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## The Annals of Herman of Niederaltaich, 1236-60

*Herman was abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Niederaltaich in the diocese of Passau from October 1242 until his resignation on grounds of old age in March 1273. He died two years later, on 31<sup>st</sup> July 1275. He wrote a number of historical works about his monastery, and continued an existing abbey chronicle, on which he began to work after 1251; although he would seem to have gone back to continue the account from 1235 onwards. (The entries for these earlier years are clearly retrospective). His chronicle is a contemporary Bavarian witness of the German crisis of the mid-thirteenth century, and especially insofar as it affected Bavaria and Austria. Niederaltaich, founded in the mid-eighth century, was one of the most ancient and prestigious monasteries in Bavaria.*

[Translated from *Hermanni Altahensis Annales*, MGH SS xvii.392-402; **translation (c) G.A. Loud (2010)**]

**(1236)** Duke Frederick of Austria and Styria was outlawed by the emperor at Augsburg.<sup>1</sup>

This Frederick was a severe man, great-hearted in battle, strict and cruel in justice, greedy in amassing treasures, who so spread terror both among his own subjects and neighbouring peoples that he was not only not loved but was feared by all. For he led a campaign with his army into Moravia against King Wenceslas of the Bohemians, and when he also entered the land of Hungary he ravaged the bounds of both lands with fire and sword. He strove to oppress the nobles and better people of his land and to exalt the ignoble. He repudiated his wife Agnes, the daughter of Duke Otto of Merania, claiming she was related [to him]; Duke Ulrich of Carinthia later married her.<sup>2</sup> He held the edicts of the Emperor Frederick and the hostility of princes in contempt, and finally he was outlawed by this same Frederick through sentence of the princes at a court celebrated in Augsburg in the year of our Lord 1236, and deprived of the lordship over his principalities. Thus in the following year the

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<sup>1</sup> The sentence of outlawry was promulgated in June 1236. The emperor also promised the princes not to make peace with the duke without their consent, MGH *Constitutiones*, ii.269-73 nos. 201-2. Frederick II *Bellicosus*, Duke of Austria 1230-46, was the last male member of the Babenberg house.

<sup>2</sup> She was his second wife, whom he had married in 1229 and repudiated in 1243. Ulrich III was Duke of Carinthia 1256-69; he married Agnes in 1258. There were no children from either marriage. After securing the annulment of the marriage, Frederick negotiated for his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of the duke of Bavaria (to whom he was also related), but instead she married King Conrad (see below, anno 1246), Karl Lechner, *Die Babenberger. Markgrafen und Herzoge von Österreich 976-1246* (6<sup>th</sup> ed., Vienna 1996), pp. 292-3.

Emperor Frederick marched into Austria against Duke Frederick, after being invited by the citizens of Vienna and certain *ministeriales*. He wintered there, having with him the princes of the empire, namely King Wenceslas of the Bohemians,<sup>3</sup> Berthold Patriarch of Aquileia, Archbishops Siegfried of Mainz, Eberhard of Salzburg and Dietrich of Trier;<sup>4</sup> Bishops Ekbert of Bamberg, Siegfried of Regensburg and Rudiger of Passau;<sup>5</sup> Dukes Otto of Bavaria and Bernhard of Carinthia, Landgrave Henry of Thuringia,<sup>6</sup> and many other counts and nobles. Duke Frederick was not alarmed by fear of imperial power, and with the few people who were still loyal to him he shut himself in a town called Neustadt, doing what he could from there to defend himself. When the emperor realised that Duke Frederick thought little of this invasion, nor would he bother to seek imperial grace, he withdrew from Austria, leaving there as his captains Bishop Ekbert of Bamberg and the counts of Henneberg, Eberstein and Nuremberg.<sup>7</sup> He celebrated the feast of the Lord's Resurrection at Regensburg.<sup>8</sup>

Bishop Ekbert of Bamberg was the uncle of King Bela of Hungary and brother of Berthold, Patriarch of Aquileia.<sup>9</sup> He was a great-hearted and warlike man, and because of this the aforesaid emperor had specially entrusted him with the defence of the land of Austria. But in this same year the bishop died, and with the emperor travelling to Apulia Duke Frederick became fiercer than ever. He summoned Count Albrecht of Bogen to his assistance; he and the count left the walls of Neustadt, and fought a battle in the plain called Steinfeld against the Viennese and their captains, in which he won a glorious victory. For Bishops Rudiger of Passau and Conrad of Freising were both captured in this battle, and many of the nobles whom the aforesaid emperor had left to guard the land. This took place in the year of the Lord 1238. The cause of Duke Frederick prospered with this success, troops abandoned Caesar's side, and in a short time he recovered all the land of his inheritance, thenceforth ruling it energetically, exercising such justice that it seemed to many often to be tyranny. Nor

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<sup>3</sup> Wenceslas I, King of Bohemia 1230-53.

<sup>4</sup> Siegfried [III] of Eppstein, Archbishop of Mainz 1230-49; Eberhard [II] of Truchsen, Archbishop of Salzburg 1200-46; and Dietrich [II] of Wied, Archbishop of Trier 1212-42 (who was a cousin of Siegfried of Mainz).

<sup>5</sup> Ekbert, Bishop of Bamberg 1203-37; Siegfried, Bishop of Regensburg 1227-46; and Rudiger, Bishop of Passau 1233-50 (died 1258), for whom see below anno 1250.

<sup>6</sup> Otto, Duke of Bavaria 1231-53; Bernhard, Duke of Carinthia 1202-56; Herman, Landgrave of Thuringia 1227-41.

<sup>7</sup> Poppo VII, Count of Henneberg (d. 1245), from eastern Franconia (whose mother was a daughter of Duke Berthold V of Merania); Conrad, Burgrave of Nuremberg (d. 1260/1), the ancestor of the Hohenzollern dynasty. The Count of Eberstein (in Swabia, north of the Black Forest) has not been identified. This family was an upwardly-mobile one, which had only held a comital title since c. 1196.

<sup>8</sup> Easter Day was on 19<sup>th</sup> April 1236.

<sup>9</sup> Ekbert and Berthold (d. 1251) were sons of Duke Berthold V of Merania (d. 1204). Their sister Gertrude (murdered in 1213) had married King Andrew I of Hungary (1205-35), and was the mother of King Bela IV (1235-70).

did the audacity that lay in his heart permit him to remain at peace, until eight years later he waged war against King Bela of the Hungarians. He invaded the latter's lands, leading a very strong army, there was a battle with the Hungarians and Cumans, and the other side was defeated and put to flight. [However], in this victory he was wounded near the eye by a spear, and he died on Friday, the feast of St. Vitus, in the year of the Lord 1246.

Nobody can write or describe how many evils beset both the provinces of Austria and Styria for all but six years after the death of Frederick, this most powerful and turbulent duke. For some among the nobles, or rather the ignoble, who feared neither God nor man, did whatever they liked, forcing men to flee to fortresses or caves, taking prisoners, inflicting wounds, killing or wretchedly torturing people with cunningly contrived and hitherto unheard of torments. King Bela of Hungary was anxious to gain these lands that lacked heirs for himself, and he also took many thousands of men into captivity through [his] pagans, namely the Cumans; he slew many, and made the marches of both lands almost uninhabitable. Then Herman, Margrave of Baden, who was born of Irmgard, the sister of Duchess Agnes of Bavaria, with the help of Duke Otto of Bavaria married Gertrude, the daughter of Duke Henry, who had been the brother of the aforesaid Duke Frederick of Austria; and he seized the duchies of Austria and Styria by reason of this marriage.<sup>10</sup> He had a son named Frederick and a daughter named Agnes, who later married Duke Ulrich of Carinthia. But Duke Herman was weak, and he was unable to restrain the great and evil deeds of men, now growing ever stronger. He was then prevented by death, for he died on 4<sup>th</sup> October in the year of the Lord 1250. Also the lord Otto, Duke of Bavaria, sent his son Ludwig with an army to that land and subjugated the cities of Linz and Ens along with a great part of that province. Finally, by the mercy of God looking down from on high, and with the magnates of the land now greatly exhausted and impoverished, the lord Premizzel, also known as Ottokar, son of King Wenceslas of Bohemia,<sup>11</sup> on the advice of his father and the summons of the magnates [and?] cities of Austria and Styria, claimed both duchies for himself, receiving as his wife the lady Margaret, widow of Henry the former King of the Romans, the sister of the above said Duke Frederick. The whole of Austria and Styria with both the more important and the minor towns immediately submitted to him. However, since King Bela of Hungary had already

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<sup>10</sup> Herman VI, Margrave of Baden 1243-50; his mother Irmgard and Duchess Agnes were the daughters of the Henry, Count Palatine of the Rhine (d. 1227), the eldest son of Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony. He married Gertrude in 1248; her father Henry had died in 1228, two years before his father Duke Leopold VI. Frederick I of Baden died aged twenty in October 1268, executed in Naples by Charles of Anjou after the failure of Conradin's invasion of the kingdom of Sicily.

<sup>11</sup> Ottokar II, King of Bohemia 1253-78.

occupied the city of Pettau along with a significant part of the duchy of Styria, and to avoid ruining both lands, eventually an agreement (*conventio*) was made between the kings. Part of the duchy of Styria, with the boundaries clearly defined, was to be assigned to him, while the lord Ottokar was left in peace holding the rest along with the land of Austria. Then through the gift of Divine grace and through the uprightness of the said lord an excellent peace was established there – deserted fields are [now] cultivated and merchants are gaining secure passage everywhere.

Saint Elizabeth, who was distinguished by her miracles at Marburg, was translated from her tomb, the presence of the Emperor Frederick.<sup>12</sup> Also at this time the latter had his son Henry, King of Germany, arrested because he had conspired with the Lombards against him, and he sent him into exile, where his life soon ended. And two of his [other] sons, F and H, similarly died in Apulia.<sup>13</sup>

**(1237)** Bishop Ekbert of Bamberg died.

**(1239)** The Emperor Frederick was for many reasons solemnly excommunicated by the lord Pope Gregory in the church of the Lateran on Palm Sunday, and again on the day of the Lord's Supper and at Easter, with the approval of all the cardinals.

**(1241)** In this year the kingdom of Hungary, which had lasted for three hundred and fifty years, was destroyed by the people of the Tartars. Pope Gregory IX died; Pope Celestine reigned for eighteen days. There was an eclipse of the sun at midday on the octave of St. Michael,<sup>14</sup> and stars were seen.

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<sup>12</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> May 1236. Elizabeth of Hungary, daughter of Andrew I and Gertrude of Merania, was the widow of Frederick's close ally Landgrave Ludwig IV of Thuringia (d. 1227). After her husband's death she devoted herself to a life of piety and asceticism under the spiritual direction of Conrad of Marburg. She died on 17<sup>th</sup> November 1231 and had been canonised in 1235.

<sup>13</sup> King Henry died, perhaps by suicide, on 12<sup>th</sup> February 1242: Frederick of Antioch, an illegitimate son, died in 1251; Henry the Younger, the emperor's son by his third marriage, in 1253. This entry was thus clearly made retrospectively.

<sup>14</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> October.

(1242) Albrecht, the last Count of Bogen, died on 15<sup>th</sup> January. <sup>15</sup> Abbot Dietmar of Niederaltaich died, and Herman succeeded as abbot. Henry of Carentania, imperial notary, was elected to the bishopric of Bamberg. <sup>16</sup>

(1243) Sinibald, Cardinal deacon, was elected pope on 25<sup>th</sup> June and was called Pope Innocent IV. Previously, because of the schism between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* the Apostolic See had been vacant for some twenty-two months. <sup>17</sup>

(1244) Henry, son of Duke O[tto] of Bavaria married the lady Elizabeth, daughter of King Bela of Hungary. <sup>18</sup> An aqueduct was constructed at the monastery of Niederaltaich.

(1245) A universal synod was celebrated at Lyons, where the lord Pope Innocent promulgated a sentence of deposition against the Emperor Frederick. At this synod there were present three patriarchs and many bishops.

(1246) Archbishop Eberhard of Salzburg died. <sup>19</sup> Bishop Siegfried of Regensburg died, in whose place Albrecht was appointed by the legate of the Apostolic See. <sup>20</sup> Duke Frederick of Austria was slain. Henry, Landgrave of Thuringia, was elected king by some of the princes, but he died in that same year. <sup>21</sup> Conrad, the son of the Emperor Frederick, took as his wife the lady Elizabeth, daughter of Duke Otto of Bavaria.

(1247) Count William of Holland was elected as king. In the time of this king the cities of the Rhineland concluded an excellent peace with the princes, choosing captains for themselves, destroying harmful fortresses and removing unjust tolls. After the death of this king, who

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<sup>15</sup> The Counts of Bogen and Windberg were the lay advocates of Niederaltaich and major landowners in eastern Bavaria, near the Danube, and held fiefs from the bishopric of Passau. Albrecht V, count 1221-42, was the youngest of three brothers, the eldest of whom, Berthold, had died during the siege of Damietta in 1218. Count Albrecht had also taken part in the Fifth Crusade, and had made a further pilgrimage to Palestine in 1234-5. He left no children from his marriage to Richelda, daughter of Count Albrecht of Dillingen, and his lands, and the advocacy, were taken over by Duke Otto of Bavaria. See another of Herman's works, *De Advocatis Altahensibus*, MGH SS xvii.375-6, which suggests that he did not approve of the count, whom he claimed 'persisted in his evil behaviour (*malitia*) until his death'.

<sup>16</sup> Henry, Bishop of Bamberg 1242-57.

<sup>17</sup> Sinibaldo Fieschi, from a leading Genoese family, had been appointed cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucina (not cardinal deacon) by Gregory IX in September 1227. The papal throne had been vacant since the death of Celestine IV, after a pontificate of seventeen days, in November 1241.

<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth (1236-71) was then eight, and her husband nine.

<sup>19</sup> Eberhard (II) of Truchsen, Archbishop of Salzburg 1200-46.

<sup>20</sup> Siegfried, Bishop of Regensburg 1227-46; his successor Albrecht (I) was bishop 1247-59.

<sup>21</sup> Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia 1241-7, died on 17<sup>th</sup> February 1247.

survived for almost nine years, everything went back to its previous and evil state. The following princes and cities swore to this holy peace: <sup>22</sup> Archbishop Gerhard of Mainz, Archbishop Conrad of Cologne, Archbishop Arnold of Trier, <sup>23</sup> Bishop Richard of Worms, Bishop Henry of Strassburg, <sup>24</sup> Bishop Berthold of Basel, Bishop James of Metz, the abbot of Fulda, Ludwig Palatine [Count] of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria, Conrad the ‘forest count’, <sup>25</sup> Count Dieter of Katzenelnbogen, <sup>26</sup> Count Frederick of Leiningen, <sup>27</sup> Count Berthold of Zigenhagen, the ‘forest count’ Emicho, Gottfried his brother, the lord Count Poppo of Thuringia, Count Ulrich of Pfirt, <sup>28</sup> the Count of Dornberg, lady Sophia Landgravine of Thuringia, <sup>29</sup> lady Adelheid Countess of Leiningen, the lord of Trinberg, Ulrich of Munzenberg, <sup>30</sup> Gerlach of Limburg, Philip of Herchenvels, Philip of Falkenstein, the lord of Stralnberg, the butler of Erlach, Werner steward of Alzeia, Henry of Arnberg, [and] Rudolf of Stainah. The names of the cities allied together for the general peace were Mainz, Cologne, Worms, Speyer, Strassburg, Basel, Tübingen, Freiburg, Breisach, Colmar, Schlettstadt, Hagenau, Wissenburg, Neustadt, Wimpfen, Heidelberg, Lauterburg, Oppenheim, Frankfurt, Friedberg, Wetzlar, Gelnhausen, Marburg, Alsfeld, *Voleda*, Mülhausen, Aschaffenburg, Seligenstadt, Bingen, *Dipach*, Bacherach, Wesel, Boppard, Andernach, Bonn, Neuss and the royal seat of Aachen, as well as Münster and more than sixty other towns in Westphalia, with the city of Bremen, and Grünberg and Hersfeld.

Bishop Rudiger of Passau (re)dedicated many burned churches in the month of August. Ludwig, son of Duke Otto of Bavaria, and his army attacked Count Conrad of Wasserburg and drove him from the county, capturing all his fortresses. Philip, son of Duke Bernhard of Carinthia, was elected as archbishop of Salzburg, but the lord pope replaced him

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<sup>22</sup> This must refer ahead to the league later mentioned under the year 1255; for which see also the *Chronicon Colmariense*, ad. an. MGH SS xvii.55-8, which includes several documents relating to this league.

<sup>23</sup> Gerhard, Archbishop of Mainz 1251-9, who was a member of the *Wildgraf* family (see below note 23); Conrad of Hochstaden, Archbishop of Cologne 1238-61; Arnold [II] of Isenburg, Archbishop of Trier 1242-59.

<sup>24</sup> Richard of Daun, Bishop of Worms 1247-57; Henry of Stahleck, Bishop of Strassburg 1243-60.

<sup>25</sup> *Comes silvester*, German *Wildgraf*, literally ‘wild’ or ‘forest’ count, was the name of a family who originated from the heavily-wooded Hunsrück region between Trier and Mainz.

<sup>26</sup> The *Chronicon Colmariense*, p. 59, recorded that in 1256 he ‘violated the peace’, and was besieged in his castle of Rheinfels by the citizens of Mainz.

<sup>27</sup> Frederick II, Count of Leiningen (in the Rheinpfalz) 1237-77.

<sup>28</sup> Near Altkirch in southern Alsace, now in France.

<sup>29</sup> Sophia was the eldest daughter of Ludwig IV of Thuringia and St. Elizabeth of Hungary; she was the widow of Duke Henry II of Brabant who had died in 1248, and her involvement in this Rhineland league was presumably a consequence of her marriage.

<sup>30</sup> From a wealthy *ministerialis* family.

by Count Burchard of Zigenhagen, and consecrated and entrusted with the archiepiscopal *pallium* the latter remained [as archbishop].<sup>31</sup>

(1248) On 11<sup>th</sup> February there was an earthquake at night. King Louis of France sailed overseas.

(1249) King Louis of France miraculously captured the most strong city of Damietta from the Saracens on the octave of the Holy Trinity.<sup>32</sup> Rapoto, the last Count Palatine of Bavaria, died.

(1250) King Louis of France was captured by the Saracens, and he was forced to surrender Damietta and the other fortresses which he had captured in the previous year. His brother Robert and more than 20,000 Christians were killed. An innumerable multitude of pagans also perished. Bishop Rudiger of Passau was deposed from his rank and benefice by Pope Innocent IV, because in the schism between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* he appeared to be favouring the other side; and the lord Berthold, brother of Bishop Albrecht of Regensburg, was installed in his place.<sup>33</sup> The chapter and city of Passau, and its *ministeriales*, immediately and unanimously obeyed him and made themselves subject to him, rejecting the aforesaid Bishop Rudiger, in defiance of King Conrad and Duke Otto of Bavaria. Herman, Margrave of Baden, who had usurped for himself the duchy of Austria, died on 4<sup>th</sup> October.<sup>34</sup> The Emperor Frederick died in Apulia in the month of December. At this time a certain

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<sup>31</sup> Innocent IV announced the appointment of Burchard, provost of Fritzlar, by papal provision on 25<sup>th</sup> February 1247, describing him as ‘a man of proven life, displaying great knowledge and circumspection’, MGH *Epistolae Selectae Saeculi XIII*, ii.216-17 no. 289, although the principal reason for his appointment was probably his close links with the anti-king Henry Raspe, for which *Die Urkunden Heinrich Raspes und Wilhelms von Holland 1246-1256*, ed. D. Hägermann, J.G. Kruishener and A. Gawlik (MGH Diplomatum Regum et Imperatorem Germaniae xviii, Hanover 1989-2006), pp. 6-7 no. 3 (May 1246). On 24<sup>th</sup> July 1247 the pope ordered the dean of Regensburg to absolve the chapter, clergy and laity of Salzburg from any oaths of obedience they may have sworn to Philip, *Les Registres de Innocent IV*, ed. E. Berger (4 vols., Paris 1884-1911), no. 3134. But, despite what the chronicler said, on 12<sup>th</sup> October 1247 Innocent appointed Philip as ‘procurator and administrator’ of the see, ordering the clergy and people of Salzburg to obey him, *Reg. Innocent IV*, nos. 3149-50.

<sup>32</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> June.

<sup>33</sup> Berthold was Bishop of Passau 1250-4. Rudiger was the only German bishop to be deposed for his loyalty to the Staufens. Innocent IV had written to the abbots of St. Emmeran, Regensburg, and Walderbach, instructing them to persuade him to resign, on 15<sup>th</sup> February 1249, although the ostensible grounds for this was Rudiger’s negligence and lack of care for his see. The pope eventually confirmed the election of Berthold on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1250, *Epistolae Selectae Saeculi XIII*, ii.471-2 no. 658; iii.9 no. 11. Innocent had, however, been complaining about Rudiger for some years, e.g. *Reg. Innocent IV*, no. 1101 (March 1245).

<sup>34</sup> Herman VI, Margrave of Baden 1243-50, who was married to Gertrude of Babenberg.

Brother Berthold from the Regensburg house of the Order of Friars Minor had such grace in his preaching that often more than 60,000 men gathered to listen to him.<sup>35</sup>

(1251) King Conrad was at Regensburg on the Nativity of the Lord. While he slept in the monastery of St. Emmeran there on the night after the feast of the [Holy] Innocents, Conrad of Hohenvels and other *ministeriales* of Regensburg broke into his chamber in the middle of the night.<sup>36</sup> They did this because he had previously ravaged the property of the bishop and *ministeriales* of Regensburg by fire. Since their spies had told them that the king was sleeping in the chamber with no more than four companions, after killing two and capturing three, they were convinced that they had killed the king. But luckily a sixth man had arrived during the night, and he was killed in the king's place. The king meanwhile was hiding under a bench, and quite miraculously he escaped the deadly danger. Because of what had taken place, and since Abbot Ulrich was suspected of being a party to this deed, the king and the duke inflicted all sorts of harm to the estates and buildings of the monastery. Indeed, the *ministeriales* had come with their bishop; he was waiting outside the walls of the city with many armed men to see what transpired.

Subsequently, around the feast of Epiphany, the king of Bohemia sent his son with an army into Bavaria, which plundered and set fire to many villages in the march of Cham. Meanwhile news spread of the death of the emperor, and King Conrad hastened to the Rhineland. On the day of the Lord's Supper,<sup>37</sup> the lord Pope confirmed Count William of Holland, who had previously been elected by some of the princes, as the King of the Romans. He did this at Lyons in the presence of many bishops. Immediately thereafter he left Lyons, where he had spent almost eight whole years, and travelled to Italy. The castle of Teisbach, part of which had been seized by a surprise attack and the rest taken by siege, was destroyed by Duke Ludwig – its moat was miraculously filled in by digging.<sup>38</sup> And because of that a large part of Bavaria went up in flames that summer, as the Bohemians aided Bishop Albrecht of Regensburg against the duke. Conrad, however, came with Duke Otto to Cham on the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul.<sup>39</sup> The king of Bohemia, however, paid no

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<sup>35</sup> Berthold (d. 1272) was the most famous German preacher of his time; his family were one of those who formed the urban patriciate at Regensburg, John B. Fried, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1977), pp. 14, 34, 236.

<sup>36</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> December 1250. Herman begins the year at Christmas.

<sup>37</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> April 1251.

<sup>38</sup> Near Landshut, on the River Isar.

<sup>39</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> June.

attention to them. Duke Otto began to build a castle and town in Dingolfing. In the autumn of that same year King Conrad entered Apulia, and he took possession by force of almost all the kingdom of his father, something which Pope Innocent, who was then residing at Perugia, was unable to prevent. William, King of the Romans, triumphed gloriously over the countess of Flanders.

**(1252)** The lady Elizabeth, daughter of Duke Otto of Bavaria, gave birth on the day of the Annunciation to the son of King Conrad, and he was called Conrad. <sup>40</sup>

**(1253)** Duke Otto of Bavaria ordered that new money be struck at Landshut, around the start of harvest time, and that these new pennies and not others be accepted in the whole of his territory (*districtus*). An expedition was sent to Austria, and during this campaign his sons Ludwig and Henry were girded with the belt of knighthood at Oetting, around the Octave of the Thebans. <sup>41</sup> Duke Otto and his son Henry wanted to meet King Bela of Hungary, who then as in the previous year had entered Austria and Moravia with a powerful army of Cumans and Hungarians, but was obstructed by the fortresses and knights of Upper Austria. For a year earlier Premizzel, otherwise known as Ottokar, the son of King Wenceslas of the Bohemians, had gained Austria and Styria for himself, having married the lady Margaret, widow of Henry, the former King of the Romans, who was the daughter of that most noble man Duke Leopold of Austria and Styria. <sup>42</sup> Thus with the help of Count Meinhard of Görz and the nobleman Ezzelino of Treviso, <sup>43</sup> Henry son of Duke Otto entered Hungary through the Val di Trento to see his father-in-law, King Bela. At the beginning of his rule Duke Otto had been a severe judge but a gentle prince, but later because the support that he appeared to provide for the former emperor Frederick and his son Conrad he was several times excommunicated by Pope Innocent IV. He started to persecute the clergy and went from bad to worse. On the vigil of St. Andrew the Apostle, while making merry with his wife and courtiers, he suddenly died and left this present life. <sup>44</sup> At this same time, namely in the

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<sup>40</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> March: this was Conradin (1252-68).

<sup>41</sup> 22<sup>nd</sup> September; the feast day of the Theban Legion, Christian martyrs from Egypt allegedly massacred by the Emperor Maximian c. 286.

<sup>42</sup> Leopold VI, Duke of Austria 1198-1230; she was thus the sister of the last Babenberg duke, Frederick II (1230-46). A papal dispensation for this marriage was necessary on grounds of consanguinity, John B. Fried, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1977), pp. 155-6.

<sup>43</sup> Meinhard III, Count of Görz [Gorizia] (d. 1258), whom Frederick II had appointed as administrator of Styria and Carinthia in 1248; Ezzelino da Romano, lord of Treviso (d. 1259) was Frederick II's trusted lieutenant in northern Italy and his son-in-law.

<sup>44</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> November.

month of November, that famous preacher brother Berthold was exercising the office of preaching in Landshut, and was staying in the castle with the aforesaid duke, hoping to persuade him to submit to the Church and change his attitude towards churches and the clergy. There then appeared a poor peasant, claiming that on the night of the immediately past Michaelmas, <sup>45</sup> he had been taken away and brought to a judicial tribunal, where he had seen and heard, in response to the charges of the saints, sentence of death being passed on Duke Otto and the other princes who were disturbing the saints and attacking churches and the poor. He also claimed that he had been enjoined by the saints on behalf of God and under pain of death that he must announce this news to the duke and the other princes, and if he was not received by them then he must make this known to other people. Thus when this insignificant man was not admitted to the presence of the duke he announced these tidings to the aforesaid Brother Berthold and others. And on the sixth day before the duke's death this same man came to the monastery of Niederaltaich, where he told Abbot Herman and Abbot Albrecht of Metem of this judgement; since he himself was not permitted to announce these matters, the two abbots, along with Abbot Henry of Ebersberg, ought to make known to the duke that unless he immediately cancel the new money and cease his harassment of the poor and of churches, then he would soon become subject to a death sentence. The aforesaid duke, Pope Innocent, King Conrad and the other princes [all] were sadly convinced of the truth of this vision through the former's unexpected death. King Wenceslas of the Bohemians also died in the month of September. On the death of Duke Otto, and with his brother Henry absent in Hungary, the lord Ludwig came to an agreement with Bishop Albrecht of Regensburg, and divine services, suspended in that diocese for many years, were now once again permitted.

**(1254)** Bishop Berthold of Passau died. He was succeeded through a canonical and harmonious election by Otto of Lonsdorf, canon and archdeacon of this same church. <sup>46</sup> With his brother still absent, Duke Ludwig concluded a peace treaty with Philip, Archbishop-elect of Salzburg. King Conrad, who in the previous year had stormed Naples and levelled its walls to the ground, ended his days on the vigil of the Ascension. <sup>47</sup> He was a peaceful man but a stern judge. The Germans, Apulians and Lombards, apart from those who were on the side of

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<sup>45</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> September.

<sup>46</sup> Otto, bishop 1254-65, came from a family of Passau *ministeriales*. On his death, Hermann recorded that he was 'a most pious man and the father of the clergy, who was not a warrior but loving peace enhanced the church entrusted to him with many honours and riches', *Annales*, ad. an. 1265, MGH SS xvii.403.

<sup>47</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> May.

the Church, were much upset and grief-stricken by his death. Duke Henry of Bavaria returned from Hungary with the help of the lord Philip, Elect of Salzburg; and both dukes ruled harmoniously over their principality, following the advice of Bishop Henry of Bamberg. In this same year there was a great crop failure, and especially around the Danube, so that seed was not to be had. On the night of St. Mark the Evangelist <sup>48</sup> there was a very cold frost and vines and fruit on the trees perished, with the consequence that only a very little wine was produced, and that was extremely sour. After the death of King Conrad, Pope Innocent entered the kingdom of Sicily and gained control of it as far as Naples. While he dwelt joyfully in that city, intent on consolidating his hold on that part of the land and obtaining the whole of the kingdom of Sicily, the Lord who ‘bringeth the counsel of the princes to nought and maketh the devices of the people of none effect’, <sup>49</sup> deprived this pope of his joy and hope through the call of death. For he died on 7<sup>th</sup> December, and was buried there. The lord Rainald, Bishop of Ostia, was immediately elected in his place by the cardinals who were then present in that same city, and he was called Alexander IV. This pope was a good and gentle man who feared God, but he did not care much for the business of princes and kingdoms. He revoked and quashed many of the things that his predecessor had laid down to the discomfort of many people. Also Manfred, the son of the late Emperor Frederick, ruled over Apulia, and he manfully defended that land in the name of Conrad, his little nephew, who still dwelt with the lady Elizabeth his mother in Bavaria. King Bela of Hungary, who had now ravaged Austria, Styria and Moravia for more than two years, with many thousands of men being killed or dragged off into captivity, concluded a peace treaty with Duke Ottokar, receiving the duchy of Styria and making that land subject to his rule. Meanwhile Duke Ottokar imposed an unaccustomed but most admirable peace in his three principalities, namely Bohemia, Moravia and Austria, ruling as a distinguished and righteous prince. The following winter he took the Cross and went to Prussia, making a large part of that land subject to the Christian religion.

**(1255)** Around Easter time the dukes of Bavaria, Ludwig and Henry, divided the principality between them. The name of duke fell to Henry along with the greater part of Bavaria, namely Regensburg, Chamb, Kelheim and Erding, with Landshut, Oetting, Burghausen and Reichenhall, and whatever is between the aforesaid places and the lands of Austria and Bohemia. Ludwig received the upper part of Bavaria, along with the Palatinate of the Rhine,

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<sup>48</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> April.

<sup>49</sup> *Psalm* 32: 10 (Vulgate); 33.10 (AV).

and the title of Burgrave of Regensburg; furthermore the castles at Regenstauf and Burglengenfeld, Kalmünz and the other things that pertained to that same county, fell to his share. Duke Henry then concluded a comprehensive agreement with Bishop Albrecht of Regensburg: he withdrew the money of Landshut which his father had ordered to be struck, and he permitted and instructed that a new issue of Regensburg pennies should be valid as before in his lands. He also made a treaty with lord Otto, Bishop of Passau, and the interdict on divine services, which had been in effect for more than three years in his part of this diocese, was lifted. Meanwhile, with William, King of the Romans, locked in conflict with the Countess of Flanders and the Frisians, the cities of the Rhineland, which were effectively lacking royal protection, joined themselves on to another through the bond of a most strong league (*societas*). They elected a captain, removed the tolls on that river which had been burdensome to many, and they forced the neighbouring princes and counts to join their league. Everywhere within their territory they established a hitherto unheard of and most excellent peace. When lord Ludwig arrived as the new Count Palatine of the Rhine, he concluded a treaty with the cities of this praiseworthy league. However this peace, begun after the manner of the Lombard cities, did not last for very long thanks to the malice of those who opposed it.

**(1256)** Duke Ludwig, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, suspected his wife Maria, the sister of Duke Henry of Brabant, of adultery, and while he was staying at Donauwörth on 18<sup>th</sup> January he ordered her to be beheaded. Duke Bernhard of Carinthia died in this same month and was succeeded by his son Ulrich.<sup>50</sup> In this same month King William, who was occupying Frisia with an army, was slain by the Frisians. When he arrived at a certain city of that province, it is said that he found there a tomb of wonderful workmanship. He asked the citizens whose tomb it was that was so marvellously worked. They said that it was not yet known who was to be buried there, but their forefathers had built it and made known that in this same place one of the kings of the Romans ought to be interred. After conquering the whole of Frisia and making it subject to his rule, William was leaving that land in triumph when he was killed by some fugitives who were hiding in a reed bed near the road and speared him; he was buried by the local inhabitants in the aforesaid tomb, in the ninth year of his reign.

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<sup>50</sup> Bernhard of Spanheim, Duke of Carinthia 1202-56, and his eldest son Ulrich III, duke 1256-69.

(1257) The princes of the kingdom spent a long time holding a number of meetings concerning the election of a king. Finally they selected a day for the actual election, which was to take place at Frankfurt on the octave of Epiphany.<sup>51</sup> When some of the princes met there [on that day], the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne,<sup>52</sup> and Ludwig Count Palatine of the Rhine and his brother Duke Henry of Bavaria agreed on Richard, the brother of the king of England. After his election by them, he was subsequently anointed as king at Aachen on the day of the Lord's Ascension, and firmly installed on the kingdom's throne.<sup>53</sup> However, the lord Archbishop of Trier,<sup>54</sup> along with certain other princes, refused to agree to the aforesaid election, and in the middle of Lent, supported by letters from and the authority of the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg and many [other] princes, he chose King Alfonso of Spain, who gave his consent to his election, persuaded by [other] kings and princes, and his friends.<sup>55</sup> Philip, who had now been archbishop-elect of Salzburg for ten years, while refusing to receive priestly orders or episcopal consecration, was deposed by the lord Pope Alexander, and Bishop Ulrich of Seckau was appointed in his place as archbishop of that church.<sup>56</sup> A great many letters flew hither and thither concerning the deposition of this archbishop-elect, one of which it is pleasing to copy here, for those who like reading such things. [*A long letter of May 1258, by the papal legate Bishop Henry of Chiemsee to the Bishop of Passau, directed against Philip of Salzburg, is then inserted.*]

In this same year Ottokar, also known as Premmezil, King of Bohemia and Duke of Austria, succumbed to youthful bravado and invaded the land of Bavaria through the city of Passau, but without taking careful consideration, something which is always most necessary in matters of war, boasting that he was so rich and powerful that he would do whatever he could and wanted to, whoever opposed him, to the detriment of the lord Duke Henry and his land. He led his forces before the walls of the city and castle of Landshut, where at that very time the aforesaid lord Henry, Duke of Bavaria, and his wife Elizabeth, a most noble lady

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<sup>51</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> January.

<sup>52</sup> Gerhard, Archbishop of Mainz 1251-9; Conrad of Hochstaden, Archbishop of Cologne 1238-61.

<sup>53</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> May 1257.

<sup>54</sup> Arnold of Isenburg, Archbishop of Trier 1242-69.

<sup>55</sup> Alfonso X, King of Castile 1252-84.

<sup>56</sup> Ulrich, Bishop of Seckau from 1244, was Archbishop of Salzburg 1257-65, but he appears never to have been fully in possession of that see, and he resigned in 1265, to be replaced by Wladislaw of Silesia (archbishop 1265-70). He died in 1268. Philip was subsequently to be Patriarch of Aquileia 1269-79. The deposition of Philip had been announced by Alexander IV in September 1257, *Epistolae Selectae Saeculi XIII*, iii.427-30 no. 464: which complained that: 'Philip, its former archbishop-elect, not fearing the stern warnings of the holy fathers and contemptuous of modern rulings has occupied the see for nine years and more, holding it not as a bridegroom but rather as an adulterer'.

both through her birth and her character, were staying. But after Ottokar had marched through the district known as the Chuonzingau and along the valley of the River Vils, putting villages and churches to the flames, he came near to the castle of Frauenhofen. Although the lord Duke Henry had only received warning letters less than two weeks before the king's invasion of Bavaria, he sent messengers and letters hither and thither at the utmost speed, summoning his men and his allies, and as a valiant prince who was confident of the justice of his cause and of the mercy of God he marched out bravely with a strong force of both cavalry and infantry to meet his enemies in the open field. He also swiftly summoned his brother, the lord Duke Ludwig, who arrived from the Rhineland, [albeit only] with a small force; the king had been hoping that he would succeed in what he wanted in the latter's absence. The king was thus taken aback, and knowing the warlike nature of the duke and of the Bavarian people, was afraid to meet them in battle. On the feast of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, which that year fell on a Friday, he sought and was granted a truce for that day; and that night and during the Saturday he and his men fled towards Mühldorf. There, as the victorious banners of the noble dukes were pressing upon the rear of the fugitives, the bridge crossing the River Inn was unable to bear the noisy crowd of so many horses and men trying to cross in a hasty and disorderly manner – it collapsed under the enemy and many of them were plunged into the water. Picked knights appeared there swimming on their horses in their armour; some of these crossed the river, others who were closer to the near bank strove to reach that side, preferring to be taken prisoner rather than to die, but they were prevented from coming ashore by lances and arrows. Those who remained on the near side of the river and did not wish to flee took refuge in the suburb, under a certain tower. All of these, with arms and their excellent horses perished by fire thanks to the angry determination of the lord Duke Ludwig. Between water and fire about four hundred men died there, almost all the rest, apart from the king who had already crossed with the higher nobles, were trapped in the town. Among the besieged were the following nobles from Bohemia: Wocho of Rosenberg, Emilo of Leutenburg, Wichard of Tyrnach, Schazla of Fridlam, William of Gordebrat, Boleslaw of Bork, Beneis of Falkenstein, Burchard of Chlinburg, the butler Ulrich of Ellnbogen, Ienezoburgrave of Graz, Emil the brother of Wocho, Haiir the kinsman of Wocho, Dlhomil of Nabzden, Styborius called *Caput*, Ulrich of Rosental. From Austria there were Albero and Henry of Chunring, Ulrich of Lobenstein, Ulrich *de Capella*, Ludwig and Albrecht of Zelking, and Sigehard called *Piber*. On the ninth day of the siege an agreement was reached, as a result of which these men and all the others were through the clemency of the aforesaid dukes allowed to go back to their homes, with their horses and the goods that they had with

them. Bishop Henry of Bamberg died on 18<sup>th</sup> September, to whom Berthold, Count of Leiningen, canon of this same church, succeeded.<sup>57</sup>

(1258) Bishop Conrad of Freising died on 18<sup>th</sup> January, to whom succeeded Conrad *wildgraf*, a canon of that church.<sup>58</sup> The lady Elizabeth, Duchess of Bavaria, gave birth to a daughter on the second vesper of St. Gregory; she was [also] called Elizabeth. Since Count Gebhard of Hirschberg had in the previous year been a stout supporter of the dukes of Bavaria against the Bohemians, he was deemed worthy to marry the lady Sophia, sister of the dukes, a most beautiful woman.<sup>59</sup> There was an eclipse of the moon on 18<sup>th</sup> May. Lord Ludwig built a castle in Geirsberg against the men of Regensburg, but later he allowed it to be destroyed in return for a large sum of money. Bishop Albrecht of Regensburg was accused before the Apostolic See of a number of crimes, and since he was unable to defend himself he resigned. Brother Albrecht of the Order of Preachers was [then] appointed to it.<sup>60</sup> Count Meinhard of Görz took as his wife the lady Elizabeth, sister of Dukes Ludwig and Henry of Bavaria, widow of King Conrad, the wedding being celebrated at Munich on the Octave of St. Michael.<sup>61</sup> The lady Agnes, their mother, was at this time staying with her daughter Sophia, Countess of Herzberg, who the previous Wednesday gave birth to a son, who was called Gebhard.

(1260)<sup>62</sup> The lord Ludwig, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria, took as his wife the lady Anna, daughter of Duke Conrad of Poland.<sup>63</sup> In the same year the letter below was sent by Pope Alexander. [*The text of a long letter to the Archbishop, bishops, and abbots of the province of Salzburg, urging them to promote the reform of the Church, follows.*]

Ottokar, King of Bohemia and Duke of Austria, regretted that he had been to a considerable extent forced by King Bela of Hungary to abandon the duchy of Styria to him.

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<sup>57</sup> Berthold was bishop 1257-85.

<sup>58</sup> Conrad [I] of Tölz was Bishop of Freising 1230-58: Conrad [II] 1258-79.

<sup>59</sup> Gebhard IV, Count of Hirschberg and Sulzbach (d. 1275); Sophia died in 1289.

<sup>60</sup> Albertus Magnus, the celebrated Dominican intellectual, previously *lector* of the Friars Preacher at Cologne, who came from a *ministerialis* family subject to the Staufens. He resigned his see in 1262, and died in November 1280, Fried, *Friars and German Society*, pp. 99-100, 132.

<sup>61</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> October. Meinhard IV, Count of Görz and Tyrol (the latter inherited via his mother), and later Duke of Carinthia, 1286-95. Elizabeth died in 1273.

<sup>62</sup> There is no annal for 1259.

<sup>63</sup> Anna, daughter of Conrad, Duke of Silesia-Glogau (d. 1273/4). She died in 1271.

So he mustered a powerful army and camped this side of the River Marika. From there he blocked the crossing for Stephen, the younger King of Hungary, who faced him on the other side of the river. <sup>64</sup> At last, after some days, King Ottokar of Bohemia decided to move to the upper part of the river, for the greater comfort of his horses and men. Thinking that he intended to flee, King Stephen pursued him and a battle was fought at a village called Chressinprune, in which the Hungarians were defeated. King Stephen was wounded; many on his side were killed, and more drowned in the river as they fled. This battle took place on a Monday, on the day of St. Margaret the Virgin, <sup>65</sup> when the heat was at its greatest.

Somewhat earlier, on the feast of Sts. John and Paul, <sup>66</sup> this same King Ottokar of Bohemia had, however, suffered ill-fortune. Ten thousand or more of the enemy had launched an attack near the castle of Staats, <sup>67</sup> and two brothers of most noble blood, young men of note, namely Count Otto of Hardecke and Count Conrad of Plain, and with them Chrofto of Slevont, Chadold called 'the Orphan' and about four hundred men, had carelessly encountered them; almost all of these were killed and only a very few escaped. With the death of these two counts that day the succession of that most noble family of Plain failed, since they had died without heirs. However, after obtaining his great victory, King Ottokar advanced into Hungary with his army; but then after a few days he withdrew once an agreement was reached, in which the duchy of Styria and the town of Pettau, which the Hungarians had previously held, were restored in full to him.

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<sup>64</sup> Stephen, eldest son of Bela IV, subsequently ruled as Stephen V (1270-2). He had been acting as his father's regent in Styria.

<sup>65</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> July.

<sup>66</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> June.

<sup>67</sup> North of Vienna.