feast of St. Margaret 1221, a fire broke out at dawn in the city of Worms in the house of Reimar, which was located opposite from the marketplace.⁴ All of the merchants' houses and the old districts up to the hospital were burnt. The entire marketplace was destroyed in the fire. It was similar in the Hagen neighborhood and the greater part of the wool district. The citizens of Worms incurred enormous damages as a result of the fire.

A fire broke out at Worms in July 1231 in the house of the knight Herbord in the neighborhood of the bakers.⁵ The monastery of St. Paul burned down as did everything from the Jewish gate down to the Pavonum gate, and everything that was located along the Rhine. The damages suffered cannot be calculated.

¹ Queen Brunhild (543–613) was the wife of the Merovingian king Sigebert I (561–75), and then wielded power as a regent for her son and grandsons. Austrasia was one of the subordinate kingdoms that comprised the *Regnum Francorum* under the Merovingian dynasty. Among its most important cities were Rheims, Metz, Trier, Cologne, and Worms.

² Caesar used "Hedui" as a synonym for the Burgundians. See *De bello Gallico*, 5.12.1. Lothar is the Merovingian king Chlothar II (597–629), who ultimately executed Brunhild for murder.

³ Early in its history, the people living in the region of Worms were called Vangiones.

⁴ This is July 13, 1221. The man Reimar may be the same one who is listed as a witness in an exchange agreement between a woman named Jutta Schmidfeld and the monastery of St. Andrew at Worms. See Heinrich Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 133.

⁵ The author uses the term "*miles*" to denote Herbord. This is a title that indicates the man's juridical and social status, and should not be confused with the military use of the term, to denote a soldier, which was the basic meaning in earlier centuries.

On the day before the vigil of St. John the Baptist 1234, a fire broke out at the estate of Sigelus Gozmari, which is now called Schönek.⁶ The entire city burned. In the lower portion of the city, the destruction went up to the walls, while in the upper part of the city the destruction went as far as the boundary of the district of St. Peter near the river.⁷

At vespers on April 13, which was Palm Sunday 1242, a horrible fire broke out near the church of St. Andrew. More than half of the city, along with all of the churches located in those areas, burned down completely. More than 300 people were burned and suffocated in the fire. Who could calculate this loss!⁸

At compline on the vigil of the feast of the apostles Philip and James 1259, a fire broke out in the home of the Weinheimers that lay across from the Wackerpil estate.⁹ More than half of the city burned in this horrible fire, and the damage was so great that it no longer even looked like a city. The fire lasted all night long and caused enormous damage. This horrible fire cost the city of Worms more than 150,000 marks.¹⁰ Of particular importance was the loss of the engines and equipment as well as the tackle for the horses, which the city commune had.¹¹ These were all burned in the arsenal along with the wagon, which was called a *Stanthart*, at an estimated cost of 1,000 marks.¹²

⁶ Sigelo the son of Gozmarus appears in numerous charters issued at Worms in the period 1251–63. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 228, 234, 236, 263, 271, 304, 305, 308, and 311. Palm Sunday fell on June 22 in 1242.

⁷ The *vicus* of St. Peter is the property that is located around the cathedral church at Worms.

⁸ This fire is also noted in the *Annales Spirenses*, ed. G.H. Pertz MGH SS 17 (Hanover, 1861), 84.

⁹ The feast of Sts. Philip and James is on 1 May. The knight (*miles*), Henry Wackerpil appears in eleven surviving charters in the period 1241–79. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 200, 276, 292, 304, 305, 344, 352, 359, 364, 367, and 390.

¹⁰ A mark is a unit of account amounting to 2/3 of a pound, that is 13 shillings and 8 pence.

¹¹ The city of Worms possessed its own armory and artillery. See the discussion of this topic by David S. Bachrach, "Urban Military Forces of England and Germany c. 1240–c. 1315, A Comparison," in *Mercenaries and Paid Fighting Men: The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. John France (Turnhout, 2008), 231–42, and idem, "Making Peace and War," 505–25.

¹² The *Stanthart* was the equivalent of an Italian *carroccio*, and provided a rallying point for the urban militia when it fought a battle in the field.

In 1269, a horrible fire broke out in Worms the middle of the night near the convent of the Preachers.¹³ Because of the strong winds, almost half of the city burned down.

On the feast of the apostles Philip and James in 1298, a great part of the city along the bank of the river where the wool workers and tanners are located was destroyed by fire.¹⁴

The city of Worms suffered such incalculable losses in these great fires that it was hardly able to survive. Many other smaller fires broke out as well but they cannot be listed individually.

In 1221, the brothers minor came to Worms for the first time.¹⁵ They obtained a house nearby St. Nazarius. Afterward they moved nearby the district of St. Peter.¹⁶

The preaching brothers first came to Worms to stay in 1226 when they purchased the estate of the knight Werner on the street of the saddle makers and began to build there. Although the citizens favored them, the lord bishop Henry was opposed to the Dominicans.¹⁷ The bishop tried in every possible way to remove them from the city, and the clergy always supported him. But nothing worked. He heard that the son of his brother, the count of Leiningen, named Eberhard, who was in the order and died in their convent, was buried on the Dominicans' land.¹⁸ Going there, the bishop ordered that his brother's son be dug up. Having assembled the entire clergy of the city, the bishop then ordered that his nephew be carried away and buried properly in the vault of the cathedral.¹⁹ Finally, after a great deal of legal wrangling, he forced the brothers to leave and to remove their buildings from their present location.²⁰ With divine assistance, they moved to a larger and better place, namely the estate of Hiltegund, called "before the mint"

¹³ The Preachers are the Dominicans.

¹⁴ May 1, 1298.

¹⁵ The brothers minor are the Franciscans.

¹⁶ In 1229, Pope Gregory IX (1227–41) sent a letter to Bishop Henry II of Worms (1217–34) complaining that he had not taken sufficient action against those in his diocese who were interfering in the work of the Franciscans and Dominicans. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 146.

¹⁷ Bishop Henry II of Worms.

¹⁸ Bishop Henry's brother was Count Frederick II of Leiningen (1220–37), and it was the latter's son who became a Dominican.

¹⁹ The Dominicans at Worms were the beneficiaries of numerous charters. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 145, 146, 149, 150, 151, 153, 162, and 167.

²⁰ The brothers here are the Dominicans.

which they purchased with their own money and with the aid of good men. They obtained both the house and the lands around it, with all of its appurtenances.

In March 1227, more than four hundred citizens left Worms all at the same time. They were marked with the cross to support the Holy Land across the sea.²¹ At the same time, Lord Frederick the magnificent, the second emperor of this name, also crossed the sea. He would have conquered the Holy Land immediately if the lord pope had not attacked his cities in Apulia and Sicily in his absence, excommunicating the emperor on both sides of the sea.²² Because of the innumerable difficulties and losses which the pope had set into motion and caused him, it was necessary for Frederick to return from the Holy Land without having finished his task. This will weigh on the Christian people until the end of time. The pilgrims who survived returned to their own lands. When the lord emperor returned to his own lands, he and the lord pope were immediately reconciled. Afterward, the pagans entered the holy city of Jerusalem. Remaining there, they destroyed the tower of David and caused enormous troubles for the Christian people.²³

In 1231, a horrible plague and exceptionally heavy sentence fell with divine permission. A certain brother named Conrad Dorso arrived. He was a lay brother from the Order of Preachers accompanied by a secular priest named John. The latter was half-blind, maimed, and truly totally worthless. These two first began in the upper reaches of the Rhine among the poor, saying that they could recognize heretics. And they began to burn them as certain of them confessed that they were guilty and did not wish to abandon their sects. When the people saw that they were burning people of this type, they continually supported and aided Conrad and John, with merit, because these kinds of people were worthy of death. When these two men saw that the people supported them in this manner, they kept on going further and seized whomever they wished

²¹ Frederick II (1194–1250), the son of King Henry VI of Germany (1190–97) and grandson of Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90), inherited the Sicilian kingdom from his mother Constance in 1198. Frederick was crowned king of Germany in 1212 and conquered the German kingdom from Otto IV, who died in exile in 1218. Frederick obtained the imperial crown in 1216. Frederick II began a long-expected crusade in 1227, but was forced to return to Italy due to illness. As a result, he was excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX, who had been demanding for several years that the king finally undertake the crusade that he had promised more than a decade earlier. Frederick was able to undertake his crusade the next year, in 1228, and landed at Acre in September. However, during his absence, Pope Gregory authorized the invasion of Frederick's lands in southern Italy.

²² Pope Gregory IX excommunicated Frederick II in 1227.

²³ Jerusalem was captured and partially sacked by Muslim forces in July 1244.

in whatever city or village they wanted. They did not offer any evidence other than saying to the judges: “these are heretics, we wash our hands of them.” It was therefore left for the judges to burn these people. But they did not keep to either the letter or the spirit of sacred scripture. The whole of the clergy everywhere was very upset about this. But because the common rabble everywhere clung to these unjust judges, their will prevailed everywhere. They condemned many people who in the hour of death called upon Lord Jesus Christ with all of their hearts, and implored the aid of the holy mother of God and of all the saints even while they were in the blazing fire. Hear how horrible this was!

Then, when these imperfect and merciless judges realized that they would not be able to prevail without the help of the lords, they gained the support of Lord Henry the king and the lords in this manner: “See, if we burn many rich people, you will have their goods. In the episcopal cities, let the bishop receive half, and the king or some other judge the other part.”²⁴ The overjoyed lords helped them and led them into their cities and villages, digging pits for themselves. And so many died because of their property, which their lords then seized for themselves. Seeing this, the people, now afraid and miserable, said to them: “Why are you doing this?” They responded, answering in their depraved manner: “We would burn 100 innocents if there were just one guilty man among them.”

At this point, the whole earth trembled and the strong no longer had any strength. These two men, in order to gain further strength, went to Brother Conrad of Marburg, who had been the confessor of St. Elizabeth and was considered to be some kind of prophet.²⁵ Having gained his support, they proceeded just as he wished because he was a judge without mercy. They then kept to the road on which they had started using the power of the judges to seize whomever they wished. Those who confessed to heresy, as many innocent people did in order to save their lives, had their heads shaved above the ears and had to go about in this manner for as long as Conrad, John, and Conrad wanted.

²⁴ Frederick II's son Henry (called Henry VII) was at Worms on June 2, 1231. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 152.

²⁵ Elizabeth of Thuringia was canonized as a saint on May 27, 1235. She became the patron saint of the Teutonic Knights. Conrad of Marburg served in the Albigensian Crusade in southwestern France and then as a confessor to Elizabeth of Thuringia. At various points during the 1220s, he held commissions from Pope Honorius III (1216–27) to combat heresy in Germany. Following a series of successes in rooting out heretics, and after receiving letters of recommendation for his good work from both Archbishop Dietrich II of Trier (1212–42) and Siegfried III of Mainz (1230–49), Conrad received a commission from Pope Gregory IX (1159–81) to serve as a papal inquisitor.

They burned those who refused. Their will prevailed everywhere because Brother Conrad was an exceptionally skillful and educated man. These three attacked many lords, nobles, knights, and citizens. They shaved many of them and burned many others. O wonder to behold! Certain of the preachers and others from the lesser brothers supported them.²⁶ They took orders from them and, indeed, those who accepted orders from no one beside the holy see, obeyed them and set fires alongside them.²⁷

Seeing that they faced no resistance, they addressed the lord king, the bishops, and the respectable clergy, desiring to investigate them for heresy. They brought heated charges against Lord Henry, the illustrious count of Sayn, a powerful and rich Christian who lived an exemplary life.²⁸ They asserted that he had ridden in darkness, and that unless he confessed they would investigate his excellent castles in the company of little old ladies.²⁹ This count, as a most Christian man, was able to defend his Catholic faith in every possible way, and asked Lord Siegfried, the archbishop of Mainz, to summon his suffragen bishops and the entire clergy of his province. This was done at Mainz.³⁰

Brother Conrad of Marburg and his fellow judges arrived there. The count set out the course of his life with the aid of the testimony of worthy and religious men, and proved his Catholic faith honorably and satisfactorily in front of everyone. All of the bishops and the entire clergy accepted this testimony. This was not sufficient, however, for Brother Conrad, the harshest of the judges. Nor would he and his fellows retreat from this view even after they had been called on to do so by all of the bishops and their clergy. At this point, all of his close supporters urged the count to take his case to the apostolic see. He did this immediately.³¹ He asked that good masters from among the clergy be assigned to him. This was granted at once. Then the good cleric, the dean of Mainz, and Master Volzo, an exceptional cleric and canon from Worms, as well as others from Speyer and Strassburg promised to go to the Roman curia to defend the

²⁶ The lesser brothers are the Franciscans.

²⁷ Pope Gregory IX granted to Conrad the authority to act as a papal inquisitor in 1231.

²⁸ See *Annales Erphordenses*, ed. G.H. Pertz MGH SS 16 (Hanover, 1869), 28, which provides an account of the effort to investigate the Count Henry III of Sayn (d. 1247) from a Dominican perspective.

²⁹ The implication of the “little old ladies” is not clear here.

³⁰ This assembly took place on July 25, 1233.

³¹ The pope at this time was Alexander IX.

count, the lords, and all of Germany.³² They prepared without delay and set out to see the pope. They made clear to the pope with good letters from the lord king, the bishops, the lords, and the cities how this nasty business had happened, all the while complaining about the way matters had turned out. When he heard the news, the pope sighed frequently and said: “we are amazed that you permitted such unheard-of judgments for such a long time without letting us know about them. We do not wish that such things should be permitted. We completely reject them and set them aside. We do not permit horrors of the type that you have described to us.”³³

It happened that in the meantime, when these solemn messengers had left, Brother Conrad of Marburg and brother Gerhard Lutzelkolbo from the order of minorites,³⁴ his companion, rode home. Some knights and others, whose families or even who themselves had been defamed or condemned by Conrad and Gerhard, followed them and killed them.³⁵ Brother Dorso was killed at Strassburg and John was hung at Friedburg.³⁶ Immediately, some others from the brothers Preachers, who had followed the dead men because of the demands of their own honor and of holy scripture, sent a messenger to the Roman curia about their deaths. Hearing this report, the pope said in the presence of the messengers: “Behold, the Germans were always ferocious, and now they have ferocious judges.” Since the messengers from the lords of Germany were easily at hand, the pope happily sent them back, firmly ordering that they not support any sentences accept those instituted in the spirit of the holy fathers and sacred scripture, and that they always firmly observe this rule in any matters that touch on the inquisition of heretics. The lord pope affirmed that all those clerics who had participated in, consented to, or seen these acts had been acting irregularly.³⁷ With divine aid, Germany was freed from this unheard-of and outrageous judgment. The losses suffered in Worms and elsewhere can hardly be described or enumerated.

³² Volzo appears as both a canon and as a *magister* in several Worms charters in the period 1233–38. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 164, 170, and 189.

³³ It is not clear whether this papal letter is still extant.

³⁴ These are the Franciscans.

³⁵ July 30, 1233. See *Annales Erpbordenses*, 29.

³⁶ Friedberg is located approximately 25 kilometers north of Frankfurt.

³⁷ On October 21, 1233, Pope Gregory IX sent a letter to Bishop Conrad II of Hildesheim (1221–46) asking him to take the hospital of St. Mary at Marburg under his protection because Conrad of Marburg, the papal inquisitor, had been murdered. See *Hessisches Urkundenbuch 1. Abteilung: Urkundenbuch der Deutschen Ordens-Ballei Hessen*, ed. Arthur Wyss (Leipzig, 1879), 35–6.

Great and horrible evils arrived in 1241, namely that an innumerable and unconquerable horde of Tartars invaded Hungary and inflicted unheard-of and awe-inspiring losses, killing the Christian people and destroying cities and villages.³⁸ And when they arrived at the borders of Austria no one was able to resist them. Hearing of this, Lord Siegfried, the archbishop of Mainz, desired to provide help to the Christian people living in this province. After receiving good counsel, he ordered that processions with relics and prayers be held throughout the province of Mainz and that masses be celebrated against the Tartars. All of these orders were carried out because the people were desperate. He also ordered and instructed that the cross be preached throughout the province.³⁹ And so it was preached with great diligence throughout the province in such a manner that all of those who were marked with the cross against the Tartars would receive a remission of all of their sins. Those who either could not or did not wish to go in person could contribute from their goods as much as the Lord inspired them, so that these goods could be distributed among the needy who were going. Almost the entire population was marked with the cross. An infinite amount of money was gathered from everywhere. Then new news arrived that the Tartars had turned to other regions.⁴⁰ The bishops and the lords divided among themselves the money that had been collected. But Lord Landolf, the bishop of Worms, ordered that the money that had been gathered in Worms and in the bishopric be returned to each person who gave it.⁴¹

For a long time, there were forty consuls in the city of Worms, namely twenty-eight citizens and twelve knights, the latter who were ministerials of the church, who governed the whole city on their own authority without the bishop.⁴² If one of them died, the others replaced him, thereby keeping the peace. This system

³⁸ This is, in fact, the great Mongol invasion of 1241, which inflicted a devastating defeat on the Hungarians at the battle of Mohi on April 11, 1241.

³⁹ Preaching the cross indicates that Archbishop Siegfried III (1230–49) called for a crusade to be preached against the Tartars, that is, the Mongols.

⁴⁰ The death of the Great Khan Ogedei led to the withdrawal of Mongol forces from central Europe in 1242.

⁴¹ The observation by the author that Bishop Landolf of Worms (1234–47) was able to order the return of the crusading funds to the individuals who had paid them indicates that detailed records had been kept.

⁴² Ministerials were a legal class of unfree men and women who served the secular and ecclesiastical magnates of the German kingdom. Many ministerials gained considerable power and influence despite their unfree status. Eventually, members of leading ministerial families overcame the legal liabilities of their status and entered the German noble classes.

was fixed by the emperors and kings of the Romans, given and confirmed in their privileges.⁴³

Seeing how matters stood, the venerable father, Lord Henry, the bishop of Worms, a wise and circumspect man, recognized that he had no honor other than what he exercised in his judicial role, and that the citizens thought of him as just another prelate.⁴⁴ Therefore, looking to the honor of his church, he went to court of the lord emperor Frederick that was being held in the city of Ravenna.⁴⁵ Here he complained in front of many princes and the lord emperor about these matters and about the consortium of fraternities and their works.⁴⁶ He confirmed that he was held in no regard in his city because of the multitude of consuls and the society of fraternities. Hearing these charges while seated among the princes, the lord emperor determined, in conformity with their judgment, that he could no longer allow these matters to stand and gave letters to this effect, sealed with his seal, to the lord bishop.⁴⁷

The aforementioned lord bishop happily returned and sent the lord emperor's letters of prohibition to the city with Reinhard, the steward of Lautern.⁴⁸ The citizens refused to accept them. Finally realizing the level of the resistance, the lord bishop took up his spiritual sword and placed the whole city under interdict.⁴⁹ Afterward, he denounced all of the citizens. When he saw that these actions did not do any good, he ordered the entire clergy to leave the city, leaving

⁴³ For the text of the imperial charter that confirms the city's privileges, including its form of government, see Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 124. This institution also is discussed in the *Annales Wormatienses*.

⁴⁴ Bishop Henry II.

⁴⁵ This assembly took place at Ravenna in 1232. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 159.

⁴⁶ This would appear to be a reference to the political role played by the various guilds at Worms.

⁴⁷ This took place in January 1232. See Schannat, *Historia episcopatus Wormatiensis*, I.111 for the charter issued by Frederick on behalf of Bishop Henry II of Frankfurt.

⁴⁸ In May 1232, Frederick II responded to the complaints of Bishop Henry II of Worms that his control over the estate of Neckarau had been usurped by Duke Otto II of Bavaria (1231–53), who also held office as the palatine count of the Rhine. The emperor ordered the steward of the royal estate of Lautern (Kaiserlautern) to restore the property to Bishop Henry. See Schannat, *Historia episcopatus Wormatiensis*, II.113, for the text of the document. The agreement between the two sides lasted for more than half a century as Duke Louis of Bavaria, Otto II's son, continued to hold the estate in 1287. See *Monumenta Wittelsbacensia: Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Hauses Wittelsbach. Von 1204–1292*, ed. Franz Michael Wittmann (Munich, 1857), 426.

⁴⁹ For Bishop Henry's decision to place the city under interdict, see Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 159.

none there aside from the parish priests, who cared for the sick so that the latter might obey the lord bishop in all matters once they had regained their health. The parish priests offered them communion under these conditions, but not otherwise, but they did not bury the dead.

When this sentence had gotten worse from day to day for almost an entire year, certain of the citizens, and particularly the minters, made clear that they could no longer tolerate this situation.⁵⁰ The consuls and the entire body of citizens who heard these complaints feared to bring even greater punishment on themselves. They complained to their friends and relatives that the lord bishop was a hard man for he was of the high nobility as the brother of the count of Leiningen.⁵¹ Finally, they gathered together in an assembly and sent messengers to the lord bishop. After a great deal of discussion, both sides agreed to submit the matter to arbitrators, some discreet men from the cathedral chapter and some from among the citizens. They proceeded with the consent of Lord Henry, king of the Romans, without which they would not have been able to act. Lord Henry personally gave a great deal of comfort to the citizens because he favored them in all things.⁵² Finally, they worked out an agreement and it was confirmed with the royal seal.⁵³ The citizens swore to keep this agreement in perpetuity. The citizens gave their owned sealed letter and received a sealed letter in return from the bishop and the cathedral chapter of Worms in the form which is written as follows: “Henry, by the grace of God, bishop of Worms, to all those who read this text, greetings in the act of salutation etc. the text begins in this manner: this is the form etc.”⁵⁴

When all of these matters had been settled and the aforementioned text was confirmed, Lord Henry the bishop came to Neuhausen with the clergy of Worms.⁵⁵ All of the citizens came to him kneeling before him on their knees.

⁵⁰ The oldest privilege for minting at Worms was attributed to Louis the German on January 20, 856. However, this privilege is a forgery, constructed on behalf of the bishop of Worms, likely during the reign of Otto II (973–83). See *Die Urkunden Ludwig des Deutschen, Karlomanns und Ludwigs des Jüngeren*, ed. Paul Kehr (Berlin, 1932–34), 105–6 for the discussion. The implication of this forgery is that coins were being minted in Worms certainly by the reign of Otto II, and likely much earlier. In 1234, Frederick II returned control over minting at Worms to Bishop Landolf. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 193.

⁵¹ Count Frederick II of Leiningen.

⁵² This is Lord Henry the king rather than the bishop of Worms.

⁵³ The text of this agreement is printed in Jean-Louis-Alphonse Huillard-Breholles, *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, 6 vols. in 11 parts (Paris, 1852–61), IV.602.

⁵⁴ See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 163 and 164.

⁵⁵ Bishop Henry returned to Worms in late February or early March 1233, following the issuing of the charter by the city recognizing the organization of the new council on February

The bishop then absolved them from excommunication. Subsequently, everyone joyously returned to the city and mass was re-instituted. As soon as the bishop entered his city, he immediately chose nine new consuls according to the terms of the agreement noted above. After a bell was rung to assemble the population, he named these nine men in the presence of all the people and the clergy. They, in turn, named six knights. These fifteen worthy and outstanding men took hold of the relics of saints and publicly swore that they would always preside following the statutes of the aforementioned privilege with the lord bishop of Worms in their council, that they would always be faithful to the bishop and the church, defending their rights in all matters, that they would defend and even increase the rights and good customs of the citizens, that they would fairly judge clergy, laity, and Jews, that they would provide reasonable and just answers, when questioned, based on heart-felt conviction, that they would always keep the secrets of the council secret, that they would choose the steward, magistrates, and officials without doing any harm, that they would never defend the guilty and never condemn the innocent, and finally that they would carry out all of these tasks and other matters of importance to the city without causing any trouble and assist all men in achieving these ends, setting aside all fraud, and without giving any attention to friendship, hostility, or gifts, whether given or promised. The lord bishop, for his part, promised to swear in the presence of the consuls, or have his chaplain swear in his place, that he shall be faithful to the city and the citizens, shall protect and improve their rights in all matters, shall judge justly, shall keep secret the secrets of the council, shall choose judges without regard to money, and shall follow through in all of these matters without giving regard to friendship or hostility, without causing any harm, and without any fraud. Having said all of these things, the chaplain shall say: "This oath shall be kept faithfully by my lord bishop that God and the leader of the holy evangelists shall aid the bishop."⁵⁶

When these events had been completed in the proper manner, the lord bishop sat with these fifteen men to judge and serve the city and citizens. The venerable father, Lord Henry, died on September 12, 1234, and was buried in

27. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 163 and 164. Neuhausen is a neighborhood in the modern city of Worms.

⁵⁶ This passage is taken from the charter issued by the city and confirmed by the bishop. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 163 and 164.

the choir of St. Peter.⁵⁷ In the short time before his death, he began to build a monastery on the site of St. Mary and devoted all of his energy to this project.⁵⁸

In June 1234, Lord Gerlach of Grasweg, cantor of the church of Speyer and canon of Worms, established in his will four priestly prebends in the cathedral of Worms in the choir of St. Laurence, which are called the Laurentine vicariates, and four prebends in the choir of St. Martin in the church of Speyer, which are called the Martinine vicariates. He endowed them magnificently so that their holders would be bound to the choir every day, and that they would be obedient to the dean in all matters just as was true of the other vicariates in both churches.⁵⁹ The holders of these prebends were to be the second cantors of the said churches, as well as the intitulators of the songs and readings.

Three weeks after the death of the aforementioned lord bishop of pious memory, Lord Landolf, the dean, was elected amicably as bishop.⁶⁰ At first, he took up this office without any difficulty because he was confirmed in a very short time by the lord archbishop of Mainz.⁶¹ He went at once to Hagenau where he was invested with his regalia by Lord Henry the king, who was staying there.⁶² He then returned and was well received by the clergy and the citizens. Calling upon the fifteen consuls, he frequently presided at the council. One worthy man gave up his office as consul, and the prudent Ebelinus, from the district of St. Peter, took his place.⁶³

⁵⁷ The necrologia of Wimpfen is printed in Schannat, *Historia episcopatus Wormatiensis*, I.371, and indicates that Bishop Henry died on September 24.

⁵⁸ On August 3, 1237, Bishop Landolf facilitated the transfer of a garden, possessed by his chamberlain Richezo and the latter's wife Agnes, to the monastery of Kischgarten, which Landolf had established earlier. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 186.

⁵⁹ For the text of this grant, see Heinrich Boos, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms II. Band* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 724–5.

⁶⁰ Landolf of Hoheneck, dean of the cathedral, was elected bishop on October 5, 1234. He died on June 8, 1247.

⁶¹ This statement is untrue. Landolf was not consecrated as bishop of Worms by Archbishop Siegfried III of Mainz until 1236.

⁶² Landolf was in the company of the king on March 26, 1235 and served as a witness to a charter that Henry (VII) issued on behalf of a hospice located in Hagenau. The charter is published in *Cartulaire de St.-Nicholas de Hagenau*, ed. Charles Auguste Hanauer (Strasbourg, 1908), no. 14. See *Annales Marbacenses*, ed. Hermann Bloch in *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usus Scholarum Separatim Editi* 9 (Hanover, 1907), 95, for the royal assembly at Hagenau. However, King Henry did not issue a charter to Bishop Landolf confirming the latter's possession of all the properties held by his predecessors until November 1, 1234. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 175.

⁶³ The *civis* Ebulinus appears as a witness in a charter issued by Margrave Hermann of Baden (1190–1243) in which the latter granted his allodial property to the bishopric of

In the meantime, Lord Henry the king opposed the lord emperor, his father. The citizens favored and supported the latter with all of their ability. But Bishop Landolf remained devoted to the king and stayed in his company because of all of the benefits that Lord Henry had granted to him. But the citizens did not accept this and would not support Henry to the detriment of the lord emperor. Nevertheless, the citizens still favored Bishop Landolf very much and promised that he could ride to the king, who imposed such a burden on them, whenever he wished. But behold, the dean and another eight canons from the chapter who had elected Landolf with great affection, began to plot against him and brought about whatever evils they could against him, for the lord emperor was coming against his son. The aforementioned canons sent messages to the emperor in which they leveled very weighty accusations against the bishop.

Frederick II came to Worms in 1235 on the feast of St. Ulrich set against his son Henry and the latter's councilors.⁶⁴ He was accompanied by twelve bishops who received the emperor there with glory. Among them was Bishop Landolf of Worms. However, Landolf was not received by the emperor because the bishop had supported Henry against him. As a result, the earlier constitution that had been changed in the time of Bishop Henry was again put into practice at this time because Henry, the son the emperor, supported Bishop Landolf. The earlier constitution had been in abeyance since the time when the city had been placed under interdict.⁶⁵

When the aforementioned Henry sought aid from the people of Worms, just as he had sought aid from others, they refused to break the oath they had sworn to his father. He, therefore, approached with a large force, sending numerous nobles, along with Bishop Landolf, to try to reconcile them to himself. When they still refused to obey, he began to attack them from every direction, ordering that everyone who could attack them should do so wherever they were able. Sustaining enormous losses, the citizens were not able to leave the gates of their city. But girding themselves, they accepted armed mercenaries, including both mounted and foot soldiers, into their homes and fed them, each according to his means.⁶⁶ As a result, although they were heavily burdened, they could not be driven from their obedience to Frederick II.

Worms and received it back as a benefice. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 170.

⁶⁴ This episode also is commented upon by the author of the *Annales Spirenses*, 84, who gives a date of July 4, 1235 for the imprisonment of Henry.

⁶⁵ This took place in 1232.

⁶⁶ This appears to be an indication that the people of Worms participated in providing for the common defense with each person contributing in proportion to his or her own wealth, in a type of graduated scale.

Seeing that he could not convince them to join him, Henry summoned his advisors from everywhere to come to Oppenheim on the Wednesday after Easter 1235.⁶⁷ He had 5,000 armed men there whom he sent against the people of Worms. Going there, they began to attack the people of Worms and burned as many as forty homes in the suburb of St. Michael. But they were boldly repulsed by the people of Worms and fled back to their own homes. Nevertheless, Henry was able to oppress the people of Worms from every direction for almost two years.⁶⁸ When Frederick II came to Worms, there was an outpouring of great joy because they were freed from the ambushes prepared by Henry, king of the Germans.⁶⁹

At this point, Henry came to Worms and sought mercy from his father.⁷⁰ But he did not receive it. His father had him taken prisoner and shut up in a large stone house near St. Andrew from where he was taken to Heidelberg and then to Alerheim.⁷¹ Finally, he was sent by galley to Sicily where he was held in close custody in a certain castle in distress until the day of his death. The emperor then began to pour out his anger against all the supporters of his son, especially Bishop Landolf, whom he drove from the city. The bishop was only able to obtain mercy with great difficulty, even with many people interceding on this behalf.

Then, the Lady Empress Elizabeth, the sister of the lord king of England, made a brief visit, and solemnly celebrated her nuptials at Worms with the lord emperor, on the feast of the Dispersal of the Apostles.⁷² After celebrating their nuptials on this day in 1235, and after her coronation as empress, they proceeded to Hagenau.⁷³

⁶⁷ April 26, 1235.

⁶⁸ On September 2, 1234, Henry (VII) issued a letter in which he defied his father Frederick II and condemned his policies. See *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, vol. 2, ed. Ludwig Weiland (Hanover, 1896), 431–3.

⁶⁹ A Charter was issued by Frederick at Worms at this time; see *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, 6.289. Frederick was at Worms for much of the first half of July 1235.

⁷⁰ This is Frederick II.

⁷¹ Alerheim is located in western Bavaria approximately 65 kilometers north of Augsburg. It is likely that the author is recounting the initial stages of Henry's journey before he went over the Alps, likely through the Brenner Pass.

⁷² July 15, 1234. Isabella (1214–41), also known as Elizabeth, was the daughter of King John of England and the sister of King Henry III.

⁷³ For the celebration of their marriage at Worms and the subsequent journey by Frederick and Isabella to Hagenau, see *Annales Marbacenses*, 97.

In the meantime, discord and a great war broke out between the Lord Pope Gregory IX and the lord emperor. The former wore out the latter with excommunications and with every other sort of evil that he could.⁷⁴

In the meantime, Frederick headed to Lombardy and committed Germany to his son Conrad and to Bishop Conrad of Mainz.⁷⁵ The aforementioned bishop did not want to publicize the fact that the emperor had been excommunicated, although he had been warned to do so by the pope since he was the advisor, and indeed, the tutor of Conrad, the emperor's son. After the death of this pope in 1242, however, the aforementioned Archbishop Conrad ordered his suffragans to publicize the excommunication, because of which fear and trembling struck everyone and many evils followed.⁷⁶

It happened, however, that when the lord emperor first entered Worms and, as was fitting, was well received by the clergy and the citizens on the feast of St. Ulrich 1235, twelve bishops were present dressed in their episcopal robes.⁷⁷ Among them was Bishop Landolf. When the emperor saw him standing in front of the monastery, he ordered him to leave his presence. Because the emperor was overwhelmingly powerful, the bishop feared him above all other men, and immediately left, entering the home of his chaplain Constantine. The citizens immediately approached the emperor and begged him as carefully as they could on behalf of their bishop, reminding the emperor of their service to him, that he might receive the bishop back into his favor. But the emperor utterly refused them, which the citizens took very hard. At the instigation of his enemies, the lord bishop was forced to leave the city. Very sadly, he left to stay at the estate of the abbess in the convent of the nuns.⁷⁸

On the feast of the conversion of St. Paul 1235, the lord bishop led the gray nuns to Nonnenmünster desiring to carry out the pious work that his predecessor had begun.⁷⁹ The priors serving under the black lady came for him, shouting

⁷⁴ Gregory IX excommunicated Frederick II on Palm Sunday, March 20, 1239. For the date of the excommunication, see *Annales Stadenses*, ed. I.M. Lappenberg MGH SS 16 (Hanover, 1859), 363–5.

⁷⁵ This took place in July 1236. The author erred here. The archbishop of Mainz at this time was Siegfried III. It is likely that the author confused Siegfried with Archbishop Conrad of Cologne (1238–61).

⁷⁶ In 1241, Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz left the emperor's party and joined with Archbishop Conrad of Cologne in opposition to Frederick II. See *Annales Sancti Pantaleonis Coloniensis*, ed. Hermann Cardauns MGH SS 22 (Hanover, 1872), 536.

⁷⁷ July 4, 1235.

⁷⁸ This is the convent of Nonnenmünster.

⁷⁹ January 25, 1235. According to this account, Bishop Henry of Worms had already begun the reformation of the convent of Nonnenmünster. On September 20, 1236, Bishop

that they would kill him.⁸⁰ They beat him shamefully while he was in the toilet where he had gone after taking a post-prandial walk around the church. In truth, if Ulrich Mittelus, the bishop's marshal, had not been there, they would have killed him.⁸¹ He immediately took the abbess, his grand-niece, captive and sent her to his fortress, called the Stone.⁸²

The remaining nuns immediately rose up and went to the emperor saying that their house had been founded by their ancestors, and that he himself was their advocate.⁸³ They demanded aid and advice, complaining most vociferously.⁸⁴ They remained at the court acquiring friends in a less than worthy manner. It happened that the emperor, wishing to spend Pentecost in Speyer, summoned the bishop and others of his princes.⁸⁵ The lord bishop came with a worthy company. He found that the nuns were there complaining to the emperor about him and that they had many advocates. The emperor said: "Lord bishop, listen, and respond!" The bishop immediately said: "Understand my lords, bishops, and princes, that the lord emperor helps these nuns with the result that they do not serve God. But if he knew how they had acquired their advocates in his court, he would never grant them anything."

The bishop immediately set out these and other matters which pertained to the honor of God, namely how the pope had ordered that these things be done,

Henry received a charter from Pope Gregory IX that permitted the bishop to install Cistercian nuns at Nonnenmünster. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 183.

⁸⁰ The "black lady" is the abbess of a conventional Benedictine house of Nonnenmünster. The "gray nuns" were Cistercian nuns. During this period, many lay people considered the Cistercians to be holier than the Benedictines and desired to replace the latter with the former when "reforming" the monasteries under their control. Reform, as understood by many contemporaries, entailed imposing a stricter style of life on the inhabitants of a particular house.

⁸¹ Ulrich Mittelus appears as a witness in a charter issued on April 23, 1252 by the council and citizens of Worms on behalf of a citizen of Worms named Drutmann. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 234.

⁸² The fortification of Stein is located at the confluence of the Weschnitz (a right tributary of the Rhine) with the Rhine river about 15 kilometers northeast of Worms.

⁸³ The nuns are advancing the claim that theirs was a royal convent, and therefore the bishop of Worms did not have the authority to interfere with their internal organization.

⁸⁴ The phrase "aid and advice" is a typical element in agreements drawn up between lords and their subordinates. Both sides in such agreements were required to provide aid and advice.

⁸⁵ June 7, 1237. In June 1237, Landolf was with the emperor in Speyer. See *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, 5.81. In August, he went with the emperor to Italy. See *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, 5.98. On November 6, 1238, he was with the emperor in Cremona. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 190 and 191.

and that their house had been founded by and bound to his church. At once, all of the lords rose up and asked the lord emperor whether it would not be better to believe his prince than such people. The lord emperor immediately consented and said to the nuns: "Go and obey your bishop." Hearing this, the nuns left with a great clamor and tears. However, the lord emperor said: "Because we see that the advocacy of the convent and the estate pertain to us, we give them up and concede them to our count of Spiegelberg."⁸⁶

The lord bishop responded, asking that the emperor rescind on behalf of himself, his church, and the city of Worms those things that could be harmful to them. He also requested the king's good will in allowing him to redeem these properties from the fortress commander.⁸⁷ The citizens and many others who were there likewise diligently asked the emperor to do this. The lord emperor kindly granted this request. Finally, after many days, the lord bishop concluded an agreement with the fortress commander for 100 pounds of money of Worms, which the citizens paid. From this point on, whoever served as chief magistrate of Worms, was also the advocate for Nonnenmünster. By the grace of God, the city was permanently freed from the kind of lordship that had been in place heretofore.⁸⁸

On Pentecost, Lord Landolf, the bishop, celebrated mass before the emperor in the cathedral of Speyer.⁸⁹ On the following Tuesday the lord bishop returned with great joy to Worms along with his household after happily conducting all of his business.⁹⁰

Betrayers of Lord Landolf the bishop, who had completely abandoned the honor of the church, continued to persecute him. They harassed him on this point, namely that Lord Henry of Catania, the head of the chancery, had been established as bishop of Worms by the lord emperor.⁹¹ Moreover, they had

⁸⁶ Spiegelberg is located approximately 125 kilometers southeast of Worms and was the location of an imperial fortress. The author uses the term "*Rheingraf*" here to denote the count.

⁸⁷ The two terms, "*Rheingraf*" and "*Burggraf*," are being used as synonyms. They are both terms denoting a comital office, and in particular the office of a count who commands a fortress on behalf of the king. Over time, many of these offices had become hereditary so that it is likely that Burg/Rheingraf of Spiegelberg was, in practice, a nobleman rather than a royal official, even if theoretically he held his office at the pleasure of the king.

⁸⁸ It was not until March 25, 1242 that the citizens of Worms obtained the advocacy of the Nonnenmünster as a benefice from the bishop. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 202.

⁸⁹ June 7, 1237.

⁹⁰ June 9, 1237.

⁹¹ Master Henry, the provost of Aachen, was supposed to have been made a bishop by Frederick II in 1232. However, this plan was not implemented and Henry was then made

access to whichever letters they wanted, and at once provided these letters to the citizens so that they would unanimously remove the lord bishop from this place.⁹² The citizens did not wish to do this. They at once requested that a judge be sent by the lord emperor to Worms, namely the noble man Marquard of Schneidheim.⁹³ After considering these events briefly, the bishop set out for the Roman curia in the company of the venerable fathers Conrad of Dahn, bishop of Speyer, and Lord Hermann, bishop of Würzburg, who were in the same kind of trouble as he.⁹⁴ The judge Marquard called upon four knights and seven citizens. He sat in council, he judged what had to be judged, and he imposed and received payments from the ministerials of the church. The citizens agreed to all of these matters very unwillingly but they did not dare to do anything else.

When the emperor heard that his bishops had gone to the pope, he grew frightened. He immediately sent Brother Hermann, master of the German House and a very prudent man, to the Roman curia.⁹⁵ When he arrived, he found those three bishops there. The lord pope was very angry at the emperor because he had dared to do these things. He wanted to denounce him and place his entire land under interdict. Brother Hermann, in his astuteness, convinced the pope to act otherwise. He led the bishops back, promising the lord pope to restore them to the lord emperor's grace according to their will. He immediately brought them with him to the emperor and carried out everything he had promised to do.

When these matters had been settled in a dignified manner, Bishop Landolf returned to Worms and was received fittingly. He restored divine services,

a clerk (*notarius*) in the imperial chancery in 1239. Two years later, in 1241, Henry was promoted to serve as the head of the chancery (*protonotarius*). See the discussion by Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* (Berlin, 1889), 421.

⁹² It is noteworthy that the author of this text sees letters as playing a significant role in political propaganda in the mid-thirteenth century.

⁹³ Marquard of Schneidheim (Sneite) appears as a witness in a charter issued in May 1236 by Frederick II on behalf of the city of Oppenheim in which Marquard is accorded the title *iudex Wormatiensis*. See *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, 4.840. Emperor Frederick II imposed Marquard as a governor in Worms in 1234. See the discussion by Koehne, *Der Ursprung der Stadtverfassung*, 332.

⁹⁴ Bishop Conrad of Speyer (1233–37) and Bishop Hermann I of Würzburg (1225–54). On September 24, 1235, Pope Gregory IX ordered Landolf of Worms, among other bishops and clerics, to appear before him in order to justify their support of Henry (VII). See *Epistolae Saeculi XIII e Regestis Pontificum Romanorum Selectae*, vol. 1, C. Rodenberg (Berlin, 1874), no. 659.

⁹⁵ Hermann of Salza, the head of the German Order (Teutonic Knights), was asked to come to Italy by the pope on September 23, 1235. Hermann was present at the same time as Bishop Landolf of Worms. See *Epistolae Saeculi XIII*, no. 658.

which he had suspended in the entire city during his absence. The clergy and the citizens kept this suspension willingly because they supported him. When the Sunday arrived on which the “Gaudete in domino” is sung in church, this day was celebrated with great joy in the cathedral church because the bishop had overcome his troubles.⁹⁶ But before he entered, it was necessary for the judge to leave the city.⁹⁷ As a consequence, the bishop’s adversaries were confounded. But the lord emperor asked the lord bishop to accept these men into his grace.⁹⁸ The lord bishop immediately resumed working with his fifteen councilors and presided, as was fitting, with great power in the council.

However, the bishop’s adversaries then succeeded in having the lord emperor send letters to the bishop counseling and asking that he preside over this council with four church ministerials of the rank of knight and eight citizens. His adversaries sought these letters because they would have been able to remove him from his bishopric if he had infringed upon the statutes of his predecessors, which he had sworn to uphold safe and unchanged. The lord bishop responded to this letter saying that he would prefer to be skinned from the crown of his head to the bottom of his feet rather than change in his lifetime a single article, which had been obtained with such great labor and expense by his predecessors and the clergy. Consequently, the lord emperor rescinded his command, not wishing the bishop to act in any way against his oath.

Afterward, Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz became an enemy of the chapter in Worms, causing them enormous difficulties with the support of many nobles.⁹⁹ At that time the people of Worms suffered enormously because they did not have any supporters except for Count Palatine Otto and Margrave Hermann of Baden, who, to the extent they succeeded, did not permit them to suffer losses.¹⁰⁰ However, then Siegfried attacked the city of Worms and caused extensive damage, capturing many of the citizens and even killing them.¹⁰¹ Moreover, he

⁹⁶ “Gaudete” Sunday is the third Sunday in Advent. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether this event took place in 1235 or 1236. Since Advent is a moveable feast, it is not possible to determine on what day this event took place.

⁹⁷ In May 1236, Frederick II issued a privilege to the citizens of Worms according to which they were again permitted to have a council of forty members. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 182.

⁹⁸ The men in question are the bishop’s political opponents in Worms.

⁹⁹ The chapter refers to the cathedral canons at Worms.

¹⁰⁰ These are Duke Otto II of Bavaria and Margrave Hermann of Baden.

¹⁰¹ The citizens of Worms wrote a series of letters to Emperor Frederick, Archbishop Siegfried III of Mainz, and to the citizens of Mainz complaining about Archbishop Siegfried’s harassment of their city. For the texts of these letters, see Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, pp. 392–3.

excommunicated them and caused others to do so as well, including specifically the bishop of Worms, ordering him to impose an interdict.

If the bishop had not done so, the archbishop would have absolved all of the clergy of his city from their obedience to him. But the citizens, along with Bishop Landolf, did not accept this and appealed to the curia, although a pope had not yet been elected at that time. Once a pope was elected, namely Innocent IV, an interdict was again imposed on our city in 1245 because of which many priests and monks left.¹⁰²

Many bishops then began to persecute King Conrad of the Germans and there was no peace in the entire land.¹⁰³ If anyone left the city at that time, he was never again allowed to re-enter. All legal authority in the city was overturned. There was great tribulation at that time in the city of Worms both from the citizens' own bishop and from the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne. Inside the city, these bishops harassed the citizens with an interdict and outside the city they assaulted them with vexations and tribulations saying that they were heretics and not good Christians because they clung to the heretical and schismatic Emperor Frederick. Although they lost immeasurably in material terms at this time, they did not want to give up their support of Emperor Frederick. However, because of this many of the citizens were impoverished and left the city as beggars.

Afterward, Lord Landolf the bishop sat ruling and governing in honor with the fifteen consuls of the city. After a few years, however, it happened that a certain young man named Eberhard was killed in the silence of the night, and that a certain consul named Marquard Buso was said to have been involved.¹⁰⁴ Because the crime was committed at night this could not be proved by testimony or evidence. Nevertheless, the bishop and the consuls had to justify their wounded consciences. In order to be relieved of the anxiety of consorting with Marquard, all of the consuls resigned by unanimous agreement, handing over to the bishop the responsibility of choosing whomever he wished. The bishop summoned his courage and chose substitutes for all but five of them, and thus again sat in peace with these twelve consuls.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Pope Celestine IV died on November 10, 1241. Pope Innocent IV was elected on June 25, 1243 and held office until his death in 1254.

¹⁰³ Conrad IV, born in 1228, held office as king of Germany 1237–54.

¹⁰⁴ Marquard Buso appears in several charters that were issued in the period 1229–49. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 144, 217, and 226.

¹⁰⁵ The text seems confused here. If there were fifteen members of the council, the replacement of all but five members, would leave ten members of the council not twelve.

Then, after a few years, those who had been ejected attracted the support of the knight Gerhard, called Magnus, and worked out a conspiracy.¹⁰⁶ They gained the backing of all of the more powerful knights in the city along with many other people so that the whole city supported them, desiring to cast down the fifteen consuls and restore the forty.¹⁰⁷ Realizing this, the lord bishop along with the clergy and these same fifteen resisted forcefully. Although some of the fifteen supported the desires of the conspirators, they found it necessary to retreat from their plan because of the judgment that the lord bishop intended to pronounce against them. The lord bishop then remained in peace and tranquility to the end of his life greatly loved by the citizens.¹⁰⁸

At this time, Roman curia sat in wonderful state at Lyon.¹⁰⁹ Because of the great concord reigning there, there was great confidence about the pope having summoned the emperor to the holy council. The archbishops of Mainz and Cologne reached the pope before Easter and brought numerous charges against the lord emperor.¹¹⁰ They promised the lord pope that if he deposed the emperor, they would present a powerful king to him and to the church without doubt and without delay. As a consequence, the curia received tremendous praise. Having been led by the promises and suggestions of the aforementioned archbishops, the pope immediately celebrated the Lord's Supper with a mass in Lyons and then solemnly denounced the emperor as an excommunicate before the entire people, just as he and his predecessor Gregory had denounced him in the past.¹¹¹ Everyone was terrified and also marveled at this. Once these acts had been carried out, the aforementioned archbishops returned home and tried to cause

¹⁰⁶ Gerhard Magnus may be the founder of the Erenburg dynasty with its seat at Pfiffelgheim, a neighborhood in the contemporary city of Worms. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch II. Band*, p. 737.

¹⁰⁷ The reference here is to the political organization of the city before the establishment of the new, smaller, city council.

¹⁰⁸ This statement appears to be a clear example of episcopal bias in the account. The bishop did face many difficulties, from both the citizens and from the emperor. This statement seeks to gloss over the unpleasant aspects of Landolf's tenure.

¹⁰⁹ The council of Lyons held sessions from late June through mid-July 1245. It was here that Pope Innocent IV excommunicated Emperor Frederick II and formally stripped him of his imperial office.

¹¹⁰ Archbishop Siegfried III of Mainz and Archbishop Conrad of Cologne.

¹¹¹ Innocent's predecessor here is Pope Gregory IX. The reference to the Lord's Supper, that is, Holy Thursday, is incorrect. Frederick was excommunicated on July 17.

as much evil as they could for the emperor throughout Germany. They tried everywhere they could to find a king to replace him.¹¹²

Then Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz arrived and gave very strict orders to Lord Landolf the bishop that he was to publicly denounce Lord Frederick the emperor, his son King Conrad and all their supporters with burning candles and ringing bells every day of the festival season. But, because the citizens remained absolutely loyal to these lords and the lord bishop did not want to and even feared to offend them, he frequently was able to lift this sentence by giving large sums of money and his jewels to the lord archbishop. As a result he was dragged into significant debt.

This pious pastor and good lord Bishop Landolf of Worms of pious memory died on the feast of St. Medard on June 8, 1247 and was buried in the church of Nonnenmünster in front of the altar of the glorious virgin. He was the cause and founder of the transformation of this church. Through God's grace, his own faith, and with the Lord's aid. This church survived the litigation of his successors, and the bishop's great debts were paid off by certain of his sworn supporters.

After Landolf's death, Lord Conrad, the dean of Mainz, who had caused great misery to Lord Landolf and inflicted significant losses on him in legal judgments, was elected amicably as bishop by the chapter. Thirty days after he had been elected, he came to Neuss and was consecrated as bishop by the lord legate who was there.¹¹³ Wanting immediately to go to Worms, Conrad arrived at Lorch. While there he was overcome by a serious illness and died twenty days after being consecrated as bishop. He was carried to Mainz and buried in the cathedral church in front of the altar of St. Peter.¹¹⁴

After Conrad's death, Lord Eberhard, who earlier had served as provost, a good and just man adorned by good habits in all matters, was elected. He was the son of the Raugraf and was immediately confirmed by Lord Siegfried the archbishop of Mainz.¹¹⁵ The fortifications belonging to the church were then

¹¹² The archbishops of Cologne and Mainz were not present at the council of Lyons in 1245.

¹¹³ The papal legate was Cardinal Peter Cappuci. For the consecration, see Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 222.

¹¹⁴ Conrad of Türrckheim, dean of the Mainz cathedral, was elected bishop of Worms but was not recognized by Pope Innocent IV, although he was consecrated by the papal legate and given the regalia by King William. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 220.

¹¹⁵ The title Raugraf, literally rough or hairy count (Latin *Hirsutus comes*) was derived from the original office of forest count (German *Waldgraf*), which was held by a family known as the Emichonen. By the thirteenth century, the title was hereditary and no longer had any connection with a royal office. Eberhard, the provost of Neuhausen, was elected

handed over to him. And while he believed that he would live and hold his seat in peace, Lord Peter, the legate, replaced him with Lord Richard, the brother of Wirich of Daun.¹¹⁶ The two men therefore litigated the case for a long time at Lyons, while the pope was there, and then at Rome when the pope arrived there. Lord Eberhard went there in person at great expense. At last, Lord Richard was victorious and was confirmed. Afterward, the two men came to an agreement so that Lord Richard the bishop gave Lord Eberhard 100 pounds of the money of Worms a year for the rest of his life. After this agreement was reached, Lord William, the most serene king of the Romans, brought stability.¹¹⁷

Eberhard fought against the city of Worms, and our city was even put under interdict because of this struggle about who would rule.¹¹⁸ Eberhard was a powerful man and tried to make himself the ruler of the city. When Worms was already worn out by earlier battles and calamities, he again renewed the interdict and departed along with the priests. This Eberhard was first elected as bishop against the aforementioned Richard. The latter also engaged in an enormous struggle with the city of Worms. For when the priests obeyed him, Richard ordered that the consulate should not exercise judicial power. But the people did not accept either the interdict or orders of excommunication within the city because both Richard and Eberhard had usurped the rights of the episcopacy and, as a result, there was great confusion in the city. These events occurred in 1250 and in the two following years. Similarly, Richard did not permit anyone to enter the church in which mass was celebrated secretly, unless this person

bishop after the death of Conrad. The cardinal legate Peter Cappuci confirmed Richard of Daun as bishop at the same time, effectively making Eberhard the anti-bishop. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 220 and 22. The two contestants for the episcopal office of Worms came to an agreement in 1256. On July 1 of this year, Pope Alexander IV (1254–61) confirmed this agreement, according to which Eberhard received a yearly stipend of 150 pounds from Richard. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 267. The papal agreement to this arrangement suggests that making payments to fend off a competitor for an episcopal seat did not constitute simony in Pope Alexander's view, or at least that the issue of simony was far less important than resolving this conflict.

¹¹⁶ Richard of Daun replaced Eberhard at the end of 1247 or the beginning of 1248 and was recognized by Pope Innocent IV. In May 1253, Richard issued a charter at Worms as *episcopus*. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 236. Wirich of Daun was a marshal of the royal court under King Conrad IV. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 222.

¹¹⁷ Count William of Holland held office as king of Germany 1247–56.

¹¹⁸ This is the same Eberhard who originally was elected as bishop in opposition to Richard of Daun.

promised under oath that he no longer wished to support Emperor Frederick, but rather wished to obey the pope, King William, and the bishop in all things.¹¹⁹

In the meantime, a new type of factionalism arose in Worms, namely that some people supported Emperor Frederick and others supported the priests. When certain of the leading men turned away from the clerical party, they roused up a great deal of factionalism among the citizens. Afterward, the men of the imperial party grew worried and gathered in the cathedral. Holding discussions there, they attracted many men to their side so that a father might be set against a son and a son against his father. Not long after this, eight of the citizens in this group were chosen. Then, following the counsel of this group of leaders, the prior of the Preachers,¹²⁰ a venerable man, was sent to Bishop Richard in order to have the interdict lifted. Mass was celebrated again on the feast of the Purification of Mary 1253.¹²¹

Soon afterward, Richard was confirmed by the legate at the order of Pope Innocent since he opposed the schismatic Emperor Frederick.¹²² But when Richard was preparing to enter the city, the consulate asked him to delay his entry because many of the citizens supported his opponent Eberhard. In the meantime, Richard secretly remained with his supporters at Kirschgarten for three days before the feast of St. Peter.¹²³ When the citizens heard this, they wanted to close the gates because they distrusted the consulate.¹²⁴ In the end, many of the members of the consulate were forced to defend themselves openly before the people with an oath. Finally, the citizens were convinced by the priests, and by the Preachers and Minors that they permit Richard to enter the city in order to oversee the parish clergy.¹²⁵ The principle reason, however, was that if they did not do this, they would again have been subject to the interdict.

Lord Richard the bishop entered the city of Worms as bishop on the vigil of St. Peter in 1253.¹²⁶ Immediately after he entered the city, the citizens approached him, diligently asking and affectionately insisting, because they believed they could obtain this from him, namely that he permit the forty consuls to be

¹¹⁹ Pope Innocent IV ordered the cathedral chapter to hold mass secretly in a charter dated December 13, 1252. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 235.

¹²⁰ These are the Dominicans.

¹²¹ February 2, 1253.

¹²² Pope Innocent IV.

¹²³ February 22, 1253.

¹²⁴ This passage illuminates the factions in the city, and suggests that certain powerful interests were being excluded from the city council at this time.

¹²⁵ The Minors are the Franciscans.

¹²⁶ February 21, 1253.

restored. But the said bishop totally denied them permission to do this, because he was not able to do so and because he did not dare to do so. When they heard this, the citizens desisted in their efforts. Then the bishop immediately replaced the three consuls who had resigned and presided in council with these fifteen. Likewise, when they had completed their number, the sixteen judged and looked after the city according to the from of the agreement.¹²⁷

However Count Emicho of Leiningen, along with all of his men, intended to seize Bishop Richard.¹²⁸ The citizens weighed this carefully so that nothing would happen to their detriment, and permitted Richard to enter the city. With the advice of certain of the consuls, Richard left through the gate of St. Andrew and immediately re-entered the city through the gate of St. Martin with the aid of numerous armed men. The next day, he sang mass with the priests and held court with the citizens. Nothing similar was ever seen in our city. This was done in 1253 in the church of St. Peter. The priests then had peace for a time. In other places, however, there was almost no peace. The stronghold of Reichenstein, located near Bingen along the Rhine, was captured.¹²⁹ And although the bishop had entered the city in the manner noted above, the citizens did not wish to carry out his will.

Then King William sent the two knights of Eppenstein and Rüdesheim to the people of Worms in order to work out an agreement with them. But they did not come to an agreement so the city was again placed under interdict.¹³⁰ But this interdict was removed through the intervention of Abbot Walter of Eberbach.¹³¹ When, however, the citizens of Worms refused to give up their support for Emperor Frederick II and his son Conrad, despite having been warned to do so by Bishop Richard on many occasions, he again imposed an interdict on the

¹²⁷ The sixteen comprise the fifteen members of the council and the bishop. The agreement here refers to the constitutional structure of the 15-man council operating under the presidency of the bishop of Worms.

¹²⁸ Count Emicho IV of Leiningen (1237–81) and Count Frederick II (d. 1277) were the brothers of Bishop Henry II of Worms.

¹²⁹ The fortification of Reichenstein in contemporary Trechtingshausen on the right bank of the Rhine, is located some 60 kilometers northwest of Worms. Apparently this fortification belonged to the bishop of Worms.

¹³⁰ The two strongholds of Eppenstein and Rüdesheim are located in the vicinity of Bingen, some 70 and 80 kilometers north-northwest of Worms respectively.

¹³¹ The monastery of Eberbach is located approximately 60 kilometers north-northwest of Worms in the contemporary town of Eltville. Walter was abbot of this Cistercian house and retired from his abbacy in 1258. See the discussion by Briggite Flug, *Äussere Bindungen und innere Ordnung: das Altmünsterkloster in Mainz in seiner Geschichte und Verfassung von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 2006), 103.

city of Worms on the Sunday after the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary 1253.¹³²

In the meantime, all of those in the party of King William were gathered in the bishop's court. Having named them the "God-fearing," Richard sweetly and amicably asked their advice about how the city could be brought into obedience to holy mother church. Responding unanimously, they said: "We will aid you and the church in every way we can." When he heard this, the bishop was heartened and dismissed the assembly of his citizens. The feast of the Exaltation of the Cross fell on a Sunday in the year noted above.¹³³ Richard sat before his court with his leading men in the palace, having summoned all of the people to appear before him. He said to all of those listening to him that the supporters of Frederick and Conrad were excommunicates because they were not obedient to the church of God. He immediately dissolved the interdict because he had already dissolved their bonds.¹³⁴ But in order that his faction might grow stronger from this, and thereby bring about his will, he ordered that the supporters of Frederick and his son, who were called "those who do not fear God," should be excluded from church and from the sacraments of Christ. The bishop also ordered that each priest was first to turn to the people when he celebrated mass and say that all of the supporters of Frederick were excommunicates and should in no way participate or assist in the office. After the celebration of the office, the supporters of Frederick again were to be ordered to leave. If others knew that they were there, they were to expel them from the church and not permit them to be present there. Many therefore left having been expelled from the church.

The bishop frequently ordered that the priests were not to administer any sacrament to any of the aforementioned people except in those households who accepted his party. Whenever anyone supporting Frederick or his son Conrad grew ill, he was not to be given final unction or be buried in a cemetery. Before receiving the holy eucharist, they were compelled to abjure all association with Emperor Frederick. It was prohibited for anyone from the bishop's party, who were called "the God-fearing," to visit anyone of the other party who was ill. As a result, all of the sacraments and rights of the faithful of Christ were prohibited to those who were part of Frederick's party. Moreover, they were denied civil as well as spiritual rights. They were without recourse regarding rulings that were made against them, and the judgments made in their favor had no force.

¹³² August 17, 1253.

¹³³ September 14, 1253.

¹³⁴ This is a reference to the bonds of excommunication on the citizens who were members of the party of King William.

Considering these matters, the supporters of Emperor Frederick could no longer resist the opposing party and were compelled to give in to the bishop's side. This was especially true of certain of the more famous supporters of Frederick, who left this party. In four weeks, almost all of the citizens of the city of Worms were forced to move to the bishop's side. This all happened in October 1253.

During this time a new controversy broke out concerning the organization of the consulate. As noted above, it was organized differently in the time of Bishop Henry II.¹³⁵ The organization during his time is noted above. But Richard, who was a prudent man, said that he did not have the power to act on this without the advice of the priests and prelates. Moreover, if he permitted it, they would deprive him of his dignity. No law and no judicial power was exercised in the city to deal with evil men and no one was safe within the city. Seeing this, the citizens could bear it no longer as more and more happened every day. The bishop, however, considering these matters with his priests, found it necessary to stay out of these affairs so that the city not fall completely into perdition and again be placed under interdict. So, after many attempts, he chose nine men according to the rules set out by Bishop Henry II, noted above. Their names are:

1. Conrad Dirolfus
2. Henry Richeri
3. Werner retro Monetam
4. Henry Cippura
5. Conrad Rosenbaum
6. Edelwein Dives
7. Eberhard in Wool Alley
8. Henry Holtmund
9. Henry Rufus.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ His episcopate was in the period 1217–34.

¹³⁶ Conrad Dirolfus appears as consul in the period 1246–62, and appeared in charters as a citizen from as early as 1234. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 173, 174, 184, 188, 200, 201, 216, 217, 221, 225, 226, 228, 234, 243, 250, 262, 271, 272, 297, and 301. Henry Richeri held office as a consul of Worms in the period 1246–52. See *ibid.*, nos. 217, 228, 234, and 372. Werner retro Monetam held office as consul in 1275. See *ibid.*, no. 372. Henry Cippura held office as consul in the period 1246–75. See *ibid.*, nos. 143, 217, 225, 226, 234, 302, and 372. Conrad Rosenbaum held office as consul in the period 1249–62. See *ibid.*, nos. 226, 228, 234, and 302. Edelwein Dives may well be the same man as the *magister civium* in 1255. See *ibid.*, no. 262. Eberhard in der Wollgasse held office as consul in the period 1249–52. See *ibid.*, nos. 225, 226, 228, and 234. Henry Holtmund held office as consul in the period 1246–52. See *ibid.*, nos. 217, 225, 226, 228, and 234. Henry Rufus appears in the charters of Worms in the period 1234–75, but first appears as a consul in 1275. See *ibid.*, nos. 173, 174, 184, 228, 234,

According to the aforementioned constitution, they chose six knights named as follows:

1. David retro Coquinam
2. Jacob called of Stein
3. Wolfram of Pfeddersheim
4. Werner of Durinheim
5. Godfrey of Moro and
6. Godfrey of Sulzen.¹³⁷

This was done on the feast of St. Jerome 1253.¹³⁸ This controversy lasted for twenty years with the result that they did not have any other regime or order. Moreover, because of the burning of the city, and the battles, and other losses, those who had been impoverished now left the city. But many other impoverished people remained there. They did not have any laws or certainty or justice. They were also divided into parties, as noted above, because of which they lost more every day. As a consequence, they were forced to go over to the side of the bishop and to return to the order that had been established in the time of Henry II.¹³⁹ If the citizens had not rejected this confusion, they would never have achieved any form of government and ultimately would have lost everything.

During this time, Conrad, the son of emperor Frederick, took power in the kingdom of Sicily. Here, he happily and successfully besieged Capua and Naples, but was not able to obtain the pope's grace.¹⁴⁰

During this period, William, having been raised up as king in Germany by the bishops, began to fight against the territorial lords. These wars brought about many fires, deaths, and misery throughout Germany and in many cities. Many of

243, 245, 250, 292, 305, 307, 319, 344, 370, 372, and 373. The *miles* David Retro Coquinam senior appears in the charters of Worms in the period 1233–75. See *ibid.*, nos. 170, 173, 174, 184, 201, 217, 225, 226, 228, 234, 243, 262, 264, 356, 375, and 394. The *miles* Jacob of Stein appears in the charters of Worms in the period 1253–60. See *ibid.*, nos. 243, 262, 271, and 288.

¹³⁷ The *miles* Wolfram von Pfeddersheim appears in the charters of Worms in the period 1241–60. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 200, 201, 252, 264, 271, 276, and 292. The *miles* Gozzo (Godfrey) of Moro appears in the charters of Worms in the period 1253–85. See *ibid.*, nos. 243, 250, 262, 302, 325, 334, 352, 372, 374, 378, and 425. The *miles* Gozzo (Godfrey) of Sulzen appears in the Worms charters in 1254 and 1268. See *ibid.*, nos. 250 and 344.

¹³⁸ September 30, 1253.

¹³⁹ That is, during the time of Bishop Henry II.

¹⁴⁰ The siege of Naples began in June 1253. Capua had already surrendered by the beginning of 1253. For the date, see *Annales Cavenses*, ed. G.H. Pertz MGH SS 3 (Hanover, 1848), 194.

the latter, which refused to end their obedience to Frederick, were placed under interdict. As a result, many of these cities were divided from the empire, and remain so up to the present day.¹⁴¹

At this time, there was a dearth greater than had ever been heard of or seen before. Bishop Richard remained in the city receiving only those incomes, which were delivered to him there because Eberhard, who had been elected in opposition to him, had usurped all of his other possessions within the boundaries of the diocese with the help of the count of Leiningen. The bishop frequently demanded help from the citizens but received no aid from them although he deserved it. As a result, the bishop secretly left the city returning to some of his supporters in the stronghold of Eppenstein.¹⁴² They then went in force to Ladenburg and stole the flocks of those residing there.¹⁴³

In February 1254, the people of Worms and the people of Mainz joined together in a perpetual agreement, although they had been enemies in earlier times. At the time when the citizens of Mainz and Worms were working out the details of their peace union and, indeed, for a long time before, the people of Oppenheim had been under interdict. When they saw that the aforementioned peace agreement was very useful, they urgently requested that they too be permitted to join in an association with the citizens of Mainz and Worms. Therefore, when divine services were conditionally restored by Bishop Gerhard of Mainz, the people of Oppenheim were accepted on the Saturday before Palm Sunday 1254.¹⁴⁴

After this, the citizens of Oppenheim were bound closely to the two aforementioned cities in the following form: "In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, amen. Arnold the treasurer etc. Because of the dangers in the lands etc. Done in 1254."¹⁴⁵ When King Conrad died, King William was in the lower reaches of the Rhine, and the cities of Mainz, Oppenheim, and Worms did not have any help or consolation. All of the tolls collected on the Rhine were supposed to be used to support the aforementioned peace. Although many had incurred steep debts because of the wars, they encouraged other cities to take

¹⁴¹ This passage may refer to the difficulties faced by King Rudolf I (1273–91) in dealing with cities that refused to accept his demands for taxes and recognition of his rule.

¹⁴² Above, the author observed that King William sent the *miles* of Eppenstein as his representative to Worms. It therefore seems likely that this *miles* was a retainer of the bishop of Worms.

¹⁴³ Ladenburg on the Neckar river, near the contemporary city of Mannheim, is located 90 kilometers south of Eppenstein.

¹⁴⁴ April 3, 1254. Archbishop Gerhard I of Mainz (1251–59).

¹⁴⁵ See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 252.

the same steps. Then, although it was difficult, the representatives of the cities gathered at Mainz where Bishop Gerhard of Mainz swore to them that he along with many nobles wished to aid them.¹⁴⁶ The cities of Worms, Mainz, Frankfurt, Oppenheim, Gelnhausen, Friedberg, Wetzlar, Boppard, Wesel, and Bingen took the same steps. This was done on the feast of St. Margarete 1254.¹⁴⁷

At this time, there was great fear and distress in Germany because there was no king. Because William's reign was flawed he had been compelled to use force to establish himself as king in his kingdom following the death of King Conrad. It was frequently said that many would not accept William as king. Although he tried to discipline many opponents, this was beyond his strength. After he had entered a peace agreement with the city of Worms, and there was peace there, he frequently remained in Worms with his wife.¹⁴⁸

When the queen tried, with some difficulty, to set out for Trifels, Hermann of Rietberg seized her near Edesheim, and the count of Waldeck along with her.¹⁴⁹ He took all of her jewelry and led her as a captive to Rietberg, all of this in December 1255.¹⁵⁰ He later set her free.¹⁵¹ In the meantime, King William mobilized an army in the lower regions of the Rhine to fight against the Frisians. He was killed by them in January 1256.¹⁵² The queen then left Spiegelberg and returned to Holland where she spent the remainder of her life.

After these events, a date was set to select a king at Marburg. The duke of Braunschweig at that time held Archbishop Gerhard of Mainz captive.¹⁵³ Because

¹⁴⁶ This took place on July 13, 1254. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 246.

¹⁴⁷ July 13, 1254. This is the Rhenish League of cities.

¹⁴⁸ See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 249.

¹⁴⁹ Count Adolf I of Waldeck (1228–70) served as regent for King William in the region of Westphalia in Saxony. Hermann of Rietberg was a local bandit leader and is known to posterity because of his role in the capture of William's queen, Elisabeth of Braunschweig, the daughter of Duke Otto of Braunschweig (1235–52).

¹⁵⁰ The queen set out for Trifels, located near the contemporary city of Anweiler, but was captured at Edesheim, some 60 kilometers southwest of Worms. She was then brought to the stronghold of Rietberg, which is located just north of Edesheim.

¹⁵¹ The queen was freed by Hermann of Rietberg on December 4, 1255 after the military forces of Duke Louis II of Bavaria (1253–94), who also held office as palatine count of the Rhine, Count Frederick III of Leiningen (1237–87), Philip of Hohenfels (who served as royal chamberlain in the period 1236–60), Philip of Falkenstein, as well as the cities of Worms, Oppenheim, and Mainz undertook a siege of his fortress. This siege also is discussed in the *Annales Wormatienses*.

¹⁵² This battle took place on January 28, 1256 at Hoogwoude, southwest of the contemporary town of Medemblik in the Netherlands.

¹⁵³ Archbishop Gerhard I of Mainz was captured by Duke Otto I of Braunschweig. See the *Annales Moguntini*, ed. Georg Waitz MGH SS 17 (Hanover, 1861), 2.

of this and because of the inconvenience of the location, the other archbishops did not wish to gather at Marburg, and changed the location to Frankfurt.¹⁵⁴ Many thought that Margrave Otto would be elected as king, but nothing was done at this time because Richard, the brother of the king of England, was there with all of his forces in order to take up governing the Roman kingdom.¹⁵⁵ To this end, Richard liberated the aforementioned Bishop Gerhard from his chains and imprisonment for 8,000 marks, in order to gain his voice in the election.¹⁵⁶ But nothing yet has happened.¹⁵⁷

In 1258, Richard was elected king of the Romans by certain men and was crowned at Aachen.¹⁵⁸ He then attacked numerous cities, most prominently Boppard, which he captured.¹⁵⁹ He then captured Bingen and came to Mainz where he was accepted as the Roman king.¹⁶⁰ Worms and other cities did not wish to do the same unless they were compelled by force. The people of Worms and Speyer renewed their pact, namely that they would not be compelled to accept Richard by prayers, force, or money. As a result, Richard caused many difficulties for them because the bishop of Worms was in his party.¹⁶¹ Bishop Conrad of Cologne acted in a similar manner against the people of Cologne, stirring up trouble against them so that there was no peace on either land or water, but rather tribulation and discord everywhere. This all happened in 1258.

After King Alphonso of Spain was elected in opposition to Richard as king, many bishops and abbots came to Alphonso to raise him up as king of the Romans.¹⁶² As a result, there was great discord. The bishops attacked many of the cities along the Rhine and the power of the king consequently was greatly diminished. After this, King Richard went to Mainz and then sent Lord Eberhard, the bishop of Worms, along with many other lords to Worms to

¹⁵⁴ The royal election took place on January 13, 1257.

¹⁵⁵ Duke Otto II of Bavaria and Richard of Cornwall, the younger brother of King Henry III of England (1216–72). Richard held the title of Roman emperor from 1257 until his death in 1272.

¹⁵⁶ The author of the *Annales Hamburgenses*, ed. I.M. Lappenberg MGH SS 16 (Hanover, 1859), 384, also comments on Richard of Cornwall's efforts to purchase the German crown, observing sarcastically on how stupid (*stulta*) it was to take money out of England to give to the German princes.

¹⁵⁷ This passage suggests the contemporaneity of the writing of this account to the events that are being described.

¹⁵⁸ Richard was crowned on May 17, 1257.

¹⁵⁹ Boppard was captured at the end of August 1257.

¹⁶⁰ Richard came to Mainz on August 26, 1257.

¹⁶¹ Bishop Richard of Worms.

¹⁶² King Alfonso X of Castille (1252–84).

induce the people there with both prayers and threats to accept King Richard.¹⁶³ But they refused. Because of this, Richard was terribly aroused against them. He then sent Archbishop Gerhard of Mainz to Worms. But this too had no effect. Consequently, matters were bad, and life was even worse in these lands because King Richard gave licenses and immunities to all of those who were on his side in the cities and other places so that they would accept him as king of the Romans.

At this time, the people of Worms had a major dispute with Jacob of Stein and Simon of Gundheim who had seized many of their citizens. This problem was resolved and an agreement was reached in 1260.¹⁶⁴

After this, King Richard returned to England and committed the Wetterau to Count Philip of Falkenstein,¹⁶⁵ and Alsace to Lord Bishop Werner of Strassburg.¹⁶⁶ This was more a matter of favor than of justice. He likewise granted Boppard, and Wesel, with its appurtenances, to Philip of Hohenfels.¹⁶⁷ They all used these properties for their own purposes and no peace could be found anywhere.

On the feast of Philip and James 1259,¹⁶⁸ a fire started around dusk in a house of someone nearby the convent of the Preachers. There was a strong wind, which carried the fire, burning almost the entire better half of the city from the convent of the Preachers up to the Pavonum gate. Bishop Eberhard, who was present at this time, said: “have mercy on them in such calamities,” but his heart was not in it.

In the meantime, certain canons from the cathedral church were at the city of Mainz trying to rouse a Roman or imperial judge against the city of Worms

¹⁶³ Following the death of Bishop Richard, Eberhard was elected as bishop of Worms on December 28, 1257, and was confirmed by the archbishop of Mainz on February 23, 1258.

¹⁶⁴ Jacob of Stein was an episcopal ministerial, who also held property in and around the city of Worms. Simon of Gundheim, who was denoted as a *miles*, appears in a pair of Worms charters in the period 1246–60. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 216 and 289. The latter charter records a peace agreement negotiated by King Richard between the city and the two *milites* Jacob and Simon.

¹⁶⁵ Count Philip of Falkenstein was a member of the large and powerful Bolanden family. His father was Count Werner III of Bolanden and his brother was Count Werner IV of Bolanden. Werner IV was a royal steward in the period 1231–60 for several kings. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 152, 155, 156, 157, 163, 183, 216, 289, and *ibid.*, p. 399, no. 16.

¹⁶⁶ The chronicler errs at this point since the bishop of Strassburg was Henry III (1245–60). The Wetterau is the district along both banks of the Nidda river in the contemporary German state of Hesse.

¹⁶⁷ Philip of Hohenfels held office as royal chamberlain for both William of Holland and Richard of Cornwall. He was the first cousin of both Philip of Falkenstein and Werner IV of Bolanden. Philip of Bolanden, the father of Philip of Hohenfels, was the brother of Werner III of Bolanden.

¹⁶⁸ May 1, 1259.

because the consulate had lifted the consumption tax from wine. The greater part of this tax, however, was held by the bishop just as he had from ancient times. The canons were acting for the common good. It was for this reason they brought charges against the people of Worms at Mainz.

At that time, the bishop of Mainz was not inclined toward the city of Worms because of a certain man from that city named Nicholas Memminger.¹⁶⁹ As a result, the citizens suspected the bishop. The cantor of the college, an arrogant man, along with certain other canons, incited his friends in this city to vex the citizens with fires, depredations, and various other tribulations. Others simulated a false friendship on the outside, which they did not feel in their hearts. Many honest men living at Mainz felt pity for the citizens of Worms. But the bishop of Worms, along with his colleagues, played no role in this matter. As a consequence, a new conflict grew up among the bishop, the priests, and the citizens. The priests then grew frightened because the best part of the city had been burned and many of the citizens had been impoverished. Ultimately, the bishop along with certain canons ended and quashed the aforementioned citation before the imperial judge at Mainz for the sake of peace and concord.¹⁷⁰

In this time of labor, the city of Wimpfen, which long had been separate from its mother church at Worms, returned into the hands, power, and possession of its bishop and church.¹⁷¹ The bishop paid a certain sum of money, amounting to 200 marks of silver, for this. In order to raise this sum, he obligated certain possessions of the church and paid for the remainder out of his own resources. Lord Richard the bishop died on the vigil of St. Andrew the Apostle 1257, and was buried before the altar of the holy cross in the cathedral.¹⁷²

Immediately after the death of the Lord Bishop Richard, Lord Eberhard, who had been elected previously, entered the city of Worms because he had been at Neuhausen at this time, newly arrived from the Roman curia.¹⁷³ He began to work diligently for the bishopric among the prelates and canons of the cathedral

¹⁶⁹ This man is not otherwise attested in the charters of Worms.

¹⁷⁰ It is not clear whether the author is referring here to Eberhard or Richard of Worms.

¹⁷¹ In 1220, Bishop Henry of Worms was forced to grant the city of Wimpfen as a *beneficium* to Emperor Frederick II. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 123.

¹⁷² November 29, 1257.

¹⁷³ After the death of Richard, Eberhard again put himself forward as a candidate for the episcopate in opposition to the cathedral cantor Burchard. Eberhard made an agreement with Burchard to pay the latter an annual stipend of 40 pounds in return for which Burchard gave up any claim to the episcopal seat at Worms. Eberhard was confirmed on January 11, 1258 by Archbishop Gerhard of Mainz. He went to Rome on January 13, 1258. He died in Montpellier on March 22, 1277.

intending, as the apostle said: “He who desires the episcopacy desires good works.”¹⁷⁴ He was selected on the final day of the election process on the feast of the Holy Innocents 1258.¹⁷⁵

Lord Henry, the bishop of Speyer, who was also the count of Eberstein, Count Eberhard of Leiningen, and others of his friends arrived the next day.¹⁷⁶ That same day, as the feast of the Holy Innocents 1258 was beginning, the venerable Lord Eberhard was elected by the greater and by the wiser part.¹⁷⁷ But that same day, Lord Burchard, the dean of the cathedral, was elected in opposition to him.¹⁷⁸ When they both sought to be confirmed by the venerable lord Archbishop Gerhard of Mainz, he ordered them to be at Bingen the next Saturday before the octave of the Lord’s Epiphany, that is January 11, 1258.¹⁷⁹

They both arrived there with good advocates. After they had both made many allegations before the lord archbishop, he and Lord Henry, the bishop of Speyer, asked whether they could come to some agreement between themselves. Lord Eberhard, although his supporters had constituted both the wiser and more powerful group, considered the words of the apostle: “making the most of every opportunity, because the days are evil,” and offered a deal after discussing the matter with prudent men.¹⁸⁰ He would give 40 pounds of the money of Worms every year to the lord dean for the rest of his life. Under this condition, the dean openly and clearly renounced his election. Many people were very happy about this because the entire population favored Lord Eberhard, the bishop elect.¹⁸¹

As a result, the venerable lord Eberhard, the bishop elect, was confirmed by Archbishop Gerhard at dusk on Saturday in the church of St. Martin in Bingen on January 12, 1258. On the octave of the Epiphany, which was on Sunday, the lord bishop elect entered the city of Worms.¹⁸² He was received gloriously by the clergy and citizens, who were all inexpressibly happy and favored him beyond

¹⁷⁴ 1 Timothy 3:1.

¹⁷⁵ The election occurred on December 28, in 1257, not 1258. The confusion arises because the author is using Christmas day as the beginning of the new year.

¹⁷⁶ Henry, a count of Eberstein, was bishop of Speyer 1245–72.

¹⁷⁷ This is December 28, 1257.

¹⁷⁸ Burchard appears as the dean of the cathedral in the charters of Worms in the period 1253–65. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 241, 243, 262, 269, 280, 302, 310, and 328.

¹⁷⁹ The Saturday before the octave of the Epiphany was January 12, 1258.

¹⁸⁰ Ephesians 5:16.

¹⁸¹ This passage again illuminates the lack of concern by the people of Worms, or the ecclesiastical authorities, about the propriety of making payments in the context of an episcopal election, and hence about the issue of simony.

¹⁸² January 13, 1258.

all measure. Immediately after summoning the fifteen councilors he began to judge matters of peace and to govern the city appropriately and peacefully. He always judged problems of inheritance according to proper procedure. Similarly, in constituting the sixteen in the appropriate manner, he conserved and even increased in a paternal manner the rights, freedoms, and just customs of his city in every possible way.¹⁸³ He even gave up those sources of the church's income that Lord Bishop Richard of good memory had occupied in order to obtain Wimpfen.

In his time, and for more than twenty years before, there had been a consumption tax in the city so that part of every measure of wine was taken. The proceeds from this tax were used to construct the walls and towers of the city, and to pay off the city's debts and provide for its needs. The clergy were very jealous of the city over this.¹⁸⁴ However, Lord Bishop Eberhard always favored the citizens in this matter just like a pious pastor, who was looking out for their needs. For the sake of the citizens, the bishop refused to accept the many goods that the clergy had offered him in return for ending this consumption tax.

It happened, however, that in June 1264 certain of the young men in the city and some of the more powerful men in the city entered into a conspiracy and attracted the people of the city to their side through many false claims, asserting that the consuls, and the sixteen were distributing the goods of the city, collected through the consumption tax, according to their own desires.¹⁸⁵ These conspirators incited everyone against the bishop and council. The conspirators immediately seized control over the collection of the consumption tax and the provisioning of the city for themselves. When the bishop saw that his honor, the honor of the church, his rights and privileges, as well as the honor and privileges of the consuls and the sixteen were being disparaged to such a great extent, he was very upset. He carefully warned the conspirators to end their injurious acts. However, showing them this courtesy did no good. He therefore immediately left the city.

The bishop's adversaries then gathered the roused people. They used threats to force the nuns in the convent of Nonnenmünster to break the walls, which

¹⁸³ The sixteen are the fifteen members of the council and the bishop.

¹⁸⁴ The impression given by this passage is that wine produced by the city's clergy also was taxed, and that the proceeds were utilized for the purposes outlined above, that is, to maintain the city's walls and towers, and to pay the debts owed by the city.

¹⁸⁵ The consuls here may be the magistrates appointed by the ruling council of 15 to act as executive officials in the city.

the lord bishop and consuls had granted to them because of their great need.¹⁸⁶ The lord bishop, now outside the city, warned the conspirators with letters over the course of six weeks to cease collecting the consumption tax and to end their union of fraternal organizations.¹⁸⁷ But this did no good. The bishop then immediately extended the spiritual sword and suspended all divine services throughout the city just before the feast of All Saints.¹⁸⁸

The whole city was saddened by this. When the conspirators saw that they could not turn aside this punishment, they summoned the entire clergy, including the preaching and minor friars, and sought their help to have the lord bishop come to someplace near the city so that they could come to some good arrangement with him. The bishop did this without fail, although with certain difficulties, but it came to nothing. Finally, after many prayers, he came to Nonnenmünster. There, with the mediation of numerous distinguished men and of the preachers and friars minor, and following a great deal of discussion, they reached an agreement on the vigil of St. Cecilia that was acceptable to the lord bishop.¹⁸⁹ On the second day, he summoned his chapter and clergy and accepted the agreement, following their advice. The terms were that the conspirators would act fittingly and appropriately toward him, and that they would always assist and consent with all of their strength to his rights, and those of the church, and to the council of Worms. The lord bishop granted that the consumption tax was to be collected by them for one year from the next feast of the Purification of the Glorious Virgin.¹⁹⁰

The bishop, along with the consuls established, as was just, that sixteen men, drawn from the four parishes of the city, were to be present when the tax was collected. Three hundred pounds of money of Halle were given to the bishop in return for the consumption tax and for the minting of money.¹⁹¹ The fraternities were all joined into one by his will. When all of these provisions had been fulfilled, the lord bishop restored divine services and entered the city on the feast of St. Cecilia 1264.¹⁹² He afterwards dissolved the fraternities if they acted

¹⁸⁶ The issue here likely is the existence of a fortification that was not under the control of the city government.

¹⁸⁷ This may be a reference to a political union of the guild organizations in the city.

¹⁸⁸ October 31, 1264.

¹⁸⁹ November 21, 1264.

¹⁹⁰ February 2, 1265.

¹⁹¹ Many of the major cities in Germany had their own mints in this period, and the weight of the silver pennies struck at each of the mints varied. So this passage is making clear that the payment was to be made in silver pennies of the weight struck at Halle.

¹⁹² November 22, 1264.

in any way against the clauses included in the privilege. This same year, during the episcopate of the venerable Bishop Eberhard, the friars of St. Augustine and the Brothers of the Sack entered the city of Worms.¹⁹³ They were licensed by the bishop who did not discuss the matter with the citizens. This happened in December 1264 before Christmas.

Later, after Pentecost 1265, the citizens began to transform a little house located on their property in the neighborhood of Hagen alley, which they had possessed quietly for 42 years, into a storehouse for the *balistae* of the city.¹⁹⁴ Seeing this, Lord Bishop Eberhard and the clergy were upset because they feared that buildings would be constructed there where the citizens would be able to convene to hold councils. The bishop demanded this property from the citizens, saying that it belonged to him and the church, and that it had been given to his predecessor Henry by the most serene lord Emperor Frederick. He showed them letters dealing with this.¹⁹⁵ The aroused citizens resisted with all of their strength with the result that the entire clergy of the city wished to leave at the command of the venerable lord Bishop Eberhard and of the chapter of the cathedral.

In the meantime, however, the matter was settled honorably and agreeably, with God's grace, through the mediation of the venerable lord Bishop Henry of Speyer and other distinguished and worthy men. The form of the agreement was as follows: the bishop would cede the entire property to the perpetual use of the city under the condition that a section running through the middle of the property from the neighborhood of Hagen up to St. Nazarius would be granted by both sides where a house, subject to an annual tax would be built. The tax would be collected by the chief magistrate of the city on behalf of the citizens. This neighborhood, which was to be called the citizens' neighborhood, was never to be fortified. The house, however, was to be built of stone and to be used by the citizens to store *balistae*, shields, and other arms. But if it were determined that this agreement could not be made to work, then property was to be handed over to the people in return for the payment of an annual tax. The entrance of the building opened up toward the Hagen neighborhood. These events occurred

¹⁹³ The Augustinian Friars are an order of mendicants who had their origins in a papal bull issued by Alexander IV in 1256. The mendicant order known colloquially as the Brothers of the Sack and more formally as the Order of the Penitence of Jesus Christ had their origins shortly after the foundation of the Augustinian Friars.

¹⁹⁴ May 24, 1265. The term "*balistae*" can denote either hand-held projectile arms, that is, crossbows, or large pieces of artillery, that have the same general appearance and form of propulsion of crossbows, but which utilize much larger projectiles.

¹⁹⁵ See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 156.

on the vigil of St. Margarete 1266.¹⁹⁶ The period of the consumption tax ended, which had been prolonged for one year by the will of Bishop Eberhard from the feast of St. Martin.¹⁹⁷

[The excesses of the knight Jacob of Stein of the family now called Oberstein are noted here.]¹⁹⁸ The lord bishop terminated Jacob's command of an episcopal stronghold because of the latter's acts of fraud.¹⁹⁹ Jacob then drove the bishop's men from the same fortification when the lord bishop had been taken captive by the Romans.²⁰⁰ Jacob, claiming to be innocent, demanded that he be restored to his position. Jacob did not cease to harass the bishop and his men in every way that he could. It happened that when the lord bishop was at Lyon to see the pope,²⁰¹ the same Jacob took the advice of his brother Albert, called Rape, the cantor at Worms, and desired to seize the aforementioned stronghold of Stein through fraud and great cleverness.²⁰² He therefore prepared two large, well-constructed wagons and placed sixteen armed men and other men equipped with crossbows on them. He placed baskets filled with oats over the men so that it would appear to anyone watching that the wagons simply were carrying oats. He sent the wagons to Stein and followed them at a distance with many armed men.

Crossing the Rhine river at Ibersheim, the wagons approached the fort.²⁰³ After crossing the bridge, the wagon drivers shouted to those standing on the walls of the fort: "let in these oats which were sent to you." The guards exited, very happy about the arrival of the oats. There were only a few men in the stronghold because Henry of Hoheneck, the brother of the lord bishop, to whom the fort

¹⁹⁶ July 12, 1266. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 335, for the agreement between the bishop and the city regarding the disposition of the building.

¹⁹⁷ November 11, 1266. This is the one-year period during which the bishop conceded the collection of the tax to the city.

¹⁹⁸ This passage marks an interpolation from the author of the Kirschgartner chronicle, since the Oberstein family first appears under this name in the fifteenth century. See Johann Goswin Widder, *Versuch einer vollständigen geographisch-historischen Beschreibung der kurfürstliche Pfalz am Rhein*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt 1786–87), III.232. Jacob of Stein is mentioned above in regard to his conflict with the citizens of Worms.

¹⁹⁹ The bishop in question here is Landolf, and this passage is out of chronological order.

²⁰⁰ It is not clear when Bishop Landolf was taken captive by the people of Rome.

²⁰¹ This is the council of Lyons in 1245.

²⁰² In June 1245, Landolf was in Verona with Emperor Frederick II. See *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, VI.300. Albert Rape, the brother of Jacob of Stein, appears in charters from the period 1233–34 as the head of the cathedral of Worms, and in 1238–42 as the cantor of the Worms church. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 164, 173, and 174. Albert was loyal to the archbishop of Mainz and, as a result, had his prebend seized by Bishop Landolf.

²⁰³ Ibersheim is located 10 kilometers northeast of Worms.

had been committed, was not there at that time.²⁰⁴ The members of the garrison exited from the gates with their arms in hand, not because they had sensed some danger, but rather by the grace of God. The drivers, seeing that the garrison stood before the gates as if pre-warned, turned about and took flight. Jacob along with his mounted men burned a house and immediately departed. Behold, his clever fraud and that of his brother the cantor failed completely. These events took place on the first Sunday of the Advent of the Lord in 1245.²⁰⁵

More about Jacob the knight. Following the death of his brother Albert, the cantor of Worms, the same Jacob the knight came to possess a property near St. Andrew.²⁰⁶ During the episcopate of Lord Richard, he was brought into the consulate and even was made chief magistrate of the citizens for a time.²⁰⁷ He was also named one of the four negotiators, an office established in the statutes of confederation among the cities of Mainz, Worms, and Oppenheim.²⁰⁸ He obtained numerous honors during this period, and usurped for himself certain properties, incomes, and other goods with the help of certain lords. Moreover, he committed outrages that were so great that the other consuls, who kept their oaths, would not dare to continue without issuing a legal judgment in the matter.

On account of these acts, he was justly and reasonably convicted according to the laws and customs of the city of Worms and was proscribed in the council. This judgment, however, was kept quiet by the council. But he, taking into account what had happened, secretly carried out every evil he could against the consuls. In the meantime, it happened that a conflict arose between Jacob and a certain citizen and member of the council named Edelwein, who lived in the neighborhood of St. Peter.²⁰⁹ The latter was aroused by certain contumacious statements made by Jacob. Jacob frequently made accusations against Edelwein hoping to drag him before the lord bishop.

The lord bishop, for his part, had made it clear that he was always prepared to intervene in such matters according to the laws of the city. He put together

²⁰⁴ Henry of Hohenneck may be the same man as H. of Hoencgen *civis Worms* who is mentioned in the letters from Worms. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, p. 397. He is mentioned as having died in a charter issued in 1253. See *ibid.*, no. 236.

²⁰⁵ December 3, 1245.

²⁰⁶ This church is located in Worms.

²⁰⁷ He does not appear with this title, that is, *magister civium*, in the surviving charters from Worms.

²⁰⁸ The confederation of cities was organized in 1254. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 252.

²⁰⁹ Edelwein was chief citizen of Worms (*magister civium*) in the period 1248–57. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 221, 225, 226, 234, 250, 251, 262, and 271.

a commission from both sides with worthy men to decide the case, with the consequence that the aforementioned Edelwein took no care for his safety. So it happened that Edelwein along with Werner Dirolfus set out for Mainz by ship on behalf of the citizens of Worms.²¹⁰ When the knight Jacob, who up to this time had lived in Worms with his wife and his entire household, heard this, he considered their likely route. He then summoned all of his friends and organized an ambush. Around noon on August 25, 1257, a Saturday, Jacob left his estate, so that no evil deed could be imputed to him, and attacked Edelwein and Werner at Rhein-Dürkheim, wishing to kill Edelwein, who escaped him through divine protection.²¹¹ He carried off Werner Dirolfus, who was half dead with dire wounds, to Alzey.²¹² Werner was Jacob's close associate and very dear friend who did not believe any of the bad things about him. Three other citizens were wounded at the same time by Jacob and his accomplices, namely Hartlieb the son of Gerlach, Edelwein the son of the sister of the aforementioned Edelwein, and a certain sailor, who had all defended themselves manfully.²¹³ These events occurred on Saturday, August 25, 1257 at the same time that Richard, who was acting as king, left the siege of Boppard hoping to enter Mainz.²¹⁴

After a few days, the wretched captive Werner Dirolfus was released. The steward of Alzey brought the very weak man back to Worms. After considerable labor, Werner survived his wounds. Afterward, Jacob summoned his friends to the estate of Westhofen and then set out toward Pfeffelneim with two hundred armed men to the detriment of the citizens of Worms whom he derided by word and deed in every way that he could.²¹⁵ The citizens were very upset by these injuries and insults, and tried to take action on account of what had been done to them. Some degree of peace was brought about through the mediation of worthy and noble men.

[After some time had passed following the death of Lord Richard, the bishop of Worms, the venerable Lord Eberhard succeeded him having been elected on the feast of the Innocents and confirmed by the lord archbishop of

²¹⁰ Werner Dirolfus was a citizen of Worms and appears in charters over the period 1246–79. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 217, 226, 234, 262, 271, 305, 376, and 389.

²¹¹ Rheindürkheim is located 5 kilometers north of Worms.

²¹² Alzey is located 20 kilometers northwest of Worms.

²¹³ A citizen named Hartlieb appears in the charters in the period 1279–90. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 389, 401, 421, 422, and 444.

²¹⁴ King Richard was in Mainz on August 26, 1257.

²¹⁵ Westhofen is located 7 kilometers northwest of Worms. The location of Pfeffelneim is not known.

Mainz on the vigil of the Eye in 1258.²¹⁶ He at once undertook to bring about an agreement between the citizens and Jacob. This was accomplished with the open and honest mediation of Lord Emicho, the count of Leiningen, and Lord Eberhard, the bishop elect of Worms, saving, however, all of the rights of the city of Worms. After a great deal of discussion, the bishop elect promised that he, himself, would go before Jacob as if a supplicant.]²¹⁷

On the Thursday before Easter 1258, Jacob and his men left the stronghold of Gundheim, and came to Litterheimershof where they knocked down a house and drained a fish pond.²¹⁸ Jacob then proceeded in May to Nievesheim where he burned a grain warehouse belonging to Conrad Dirolfus.²¹⁹ The venerable lord bishop elect Eberhard of Worms was aroused by these events and summoned his supporters desiring to take strong action against Jacob. Realizing this, Jacob sent a message to the illustrious count Lord Henry, the brother of the bishop elect, subjecting himself to his will and accepting his judgment. The citizens acted according to the wishes of the lord elect.²²⁰ Having rung bells over the court and summoning the populous, the bishop of Worms promulgated a peace agreement between the citizens and the knight Jacob.²²¹

When, at Pentecost, the lord elect wanted to issue a definitive judgment concerning the case which had been committed to him by both sides, Jacob denied that he had any interest in keeping the peace unless the bishop sided with him completely.²²² This most recent crime was even worse than what had come before and the bishop was thoroughly aroused. Afterward, Jacob, not wanting to cease his evil acts, sent some of his men in June 1258 to the village of Litterheimershof and burned the grain warehouse belonging to Edelwein.²²³ Others of his men entered the village of Hohen-Sülzen and burned the wine

²¹⁶ The Feast of the Innocents is December 28, 1257. The feast of the Eye is the third Sunday in Lent, which fell on February 23 in 1258.

²¹⁷ The passage within the brackets is an interpolation by the author of the *Kirschgarten* chronicle.

²¹⁸ Gundheim is located 7 kilometers west of Worms. The fortification there was a seat of the Hohenfels family. Easter fell on March 27 in 1258. It is not clear what the modern location of Litterheimershof is.

²¹⁹ Nievesheim, which today is divided into Gross and Kleinnievesheim, is located 10 kilometers south of Worms. As noted above, Conrad Dirolfus served as a consul of the city of Worms in the period 1246–62.

²²⁰ This is Bishop Eberhard of Worms.

²²¹ The court in question is the bishop's tribunal.

²²² May 12, 1258.

²²³ The location of this place is not known.

presses there that belonged to Henry Richeri.²²⁴ The bishop was once more disturbed by these events, and the illustrious men, Count Emicho of Leiningen and Philip of Hohenfels, took it upon themselves to end this discord in the following manner: all of the losses that the citizens had suffered at the hands of Jacob after the bishop's proclamation were to be restored in their entirety. If Jacob resisted the judgment of the bishop or the aforementioned lords in any way, the lord of Hohenfels would drive Jacob and his supporters from all of their fortifications. Furthermore, the lord of Hohenfels would not provide any support to him or his men, nor would he permit his friends to do so.²²⁵

In the meantime, on the feast of St. James 1258, Lord Richard, king of the Romans, came to Worms.²²⁶ He had already gained the city's support and made a series of truces up through the feast of St. Bartholomew which was approaching in the near future.²²⁷ But the king did not do, or even try to do, anything about this matter at this time.²²⁸ Philip of Hohenfels was often there making truces, mostly because he gave oaths on behalf of the citizens against their accusers. Nevertheless, although he had been frequently summoned by the citizens, he did not give them any help, showing himself to be unmindful of his promises and his oath. Indeed, this was most evident because during the period of the truces made by Lord Philip, Jacob attacked the citizens as much as he could, driving out their farmers from their estates. On the feast of St. Hyppolite, Jacob, and the steward of Oppenheim²²⁹ along with certain of his fellow citizens and others from Alzey, came to burn the mill belonging to the knight Eberhard that was located outside of Worms and burned the grain warehouse and a great quantity of grain in Herrnsheim belonging to Henry Richeri.²³⁰

At this time, the cantor of the cathedral at Worms was named Jacob, a first cousin on his father's side of that same Jacob at whose will all of these evils had come about.²³¹ They had a certain relative named Conrad Sulgeloeh who, along with his brother Werner and their accomplices, had carried out many crimes

²²⁴ Hohen-Sülzen is located 8 kilometers southwest of Worms.

²²⁵ This turn of events is significant because Simon of Gundheim, one of Jacob of Stein's main supporters, was a subordinate of Philip of Hohenfels.

²²⁶ The king had already issued a charter at Worms on July 24, 1258. The Feast of St. James fell on July 25. For King Richard's actions, see Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 274.

²²⁷ August 24, 1258.

²²⁸ The reference here is to the problems posed by Jacob of Stein.

²²⁹ It is not clear who the steward of Oppenheim was at this time.

²³⁰ Herrnsheim is located within the city limits of the modern city of Worms.

²³¹ A cantor named Jacob appears in a charter issued in 1253. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 243.

against the citizens on the roads and the water ways. They robbed whomever they found, taking goods from both Christians and Jews, taking some as captives and wounding others.

There was one crime, among all those they committed, which was the worst. The aforementioned Sulgeloch, along with certain men from Alzey, came to Worms under cover of night and secretly burned down a grain storehouse and buildings belonging to Conrad Dirolfus, a citizen of Worms, which were located outside the walls along the river opposite the garden of the convent of St. Mary on the Speyer road.²³² Crossing nearby the convent, they admitted to a certain worthy man named Werner of Mühleim, the procurator of the convent, who was lying in his bed, that they had carried out these acts. Indeed, they proclaimed it, speaking to him face to face.²³³ Moreover, they asked him to tell Conrad and the citizens what they had done, and they especially asked him to mention Sulgeloch. These heinous acts occurred on the first night after the feast of the apostles Simon and Jude 1258.²³⁴

Then, on the feast of St. Cecilia, Sulgeloch, Werner his brother, Werner Rufus, Lulei Livinus, Gwenselinus and certain other of their accomplices from Alzey, took 18 horses from the citizens of Worms out the gate of St. Andrew and led them off to Alzey.²³⁵ In response to this, the bishop of Worms and the citizens then called on their friends and their lords for help. At the regular assembly of their friends held on the first Sunday in the Advent of the Lord, the mediation of the illustrious Count Emicho of Leiningen and the prayers of the friends of Conrad of Sulgeloch convinced the latter to give oath-helpers to swear that he would restore all of the damages done to the citizens either through fire or pillage, and to make good all of the offenses he had committed against the bishop and the citizens, following the advice of Lord Emicho the count, Godelmann of Metz, and Berthold of Laumersheim.²³⁶ On the Thursday before

²³² It is not clear to which convent the author is referring here.

²³³ Werner of Mühleim appears as the procurator of the monastery of Kirschgarten in the charters of Worms in the period 1260–63. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 277, 302, and 310.

²³⁴ October 28, 1258.

²³⁵ November 22, 1258.

²³⁶ Godelmann of Metz, a *miles* and citizen of Worms, appears in charters issued in the period 1235–67. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 177, 188, 197, 231, 263, and 338. Berthold of Laumersheim was a local magnate whose violent conflict with relatives over the property of Ulrich von Knöringen was settled by Count Emicho of Leiningen. See the charter that resolved this conflict in *Hessisches Urkundenbuch I*, no. 119; and the discussion of this conflict by Rudolf Andersson, *Die Deutsche Orden in Hessen bis 1300: Inaugural-Dissertation* (Königsberg 1891), 65.

the feast of St. Lucy the Virgin, Jacob the knight called Stein placed himself in the hands of the bishop of Worms and gave oath-helpers on his behalf that he would carry out everything the bishop might order precisely, straightforwardly, and without any conditions in order to conclude the discord between himself and the citizens of Worms.²³⁷ The citizens were thereby reconciled with Jacob completely and openly by the judgment of the venerable bishop in January 1259. As a result, Jacob and his entire household returned to his estate in the city.

On January 27, 1260, it happened that the knight Eberhard, the son of Gerhard, along with several of his fellow citizens left Worms and went to the estate of Osthofen so that he could exercise his advocacy there without causing loss or damages to anyone.²³⁸ There were 22 of them there when Lord Philip of Hohenfels, junior, followed by Simon, the knight of Gundheim, and Jacob, knight of Stein, and many others, amounting to more than 100 armed men arrived.²³⁹ They gathered around the citizens of Worms and attacked them without any provocation. Although there were only a few men from Worms struggling against so many, they were able to dash to the cemetery with God's help, where they put up a stiff resistance. They knocked 36 of them from their horses. At last, however, seven of the men from Worms were captured, namely Emerich the treasurer, William of Friesenheim, Ulrich the brother of Eberhard, Germanus of Bockenheim, John of Hochheim, Simon of Heuchelheim, and Conrad the son of the sister of Conrad of Rosenbaum.²⁴⁰ They were carried off to the stronghold of Gundheim and kept captive there in chains until the feast of St. Lambert.²⁴¹

After these traitorous acts had been committed, Bishop Eberhard of Worms immediately took action. After summoning the citizens, he ordered, by his own just sentence, that the well-built mansion located near the church of St. Andrew,

²³⁷ December 11, 1258.

²³⁸ Osthofen is located 6 kilometers north of Worms. Eberhard Ware appears in the Worms charters as a *miles* and as the son of the *miles* Gerhard, called the Great (*magnus*). See Boos, *Urkundenbuch II. Band*, p. 737. This passage indicates that the city government of Worms exercised judicial authority over the village of Osthofen.

²³⁹ Philip of Hohenfels had sons named Philip and Werner. The Philip named here would appear to be the son of Philip of Hohenfels.

²⁴⁰ Emerich appears in the charters of Worms in the period 1261–99. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 298, 330, 344, 474, and 495. William of Friesenheim *miles* appears twice in 1261 and 1269. See *ibid.*, nos. 298 and 345. The *miles* John of Hochheim appears in a charter issued in 1276. See *ibid.*, no. 378. A ministerial named Simon of Heuchelheim, perhaps the father of the Simon mentioned here, appears in a charter issued in 1216. See *ibid.*, no. 121. Conrad Rosenbaum is noted above.

²⁴¹ September 17, 1259.

which belonged to Jacob the knight, his aforementioned ministerial, be destroyed down to its foundations. Everyone was wildly in favor of this destruction since Jacob and his family had acted against the city. The worst thing of all was that Jacob had violated the reconciliation agreement that the bishop had arranged between Jacob and the citizens. Jacob's house was destroyed on the Friday before Purification 1260.²⁴²

Unmindful of their oaths, the citizens of Oppenheim received Jacob of Stein and his supporters in their city, and even provided documents to them to the detriment of the citizens of Worms.²⁴³ The bishop immediately summoned his friends in the city of Worms. These friends set out together with the bishop and the citizens and tore down and burned the buildings belonging to Jacob and Simon wherever they were. The enemies of the citizens burned their grain storehouses in turn. Those who had committed these acts of arson against the citizens came from Gundheim, Alzey, and Oppenheim. The men who inflicted these losses on the citizens came from and returned to Oppenheim. The losses suffered by the citizens outside their walls amounted to more than 2,000 marks.

At this time, the cantor of the cathedral was the son of the brother of Jacob of Stein and an opponent of the citizens.²⁴⁴ The cantor, named Jacob, was a warlike man and was present at the conflict at Osthofen. He had ridden between the two sides to mediate their conflict, but was still highly suspect among the citizens. Afterwards, the cantor did not come to the city. The same was true of Berlewin, a canon of the cathedral, who was the son of Lady Utde, the sister of Jacob.²⁴⁵ So one can see, all of the progeny of this family continually inflicted innumerable losses and uncounted damage on the citizens of Worms. The names of the members of this family are as follows: Hessene, Buntrime, Hependip, Rube, Roofor Ruffi, Gransones, and Sulgeloch, all the sons of Utde, Gunckeshorn, Grenni, Ziunii and their accomplices and followers. The Jews realized in 1260 that the citizens were short of funds and gave them 300 pounds of the money of Halle before Letare Sunday.²⁴⁶ The citizens used this money to give 42 pounds of the money of Halle to the friends of the knight Eberhard.

A fifteen-day truce was arranged between the citizens of Worms and their adversaries, Jacob and Simon, at an assembly held on the Saturday between

²⁴² January 29, 1260.

²⁴³ This may be a reference to a charter naming Jacob a friend or even a *conciuis* of Oppenheim.

²⁴⁴ Either Jacob of Stein had a second brother in addition to Albert Rape, noted above, who bore this Jacob, or Albert had an illegitimate son named Jacob.

²⁴⁵ This is Jacob of Stein.

²⁴⁶ March 14, 1260.

the octave of Pentecost at Hochheim,²⁴⁷ in the presence of Bishop Eberhard of Worms, Bishop Henry of Speyer,²⁴⁸ and the noble counts Henry, Rupert and Conrad,²⁴⁹ Philip of Hohenfels²⁵⁰ and his son Philip, Wirich of Daun, and Werner of Bolanden.²⁵¹

At the end of the assembly a young man named John of Liechtenstein, trusting in the truce, left the city and headed for Mommenheim.²⁵² But behold, a certain knight named Robelo of Bischofsheim, and Sulgeloch, and certain others, followed after John planning to ambush him, and to either kill or capture him. But John escaped their hands with God's aid. That same day he killed Conrad Sulgeloch in the market and then fleeing in the opposite direction entered Worms.²⁵³ The entire province was freed from its greatest tyrant and evildoer. But during this period, Jacob the cantor was always outside the city in an armed state and burned for revenge against the citizens. However, at the same time, through the aid of the bishop of Speyer, the illustrious lord Count Emicho of Leiningen became an ally of the bishop and citizens of Worms against Jacob of Stein, Simon of Gundheim and their accomplices, as well as against all of the other enemies of the citizens of Worms. The citizens of Worms likewise became the allies of Count Emicho against his enemies just as it is set out in the documents drawn up dealing with this matter on the feast of St. Boniface 1260.²⁵⁴

It should be known and recalled that the old lord count of Zweibrücken repeatedly made claims against the city of Worms over the years and harassed them in a variety of ways asserting that he held the office of fortress commander at Worms.²⁵⁵ He asserted that he had the right of making judgments concerning buildings in the city called *Überzimbere*, and many other greater rights as well.²⁵⁶

²⁴⁷ Hochheim is located 50 kilometers north of Worms, just east of Mainz.

²⁴⁸ Bishop Henry II of Speyer (1245–72) was from the comital family of Leiningen.

²⁴⁹ Henry, Rupert, and Conrad held titles as Raugrafen.

²⁵⁰ Count Philip of Hohenfels was the first cousin of Werner IV of Bolanden and Count Philip of Falkenstein.

²⁵¹ Count Werner IV of Bolanden. Concerning the agreement reached on September 16, 1260, see Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 289. The Sunday between the octave of Pentecost fell on May 29.

²⁵² John of Lichtenstein appears in a charter issued by the city of Worms in 1269. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 348.

²⁵³ This market was located outside the walls of Worms.

²⁵⁴ June 5, 1260. This document does not appear to have survived.

²⁵⁵ The Latin title is *burgavius*, which is *Burggraf* in German. The old count was Henry I (1182–1237) and the new count was Henry II (1237–82).

²⁵⁶ *Überzimbere*, which is called *Stangenrecht* in modern German, refers to the right of the holder to determine whether the important streets in the city were sufficiently wide to permit the

The citizens resisted all of his efforts. When he died, the illustrious Lord Henry, his son, succeeded him. He began to claim these same rights himself against the city with all of his strength, despoiling them and disturbing them in every way that he could. Finally, after a great deal of time, with divine help and through the mediation of discrete and peaceful men, it happened that Lord Henry the count reached an agreement with twelve men that he would accept and keep for himself and his heirs whatever judgment they reached having considered the matter carefully. On the appointed day, the twelve men presented their conclusions under oath before the lord count and his councilors in the presence and palace of the venerable lord Bishop Eberhard of Worms and many other lords gathered there. They set out what they had learned and what they had already known about all of the rights that the lord count had in the city.

They held that the count did not have any rights in the city except that 12 pounds of the money of Worms were to be paid out to him in person or to whomever he designated on the feast of St. Martin every year, and that he was then bound to pay this out, in each of the four seasons, to the four parishes.²⁵⁷ The count was also found to have an estate located near St. Kilian. The count, as well as Count Eberhard his son, agreed to these terms for themselves and for their successors and handed over letters to this effect confirmed with their own seals and the seal of our lord bishop.²⁵⁸ The citizens likewise handed over documents sealed with their seal.²⁵⁹ They both agreed in their documents and in their oaths that they would be allies for ever against all those who injured either side, although the citizens excluded the lord king and their bishop from this oath. These events took place in 1261.

In 1297 there was such an abundance of wine that a cart of wine was purchased for a shilling, and people were permitted to gather for free what could not be preserved.

The ancient tapestries of the cathedral at Worms, given at one time by Nibelungen the guardian and provost of the church, in which the names of the first bishops of Worms are inscribed, included the following songs:²⁶⁰

free flow of traffic. The *Stangen* in the term refers to the pole that was used to measure the width of the road, with the concomitant authority to command that buildings be relocated further back from the road frontage if the route had become too narrow.

²⁵⁷ The feast of St. Martin falls on November 11.

²⁵⁸ Eberhard succeeded to part of his father's holdings and lived until about 1321. These documents do not appear to have survived.

²⁵⁹ This document also appears to be lost.

²⁶⁰ Nibelung appears in the Worms charters is the period 1127–60. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 71, 74, 76, and 77.

St. Peter said:

I am charged with being the first to break the chains.

Above the heads of the bishops:

With these you have created well o present vine of Christ

Those whom piety properly renews, and whose forms signal their

Nobility, the honesty of their character, and in whose merits

Their names create fame and praise, and they thrive

Now as if they were contemporaries of Peter or of the Olive Tree.²⁶¹

The tapestry with its depiction of the apostles and prophets:

It unfolds the first elements of faith and the acts of God,

The first principles of apostolic law, the friends of the king,

These are the authors of merit, because they are the engines of heavenly sanctity.

These set out the seven miracles of Christ

The grace with which he created and fills the city of heaven.

Written in a seal in a circle around the head of St. Peter:

My people you will always be safe with me as your shield.

On the reverse of the seal of the consulate of Worms it states:

May you o good Worms be safe with Peter as your patron.

Around the seal of St. Andrew:

Holy Andrew fashioned you as a fitting seal.

²⁶¹ The olive tree is a symbol of the family of Jesse, and hence the house of David, and therefore a symbol for Jesus, who is understood as a descendent of King David.

Annales Wormatienses

In 1226, Bishop Henry of Worms founded a monastery at Kirschgarten outside the walls of Worms on the grounds, or rather, in the garden belonging to the canons of the cathedral.¹

At that time Worms had forty consuls who had presided over the city for a century without reference to the bishop.² They kept the peace, and administered the affairs and laws of the city according to the privileges that had been granted to them by emperors and kings.³ When one of the consuls died, the others selected another man to fill his place. The consuls purchased a large and strong stone house on a street belonging to the knight Hagen in a neighborhood of the city named after its proximity to the customs house.⁴ The property extended to the chapel of St. Nazarius.⁵ They immediately began to rebuild the house in a better and fitting manner. It became the most beautiful house in the whole

¹ Bishop Henry II of Worms (1217–34).

² This paragraph comes from a city chronicle that is not contemporary with the *Annales*, but which is consistent with the information provided by the *Chronicon Wormatiensis*. For a discussion of the decision to include this passage in the text of the *Annales*, see Boos, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Worms III*, 145 n. 2.

³ See the discussion of this same information in the *Chronicon Wormatiense*. For the charter granting the city the right to have a council of forty citizens, see Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 124, in which Emperor Frederick II confirmed in 1220 a privilege issued by his grandfather Emperor Frederick I. However, the imperial charter ostensibly issued to Worms on October 20, 1156 very likely is a forgery of the later twelfth century. Nevertheless, this forgery was accepted as valid by King Otto IV (1198–1218) when he confirmed the privileges of Worms in 1208. For the nature of the original charter as a forgery, see the discussion in *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser: Die Urkunden Friedrichs I. 1181–1190*, ed. Heinrich Appelt (Hanover, 1990), 349–50. For Otto IV's charter on behalf of Worms, see Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 110.

⁴ The street in Worms called Hagenstrasse, which until 1889 was called Ludwigsstrasse, was named after the wealthy Worms resident of the late twelfth century rather than after the character in the *Nibelungenlied*. This citizen of Worms is mentioned in a charter issued in 1196. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 98. The neighborhood in which this street was located was called *ad Thelonearium*, that is “at the customs house.”

⁵ Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 335 discusses the location of this building, including its position relative to the neighborhood Hagen and the church of St. Nazarius.

region and cost more than 2,000 marks.⁶ They always held the meetings of the council in this house and treated the bishop as if he were nothing.⁷

It happened that when Lord Bishop Henry wished to travel to the court of Emperor Frederick at Ravenna, he asked the citizens for a subsidy so that he could set out with the other prelates of Germany in a fitting manner.⁸ But the citizens refused to agree to his entreaties and did not wish to aid him in any way despite the fact that the lord bishop promised to act as their advocate to gain further rights for the city. The more senior and prudent men of the city were upset by this turn of events and sought permission to give him 60 pounds.⁹ The younger citizens, however, utterly refused to permit this. They sent their own advocates to the imperial court and spent more than 300 marks to do so. As a consequence, the indignant bishop caused and inflicted every kind of evil on the city.

When Lord Bishop Henry arrived at Emperor Frederick's court in Ravenna in the manner noted above, he began to complain about the citizens, noting how they treated him as if he were nothing, how they reached judgments and decisions on every matter among themselves in their confraternities, and how they treated the bishop's decisions as worthless.¹⁰ When they heard this, all of the bishops of Germany supported him. As a consequence, he received a sentence from the emperor requiring an end to all of these practices.¹¹ Having complained about the house used by the commune, he also obtained a judgment that this building and all of its associated property would be his.¹² After receiving these imperial privileges in front of all of the princes, he returned home happily. Afterwards, everything turned out as is described below.

⁶ A mark is a unit of account amounting to two-thirds of a pound, and hence 160 pennies.

⁷ The episcopal chronicle, the *Chronicon Wormatiense*, makes a very similar point.

⁸ This is Emperor Frederick II. Bishop Henry II was traveling to the imperial assembly that was held in Ravenna in December 1231. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 148.

⁹ The author of this chronicle tends to identify the types of coins that were spent by the citizens of Worms, the Jews of the city, and others, for example, the money of Halle. Since the author did not do so in this case, it seems likely that here the coins were those minted at Worms. It should be noted that a pound consisted of 240 pennies, and that the latter were the only type of coin in circulation. The pound was only a unit of account.

¹⁰ The reference to fraternities might indicate the operation of guilds.

¹¹ Frederick II declared that anyone who attempted to maintain the old city council structure in Worms would be subject to imperial censure. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 155.

¹² Emperor Frederick gave Bishop Henry permission to destroy the *domus communitatis* at Worms, and granted the property on which it stood to the church. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 156.

And then, when all of these matters had been settled, some of the citizens feared that pressure might be put on the city through this exceptional structure if the emperor or the bishop were to transform it into a fortification. Consequently, in an effort to avoid this fate, they ordered stonemasons to dig the stones out from the foundation of the building and to replace them with wood. Once this task was accomplished, they set the wood on fire. There was a huge blaze that burned through the night. At last, alas, this exceptionally beautiful and strong building collapsed with enormous force, destroyed completely. Its ruin shook the whole city. This happened in 1232, on the first Sunday after Easter at the third hour.¹³

In 1233, Lord Henry, king of the Romans and duke of Swabia, along with all of his men, began a rebellion against his father, Frederick, emperor of the Romans and king of Jerusalem and Sicily.¹⁴ He committed many offenses against his father, but most of all in this, namely that he wished to desert his wife, the most noble lady Margaret, daughter of the noble duke of Austria, and to marry the sister of the king of Bohemia.¹⁵ Knowing that he had gravely injured his father, Henry feared Frederick because of all of the things that he had done. Henry therefore sought in every possible way to block his father's entry into Germany. After meeting with his councilors, he adopted their advice and demanded hostages from the cities so as to prevent them from resisting him and supporting his father. Some of the cities sent him hostages.¹⁶

Henry then contacted the people of Worms and sought in every possible way to have them renew their oaths to him and to support him against every man alive. The citizens responded to him unanimously, declaring publicly that they had sworn to him as is fitting to their king and lord. However, they neither wished to nor could they swear another oath to him unless his father, the lord emperor, stood before him in it. They would never exclude the emperor while he was alive. The king responded that he would not accept the mention of his lord and father

¹³ May 2, 1232.

¹⁴ Henry [VII] was born in 1211 and held office as king of Germany from 1220, although only ruled in his own right from 1228. Henry's policies in Germany generally favored the cities against the secular and ecclesiastical magnates. Ultimately, Henry's conflicts with important magnates in Germany, particularly Duke Louis I of Bavaria (1183–1231), and the latter's son Duke Otto II (1231–53), led to a falling-out with his own father Emperor Frederick. Following a temporary re-establishment of cordial relations between father and son in 1232, Henry was outlawed by his father in 1234, and was tried and deposed at Worms in early July 1235.

¹⁵ Duke Leopold VI of Austria (1198–1230) and his daughter Margaret (1204–66). The author is confused here about the chronology of events. Henry was betrothed to Agnes of Bohemia (1211–82) before his marriage to Margaret.

¹⁶ See *Annales Marbacenses*, 96.

in this oath. For their part, because of their respect for justice and their love for the emperor, the citizens of Worms did not wish to exclude the emperor.¹⁷

Immediately afterwards, the lord king came to Worms and enjoined the citizens again with many rich promises and threatened them with dire punishments. He was not, however, able to move them from their position. The citizens of Speyer, for a time, stood with the men of Worms on this issue. But, in brief, after being convinced by their bishop, Lord Conrad, called of Daun, they yielded to the king and swore to accept his will.¹⁸

When the king saw that no one in the region opposed him in this matter other than the city of Worms, he grew more than usually angry and disturbed. He sent many noble messengers to the citizens, including the lord bishop of Worms named Landolf. The latter had been elected to the see on the fifth of October following the death of Bishop Henry.¹⁹ He strove to convince the citizens to submit to the will of the king. He was not successful because no one could separate them from the lord emperor. When the king saw this, he grew enraged and excluded the citizens of Worms from his grace. He gave free license to attack them and their property.²⁰ He invaded their lands with all of his men, engaging in rapine and pillage. He tried with all of his strength to commit these and similar evil acts. During this period, none of the citizens dared to leave the city. They endured enormous losses because of their support for the lord emperor. They also spent enormous sums on horses, arms, and bows, each of the citizens doing as much as he could and even, with God as a witness, more than he could. Nevertheless, although they were attacked and sustained losses, they did not diminish in their loyalty to even the slightest degree.

When the king was not able to overcome the citizens of Worms through these enormous punishments, he summoned all of his supporters in this region and arrived immediately after Easter in 1235.²¹ They gathered at Oppenheim.²² On the day of St. Mark the Evangelist he sent more than 5,000 armed men against

¹⁷ See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 178, in which Frederick II praises the citizens of Worms for their loyalty. The full text of this document is printed in *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, 4:527.

¹⁸ Bishop Conrad of Speyer (1233–37). On December 21, 1234, the people of Speyer received a charter from King Henry [VII]. See *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Stadt Speyer*, ed. Alfred Hilgard (Strassburg, 1885), no. 53; *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, 4:712.

¹⁹ Bishop Henry II died on September 12, 1234.

²⁰ The letters from Frederick II to the city of Worms are printed in *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, 4:528 and 529.

²¹ Easter fell on April 8 in 1235.

²² Oppenheim is located 25 kilometers north of Worms.

Worms.²³ They arrived at the first hour hoping to attack the city.²⁴ They were unable to carry out their desire. But they did succeed in burning thirty, or maybe a few more, houses in a suburb named after St. Michael. They were then forced to retreat by bow fire and a sally carried out by the citizens, and returned to Oppenheim around the sixth hour.²⁵ The attackers included Count Frederick of Leiningen, and the Waldgraf, as well as many other counts and nobles, some of whom then made peace agreements with the citizens through petition or even with money.²⁶

In 1241, some of the citizens of Worms were offended by the men of Osthofen. The citizens were not able to tolerate these injuries without taking vengeance. Immediately after the feast of St. Gall, the citizens marched out toward Osthofen, accompanied by Lord Bishop Landolf of Worms, in order to take vengeance for their losses.²⁷ When they saw this, both the knights and the farmers of Osthofen entered the village cemetery, which had been very well fortified. The citizens of Worms continued their advance desiring to seize this fortification from the men of Osthofen. However, the citizens of Worms were not able to do so. The men of Osthofen defended themselves with spears and bows and killed four of the citizens of Worms. The cemetery was well defended with a ditch and ramps.

The citizens retreated, greatly disturbed by what had happened. There was then a great dispute between the citizens and the village. This dispute was finally settled by Lord Marquard, the steward of Oppenheim.²⁸ While he was negotiating a settlement between the two sides, he took control of the cemetery. The agreement was finally ratified with the consent of King Conrad and the cemetery was handed over to the citizens of Worms.²⁹ They went there at once and destroyed the fortifications. The knights and farmers of Osthofen made

²³ April 25, 1235.

²⁴ The first hour is one hour after dawn.

²⁵ This is half-way through the daylight hours, or about noon.

²⁶ The attacks on the city of Worms and the subsequent joyous reception of Emperor Frederick by the citizens of Worms also are discussed by the continuator of Gottfried of Viterbo. See the *Continuatio Funiacensis et Eberbacensis*, ed. Georg Waitz MGH SS 22 (Hanover, 1872), 348. The Waldgraf is named Conrad. The title originally designated a royal official whose responsibilities included managing the king's forests. However, by the thirteenth century, the title had long since become hereditary and no longer had any connection with the earlier royal office.

²⁷ October 16, 1241.

²⁸ Marquard appears in several charters of Worms. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 204, 216, and 252. This is very likely Marquard of Schneidheim (Sneite) mentioned in the *Chronicon Wormatiense*.

²⁹ Conrad IV, born in 1228, held office as king of Germany 1237–54.

good all the losses that they had caused to the citizens. The men of Osthofen also swore that they would always be subordinate to and support the citizens of Worms in whatever way was required. Finally, they agreed never to refortify the cemetery without the permission of the citizens of Worms. Lord Wirich of Daun and Lord Conrad of Wartenburg, the advocates of this village, were indignant about the actions taken by the citizens of Worms.³⁰ They said that the citizens had used violence to enter the village and with the intent of acting as their enemies. At last, however, they agreed upon a pact of friendship with the citizens before the king and our lord bishop. Thus, everything turned out in felicitous peace.

On Palm Sunday in 1242, a fire broke out near the church of St. Andrew and killed more than 300 people, some of whom were buried in the cemetery of the hospital of St. John, some in St. Magnus, and some in a grave at St. Sylvester.³¹ Aside from the suffering of the people, which was tremendous, the city lost more than 120,000 marks in damages to buildings as well as to grain supplies, wine, and other goods.

In 1242, Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz became the chief enemy of the men of Worms because the citizens did not wish to serve him or to sell him food supplies when he entered the countryside, which is called a Gau, around Worms, with his large army.³² He had come to attack Lord Otto, count palatine of the Rhine and duke of Bavaria.³³ At the same time, he inflicted numerous injuries on the cloisters of monks at Mühlheim and Frankenthal, which were damaged and devastated by fire.³⁴ He seized 1,000 marks worth of goods from the men of

³⁰ Wirich of Daun brother of Bishop Richard of Worms was a marshal of the royal court under King Conrad IV. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 222. In 1255, Wirich served as one of the witnesses to a charter issued by King William on behalf of the citizens of Worms. Five years later, in 1260, Wirich witnessed two charters issued by King Richard on behalf of Worms in which the king helped arrange a peace agreement between the city and several local lords. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 257, 288, and 289. Conrad of Wartenburg is identified as a *miles* on a surviving witness list from 1255. See *ibid.*, no. 263. The cemetery at Osthofen was fortified into the nineteenth century. See the discussion by Boos, *Annalen und Chroniken*, 148 n. 3.

³¹ April 13, 1242.

³² Archbishop Siegfried III of Mainz (1230–49).

³³ Duke Otto II of Bavaria (1231–53).

³⁴ The monasteries of Mühlheim and Frankenthal were established by Eckenbert of Worms in the early twelfth century. See the discussion in the *Vita Eckenberti* translated in this volume. Mühlheim is located about 7 kilometers north of Worms, just north of Osthofen. Frankenthal is located approximately 12 kilometers south of Worms.

Worms, captured many of the citizens, and punished them with many afflictions, even imposing the death penalty on some of them.³⁵

In the same year, he besieged Kastel, desiring to devastate it.³⁶ Finally, however, word of this matter was brought to the emperor by Lord Philip of Hohenfels and Lord Philip of Falkenstein.³⁷ When the archbishop of Mainz reached the aforementioned city, set up his camp, and put his siege engines into position, Marquard, the steward of Oppenheim, was inside Kastel.³⁸ When the citizens of Worms heard about the siege, they prepared their well-armed warships and went to Mainz. As the bishop of Mainz saw that the citizens of Worms were making such a strong advance, he abandoned the siege and burned all of his engines. After liberating the city and the steward, and seizing the bishop's ships, the citizens of Worms returned happily to Worms. The citizens spent 400 marks on this campaign. They left archers at Kastel for its defense and this cost 60 marks and more.³⁹

In August 1242, King Conrad came to Worms seeking help in the Rheingau.⁴⁰ The citizens of Worms immediately prepared exceptionally well-constructed ships, equipped with fighting platforms, and marched to the Rheingau with 200 armed men and all of the appropriate equipment. They served the king for six weeks at the expense of the city at a cost of more than 300 marks. After the king had burned almost all of the villages in the Rheingau, he returned along with the citizens on the nativity of the Virgin.⁴¹

³⁵ This text is the main source for the military conflict between Archbishop Siegfried and the allies of Frederick II in 1243. Also see *Regesten zur Geschichte der mainzer Erzbischöfe von Bonifatius bis Uriel von Gemmingen 742–1514: II. Band. Conrad I. bis Heinrich II. 1161–1288*, eds. Johann Friedrich Böhmer and Cornelius Will (Innsbruck, 1886), p. xxxiii and no. 411.

³⁶ Kastel is located directly opposite the Mainz on the east bank of the Rhine river.

³⁷ Philip of Falkenstein and Philip of Hohenfels were first cousins. Their fathers, Werner III of Bolanden and Philip of Bolanden, respectively, were brothers. Philip of Falkenstein appears in two Worms charters. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 204 and 216. In the first case, he served as a witness to King Conrad IV's charter in 1242 in which the king freed the citizens of Worms from having to pay tolls on the Rhine river. In the second charter, issued by King Conrad in 1246, Philip of Falkenstein agreed to accept a peace agreement made between Philip of Hohenfels and the city. Philip of Hohenfels held office as royal chamberlain in the period 1236–60. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 182, 204, 216, and 288. Also see in *ibid.*, pp. 382 and 383 nos. 11 and 13.

³⁸ The reference here is to the siege of Kastel.

³⁹ See *Regesten zur Geschichte der mainzer Erzbischöfe*, p. xxxiii and no. 412.

⁴⁰ The Rheingau district is located between the two modern German cities of Wiesbaden and Lorch, approximately fifty kilometers north of Worms.

⁴¹ September 8, 1242.

In August 1243, King Conrad again arrived with a powerful army, including bishops, abbots, princes, and many magnates. He wished, as he should, to punish the bishop of Mainz and to demand back the city of Kastel, which the bishop had seized through a great fraud and with the fraudulent promises of money.⁴² The king crossed along the Bergstrasse with his army and arrived at a fortress called Starkenberg.⁴³

This place had been the cause of many losses to Worms, estimated at more than 500 marks. Conrad therefore demanded aid from the citizens. They came to his aid at once with half the strength of the city.⁴⁴ At his order, they cut down vines and remained with the king for eight days at their own expense, at cost of over 200 marks, before returning home. The king, however, proceeded to Kastel. As soon as he began his siege, the city was handed over to him. Leaving a garrison behind, he immediately marched toward the Rheingau and then headed toward Rüdesheim.⁴⁵ From this point, he sent messengers to Worms to command that they march to meet him.

Although they had already undertaken heavy expenses and labors, they did not refuse to do their duty. After preparing their warships, they sailed downriver with a hundred armed men and archers, and arrived at Rüdesheim. They spent three weeks there accepting great labor and expense at a cost of about 200 marks. Afterwards, they returned with the lord king. The lord king granted Kastel to Lord Wirich of Daun. He, in turn, extorted a large toll from the men of Mainz, Worms, and the other cities.⁴⁶

During this time, the people of Worms suffered frequent heavy losses at the hands of the lord bishop of Mainz and his supporters as well as from Lord Archbishop Conrad of Cologne and the lord of Isenburg who ravaged

⁴² The author uses the title “bishop” rather than “archbishop” for Siegfried III, perhaps in an effort to show his dislike for the prelate’s actions.

⁴³ The Bergstrasse is a route that runs north-south from modern Darmstadt up to the edge of the Odenwald mountain range that is located in the German states of Hesse, Bavaria, and Baden-Württemberg. The fortress of Starkenburg is located above the town of Heppenheim in southern Hesse, which lies along the Bergstrasse. Heppenheim is located 25 kilometers due east of Worms.

⁴⁴ During the thirteenth century, the expeditionary levy of the city of Worms was organized into four units, which drew their recruits from the four parishes in the city. Each of these parishes could provide up to a thousand men for expeditionary military duty. See the discussion of the military organization of the city Bachrach, “Making Peace and War,” 505–25.

⁴⁵ Rüdesheim is located approximately 50 kilometers west-southwest of Kastel.

⁴⁶ See *Regesten zur Geschichte der mainzer Erzbischöfe*, no. 454.

the property of the people of Worms at an estimated cost of 500 marks.⁴⁷ But they never strayed from their loyalty to the king. Finally, after being put in this dangerous position, the citizens demanded aid from the lord king so that both they and the bishop of Worms would be able to preserve their property.⁴⁸ The king immediately agreed and sent them military support, namely Lord Philip of Hohenfels and Lord Philip of Falkenstein. He paid these two with his own money and required them to remain in the city with their military households for a year, aiding and standing by the citizens. The aforementioned nobles therefore entered the city in 1244 on the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist.⁴⁹ That same day they swore to the lord bishop and citizens that they would stand with them against everyone.⁵⁰

On the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 1244, Eberhard of Echzell, who opposed the Lords Philip, surrendered Kastel to the bishop of Mainz. Kastel was then leveled by the bishop.⁵¹

On the first Sunday after the nativity of the glorious Virgin Mary 1245,⁵² both the parish priests and parishioners were silent, and did not celebrate mass, with the exception of Lord Conrad of the church of the Holy Cross.⁵³ Even he, however, remained silent with the rest at the next nativity of the Lord.⁵⁴

In 1245, Simon of Schauenberg⁵⁵ made peace with the people of Worms following the advice of Lord Frederick the count of Leiningen, Lord Philip of Hohenfels, Lord Philip of Falkenstein, and Lord Conrad the Raugraf, and the steward of Oppenheim.⁵⁶

⁴⁷ The lord of Isenburg may be connected with the castle of Isenburg, located 10 kilometers from the town of Neuwied, and 130 kilometers northwest of Worms in the vicinity of Coblenz. Archbishop Siegfried III of Mainz and Archbishop Conrad I of Cologne (1238–61).

⁴⁸ Bishop Landolf of Worms (1234–47).

⁴⁹ September 21, 1244.

⁵⁰ See *Regesten zur Geschichte der mainzer Erzbischöfe*, nos. 461 and 462.

⁵¹ The date is December 21, 1244. It is not clear who Eberhard was, or how he came to control Kastel. The lords Philip are of Falkenstein and Hohenfels.

⁵² September 10, 1245.

⁵³ It is not clear who this priest is, or whether this church was within the walls of Worms.

⁵⁴ December 25, 1245.

⁵⁵ Simon is not otherwise attested.

⁵⁶ See the discussion of the term “Raugraf” in the translation of the *Chronicon Wormatiense*. The Raugraf Conrad (1245–60) and his sons appear several times in this account. The steward of Oppenheim may still have been Marquard, but this is not clear from the text.

A conflict arose at Worms in March 1246 when the people wished to revert to the system of forty consuls that had been changed by the venerable Lord Henry, once bishop of Worms, to a council of fifteen men. First and foremost among the leaders of this schism were:⁵⁷ Gerhard Magnus,⁵⁸ Marquard Buso,⁵⁹ Dimarus inter Gades,⁶⁰ Werner Militellus,⁶¹ Henry Hellecrapho,⁶² Sigelus Egelmari,⁶³ Henry Rufus,⁶⁴ Werner Dirolfus,⁶⁵ Herbord Raparius,⁶⁶ Jacob Marggravii,⁶⁷ Henry of Pfeffelneckheim,⁶⁸ Henry, called the Jew,⁶⁹ and their supporters. These men insulted and imputed many scandals to the consuls of Worms who numbered twelve at this time, since three of them had died and had not been replaced.

On the feast of St. Oswald, the King in 1246 King Conrad fought a battle on the Nidda river.⁷⁰ The people of Worms sent armed men and warships to Conrad at a cost of 150 marks of the money of Cologne.⁷¹ Because Bishop Landolf did not participate in this conflict he was fined over 100 marks by the lord of Mainz.⁷²

King Conrad married the daughter of Otto, count palatine of the Rhine, on the first of September 1246.⁷³

⁵⁷ All of these men appear in the charters of Worms.

⁵⁸ Gerhard Magnus may be the founder of the Erenburg dynasty with its seat at Pffligheim, a neighborhood in the contemporary city of Worms. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch II. Band*, p. 737.

⁵⁹ See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 144, 217, and 226.

⁶⁰ Ibid., no. 228.

⁶¹ Ibid., nos. 217 and 304.

⁶² Ibid., nos. 217, 221, 378, and 435.

⁶³ Ibid., nos. 173, 174, 191, and 420.

⁶⁴ Ibid., nos. 173, 174, 184, 228, 234, 243, 245, 251, 292, 305, 307, 329, 344, 370, 372, and 373.

⁶⁵ Ibid., nos. 217, 226, 234, 262, 271, 305, 376, and 389.

⁶⁶ Ibid., nr. 173, 174, 217, 234, 301, and 435.

⁶⁷ Ibid., nos. 217, 301, 307, 389, and 391.

⁶⁸ Ibid., nos. 173, 174, 188, and 217.

⁶⁹ Ibid., nos. 173, 174, and 225.

⁷⁰ August 5, 1246. The Nidda is a right tributary of the Main river. It flows through a region known as the Wetterau, and has its confluence with the Main near Frankfurt.

⁷¹ The mint at Cologne was active since the Carolingian period, at the latest. A mark, which is the equivalent of two-thirds of a pound, is a unit of account. So, the reference here is to 24,000 pennies of the type struck in Cologne.

⁷² See *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, 6.872. Bishop Landolf had not yet abandoned his support of the Staufen kings and so was penalized by Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz, who was among the pope's main supporters in Germany.

⁷³ This is Elizabeth, the daughter of Duke Otto II of Bavaria. See *Annales Sancti Pantaleonis*, 541; and *Ellenhardi Chronicon*, ed. Philipp Jaffé MGH SS 17

On the day after the assumption of the glorious Virgin 1249, there was a fight between the men of Zurno the marshal and the men of Lord Philip of Hohenfels.⁷⁴ When the sound of fighting reached the city, the common rabble rushed out to take part.⁷⁵ Although the better people of the city were opposed, the rabble charged into the lodgings of Lord Louis, the son of the duke of Bavaria and count palatine of the Rhine, who was then residing in the city at the house of the brothers of Schönau.⁷⁶ They stole horses and whatever else they could grab, wounding some of the Bavarians and even killing one man. When the better people of the city arrived, they were very upset. The lord duke, his men, and Zurno were escorted to other lodgings.

The next morning, the citizens gathered, and with the mediation of Lord Henry the Raugraf⁷⁷ and Lord Philip of Hohenfels, all of the damages were resolved for the sake of peace. The duke openly reconciled with the citizens.⁷⁸ He publicly and clearly set aside all of the injuries and damages that he and his household had suffered. Moreover he issued a letter to this effect with the signatures of Lord King Conrad, Lord Otto, that is Louis' father,⁷⁹ the lord margrave of Baden,⁸⁰ Lord Frederick count of Leiningen and his brother Lord Emicho,⁸¹ Lord Eberhard of Eberstein and Lord Eberhard his son,⁸² the count of Sayn,⁸³ Lord Otto of Eberstein,⁸⁴ the lord count of Zweibrücken,⁸⁵ Lord

(Hanover, 1861), 121.

⁷⁴ This took place on August 16, 1249. Zurno was the marshal of Duke Otto II of Bavaria and came from the knightly Alzey family. *Gesta Treverorum continuatio V*, ed. Georg Waitz MGH SS 24 (Hanover, 1874), 408, describes Zurno as another Nero, and identifies him as the marshal of the duke of Bavaria (Otto II). Letter 57 in Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, p. 396 mentions a certain Cuenomen whom Boos identifies as Zurno.

⁷⁵ The fighting mentioned here would appear to have taken place at Worms.

⁷⁶ This is Louis, the son of Duke Otto II of Bavaria, who succeeded his father as duke (1253–94). The brothers of Schönau (Schonavia) is a reference to the Cistercians.

⁷⁷ The Raugraf Henry I of Baumberg (1243–62) is likely the brother of the Raugraf Conrad noted above.

⁷⁸ This is Louis of Bavaria, the son of Duke Otto, who was not yet duke at this time.

⁷⁹ This is Duke Otto of Bavaria, the father of Louis.

⁸⁰ Margrave Hermann VI of Baden (1243–50).

⁸¹ Count Frederick III of Leiningen (1237–87).

⁸² Count Eberhard IV of Eberstein (1218–63). His son Eberhard did not succeed him.

⁸³ The identity of the lord of Sayn is not clear as Count Henry III of Sayn died in 1247, two years before the events described here.

⁸⁴ Otto is the son of Count Eberhard III von Eberstein, and so the younger brother of Count Eberhard IV, whom he succeeded.

⁸⁵ Count Henry II of Zweibrücken (1237–81).

Henry the Raugraf,⁸⁶ Lord John count of Sponheim and his brothers,⁸⁷ Lord Philip of Hohenfels, and Lord Wirich of Daun. The letter was set out in this manner, namely that the duke will never avenge these injuries nor will he seek to have another avenge them. If, by chance, he violates these terms, all of the aforementioned magnates and lords will aid the citizens of Worms with all of their strength against the said Lord Louis.⁸⁸ His advisors also swore to keep this agreement. Zurno, for his part, accepted the letter issued by Lord Duke Otto and his son Lord Louis as binding on him, namely that if he ever sought to avenge these wrongs or sought to have another avenge them, the aforementioned lord dukes would make good these losses to the citizens. He also offered oath swearers on his behalf, namely Philip of Hohenfels, Reinhard of Latuern,⁸⁹ Morsellus of Dahn,⁹⁰ Albert of Liechtenstein,⁹¹ Hertwig of Hirzberg,⁹² W. the brother of Zurno,⁹³ Wildericus the son of Borgo,⁹⁴ as well as Gozzo and Werner, who were relatives of Zurno. They promised, after taking an oath, that if Zurno ever violated this agreement in any way against the citizens of Worms, seeking to avenge himself or to have another take vengeance on his behalf, the aforementioned citizens should summon them. The said oath swearers would then enter Worms at once and would not leave until they had satisfied the citizens regarding everything that Zurno had done to harm them. These acts were issued on the octave of St. Lawrence the Martyr 1249.⁹⁵

In 1250, King William, who had been elected in opposition to King Conrad by the bishops of Germany at the urging of the pope,⁹⁶ solemnly entered the

⁸⁶ Henry I of Baumberg (1243–62).

⁸⁷ Count John I (d. 1266).

⁸⁸ See *Monumenta Wittelsbacensia*, 103. This charter, issued on August 16, 1249 at Worms, made clear Louis' decision to forgive the citizens of Worms for the injuries that he had suffered at their hands.

⁸⁹ Reinhard von Lautern (Kaiserslautern) appears below named as a steward (*scultetus*) of Lautern, which was located 50 kilometers southwest of Worms. Reinhard also appears at the imperial court at Pordenone in May 1232. See *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, 4:360.

⁹⁰ Dahn is located approximately 80 kilometers south-southwest of Worms.

⁹¹ This man is not otherwise identified.

⁹² Hertwig's base of operations may have been at Hirschburg in contemporary Hirschberg an der Bergstrasse some 25 kilometers southeast of Worms.

⁹³ Zurno's brother is not otherwise known.

⁹⁴ Wildericus is not otherwise known.

⁹⁵ August 17, 1249. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, p. 504, for the text of the Louis' letter on behalf of Worms.

⁹⁶ Count William of Holland was recruited by Pope Innocent IV (1243–54) to challenge Frederick II's rule in Germany and claim the German crown. William claimed the

village of Bechtolsheim, near Oppenheim, with his troops on the feast of St. James the Apostle.⁹⁷ Remaining there, he burned down all of the villages belonging to Philip of Hohenfels who was defending Boppard, with the exception of those villages that were saved through payments.⁹⁸ He also extorted an enormous amount of money from the other villages in the surrounding area, including Osthofen and Westhofen.⁹⁹ The new king was accompanied by Bishop Christian of Mainz and his townsmen,¹⁰⁰ Conrad of Cologne and Trier,¹⁰¹ Henry of Speyer,¹⁰² Eberhard of Worms,¹⁰³ the Waldgraf and his son,¹⁰⁴ the count of Nassau,¹⁰⁵ the count of Weilnau,¹⁰⁶ the count of Katzenelnbogen,¹⁰⁷ Conrad the Raugraf, Ulrich of Minzenberg,¹⁰⁸ Werner of Bolanden and his son,¹⁰⁹ Wirich of Daun, and many others.

Then, immediately after the Saturday following the feast of St. James, they returned back up the Rhine and established camp at the crosses between Mainz

royal title from 1247 until his death in battle at the hands of the Frisians in 1256.

⁹⁷ July 25, 1250. Bechtolsheim is located 20 kilometers northwest of Worms.

⁹⁸ Boppard is located on the Rhine river 90 kilometers northwest of Worms.

⁹⁹ Westhofen is located 7 kilometers northwest of Worms. Osthofen is located 6 kilometers north of Worms.

¹⁰⁰ Archbishop Christian II of Mainz (1249–51). It should be noted that the author calls Christian bishop rather than archbishop, perhaps intending to show a certain level of disrespect. The townsmen would appear to be the urban levy from Mainz.

¹⁰¹ Archbishop Conrad of Cologne and Archbishop Arnold II of Trier (1242–59).

¹⁰² Bishop Henry II of Speyer (1245–72).

¹⁰³ Richard of Daun replaced Eberhard as bishop of Worms at the end of 1247 or the beginning of 1248, and was recognized by Pope Innocent IV. Eberhard then became bishop again in 1257 after the death of Richard. The convoluted contest between Richard and Eberhard for the episcopal seat at Worms is recounted in the *Chronicon Wormatiense*.

¹⁰⁴ This is the Waldgraf Conrad.

¹⁰⁵ Count Henry II of Nassau (1198–1251).

¹⁰⁶ Count Henry of Weilnau was a strong supporter of King William of Holland. He appears as a witness in a charter issued by William on behalf of the Wildgraf Emicho on February 25, 1249. See Johann Daniel Schöpflin, *Alsatia diplomatica* 2 vols. (Strassburg, 1772–75), 1:401.

¹⁰⁷ Count Dietrich V of Katzenelnbogen (died 1276).

¹⁰⁸ Ulrich of Minzenberg first appears as a royal chamberlain under Emperor Otto IV in 1212, a position that he maintained under Frederick II and then William of Holland up through 1249. For Ulrich's role as a royal and imperial chamberlain at the beginning and end of his career, see *Monumenta Boica* vol. 31.1 (Munich, 1837), 476; *Groot Charterboek der Graaven van Holland, van Zeeland en Heeren van Vriesland*, ed. Frans van Mieris (Leiden, 1752), 247, and *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, 6:692.

¹⁰⁹ Count Werner IV of Bolanden. Werner IV had several sons, including Philip of Bolanden and Werner V of Bolanden. Werner IV was the brother of Philip of Falkenstein.

and Oppenheim.¹¹⁰ While this was happening, Lord King Conrad remained at Oppenheim. He had established his camp outside the walls of the city near Dienheim on the first of July.¹¹¹ After the new king had made camp, he dismissed his troops and ordered them to return home.¹¹² William, himself, then went to Mainz.

King Conrad then, without delay, struck camp and headed toward Mainz. Here, he established his camp near by the monastery of Dahlheim.¹¹³ The royal camp was now almost a suburb of the city. He burned all of the villages belonging to the citizens and bishop of Mainz except for those that paid a heavy money fine. After remaining there for five days, King Conrad marched his army toward Olm and completely destroyed it, while the new king remained inside Mainz.¹¹⁴

In the meantime, Conrad asked the citizens of Worms for aid. They agreed to his request and sent him half of the military forces of the city on the Saturday before the assumption of the Virgin Mary, namely the troops from the parishes of St. Peter and St. Andrew.¹¹⁵ They came loyally with 2,000 armed men and one hundred crossbowmen to Lord King Conrad at Olm. He received them joyfully and with honor. This expedition cost more than 700 marks. At dawn on Sunday, they advanced into the territory of the Waldgraf, devastating and burning the whole area. They then returned and marched to Mauchenheim near Bolanden, intending to destroy the property belonging to Werner of Bolanden.¹¹⁶ But Philip of Falkenstein sought to prevent this in every possible way in order to defend his brother.¹¹⁷ At his request, the lord king accepted money from all of the villages belonging to Lord Werner, but he burned Mauchenheim. Withdrawing from there, he arrived at Heppenheim near Worms and established his camp there.¹¹⁸ The citizens of Worms returned to their city. King Conrad remained at Heppenheim for six days. Conrad negotiated with the men of Eberstein in the

¹¹⁰ July 29, 1250. The author is referring here to a cemetery located between Mainz and Oppenheim. The specific location of this cemetery is not known.

¹¹¹ Dienheim is located just two kilometers south of Oppenheim.

¹¹² The new king is William of Holland.

¹¹³ This convent, dedicated to the crown of Mary, was established in the mid-twelfth century on the site of the Roman aqueduct into the city of Mainz in the neighborhood of Zahlbach. See the discussion by Bunnell Lewis, "The Roman Antiquities of the Middle Rhine," *The Archaeological Journal* 47 (1890): 378–405, here 385.

¹¹⁴ Olm is located approximately 30 kilometers north-northwest of Worms.

¹¹⁵ August 12, 1250.

¹¹⁶ Mauchenheim is located approximately 20 kilometers west of Worms and five kilometers southwest of Alzey.

¹¹⁷ Philip of Falkenstein's brother was Werner IV of Bolanden.

¹¹⁸ Contemporary Heppenheim is a neighborhood on the southwest corner of the city of Worms.

hope that they would force Count Emicho to submit.¹¹⁹ But this plan did not succeed because Emicho's brother, Bishop Henry of Speyer, would not permit him to support the king. Seeing this, the king struck camp on the Sunday before the Beheading of John the Baptist and marched toward Deidesheim, which he burned along with all of the property belonging to the bishop of Speyer.¹²⁰

On April 13, 1251, the interdict was lifted from the city of Worms by Bishop Henry of Speyer, who was also a count of Leiningen, after Conrad abandoned the siege of Wissenburg.¹²¹ But, on August 20 the interdict was put back into place.

In the same year, Bishop Gerhard of Mainz, who was also the Wildgraf, established his camp on the Pfrimm in order to oppose King Conrad near the village of Kriegsheim.¹²² On the vigil of the assumption of Mary, the archbishop's men completely destroyed the village of Pfeddersheim.¹²³

In 1253, David,¹²⁴ Jacob of Stein, Wolfram of Dürkheim, Gozzo of Moro, Gozzo of Sultzen, Conrad Dirolfus, Henry Richeri, Werner retro Monetam, Henry Zippura, Conrad Rosenbaum, Henry Holtmunt, Eberzo of the Wool District, Henry Rufus and Edelwein were the *senatores* of Worms in the month of November.¹²⁵

In 1253, a mark of pure silver was worth 2 pounds and 7 solidi of the money of Halle.¹²⁶

¹¹⁹ Eberstein (Alt Eberstein) is located 125 kilometers south of Worms near Baden-Baden.

¹²⁰ August 27, 1250. Diedesheim is located 70 kilometers east-southeast of Worms near the city of Mosbach.

¹²¹ This is likely Weissenburg rather than Würzburg. Weissenburg is located 100 kilometers southwest of Worms.

¹²² Wildgraf is an alternate form of the title Waldgraf and similarly denotes a formerly royal office that had become hereditary. The Pfrimm is a tributary of the Rhine that has its confluence with the major river near Worms. Kriegsheim is located seven kilometers west of Worms.

¹²³ August 14, 1251. Pfeddersheim is located 5 kilometers west of Worms.

¹²⁴ David is likely David retro Coquinam, who held the title of *miles*. Compare with the *Chronicon Wormatiense*.

¹²⁵ All of these men, with the exception of Wolfram, appear in the surviving documents from the city of Worms. Compare with the notes in the *Chronicon Wormatiense*. The author chose to use the term *senatores* rather than *consules* to denote these men.

¹²⁶ A mark generally is worth two-thirds of a pound. However, in this case, the money in question, which appears to be the money of Worms, was worth substantially more than this. Instead of 160 pennies of Halle, the mark of pure silver was worth 620 pennies, or almost four-fold what would otherwise be expected.

In February 1254, the people of Worms and the people of Mainz entered into an alliance for all time, although in earlier times they had been enemies.¹²⁷

The citizens of Oppenheim were under interdict during and, indeed, long before the negotiations that were conducted between the citizens of Mainz and the citizens of Worms concerning a confederation of peace and concord. When they saw that the aforementioned peace agreement would be very useful, the men of Oppenheim passionately demanded that they be allowed to join the union between the citizens of Worms and Mainz.¹²⁸ After the interdict was lifted by Bishop Gerhard of Mainz, they were conditionally accepted on the Saturday before Palm Sunday 1254.¹²⁹ After this, the citizens of Oppenheim were bound to the citizens of the two aforementioned cities in the following manner: “In the name of the holy and inseparable trinity amen. Arnold the treasurer etc. Because of the current dangers to the land etc. Done in the year 1254.”¹³⁰ With the support of divine grace, many others joined this pact. Since Lord Werner of Bolanden resisted the pact, his fortress, which he built in Ingelheim and which he used as a base for carrying out many depredations, was besieged.¹³¹ The fortress was captured by the citizens of Mainz and other members of the peace alliance on September 13, 1254 and completely destroyed.¹³²

All of Lord Werner’s friends were upset by this and they gathered together their forces at Odernheim, namely Lord Emicho, count of Leiningen, the Raugrafen,¹³³ the lord count of Eberstein, and many other noblemen with all of their troops.¹³⁴ The cities, for their part, also gathered their forces together in a proud and honorable manner, since they wished to bring the fight to their adversaries. The bishop of Mainz, the Waldgraf,¹³⁵ and other lords mediated and finally succeeded in convincing the cities, after many prayers, to make a truce with the nobles that would last up the next feast of St. Michael if Lord Eberhard of Eberstein, Werner of Bolanden, Lord Philip of Hohenfels, the lord

¹²⁷ Compare with the *Chronicon Wormatiense*.

¹²⁸ Compare with the *Chronicon Wormatiense*.

¹²⁹ April 3, 1254. Archbishop Gerhard I of Mainz (1251–59).

¹³⁰ See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 252 and compare with the *Chronicon Wormatiense*.

¹³¹ The Bolanden family, originally imperial ministerials, were granted authority over the royal fiscal property at Ingelheim during the twelfth century. Ingelheim is located 45 kilometers northwest of Worms.

¹³² See *Annales Moguntini*, 2.

¹³³ These are likely Conrad and Henry noted above.

¹³⁴ Odernheim is located 20 kilometers northwest of Worms.

¹³⁵ This is Conrad the Waldgraf.

of Eppstein, the lord of Falkenstein,¹³⁶ and all the lords gave up completely their consumption taxes and tolls, both on land and on water.¹³⁷ This was done on the vigil of St. Martin 1254.¹³⁸

The business involving the general peace cost the citizens of Worms more than 1,000 marks and the Jews for their part gave 150 pounds of the money of Halle that year to obtain mercenaries in support of the peace in 1255.¹³⁹

The same year, King William returned to the upper regions of the Rhine on the Saturday before the feast of St Martin.¹⁴⁰ Immediately after arriving at Oppenheim, and in conjunction with a general assembly of all of the cities, he confirmed the efforts of the general peace with a royal privilege in the following manner: "William by the grace of God, etc. gives thanks to the Lord etc., done at Oppenheim in the year 1255 on the vigil of St. Martin in the 14th indiction."¹⁴¹ At the same time, following the judgment of the princes, William eliminated the rights of citizens who are called Pfahlbürger so that among other restrictions, none of the cities were permitted to have them or receive them.¹⁴² [The Pfahlbürger were citizens who were not resident in the city.]¹⁴³

On the vigil of All Saints 1256, Count Dietrich of Katzenelnbogen violated the peace by attacking the citizens of Mainz.¹⁴⁴ The citizens therefore besieged

¹³⁶ This is Philip of Falkenstein.

¹³⁷ September 29, 1255. The lord of Eppstein was a local knight, and likely a retainer and perhaps even a ministerialis of the bishop of Worms. His seat at Eppstein is located approximately 70 kilometers north-northeast of Worms, and 20 kilometers east-northeast of Mainz. The author of the *Chronicon Wormatiense* observed that King William sent this *miles* as his representative to Worms, and also noted the stronghold of Eppenstein belonged to the bishop of Worms.

¹³⁸ November 10, 1254.

¹³⁹ An alternate reading in two of the manuscripts of the chronicle by Zorn (C and Zorn-Wilck) observe that the general peace cost the city of Worms more than 1,000 marks in expenses and in obtaining mercenaries. The Jews gave 200 pounds of Halle to support the general peace. This money was used to purchase the service of mercenaries (*soldarii*). See the discussion by Boos, *Annalen und Chroniken*, 154.

¹⁴⁰ November 5, 1254.

¹⁴¹ Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 265.

¹⁴² Pfahlbürger were people living in the district around the city, who formerly were subject to territorial magnates, but who were given partial or full civic rights by cities despite their residence outside the more closely defined legal boundaries of the municipality.

¹⁴³ The section in brackets was added later to the text as a gloss.

¹⁴⁴ October 31, 1256.

his fortress at Rheinfels on the Rhine.¹⁴⁵ The citizens of Worms provided a 2,000-mark subsidy to support this expedition.

On Pentecost 1257, the cities besieged Margrave Rudolf of Baden at Selzen.¹⁴⁶ But the margrave was victorious and captured 85 knights and citizens, of whom 18 came from Worms. Moreover, as a result of this conflict, even Philip of Hohenfels, Worms' sworn ally, demanded more than 3,000 silver marks in compensation. In order to pay this sum, the citizens of Worms unwisely sold the right to collect 34 pounds of the money of Worms in annual head taxes. Afterwards, however, an agreement was reached between the margrave of Baden and the cities, through the mediation of the citizens of Strassburg, so that the former released all of the captives to their own cities. The margrave received 254 marks of silver for six of the men from Worms.

In 1257, King Richard gained the support of the city of Oppenheim on Sunday, in the octave of the nativity of Mary,¹⁴⁷ by granting, without reservation, the concession that the destruction of the fortress in the city would never be held against them and that it would never be rebuilt by the king.¹⁴⁸ Further, they were to be freed from all service for three years.¹⁴⁹ If a stronger king were named by the pope and arrived in the meantime, they would no longer be bound to him in any way.¹⁵⁰ They then swore their loyalty to the king. He appointed a steward for them, a knight named Jacob, called Litwilre.¹⁵¹

On the vigil of St. Michael 1257,¹⁵² the illustrious Lord Emicho, count of Leiningen, became the ally of the city of Worms against all their enemies for a period of two years beginning the next feast of St. Martin.¹⁵³ At that time, this same count and Lord Philip of Falkenstein held eleven citizens whom they had captured at Selzen, and from whom they extorted 350 marks of silver. Lord

¹⁴⁵ The fortification of Rheinfels was constructed in Sankt Goar, which is located 80 kilometers northwest of Worms, just south of Boppard.

¹⁴⁶ May 27, 1257. Margrave Rudolf I of Baden (1243–88).

¹⁴⁷ September 15, 1257.

¹⁴⁸ The reference here is to the royal citadel within the walls of Oppenheim.

¹⁴⁹ From the context, this would seem to be a reference to military service.

¹⁵⁰ The charter issued by King Richard to Oppenheim does not survive.

¹⁵¹ Jacob appears as a witness in a charter issued by Philip of Falkenstein in 1252 according to which Lord Ulrich of Minzenburg promised to hand over his fortress at Königsstein to Philip in case Ulrich dies without children. See *Codex diplomaticus Nassoicus* vol. 1, ed. Karl Menzel (Wiesbaden, 1885), 362.

¹⁵² September 28, 1257.

¹⁵³ November 11, 1257. Count Emicho of Leiningen (1249–69) and his brother Count Frederick of Leiningen (1245–69). Another brother was Bishop Henry II of Speyer.

Emicho was given 300 marks of the money of Cologne by the citizens for his alliance with the city of Worms.

On 16 January 1258, the people of Speyer and Worms joined together in a confederation by unanimous consent in the following manner: if Lord Alphonso, king elect of the Romans, wished to keep his promise, as he swore, to take control of the kingdom of the Romans and to defend its citizens, then the cities would remain loyal to him. They would never ally themselves with another king except by their common consent. They also swore to be faithfully constant in this and never to separate from each other in this matter. Wolfram the knight and Werner retro Monetam, as magistrates of Worms, promised this to Speyer on behalf of the whole city.¹⁵⁴

On Letare Sunday 1258, which was on March 3, an enormous and powerful torrent of water, brought by a huge snowfall, came rushing down with such force that it destroyed a large section of the city wall located near the Jewish cemetery and drowned two people who were on the bridge at the gate of St. Andrew.¹⁵⁵

The same year, on the feast of St. James, King Richard entered Worms.¹⁵⁶ The king confirmed the privileges of the citizens, both the Christians and the Jews, and gave them 1,000 marks of silver.¹⁵⁷ The Jews gave the bishop and the citizens 200 marks so that the latter would maintain them as part of their sworn association.¹⁵⁸

On July 29, 1258, the citizens of Worms reconciled with Henry, the knight of Ruppertsberg, through the mediation of the bishop of Worms.¹⁵⁹ Hostilities between the two parties had arisen when the citizens destroyed a stronghold that he had built in a location between Worms and Speyer near the village of Maudach.¹⁶⁰ This reconciliation cost the citizens 80 marks.

¹⁵⁴ The text of the treaty has not survived. Both of these citizens appear in numerous charters. See the discussion in the notes to the *Chronicon Wormatiense*.

¹⁵⁵ Letare Sunday is the fourth Sunday in Lent.

¹⁵⁶ July 25, 1258.

¹⁵⁷ Richard of Cornwall's distribution of money to the citizens, and to the Jews, of Worms likely is to be understood as part of his effort to purchase political support for his election and recognition as king of Germany. Since Worms, along with Mainz, was a leader in the league of Rhenish cities, purchasing the support of the citizens may have appeared to be a good investment by Richard.

¹⁵⁸ See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 274.

¹⁵⁹ Ruppertsberg belongs to the contemporary administrative district (*Verbands-gemeinde*) of Deidesheim.

¹⁶⁰ Maudach is located 30 kilometers south of Worms near Ludwigshafen.

In 1258, in the time of Bishop Eberhard, who was the Raugraf of Beyenburg, and for more than twenty years before this date, a consumption tax was imposed so that a portion of every measure of wine was taken, the proceeds from which were used to build the walls and towers of the city as well as to pay the debts and purchase the goods required by the community. The clergy envied the citizens a great deal for this.¹⁶¹

In 1259, Bishop Eberhard and his forces entered the city called Neustadt, which belonged to Count Palatine Louis of the Rhine, and subjugated it to himself.¹⁶² He did so because that lord had violently seized church property. This occurred on February 19.

On the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul the Apostles in 1259,¹⁶³ the citizens of Mainz, Worms, and Oppenheim gathered together on an equal footing and renewed their pact of friendship and pure confederation. They agreed among themselves to keep paid troops for the defense of each of the cities to the extent that each was able. That summer was hot and dry. Nevertheless, there was a great abundance of wine and of grain crops, so much so that the jugs were worth more than the wine they carried. As a result of this agreement, the people of Worms kept mercenaries who cost 400 marks a year. The Jews gave a subsidy to the city of 200 pounds of the money of Halle and an additional 50 marks of silver.

On the vigil of the nativity of the Lord 1259, the church redeemed the hospice at St. John for 300 pounds of the money of Halle and six sections of vineyards in Nusatz located before the new gate.¹⁶⁴

In the same year, the windows at the monastery were restored at a cost of 51 pounds. In the same year, they built an organ that cost 163 pounds not including the wages of the master, which were computed at 200 pounds.¹⁶⁵

On the octave of St. John the Baptist 1260,¹⁶⁶ the citizens of Worms advanced with numerous territorial lords to destroy that den of thieves, Alzey. This expedition cost the citizens of Worms more than 1,000 marks. The Jews provided a subsidy of 400 pounds of the money of Halle to this enterprise in July.

¹⁶¹ See the discussion of this issue in the *Chronicon Wormatiense*.

¹⁶² Neustadt an der Weinstrasse is located 45 kilometers southwest of Worms. Louis is both count palatine of the Rhine and duke of Bavaria.

¹⁶³ June 29, 1259.

¹⁶⁴ The church here is the cathedral church of Worms. It would appear that Nusatz is the name of the neighborhood located outside the “new gate” of Worms.

¹⁶⁵ It is not clear to which monastery the text is referring.

¹⁶⁶ July 1, 1260.

Also present in force, to the disadvantage of the said city,¹⁶⁷ were Bishops Werner of Mainz,¹⁶⁸ Henry of Speyer,¹⁶⁹ and Eberhard of Worms,¹⁷⁰ the counts Emicho and Frederick of Leiningen, Simon of Sponheim,¹⁷¹ Conrad the Waldgraf with his two sons Emicho and Godfrey,¹⁷² the Raugrafen Henry, Rupert,¹⁷³ and Conrad, Dietrich the count of Katzenelnbogen and his brother E,¹⁷⁴ the count of Nassau,¹⁷⁵ the count of Dietz,¹⁷⁶ the count of Weilnau,¹⁷⁷ Werner and Philip, the lords of Bolanden,¹⁷⁸ and many others.

All of the men of Worms were there as a powerful force with their battle flag and their battle wagon.¹⁷⁹ They undertook very heavy expenses on account of their engines, their equipment, and their archers. They also brought considerable quantities of food from Worms. During the siege, the old steward Werner was captured along with two of his knights.¹⁸⁰ The men of Worms presented the knights and the steward to Lord E the count of Leiningen,¹⁸¹ who led him off to Leiningen and received 400 marks from him. Lord Philip of Hohenfels was the only one in Alzey to help the people there with his men against all of the lords of the province.¹⁸² Soon afterward the matter was settled through the mediating efforts of Bishop Werner of Mainz.¹⁸³ The lords and the cities were permitted to destroy the walls and moat around Alzey. Moreover, the commune

¹⁶⁷ Apparently the presence of the military forces of the ecclesiastical and secular magnates limited the profit that the men of Worms could achieve in this campaign.

¹⁶⁸ Archbishop Werner of Mainz (1259–84).

¹⁶⁹ Bishop Henry II of Speyer, the brother of Counts Emicho and Frederick of Leiningen.

¹⁷⁰ Bishop Eberhard of Worms (1257–77)

¹⁷¹ Count Simon I of Sponheim (1223–64).

¹⁷² Conrad is noted above.

¹⁷³ It is not clear what relation Rupert had to Henry and Conrad. He may have been their brother, or the son of one of them.

¹⁷⁴ This is likely Eberhard of Katzenelnbogen. See *Katzenelnbogisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Helfrich Bernhard Wenck (Frankfurt, 1803), 19.

¹⁷⁵ This is Count Henry of Nassau, noted above.

¹⁷⁶ This might be either Henry or Gerhard of Dietz.

¹⁷⁷ Count Henry of Weilnau.

¹⁷⁸ These are the two sons of Werner IV of Bolanden.

¹⁷⁹ This wagon served as a rallying point for troops in the field and also held the banners of the urban militia. See also the discussion in the *Chronicon Wormatiense*.

¹⁸⁰ This is likely the steward of Alzey.

¹⁸¹ Emicho of Leiningen.

¹⁸² Philip of Hohenfels was the first cousin once removed of Philip and Werner V of Bolanden.

¹⁸³ Note the use of bishop rather than archbishop for Werner.

of Alzey clearly and completely renounced any claim to damages. This was done on the vigil of St. Margaret.¹⁸⁴ But because the lords departed too quickly for the destruction to be completed many people were upset. Before they left, however, they agreed among themselves and faithfully promised under oath that if any of those who had participated in the siege were injured, attacked, or otherwise suffered losses at the hands of the men of Alzey or by their agents or friends, each one of them would consider this act as having been committed against themselves and would take vengeance. Each party received letters as testimony to and confirmation of this agreement.¹⁸⁵

On Monday before the feast of St. Andrew 1260,¹⁸⁶ King Richard settled a controversy that had arisen, namely that the citizens of Oppenheim, completely forgetful of the oaths and confederation they had sworn, were acting against the interest of the citizens of Worms by giving comfort to and protecting thieves and arsonists from Worms. On the feast of St. Lambert in the same year,¹⁸⁷ he also quieted the quarrel that had arisen between Jacob of Stein and Simon of Gundheim on the one side and the citizens of Worms on the other during the conflict at Osthofen.¹⁸⁸ The terms were as follows: Richard would give 200 marks of the money of Cologne to the aforementioned noblemen and the citizens would give 300 marks within the specified time for the release of the captives and the restoration of lost property. The seven captives, who had been held at Gundheim for eight months, were released to the citizens that same day. Philip of Hohenfels and Philip of Falkenstein, along with the aforementioned Jacob and Simon, confirmed the king's agreement with an oath.¹⁸⁹

The reconciliation between Jacob and Simon, and the citizens of Worms was completed on the eve of the feast of St. Kilian 1261¹⁹⁰ and it even included Eberhard, the son of Gerhard, and his supporters.¹⁹¹ Bishop Eberhard of Worms

¹⁸⁴ July 12, 1260.

¹⁸⁵ It does not appear that any copies of this agreement have survived.

¹⁸⁶ November 29, 1260.

¹⁸⁷ September 17, 1260.

¹⁸⁸ Compare with the *Chronicon Wormatiense*.

¹⁸⁹ The date given by the author is incorrect. Richard was already back in London on November 29, 1260. See *De antiquis legibus liber: Cronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum*, ed. Camden Society (London, 1838), 45. Richard spent more than a month at Worms in the period August 12 through September 16, 1260. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 287, 288, and 289.

¹⁹⁰ July 7, 1261.

¹⁹¹ Eberhard was a local knight who lived in the district around Worms. Also see the discussion in the *Chronicon Wormatiense*.

gave 100 marks of the money of Halle to Gerhard and the citizens likewise gave him 100 marks of the money of Halle. Thus, both sides swore to keep all elements of the agreement of reconciliation worked out by Lord Richard the King.

In 1261, some citizens of Worms were robbed of a great deal of property by the duke palatine, who was staying with his forces in Heidelberg.¹⁹² Some other citizens of Worms were captured and robbed at Bacharach.¹⁹³ Similarly, some others were carried off by the duke's men in Wolfsberg.¹⁹⁴ The Bavarians truly committed a large number of crimes. Their greatest victim was the lord of Stralenberg who opposed them and fought against them manfully with all of his troops.¹⁹⁵ He suffered many losses, both in property and personally, on behalf of the men of Worms. At last, however, the war was brought to a conclusion. A compromise was reached by eight men drawn from each side with a good man named Werner Masungus from Alzey acting as the mediator. Their judgment was carried out faithfully and in full.¹⁹⁶

The names of those representing Worms are as follows: Count Rupert the Raugraf, who was the brother of the bishop of Worms, Bertold called "of Metis," who was the *vicedominus* of Worms,¹⁹⁷ Wolfram of Löwenstein,¹⁹⁸ and Henry called Nortgesser of Dirmstein.¹⁹⁹ On behalf of the duke, there were Philip of

¹⁹² This is Duke Louis of Bavaria and count palatine of the Rhine. The attacks on the citizens of Worms at Heidelberg likely were related to the ongoing conflict between the bishop of Worms and Duke Louis, who held both the city and fortress of Heidelberg as a *feudum* from the bishop. See *Monumenta Wittenbergensis*, 333, which records an agreement in 1281, but sheds light on the earlier relationship between the two sides.

¹⁹³ Bacharach is located 60 kilometers northwest of Worms.

¹⁹⁴ Wolfsberg is a stronghold constructed near Neustadt an der Weinstrasse some 45 kilometers southwest of Worms.

¹⁹⁵ Conrad of Strahlenburg.

¹⁹⁶ The theft arose because of a conflict between Bishop Eberhard of Worms and Duke Louis. This conflict was resolved with an agreement issued at Worms on November 18, 1261. See *Monumenta Wittenbergensis*, 178–81.

¹⁹⁷ A man named Berthold with the title *vicedominus* appears in the charters for Worms in the period 1224–26 and again in 1238. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 133, 135, and 198. The title suggests that he holds high office in the city administration. He also witnessed the agreement between Duke Louis and Bishop Eberhard. See *Monumenta Wittenbergensis*, 179.

¹⁹⁸ The stronghold of Löwenstein was located at Niedermoschel 40 kilometers west of Worms.

¹⁹⁹ Dirmstein is located 15 kilometers southwest of Worms. Dietrich also is identified as a witness to the agreement between Bishop Eberhard of Worms and Duke Louis. See *Monumenta Wittenbergensis*, 179.

Hohenfels, the lord of Horncheim,²⁰⁰ the lord of Hegenberg,²⁰¹ and Lord Werner the steward of Alzey. Having given their oaths, they all came to Gundheim on the day after the Assumption of the Virgin Mary of the same year.²⁰² Here, at the suggestion of Brother Masungus and Brother Walter, called of Sultz, both from the house of the brothers of the German Order,²⁰³ the bishop of Worms and the Duke Palatine were reconciled openly and without deceit. The lord duke received from the bishop all of the properties which he was known to have held from the church of Worms. He was especially recognized to hold by military tenure the village of Neckarau, with all of its appurtenances.²⁰⁴ However, the losses that the duke and his men had inflicted on the citizens of Worms both on the Rhine and on the roads, were not included in this agreement, and they were not renounced by the citizens. This came about because the lord of Stralenberg and the lord of Hirzberg,²⁰⁵ the supporters of Worms against whom the duke had orchestrated as many crimes as possible, were present when the agreement was made. In February 1262, the citizens gave 300 pounds of the money of Halle to the bishop as a subsidy for this war.

Church services were suspended throughout the whole city in 1261 because of the excesses committed by some of the citizens. Services were then held at Lorsch.²⁰⁶ The suspension lasted for 17 days beginning on the feast of Simon and Jude.²⁰⁷ Afterwards, these men were expelled from the city until they made satisfaction. These evildoers, namely Emicho the chamberlain, Gerard of Wachenheim, and Ulrich the son of Gerard, gave up their civic rights, which was itself an injury to the citizens.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁰ The identity of this man is not clear.

²⁰¹ Hegenberg is located approximately 180 kilometers east-southeast of Worms in the neighborhood of Schwäbisch Hall. Hermann of Hegenberg appears as a witness in numerous charters issued by Duke Louis of Bavaria between 1258 and 1275. See *Monumenta Wittenbacensia*, 161, 179, 185, 195, 197, 214, 221, 238, 239, 258, 264, 272, 274, 277, and 280.

²⁰² August 16, 1261.

²⁰³ This is a reference to the Teutonic Knights.

²⁰⁴ Bishop Henry II of Worms had complained to Emperor Frederick II as early as 1232 that Duke Otto II of Bavaria had seized the village of Neckarau from him. This property remained in the hands of the dukes of Bavaria until at least the late 1280s. See the discussion in the *Chronicon Wormatiense*.

²⁰⁵ These are Hertwig of Hirzberg and Conrad of Strahlenberg.

²⁰⁶ The monastery of Lorsch is located 20 kilometers east of Worms.

²⁰⁷ October 28, 1261.

²⁰⁸ See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 298.

In November 1261, the Jews gave the citizens 230 pounds of the money of Halle for the repair of the wall. They gave an additional 20 pounds of the money of Halle as a consumption tax on wine.

In 1262, Henry the chamberlain and knight, and Henry Holtmunt held office as magistrates.²⁰⁹

On the vigil of St. Michael 1262,²¹⁰ the illustrious count, Emicho of Leiningen, became a supporter and protector of the citizens of Worms for two years against all who would injure or attack them. They gave him 500 pounds of the money of Halle for this.

On the feast of St. Martin 1262,²¹¹ the citizens gave Lord Philip of Hohenfels and his sons 200 pounds of the money of Halle and an additional 25 pounds of the money of Halle for the expenses of the arbitrators. As a result, all of the issues between them were settled.

During the feast of St. Walpurgis 1263,²¹² the Jews once again were committed by Lord Richard the king to the care of Lord Bishop Henry of Speyer. Then the Jews, themselves, gave the citizens of Worms 220 pounds of the money of Halle.

In 1263, Frederick, called Osthofen, was head of the city council.

In February 1264, the citizens entered the village of Pfeddersheim because of a certain conflict, took whatever they found, and on the same day completely burned down the village. They carried out this act although the consuls and better people in the city were opposed. The authors of this damage were Henry the knight called Eych from Wirtzenberg,²¹³ Emerich the chamberlain,²¹⁴ and Gerhard of Wachenheim.²¹⁵ Because of this act, the less senior members of the Hohenfels family burned down the grain storehouses and homes of the citizens everywhere. Finally, however, everything was settled after the bishops of Worms

²⁰⁹ See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 302 for the list of city magistrates who witness this charter in 1262, including Henry called *camerarius* and Henry Holtmut who is called *magister civium*.

²¹⁰ September 28, 1262.

²¹¹ November 11, 1262.

²¹² May 1, 1263.

²¹³ Henry appears in numerous charters in the period 1261–99. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 298, 392, 330, 344, 347. 348, 350, 352, 353, 372, 378, 390. 412, 440, 474, and 495.

²¹⁴ Emerich held the title of *miles* and also held office as *camerarius* in the period 1261–99, appearing in numerous charters from Worms. See the discussion by Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 298, 330, 344, 474, 495, and 509. Emerich was the son of the *miles* David retro Conquinam; see *ibid.*, no. 375.

²¹⁵ Gerhard appears in a charter issued in 1261. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 298.

and Speyer and Lord Count Frederick of Leiningen interceded. The lord of Hohenfels and his sons simply, precisely, and clearly renounced their claims for any actions or damages that they or their men had suffered at the hands of the citizens of Worms in Pfeddersheim or any other place up to that day. The citizens agreed to pay 770 pounds of the money of Halle to the lord of Hohenfels and 40 pounds of the money of Halle to the other lords for their expenses.

There was a revolt in the city against the consumption tax in 1264 with both the people and the more powerful saying that the council had established the consumption tax for their own benefit rather than for the city. The wall of the convent of Nonnenmünster was broken at this time.²¹⁶ The bishop therefore suspended church services before the feast of All Saints.²¹⁷ An agreement that met the bishop's approval finally was reached on the vigil of St. Cecilia.²¹⁸

In December 1264, the Augustinians entered Worms under Bishop Eberhard the Raugraf.²¹⁹ The Brothers of the Sack entered at the same time.

In February 1265, the illustrious counts of Leiningen, Emicho and Frederick, swore to the city and citizens of Worms that they would be their faithful supporters against all of their opponents for the period extending two years from the upcoming feast of St. Martin.²²⁰ This alliance was agreed to and confirmed openly between the said counts and the citizens without any grant of money.

The Jews gave the citizens of Worms 300 pounds of the money of Halle in March 1265. In September of the following year, they gave 250 pounds of the money of Halle and promised to give 200 pounds of the money of Halle in the next year. In 1268, the Jews gave 300 pounds of the money of Halle to the citizens on behalf of themselves and of King Richard.

At the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in the same year,²²¹ four men each from Mainz, Worms, and Oppenheim worked out all of the difficulties that existed among their cities. Their names were as follows: from Mainz, Eberhard the chamberlain, Frederick of Waldersheim, Arnold Walpodo and Ulrich Rosenbaum, from Worms, Godfrey the elder of Moro, Gerbod of Moro, Henry

²¹⁶ By this date, the convent of Nonnenmünster had been reformed, and the formerly Benedictine nuns replaced by Cistercian nuns. See the discussion in the *Chronicon Wormatiense*.

²¹⁷ October 31, 1264.

²¹⁸ November 21, 1264.

²¹⁹ The bringing of the Augustinian friars and the Brothers of the Sack also was discussed by the author of the *Chronicon Wormatiense*.

²²⁰ November 11, 1265.

²²¹ August 15, 1265

Richeri and Henry Holtmunt,²²² and from Oppenheim, Peter of Winoldisheim, Henry of Kunigintheim, Henry Grezzing, and Conrad Vugere. These acts were carried out and completed on the aforementioned day at the stone crosses between Mainz and Oppenheim.²²³

In 1266, the noble man Lord Conrad of Stralenberg initiated hostilities against the citizens of Worms in order to gain restitution for the losses he had suffered through fire and rapine at the hands of the citizens in his village of Schriesheim.²²⁴ The citizens remonstrated with him and his brother Lord Henry of blessed memory, that they had given full and just compensation. Finally they reached a compromise on three judges, discreet men, namely Henry Wackerpil,²²⁵ Henry the chamberlain,²²⁶ and Gerbod,²²⁷ all knights. These knights ordered the citizens to prove, through three fitting witnesses, that Lord Conrad had been a party to this agreement. They did this through Lord Philip of Hohenfels, John of Bechtolsheim²²⁸ and Franco of Laumersheim.²²⁹ These acts were completed in Nonnenmünster in the presence of the bishop of Worms and many other honest men in the year noted above on the day after the feast of St. Bartholomew the Apostle.²³⁰ Lord Conrad, for his part, clearly renounced all actions against the citizens of Worms.

In 1266, in the time of Bishop Eberhard of Worms, who was the Raugraf of Beyenburg, the names of the fifteen consuls, provident, honest, and faithful men all, were Henry Camerarius, Henry Wackerpil, Godfrey of Moro, Gozzo

²²² Godfrey the elder of Moro, Henry Richeri, and Henry Holtmunt are all discussed in the *Chronicon Wormatiense*. Gerbod of Moro was the brother of Godfrey, and also held the title of *miles*. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 262, 271, 325, 352, 359, 372, 375, 378, and 390.

²²³ This agreement between Worms and Oppenheim was concluded on August 13, 1265. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 325.

²²⁴ Schriesheim an der Bergstrasse is located 30 kilometers southeast of Worms.

²²⁵ Henry Wackerpil, perhaps the son of Henry Wackerpil who was an episcopal ministerial during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, appears as a *miles* in numerous Worms charters in the period 1241–79. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 200, 276, 292, 304, 305, 344, 352, 359, 364, 367, and 390.

²²⁶ Henry the Chamberlain (*camerarius*) is noted above as having held office as a city magistrate. He also appears in numerous Worms charters in the period 1261–99, often appearing with the title of *miles*. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 298, 302, 330, 344, 347, 348, 350, 352, 353, 372, 378, 390, 412, 440, 474, and 495.

²²⁷ This is likely Gerbod de Moro, noted above.

²²⁸ Bechtolsheim is located approximately 20 kilometers northwest of Worms.

²²⁹ Laumersheim is located 15 kilometers southwest of Worms near Dirmstein.

²³⁰ August 25, 1266

of Moro, Gerbod of Moro and Wigand Krutsack,²³¹ all of whom were knights, Henry Richeri, Werner retro Monetam, Henry Holtmunt, Henry Zippura, Henry Rufus, John Dimari, Werner Amella, and Werner Militellus.²³²

In 1266, the period of the consumption tax, which had been prolonged at the lord bishop's command for one year from the feast of St. Martin, expired.

On the Thursday before the feast of St. Gregory the Pope in 1269,²³³ King Richard came to Worms and accepted Count Frederick of Leiningen into his grace. At the same time, Philip of Falkenstein handed over the regalia to the lord king. The latter, since he enjoyed it so much at Worms, remained there for a long time with his son who was eleven years old at the time.²³⁴

Later, after the celebration of mass the following Sunday, the king ordered that an assembly be held at Worms. He succeeded in having a general peace, which long had been absent, sworn by all of the nobles and magnates for the purpose of removing unjust tolls on both land and water, removing consumption taxes from the cities, and eliminating tolls that had been demanded and extorted without mercy on everyone carrying goods on both the Rhine and on the roads. Thus, with the aid of the Lord, a territorial peace was legislated.²³⁵ In this context, the consumption tax on a small measure of wine was eliminated in Worms on 5 May 1269 on the Sunday after the Ascension of the Lord and was replaced with the older measure.²³⁶ The following princes were there: Archbishop Werner of Mainz, Bishops Henry of Trier,²³⁷ Eberhard of Worms, Henry of Speyer, the curial Henry,²³⁸ Louis the count palatine of the Rhine, Emicho and Frederick the counts of Leiningen, Count Dietrich of Kartzenelnbogen, Count Eberhard,

²³¹ W. Krutsack *miles* appears in a Worms charter from 1283. In addition, a Wikilmannus *miles* appears in two additional Worms charters from 1268 and 1276 respectively. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 412, 344, and 378, respectively.

²³² All of these men aside from John Dimari and Werner Amella are noted above. John Dimari appears in a charter issued in 1268. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 344. There are no men named John Amella in the Worms charters. But a Werner Amella does appear in a charter issued in 1283. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 412.

²³³ March 7, 1269.

²³⁴ King Richard remained at Worms from March 7 until April 20, 1269. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 345 and 346. It is likely that this son was Henry, called Almain.

²³⁵ A territorial peace was a royal institution whereby the king banned violence undertaken for private purposes, including not only normally criminal activity, but also jurisdictional disputes among magnates, and between magnates and cities.

²³⁶ Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, no. 346.

²³⁷ Archbishop Henry II (1260–86).

²³⁸ The identity of this man is not clear.

his brother Emicho,²³⁹ the Waldgraf,²⁴⁰ Rupert and Conrad the Raugrafen, the count of Hohenburg,²⁴¹ Philip of Hohenfels and his two sons Philip and Theodore, Lord Philip of Falkenstein and his sons Philip and Werner, likewise the brothers Werner and Philip of Bolanden,²⁴² the lord of Hohenlohe,²⁴³ Lord Engelbert of Weinsberg,²⁴⁴ the lord of Niffen,²⁴⁵ and many others.

In 1270, Archbishop Werner of Mainz, the overseer of the sacred peace, mobilized Bishop Henry of Speyer, Count Emicho of Leiningen his brother, and half of the forces from Worms, namely the parishes of St. Rupert and St. Lambert, and marched into the upper Rhineland. When they arrived at Ladenburg, they completely destroyed a certain fortress on the opposite bank of the Rhine called Elchesheim.²⁴⁶ Afterwards, they went up to the toll collection points in Germersheim,²⁴⁷ which was run by men from Dahn, and at Philippsburg,²⁴⁸ which was managed by the men of Lord Simon, the count of Zweibrücken,²⁴⁹ and completely dismantled them. They acted similarly at Neckarhausen, a castle belonging to the lord duke of Bavaria on the Neckar.²⁵⁰ This expedition cost the citizens of Worms 1,000 marks. A dispute between the citizens and the stewards of Alzey was settled. Thus, all of the tolls were removed from Strassburg to Cologne.

²³⁹ Eberhard and Emicho are the sons of Count Eberhard IV of Eberstein.

²⁴⁰ This is Count Conrad the Waldgraf.

²⁴¹ It is not clear who this count of Hohenburg is. If we understand Hohenburg to be Hohenberg, this might be a reference to either Count Albert or his brother Count Burchard who appear in a pair of charters from Worms issued in 1273 and 1284. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 366 and 415.

²⁴² The second set of Philip and Werner were the sons of Werner IV of Bolanden.

²⁴³ It is not clear who this lord is.

²⁴⁴ Weinsberg is located approximately 100 kilometers southeast of Worms.

²⁴⁵ The counts of Niffen were loyal subordinates of Duke Otto II and Louis II of Bavaria. See *Monumenta Wittelsbacensia*, 22, 60, 71, 224, 280, and 399.

²⁴⁶ Elchesheim is located between the cities of Karlsruhe and Rastatt about 100 kilometers south of Worms.

²⁴⁷ Germersheim is located 60 kilometers south of Worms.

²⁴⁸ Philippsburg is located 50 kilometers south of Worms and 10 kilometers east-northeast of Germersheim.

²⁴⁹ Zweibrücken is located 110 kilometers west-southwest of Worms. Simon is likely the son of Count Henry I of Zweibrücken (1182–1237) and the brother of Count Henry II of Zweibrücken (1237–82).

²⁵⁰ Neckarhausen is located east of Mannheim, approximately 30 kilometers southeast of Worms.

In 1270, the canons at the cathedral were John of Richenbach the deacon, Gerhard of Liechtenstein the subdeacon,²⁵¹ and the other canon was Gisebert the son of the knight Dizo of Bolanden.²⁵² They, along with the nobleman from Löwenstein, took hostile actions against the friends of the people of Worms and attacked them with fire and rapine. But this injury was settled at the village of Heppenheim in 1271 in the presence of Lord Emicho the count of Leiningen and Rupert the Raugraf. The men of Worms were absolved and judged to be innocent. The canons Gerhard and John, however, faced this judgment concerning the conflict, namely they had to make good all of the damages they had caused the citizens of Worms. This same year, the Jews gave 250 pounds of the money of Halle as a subsidy for the expenses that the citizens had undertaken against those individuals from Liechtenstein.²⁵³

The year 1272 saw the beginning of payments for repairs on the city's roads, roofs and walls that had almost worn out. The rate was 2 pounds of the money of Halle for every measure that the citizens ate.²⁵⁴ This began the day after the Purification of St. Mary, but the knights refused to pay.²⁵⁵

On the feast of St. Juliana the Virgin 1273,²⁵⁶ a consumption tax was established on grain and wine with the consent of the bishop of Worms.

On the feast of St. Lucy the Evangelist,²⁵⁷ the queen of Rudolf of Habsburg, recently elected as caesar, came to Worms.²⁵⁸ The citizens presented her with very expensive jewels and other expensive gifts in addition to 60 marks. On the feast of St. Andrew of the same year,²⁵⁹ King Rudolf came to Worms and was received with inestimable honor and enormous joy by the bishop, clergy, and citizens. He entered the palace along with the lady queen.²⁶⁰ The next Sunday, which was

²⁵¹ The canon Gerhard of Liechtenstein appears in several charters from Worms in the period 1281–89. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 396, 437, and 439.

²⁵² Dizo (Dietrich) of Bolanden was a member of the Bolanden comital family, and his son Gisebert appears in a pair of charters from Worms in the period 1281–92. See Boos, *Urkundenbuch I. Band*, nos. 396 and 450.

²⁵³ It appears that the author is referring to Liechtenstein in the contemporary German state of Baden-Württemberg, located some 350 kilometers south of Worms.

²⁵⁴ This is likely a reference to a measure of grain, and perhaps also to a measure of wine.

²⁵⁵ February 3, 1272.

²⁵⁶ February 16, 1273.

²⁵⁷ October 18, 1273.

²⁵⁸ Rudolf of Habsburg held office as king of Germany in the period 1273–91. His wife in 1273 was Gertrude of Hohenburg (1225–81).

²⁵⁹ November 30, 1273.

²⁶⁰ The royal palace at Worms dates back to the eighth century.

the first Sunday in Advent,²⁶¹ as the church bells were ringing, the citizens gave their oath of loyalty to the lord king in court solemnly and openly before the princes of the Lord and the territorial lords, as the citizens gathered outside in the courtyard. Lord Bishop Eberhard of Worms issued and read the oath taken by the citizens to the whole population in the following words, with everyone repeating the words of the lord bishop in the German language: "We, the citizens of Worms, will be true and loyal to our lord the Roman king Rudolf, who is here, that this free city shall be a pillar of the empire, that it will be led by the empire, that it will increase the empire, that it will warn it against dangers, against all other men, and without discord, so help us God and the Saints." The lord king spent three weeks in Worms with his lady queen and his entire court.

On the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle 1275,²⁶² the citizens of Oppenheim, but not the knights, opposed Lord Rudolf the king. This was to their greatest detriment because they were compelled to rebuild on an even stronger basis the fort they had destroyed in addition to the other punishments.

In 1278, the Jews gave the citizens of Worms 400 pounds of the money of Halle for the common lands which they occupied in their two neighborhoods and for their cemetery whose fortifications the citizens wanted to break down.

²⁶¹ 3 December 1273.

²⁶² 21 September 1275.

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Abbreviations

MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MGH SS MGH Scriptores

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