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## The Weingarten History of the Welfs

*This account of the history of the Welf family was written c. 1170, either by a cleric among their followers or by a monk of the abbey of St. Martin at Weingarten in the diocese of Konstanz in southern Swabia. Weingarten had been founded by Welf III, Duke of Carinthia, c. 1053 near the Welfs' castle of Ravensburg, north of Lake Constance, after the family's earlier monastic foundation, a nunnery at Altdorf (founded in 935) had been destroyed by fire. (The History occasionally still refers to Weingarten as Altdorf). The early parts of the History are largely legendary; the later ones offer a very valuable account of a powerful family who became increasingly important in the Reich from the later Salian period onwards. (Even so, the account only became really detailed after the death of Henry the Black in 1126). The original history concludes with the death of the young Welf VII in Rome in 1167, a second writer, who was probably a monk of the monastery of Steingarten in the diocese of Augsburg, then produced a short continuation which described the last years of his father, Welf VI, until his death in old age in 1191.*

[These extracts, covering the period from 1070 onwards, have been translated from the *Historia Welforum Weingartensis*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH SS xxi.461-71, chaps. 13-32.<sup>1</sup> **Translation © G.A.Loud (2011)**].

**(13)** *About Welf IV, who was the first Duke of Bavaria.* This Welf was the first of our [family] to receive the duchy of Bavaria, and he performed many great deeds in it and in other parts of the kingdom, for he was a man valiant in war, shrewd in counsel, and endowed with wisdom in both public and private matters. Hence, amid all the storms of war that arose in his lands, waged against him and by him against others, he behaved with great moderation and calm. He stood faithfully by the emperor until the latter plotted his death and until he openly attacked the Church. He fought with him against the Saxons, and took a most valiant part in three most savage battles. But when the emperor stirred up many treacherous plots against him, and what was worse he expelled the lord Pope Gregory VII from his see and intruded Archbishop Guibert of Ravenna; he abandoned the emperor, as did many other catholic princes, and thereafter they opposed him in any way that they could. Then he waged

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<sup>1</sup> There is a more recent, although not radically different, edition, with German translation, *Historia Welforum*, ed. Erich König (Schwabische Chroniken der Stauferzeit 1, 2nd. ed., Sigmaringen 1978), pp. 18-72, for the sections translated here.

a very fierce war for a long time against Bishop Siegfried of Augsburg, who supported the emperor's party, or rather his inhumanity. Finally he took him and many others in the city prisoner and threw him into bonds, and left him for a long time chained up in the castle of Ravensberg.<sup>2</sup> He laid the city waste with fire and plunder. He took as his wife Judith, the queen of England, who was then a widow, the daughter of Baldwin the most noble Count of Flanders, by whom he had two sons, Welf and Henry, each of whom held the duchy of Bavaria, first the one and then the other.<sup>3</sup> It was he who, first of all our people, because he diminished his wealth inherited from his forefathers by distributing his estates to his supporters in these many violent conflicts, offered his hands to bishops and abbots, and received benefices from them on no small scale. He took possession of all the properties which Count Luithold had in these parts, by donation from him, apart from those he handed over to St. Mary in Zwiefelten, along with the two castles of Achelm and Wülflingen.<sup>4</sup> He received and obtained the patrimony of Count Otto of Buchorn, who surrendered this of his own free will during his lifetime.<sup>5</sup> Finally, when he had arrived at old age, he began to build the church of Rottenbuch and endowed it generously,<sup>6</sup> while he [also] endowed the monastery of Altdorf with an abundance of estates, tithes, serfs and church ornaments. He benefited the churches which pertained to him in other ways. Wishing to make a more strenuous satisfaction to God for his sins, he took the road to Jerusalem. He passed through great travails and dangers in crossing Hungary and Greece. He visited the Sepulchre of the Lord and other holy places, having lost almost all his men; then setting off on his return he reached Cyprus, where he departed from this life and was buried.<sup>7</sup> His bones were later disinterred and taken to the monastery of Altdorf where they were reburied. However, his

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<sup>2</sup> Siegfried, Bishop of Augsburg 1077-96, was captured by Welf in 1088, Bernold of St. Balsien, *Chronicle*, in *Eleventh-century Germany. The Swabian Chronicles*, trans. Ian S. Robinson (Manchester 2008), p. 291; Frutolf of St. Michelsberg, in *Frutolfs und Ekkehard's Chroniken und die Anonyme Kaiserchronik*, ed. F-J. Schmale and I. Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt 1972), p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Judith (d. 1094) was in fact the widow of Earl Tostig of Northumbria (d. 1066), and not queen. She was the posthumous daughter of Count Baldwin IV of Flanders (d. 1035), and married Welf IV c. 1071, after the death of his first wife, a daughter of Otto of Nordheim, duke of Bavaria.

<sup>4</sup> Achalm is near Reutlingen (Baden-Wurtemberg), Wülflingen is near Winterthur (modern Switzerland). Count Luithold of Achalm and his brother Cono (the last male members of their family) founded the monastery of Zweifelten in 1089. Cono died in 1092, and his brother had by then become a monk, *The Swabian Chronicles*, trans. Robinson, p. 310.

<sup>5</sup> Count Otto II of Buchorn (the last of his line) was killed in a blood feud in 1089, by the men of a husband whom he had cuckolded. But it seems unlikely that he had willingly made over his patrimony: a decade earlier Welf had forced him to abandon the cause of Henry IV and swear obedience to King Rudolf, *The Swabian Chronicles*, trans. Robinson, pp. 222, 296-7.

<sup>6</sup> A house of Augustinian canons in the diocese of Freising, which Welf founded before 1090.

<sup>7</sup> Welf IV died at Paphos in Cyprus on 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> November 1101, Ekkehard of Aura, in *Frutolfs und Ekkehard's Chroniken*, p. 170; for the date, *Necrologia Germaniae*, i *Dioceses Augustensis, Constantiensis, Curiensis*, ed. Ludwig Baumann (Berlin 1886-8), 230, 237 (Weingarten) [9<sup>th</sup>]; *ibid.*, i.264 (Zweifalten), 326 (Sankt Blaisen), iii.115 (Rottenbuch) [8<sup>th</sup>].

companions on his pilgrimage were either killed or taken alive by the Saracens, betrayed to them through the machinations of the most treacherous Greek Emperor, Alexius. Among them were Thiemo, bishop of Salzburg,<sup>8</sup> who was captured and brought before the king of the Muslims (*Memphiori*), and was ordered to worship idols. He entered the temple, but then as a man who was most strong in body and valiant of mind he preached that the idols whom he was supposed to worship were not Gods, but the work of human hands. In consequence he was led out and subjected to most painful tortures, and [thus] received the crown of martyrdom.<sup>9</sup> One of the Saracen leaders also carried off the countess, mother of Margrave Leopold of the East March, who was similarly in their company, and joining with her in a most impure marriage, he engendered from her, so they say, that most evil man Zenghi.<sup>10</sup>

(14) *About Welf V, who married Matilda and died at Kaufering.* Therefore, after the death of his father Welf, his eldest son received the duchy.<sup>11</sup> He was a most moderate man, who overcame all resistance to him through generosity and good nature rather than by cruelty.<sup>12</sup> He organised his household most carefully. Hence men of the highest nobility from both provinces commended their sons to him to be raised under his stewardship. In Italy, however, he had frequent and most bitter conflicts with those who had unjustly usurped his patrimony and had molested his men with the worst sort of treachery. He was in Rome with the Emperor Henry V when he made Pope Paschal prisoner, although Welf himself was not a party to this wicked deed. For since he could not dissuade the emperor from that action by any means, Welf interposed himself to secure a peaceful agreement, and so it happened that at last the emperor on his advice humbled himself to make condign satisfaction, and the pope, in return for the benefit of peace, received him clemently and paternally, and crowned him [as emperor]. Welf received as his wife Matilda, the daughter of the most noble and wealthy Italian margrave Boniface, a woman of manly spirit, who like the bravest of princes made the whole of that land subject to her authority. However, afterwards, I do not know through what

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<sup>8</sup> Thiemo, Archbishop of Salzburg 1090-1101: by the time of the 1101 Crusade had been driven from his see by an imperially-supported rival, Berthold.

<sup>9</sup> These two sentences, beginning 'Among them', were taken more or less *verbatim* from Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de Duabus Civitatibus*, ed. A. Hofmeister (MGH SRG, Hanover 1912), VII.7, p. 317.

<sup>10</sup> Itta, widow of Leopold II, Margrave of Austria 1075-95: Imad-ad-Din Zenghi (d. 1146), the conqueror of Edessa in 1144. Needless to say, this story is legendary.

<sup>11</sup> As Bernd Schneidmüller, *Die Welfen. Herrschaft und Erinnerung* (Stuttgart 2000), p. 149, points out, hereditary succession to the duchy was actually unusual at this point, and had certainly not been the case for Bavaria in the eleventh century.

<sup>12</sup> Other sources are less complimentary. Suger of St. Denis, who saw Welf when he came to France as one of the emperor's envoys in 1107 described him as 'a corpulent man, who was remarkably tall and round. Being a continual brawler, he had his sword carried before him everywhere he went', *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, translated R. Cusimano and J. Moorhead (Washington 1992), p. 49.

means, he repudiated her.<sup>13</sup> Finally, after being laid low by illness, he settled all his affairs well, and ended his days in the village of Kaufering.<sup>14</sup> He was brought to Altdorf, where he was buried next to his father and mother.<sup>15</sup>

(15) *About Duke Henry, who became a monk.* Henry his brother obtained the duchy and all that pertained to it, and he forcefully made it subject to his authority. During his brother's lifetime he had already taken a wife from Saxony, the daughter of Duke Magnus and Sophia, the sister of King Coleman of Hungary.<sup>16</sup> She was called Wulfhild. However, this same Sophia had previously been married to a certain man from Carinthia, by whom she gave birth to Margrave Poppo, who married his two daughters to Count Berthold of Andechs and Count Albrecht of Bogen.<sup>17</sup> The sister of this Sophia married the king of the Greeks.<sup>18</sup> A certain count took another sister from a cloister of nuns, and from her he engendered Frederick, advocate of Regensburg.<sup>19</sup> This Sophia had four daughters by Duke Magnus: our Wulfhild, Eilika the mother of Margrave Albrecht of Saxony,<sup>20</sup> a third whom the duke of Moravia married, and a fourth whom Count Ekkehard of Scheyern took from a nunnery in Regensburg and joined to himself in marriage. He engendered the Count Palatine Otto from her.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, in addition to those who at a tender age were taken to the bosom of Heaven, Duke Henry had three sons by Wulfhild, Conrad, Henry and Welf, and four daughters, Judith, Sophia, Matilda and Wulfhild. Judith married Duke Frederick of Swabia, by whom she gave

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<sup>13</sup> The marriage was a blatantly political arrangement by Pope Urban II to reinforce the Gregorian anti-imperial alliance: it took place in 1089 when Welf V was about seventeen and Matilda of Tuscany forty-two, and not surprisingly did not last long. He repudiated her in 1095. Bernold of St. Blasien alleged that the marriage was never consummated, *The Swabian Chronicles*, trans. Robinson, p. 323. She died in 1115, and left her lands to the Roman Church.

<sup>14</sup> Kaufering is north of Landsberg on the River Lech.

<sup>15</sup> Welf V died 24<sup>th</sup> September 1120, *Necrologia Germaniae*, i.113 (Ottobeuran), 228 (Weingarten), 279 (Reichenau).

<sup>16</sup> Magnus Billung, Duke of Saxony (d.1106). Sophia, who died in 1095, may in fact have been the daughter of King Bela I of Hungary (d. 1063), and thus the aunt of Coleman, King of Hungary 1095-1116, who was the son of King Geysa I (d. 1077), and grandson of Bela. The *Annalista Saxo*, p. 579, described her as the sister of King Ladislaus (Bela's son).

<sup>17</sup> Her husband was Ulrich I of Weimar, Margrave of Carniola and Istria (d. 1070). Her son Poppo (II), Margrave of Istria, died 1098 x 1103. His daughter Sophia married Count Berthold III of Andechs (d. 1151), the ancestor of the Dukes of Merania; his other daughter Hadwig married Count Albrecht II of Bogen (d. 1146).

<sup>18</sup> Here again our author gets the details of the (admittedly complex) Hungarian royal family wrong. It was a daughter of King Ladislaus I, son of Bela I, who married John Comnenus, Eastern Roman Emperor 1118-43.

<sup>19</sup> There is no confirmation of this, and the mothers of both Frederick III, advocate of Regensburg (d. 1120) and his son Frederick IV (d. 1148) are well-attested. Since the younger Frederick was an enemy of the Welfs (see below, chap. 17), this may have been intended as a slur against him.

<sup>20</sup> Eilika married Count Otto of Ballenstadt (d. 1123); she died in 1142. Her son was Albrecht the Bear, Margrave of Brandenburg (d. 1170).

<sup>21</sup> There is some confusion here. The 'Ekkehard' was presumably Ekkehard II, Count of Scheyern (d. after 1135), but the Count Palatine Otto (of Wittlesbach) was the son of Count Otto II of Scheyern (d. 1110), uncle of Ekkehard II.

birth to our Emperor Frederick and to the wife of Matthew, Duke of Lotharingia.<sup>22</sup> Duke Berthold of Zähringen received Sophia as his wife, and after his death [she married] Leopold, Margrave of Styria.<sup>23</sup> Matilda married first Diepold son of Margrave Diepold of Vohburg, and after his death she married Gebhard of Sulzbach.<sup>24</sup> Count Rudolf of Bregenz married Wulfhild.<sup>25</sup> Since he had been from his boyhood educated at home in the study of literature, Conrad was ordained as a cleric; when he grew older he was entrusted to the archbishop of Cologne for higher study,<sup>26</sup> and that he might be trained in the claustral discipline. Here he profited so much from both, avoiding vices and distinguishing himself so greatly with other virtues, that he was loved by all the clergy and people, and was judged to be worthy of the highest honour. However, he fled from honours, wealth and human praise, and joined some other monks, with whom, without the knowledge of any of his family, he went to the monastery of Clairvaux and became a monk there. Then, after some time, he sought to go to Jerusalem where he joined a servant of God living in a hermitage, and he served him with what he needed in all humility. At length, realising that he was suffering from illness, he took thought for his return, boarded a ship and arrived at Bari, the city of St. Nicholas, where he ended his days with a blessed death. He was buried honourably and rests there.<sup>27</sup> Around this time his father and mother both died. His father was professed as a monk on his deathbed in the castle of Ravensburg, while his mother died at Altdorf sixteen days after the death of her husband, and was buried in the monastery of St. Martin.<sup>28</sup>

**(16)** After the death of his father, Henry received the duchy, and he summoned everyone to a general assembly at Regensburg.<sup>29</sup> Having mustered his knights, he came there, and with

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<sup>22</sup> Her daughter, another Judith (also sometimes called Bertha), married Matthew I, Duke of Upper Lotharingia 1138-76, about the time he succeeded his father as duke. She died c. 1194. These details about the children of Henry and Wulfhild may have been taken from *Annalista Saxo*, p. 528, which gives the same information about the daughter's marriages, although this account mentions only two sons, and not Conrad.

<sup>23</sup> Berthold III of Zähringen was murdered in 1122. Her second husband, Margrave Leopold of Styria, died in 1129.

<sup>24</sup> Diepold (IV) of Vohburg died 1128/30. Matilda had two children by him. Her second husband, Gebhard III, Count of Sulzbach, whom she married soon after she was widowed, died in old age in 1188. She died in 1183.

<sup>25</sup> After the death of her husband, Rudolf [II] of Pfullendorf, Count of Bregenz, in 1160, Wulfhild became a nun at Wessobrunn.

<sup>26</sup> Frederick [I] of Schwarzenburg, Archbishop of Cologne 1100-31. Since he was a Bavarian by birth, he must have seemed a suitable choice as Conrad's teacher and patron.

<sup>27</sup> Schneidmüller, *Die Welfen*, p. 148, suggests that, contrary to what is said here, he died at Melfi in southern Italy c. 1154/5.

<sup>28</sup> Several different dates are given by the necrologies for Henry's death, but the most usual one is 13<sup>th</sup> December (1126), *Necrologia Germaniae*, i. 51 (Wessobrunnen), 117 (Ottobeuran), 230, 237 (Weingarten), 267 (Zweifalten), iii.131 (Scheftlar): while Wulfhild's death is securely attested on 29<sup>th</sup> December, *ibid.*, i.231, 238 (Weingarten), 268 (Zweifalten), 326 (Sankt Blasien).

<sup>29</sup> Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria 1126-39.

wise foresight he made a judgement and settled the disruptive conflicts which had for a long time caused disturbance among the princes and great men of the land. He proclaimed a most firm peace to all, and ordered it to be confirmed on oath. Finally, after levying money from the burgesses, and striking terror into all, he left the city; and he [then] laid waste the fortresses and villages of robbers and outlaws throughout the province. Meanwhile, he sent envoys to Saxony to seek as his bride Gertrude, the daughter of the Emperor Lothar, and invited the leading men (*optimates*) of both Bavaria and Saxony to the wedding. These assembled in the plain next to the River Lech, near Augsburg, at a place called Gunzenlach, and having brought the woman to these parts, the wedding took place there on the Octave of Pentecost, and Henry then remained at the castle of Ravensburg until the autumn.<sup>30</sup> He then travelled to the emperor, and he received from him the duchy of Saxony, Nuremberg, Gredingen and all the benefices that the emperor held from bishops and abbots; and he promised to assist him against Duke Frederick, the husband of his sister, who was [then] in rebellion.<sup>31</sup>

(17) Meanwhile, seeing the power of the duke grow stronger and his own authority within the city diminishing every day, Frederick, advocate of the church of Regensburg, with the advice of certain men to whom peace was hateful, deceitfully lured, so they say, one of the *ministeriales* of the church, who was most loyally supporting and serving the duke, both inside and outside the city, into his presence, and [then] took his life. On being told of this, the duke speedily entered Bavaria and laid siege to Falkenstein, a most strong castle of the advocate, ordering all his men to join the siege. While all this was happening in Bavaria, the emperor was besieging the Rhineland city of Speyer, to injure Duke Frederick, and sent an envoy to summon Duke Henry to come to his assistance as fast as he could. The latter avoided any delay: entrusting the siege and the whole business to his sister the Margravine Sophia, now a widow, who had now arrived with 800 men-at-arms (*lorici*), he hastened to join the emperor with six hundred and more knights.<sup>32</sup> Marching there with great effort, he established his camp on the far side of the Rhine, and he stationed a body of knights nearby to give him warning of any attacks and raids by Frederick. The latter was, however, a man who was valiant in conflict, and one night he attacked the camp helter-skelter with a force of knights. Henry had been forewarned and had prepared his weapons and horsemen, and so he

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<sup>30</sup> This was in 1127, *Annalista Saxo*, p. 589.

<sup>31</sup> Duke Frederick of Swabia (d. 1145) was married to Henry's sister Judith (see above, chap. 15). Their son was the later emperor, Frederick Barbarossa.

<sup>32</sup> Sophia, the widow of Margrave Leopold of Styria (d. 1129): see above note 23.

forced him to take flight, and he pursued him as he fled as far as Gröningen. Frederick escaped ignominiously, losing some of his men and almost all his mounts. Then, after the men of Speyer had come to an agreement with, and made satisfaction to, the emperor, through the mediation of the archbishop of Mainz,<sup>33</sup> he returned to Bavaria. He captured the fortress, which had by now been under siege for a long time, and he established his men there to guard that frontier and to keep the castle under his control.

(18) Not long afterwards Duke Frederick, who was mindful of his earlier reverse, invaded Altrof and Ravensburg with an army, and he ravaged Memmingen and the villages roundabout with fire, and took some of our men away as prisoners. Duke Henry had no wish to put up with this, and so the following summer he mustered a large army and invaded Frederick's lands. Starting at the village of Daugendorf, which is on the bank of the Danube, and marching as far as Staufen, he ravaged everywhere all around, while both going and coming back, with fire and plunder. He refused to make a diversion to Ulm, since its territory, suburbs and villages had not long before already undergone a ruthless plundering.

(19) *The conflict that took place with the men of Regensburg.* Around this time the bishop of Regensburg died, and thanks to the plotting of the advocate and other enemies of the duke the men of the town elected a most noble man, the brother of Otto of Wolfrathausen to replace the dead prelate.<sup>34</sup> The duke judged that this had been done to injure him, and he strove in every way he could to secure his deposition. He attacked him before the emperor, to prevent the bishop receiving investiture, and charged him before the pope with not being canonically elected, so that the latter would forbid his consecration. The bishop, however, faced with dangers of this sort, hastened to his metropolitan, and received consecration from him. He sent an envoy to the pope and returned to his city where he prepared his men for rebellion. But when the duke realised that accusations like these could not assist him, he turned to another plan; he entered Bavaria without delay and spread fire and destruction through the suburbs of the city and all the territory of the church. Taking the castle of Donaustauf by surprise, he seized it and established a garrison of his men there. The burgesses frequently harried these men with violent raids, and [then] they laid siege to the fortress for some time, preventing people coming and going through ambushes. Since after a

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<sup>33</sup> Adalbert (I), Archbishop of Mainz 1111-37.

<sup>34</sup> Bishop Cono of Regensburg died on 19th May 1132. Despite Henry the Proud's endeavours, Heinrich of Wolfrathausen was bishop 1132-55. He was the younger son of Count Otto II of Wolfrathausen (d. 1122).



while food supplies were running low, the duke mustered his knights and gathering food from all around he brought it to them, and so the whole of that district suffered many evils. Meanwhile similar troubles and another event no less dreadful took place in upper Bavaria. For one day as the duke was making a journey through the land of Count Otto of Wolfrathausen, <sup>35</sup> the latter, seeking revenge on behalf of the bishop, his uncle (*patruus*), came upon him suddenly and unexpectedly, and had not one of his men flung him from the horse on which he sat, and mounted it in his lord's place, the duke, who was unarmed, would have lost his life. The man riding his lord's horse was captured as he tried to flee, and taken away as a prisoner, wounded in several places. In response, the duke mustered his forces and invaded the count's lands around the Purification of St. Mary. <sup>36</sup> He devastated everything between the mountains, besieged the castle of Ambras, stormed and burned it. <sup>37</sup> He was unwilling to attack Wolfratshausen itself because Lent was about to start; but accompanied by his brother Welf, who had at that time brought knights from across the Alps to fight in these regions, he returned towards the city [*Regensburg*] and evacuated his men who had for a long time now been blockaded and suffering great privations in the castle of Donaustauf. He then set fire to the castle.

(20) But since we have made mention of Welf, it does not seem wrong if we insert some account here of what he did at this time in the regions beyond the Alps. While he was still in the years of his adolescence, through the mediation of his brother Duke Henry he received as his wife the daughter of Gottfried, the very wealthy Count Palatine of Calw, who was named Uta; through her he gained everything that belonged to Gottfried, both benefices and patrimonial property. <sup>38</sup> However, when Count Albrecht, the nephew of this same palatine count, saw that all the hopes he had placed in the death of his uncle to have come to nothing, he complained about the unjust division of the inheritance, and declaring that half of everything belonged to him by right of inheritance he seized the castle of Calw through

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<sup>35</sup> Otto IV, Count of Wolfratshausen 1127-36.

<sup>36</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> February [1133]

<sup>37</sup> Ambras was near Innsbrück in the Tyrol, the region 'between the mountains', namely the Algauer Alps to the north and the Otztaler Alps to the south.

<sup>38</sup> Welf VI was born about 1115; Gottfried of Calw was last attested living in November 1130, and died on 6<sup>th</sup> February of some unknown year thereafter, *Necrologium Zweifaltense*, in *Necrologia Germanica*, i.244. The marriage would seem most likely to have occurred c. 1130, although the dating remains problematic. Hans Martin Schwarzmaier, 'Uta von Schauenburg, die Gemahlin Welfs VI', in *Welf VI. Wissenschaftliches Kollequium zum 800. Todesjahr Welfs VI. im Schwäbischen Bildungszentrum Irsee*, ed. Rainer Hehl (Sigmaringen 1995), p. 32.

treachery.<sup>39</sup> Then, soon afterwards, he made a surprise night attack on Welf's knights in the village of Sindelfingen.<sup>40</sup> Some were captured and the others put to flight, and they lost almost all their arms and mounts. He burned the village and brought the booty back to his castle of Wartenberg.<sup>41</sup> The duke thus raised an army and besieged the castle without delay; he also instructed that siege engines be prepared and brought there. Albrecht went to seek help from Dukes Frederick and Conrad, and he granted them a village from his allodial property, along with its *ministeriales* and other appendages, in return for them driving Welf away from the siege. They thus raised a force of knights and hastened to rescue the castle. Welf was warned in advance of their arrival, and he attacked the castle with his troops from every side with the help of his siege engines. He captured the castle with great effort, took back his booty and led the knights found there away with him as prisoners. He then burned the castle down.

(21) At this same time Duke Conrad of Zähringen, the maternal uncle of his wife, besieged Schauenburg, a castle of Welf; but with the help of the Emperor Lothar he retired without achieving anything.<sup>42</sup> Thereafter Welf stormed Löwenstein, another castle of the said count, which seemed to everyone to be impregnable, and took it through a very clever attack, in which he lost only a few of his men.<sup>43</sup> All those he found there were made prisoner, and he destroyed the castle by fire. A little while later he decided also to lay siege to the castle of Calw, which this same count had treacherously stolen from him. The count realised that he was in a most dangerous situation, and that he had no escape from this nor hope of further assistance, and so he came to make his surrender (*deditio*), humbling himself at the feet of the duke, where he found the grace that he did not deserve. For the duke, with his customary gentleness and clemency, granted him the said castle and some other villages as a benefice, allowed him to depart honourably with all his men restored to him, and so with peace restored and all the leading men of that land flocking to him, he made the whole province peaceful and subject to his rule.

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<sup>39</sup> Albrecht IV of Calw (d. 1165), son of Gottfried's brother Count Albrecht III.

<sup>40</sup> This village was part of the dot of his wife, see *Annales Sindelfingenses*, MGH SS xvii.300-1.

<sup>41</sup> On the River Neckar in Swabia.

<sup>42</sup> Conrad, Duke of Zähringen 1122-52.

<sup>43</sup> Löwenstein is near Heilbronn, in Swabia. Count Albrecht had inherited this from his mother.

(22) Therefore, after Easter week, Duke Henry led quite a large army into Bavaria, to lay close siege to the above-named castle,<sup>44</sup> and to defend himself from the attack of those who were disloyally threatening him. For throughout the whole of Lent the bishop had been calling on his relatives and friends so that, if the duke should launch a further invasion of his land, he might drive him in ignominious flight from their bounds. Hence, while the duke was busy with the siege, the bishop drew near with the army he had raised. He was accompanied by Leopold, Margrave of the East March<sup>45</sup> and other counts, along with the bravest men from all over Bavaria, apart from the Palatine, and they pitched camp in a plain near the River Ysar. The duke drew up his forces against them. However, he left his infantry in place, telling them not to abandon the siege unless they were placed in extreme danger. Meanwhile the Count Palatine Otto, a man well-furnished with wisdom, who was allowed to meet each side, observed the forces of each army, and declared that our side was more numerous than theirs, which struck terror [into them].<sup>46</sup> Thinking on how he might establish a lasting peace, he showered the advocate Frederick, his kinsman, with promises and threats, encouraging him to surrender. Since he had been deserted by all his men, he was persuaded by the advice of the count palatine. Accompanied by the latter, he went to the duke's camp and humbling himself at his feet received his forgiveness. Once that had been done, he forced his son-in-law Otto to surrender and render satisfaction, explaining to him the sufferings of his men.<sup>47</sup> He similarly acceded to his advice and that of others of his men and did not disdain to come to make his surrender (*deditio*), and he handed both himself and his castle into the hands of the duke with every appearance of humility. However, the duke acted in accordance with the letter of the law (*rigor iustitiae*) and forced him to abjure his homeland and all the frontiers of Bavaria until he should be recalled by him, and so the duke entrusted him as a captive to his men, and ordered him to be taken with him to Ravensburg. After everything which could be taken away, apart from the buildings, had been removed, the castle was burned down. His wife, who had been besieged in the castle, was brought out. The duke received her kindly, comforted her, and entrusted her to her father the count palatine. And so through Divine command the rebellion of the Bavarians was suppressed. Not long afterwards agreement was reached between the bishop and the duke, and the county which the church of Regensburg holds around the River Enns was granted by the bishop to him as a benefice.

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<sup>44</sup> Wolfratshausen. The *History* returns to pick up the story abandoned in c. 19. These events probably took place in April 1133.

<sup>45</sup> Leopold (III) of Babenberg, Margrave of Austria 1095- 1136.

<sup>46</sup> Otto IV of Wittelsbach, Count Palatine of Bavaria from c. 1120 (d. 1156).

<sup>47</sup> Count Otto IV of Wolfratshausen (above, note 35).

(23) Around this time, through the intervention of Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, the emperor received Dukes Conrad and Frederick back into his grace at a general court held in Bamberg, and once peace had been regained, he announced a second expedition to Italy.<sup>48</sup> Duke Henry was about to set off on this expedition, and so he received back into his grace Count Otto, who has often been mentioned, and other men from Bavaria to whom he had rightly been hostile. Offering generous wages, he recruited them for the expedition. He did the same to others from both provinces,<sup>49</sup> and so he led 1500 knights through the valley of Trent to Italy. He took Garda and Garistallio in upper Italy for the emperor, and received them from him in fief. Here the Milanese and the Cremonese, who had for a long time been at war with each other, explained the reason for this conflict in the emperor's presence. The Cremonese were judged by the princes of Italy to be enemies, and departed as outlaws. He pursued them and destroyed their territory, villages and castles. He then came to Pavia, where he received the citizens into his grace in return for a money payment. Here Count Otto of Wolfratshausen died. He received the people of Bologna and Emilia as suppliants, with the duke interceding. He then marched as far as Turin, having subjugated the whole of upper Italy without the use of force (*sine ferro*). The emperor then crossed the Apennines and received the surrender of Ancona, Spoleto and other towns and fortified places in lower Italy. Meanwhile our Henry led his army through Tuscany, which (that is Tuscany) he also received from the emperor in benefice. Coming to Rome, he offered to take the supreme pontiff, Innocent, to the emperor. He stormed and destroyed the suburb of the city of Alba, whose inhabitants offered resistance to him. He took Benevento and restored it to the pope. He and the pope met the emperor not far from Bari, where with great skill he stormed a certain citadel, where a garrison of Roger had been stationed, and he ordered the soldiers taken there, and especially the Saracens, to be hanged on a gallows. After Roger had been driven out of Campania and Apulia, and the duchy of Apulia entrusted to Rainald, a brave and noble man,<sup>50</sup> they decided to return home.

(24) As they were returning from Italy through the valley of Trent, the emperor fell ill, and he died in a peasant's humble dwelling in the forest which is between the Inn and the Lech, in

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<sup>48</sup> This sentence, and quite a lot of the paragraph that followed, from 'he took Garda' onwards, was copied from the Chronicle of Otto of Freising, *Otonis Episcopi Frisingensis Chronica sive Historia de Duabus Civitatibus*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister (MGH SRG, Hanover 1912), VII.19, pp. 338-9, although with remarks about Henry the Proud interpolated. The surrender of the Staufens took place in March 1135.

<sup>49</sup> Bavaria and Saxony.

<sup>50</sup> Rainulf (II), Count of Caiazzo (d. 1139), who was King Roger of Sicily's brother-in-law.

the thirteenth year of his reign.<sup>51</sup> His body was then carried to Augsburg and through eastern Franconia back to Saxony, where it was honourably interred in the monastery of Lütter. His son-in-law Duke Henry, in whose lands he had died, kept the regalia so that he might bring them forth at the general assembly of the princes which had been arranged [to meet] at Mainz at the next Pentecost. However, some of the princes feared that Duke Henry, who was then the most distinguished man of reputation and rank in the kingdom, would prevail through his power, and so around the middle of Lent they decided to hold a council in the town of Koblenz on the Rhine, and there, in the presence of the Cardinal Bishop Theodwin, they chose as king Conrad, the brother of Frederick, of whom we have spoken above.<sup>52</sup> But the Saxons, Duke Henry and the others who were not present there denounced him as a king who had not been properly elected, but by chosen by stealth. All these people were summoned to a general council at the next Pentecost at Bamberg.<sup>53</sup> All the Saxons came there along with the widowed Empress Richenza, and reluctantly recognised King Conrad. Duke Henry was absent, and keeping the regalia, which he was instructed to return on the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul at Regensburg.<sup>54</sup> Coming there, and deceived by many promises, he did indeed return the regalia.<sup>55</sup> However, discussion of those matters that needed further negotiation between them was postponed until a few days later at Augsburg. Henry came there as agreed, having gathered his vassals (*fideles*) and no small force of troops, and he pitched camp on the opposite bank of the Lech from the city, which was held by the king. Envoys and the mediators appointed for this matter regularly crossed back and forth for three days, but achieved nothing. For the king was unwilling to consent to any agreement, unless the duke resigned those things which he had received and held from the Emperor Lothar. Since the duke refused to do this, but preferred rather to chance his luck, the peace negotiations were fruitless and the conference was abandoned. Indeed, fearing that some plot was being prepared against him, the king pretended that he would go to his chamber while dinner was still under way, but horses were brought in secret, and accompanied by only a few men, and with none of the princes saying farewell – and leaving the rest of his knights in great danger – he went to Würzburg. Here, the duke was outlawed by the judgement of a few of the princes, and was deprived of his duchy. On the day after the king left Augsburg, the

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<sup>51</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1137.

<sup>52</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> March 1138. Theodwin, Cardinal Bishop of Porto, was the papal legate to Germany.

<sup>53</sup> 22<sup>nd</sup> May.

<sup>54</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> June.

<sup>55</sup> Up to this point, this paragraph was largely copied from the account in the Chronicle of Otto of Freising, although the Weingarten author considerably abbreviated this, *Chronica sive Historia de Duabus Civitatibus*, VII.20, 22-3, pp. 339-40, 343-5. Otto added that Conrad refused to meet Henry face-to-face at this meeting.

duke made haste to arrange matters as best he could, and then he went at speed to Saxony, though accompanied by no great following. The king gave the duchy of Saxony to Margrave Albrecht, the duke's cousin, and after he had gone to Bavaria, he gave that duchy to Leopold, son of Margrave Leopold, his maternal half-brother.<sup>56</sup>

(25) Duke Henry thus entered Saxony, and when he explained his situation and his grievances to his *fideles* and friends, he roused them to rebel against the emperor and Albrecht. Then, in a short time, with their help and that of those of his men who had followed him from Bavaria and Swabia as though on a pilgrimage, he defeated Albrecht, so that with his castles destroyed and his lands everywhere ravaged he was forced to go to the king to beg his help. Meanwhile,<sup>57</sup> after receiving the duchy of Bavaria from the king, and with almost all the barons pertaining to the duchy joining him, either through love or fear, Margrave Leopold first made Regensburg subject to his authority, and then after mustering his army marched through the upper part of Bavaria as far as the Lech, but he retired in haste after losing some of his men. Not long afterwards, and with everything in Saxony disposed as he wished, Duke Henry had decided to return to Bavaria, but was taken ill and ended his days. He was buried in the monastery of Lütter, next to his father-in-law.<sup>58</sup> After his death, for love of his son, whom Henry had commended to them while he was still living, the Saxons rebelled against the king once again. Leopold was confident that he now had a firm grip on the duchy of Bavaria, but while he was busy besieging the castle of Valley, belonging to two brothers who still adhered to the party of Duke Henry,<sup>59</sup> and off-guard, Welf, the duke's brother, arrived with an army he had mustered. After a savage battle, in which many on both sides were killed, and many others captured, Welf forced Leopold to flee shamefully. For this Welf declared that the aforesaid duchy belonged to him by hereditary right, and since he was unable to secure justice from the king, he made ready for rebellion. Because of this, the king laid siege to his castle of Weinsburg at about this time.<sup>60</sup> Welf gathered his forces, and in the week before Christmas he rashly tried to attack the king, but after losing some of his men, and with many others captured, he fled from the fight with the few [who remained]. Leopold

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<sup>56</sup> Leopold IV of Babenberg, Margrave of Austria (d. 1141). Henry and Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg, were both grandsons, through their mothers, of Magnus, the last Billung Duke of Saxony (d. 1106).

<sup>57</sup> From here on this chapter draws heavily on Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, VII.25, pp. 349-50.

<sup>58</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> October 1139.

<sup>59</sup> These were Counts Conrad (d. 1175) and Gebhard (d. 1141/2), sons of Count Otto I of Wittelsbach. Otto, *Chronicon*, VII.25, p. 350, said that they were the only Bavarian barons still supporting the Welfs.

<sup>60</sup> Weinsburg was on the River Sulm, near Heilbronn, in Swabia.

died not long afterwards, and his brother Henry succeeded him as margrave.<sup>61</sup> The king entered Saxony, and making peace with the Saxons he gave the widow of Duke Henry as wife to Margrave Henry, and he granted the latter the duchy of Bavaria.<sup>62</sup> This was the root of a great deal of trouble. For Welf, as has been said, was seeking this same duchy, and he immediately invaded it, under the eyes of the said Henry, and [then] as he retired he laid waste the whole region. Henry was furious about this, raised an army and invaded the lands of those who supported Welf, destroying their castles and villages. Welf was preparing his forces to meet him in battle when he heard that the king was coming, and so he abandoned his attempt. Henry and the king besieged the castle of Dachau, which belonged to Count Conrad, one of Welf's party.<sup>63</sup> They devastated the land all around it, and with the king's help Henry forced it to surrender and burned it down. Thus that whole province suffered greatly from the malign effects of warfare.

(26) Hearing of these disputes between Welf [VI] and the king, King Roger of Sicily incited the naive Welf against Conrad with gifts, for he feared that as soon as this war had ceased, Conrad would go to Italy, and he promised that every year he would send him a thousand marks. Furthermore, the king of Hungary also feared this same Conrad, and he summoned Welf to him, giving him no small sum of money, and promising to give him more every year in future, and therefore incited him to rebellion. Thus Welf exercised the office of a valiant knight, sometimes in Bavaria, sometimes in those parts of Swabia beyond the Alps, [and] sometimes in the Rhineland, and he roused such violent tempests that he forced the king to defend what he had rather than to mount invasions of foreign nations.

(27) At this time the people of the French with their king, Louis, and the people of the Germans with their king, Conrad, and other princes, Duke Frederick of Swabia who was afterwards emperor, bishops, counts and men of every other condition, set off on the road to Jerusalem to uphold the cause of the Church over the sea. Although the war was far from stilled, Conrad forced Duke Welf to go with him. They set off in the year from the

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<sup>61</sup> Leopold IV died at the monastery of Niederaltaich on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1141, Lechner, *Die Babenberger*, p. 147.

<sup>62</sup> The rest of this chapter was drawn from Otto, *Chronica*, VII.26, pp. 351-2. Duchess Gertrude was married to Henry Jasomirgott in May 1142; however, she died on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1143. But this account, and that of Bishop Otto on which it was based, are both somewhat misleading, for in a privilege for the abbey of Reichenau on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1142, Conrad III stated expressly: 'we have not named a duke of Bavaria, since at this time the duchy is in the hands of the king', *Conradi III Diplomata*, pp. 143-4 no. 81. Another privilege, in January 1143, still described Henry as Margrave of Austria. He was named as Duke of Bavaria for the first time in a royal privilege of June-August 1144, *ibid.*, 149-50 no. 84; 197-9 no. 110.

<sup>63</sup> Conrad of Wittlesbach, as above.

Incarnation of the Lord 1147, and they led a countless host through Hungary and Greece, almost all of whom perished during this business, apart from the princes and a few other circumspect men, either from hunger or the unhealthy climate or unaccustomed food or through the attack of the Saracens. During this difficult journey, King Conrad often rendered assistance to his co-warrior Welf – for so he was accustomed to call him, when he needed it; and he gave him a share in all that he was granted from the royal fisc by the emperor of Constantinople. Then coming to Jerusalem, they laid siege, along with the others, to Damascus, under the command of King Conrad; but Welf had fallen ill and was in desperate straits, and so he prepared to return home. Having thus crossed the sea, he reached Sicily as a convalescent. There Roger received him with great celebration by his court, and while Welf remained there honourably Roger incited him with enormous gifts to rebel once more against the king.

(28) When he returned, during the next winter around the Purification of St. Mary, he collected his forces and attacked the land of the king. Seeking to launch an attack on the castle of Flochberg, on his return his knights became separated and he was leading them carelessly. Intercepted by the knights of the king and beginning the battle with [only] a few men – the others being scattered all around – our men took flight, more through misfortune than through the hazards of battle. Many were captured, although nobody was killed, and they returned home full of shame.<sup>64</sup> Hence the war that had been waged so long and so sadly between him and the king was concluded. For Frederick, the nephew of the king, who was [also] the nephew of this same Welf,<sup>65</sup> intervened to negotiate an agreement between them, and he confirmed, after due discussion, that the prisoners were returned to the duke and the king would be left secure in every other respect. The king took advice and granted Welf some revenues from the fisc, along with the village of Mertingen,<sup>66</sup> and so the peace was confirmed. Conrad died not long afterwards, leaving the kingdom to his nephew Frederick. The latter granted his uncle Welf the march of Tuscany, the duchy of Spoleto, the principality of Sardinia and the lordship (*domus*) of Countess Matilda as a benefice;<sup>67</sup> receiving in return, however, those revenues pertaining to the fisc of which we have made mention earlier.

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<sup>64</sup> This battle, in February 1150, was referred to in a letter of Conrad III to his cousin the Empress Bertha-Irene of Constantinople, which also mentioned the Sicilian bribery, *Conradi III Diplomata*, 404-6 no. 229.

<sup>65</sup> The Latin makes the meaning clearer, in that Frederick was the *fratrueilis* of Conrad, the son of his brother (Duke Frederick of Swabia, d. 1145), and the *sororius* of Welf, the son of his sister (Judith).

<sup>66</sup> On the River Schmutter, near Donauwörth.

<sup>67</sup> Countess Matilda of Tuscany, who had died in 1115, had been for a time married to Welf VI's uncle, Welf V (died 1120). See above, chapter 14.



(29) Thus, after receiving the aforesaid dignities, he went to Italy, and visiting the cities, *castella* <sup>68</sup> and villages throughout all [the land of] the house of Matilda, he dealt courteously (*civiliter*) with the business of that land. Envoys from all the towns of Tuscany and Spoleto came to him there, offering him suitable gifts and promising their willing subjection. Sending his own envoys to the cities, and promising that he himself would come [in person] in a short while, he properly devoted himself to his own affairs. Afterwards the emperor collected a huge army and entered the land, and he [Welf] remained at the siege of Crema until that *castrum* was destroyed. <sup>69</sup> Then, leading his whole army into Tuscany, he held a great assembly at S. Ginesio. There he gave banners to seven of the barons of that land who had joined him; <sup>70</sup> furthermore to the others who came to him from the cities and *castella*, he rendered to everyone what was his. He also recovered his own property which each of the towns had unjustly alienated for itself. Then, after the meeting had broken up, he entered Pisa on Holy Saturday to the great joy of the whole city populace, most cheerfully celebrating Easter there. <sup>71</sup> He [then] left and was received by the people of Lucca with equal joy. And so he was received and held in honour by all the towns which he had visited, and he dealt effectively with the government of the land, leaving his own men everywhere in the *castella* and villages that pertained to the fisc, and he moved in battle array towards the duchy of Spoleto. He he similarly disposed everything well, and he entrusted that land and the whole of Italy to his son Welf [VII], and leaving with him the most valiant of his men he returned home by the valley of Trent. Thus Welf the younger took control of the land, and he rendered himself acceptable to all through the stoutness of his heart, his sternness of judgement, his generosity and his extraordinary affability. He opposed himself in every way to the knights of the emperor who were at that time ruling the cities of Italy, whenever they tried to invade his territory with unjust oppressions, and because of this he rendered himself to some extent offensive to the emperor, but making himself rather popular with the people, and thus he gained the affection of all the towns.

(30) *Concerning the dreadful battle at Tübingen.* Meanwhile Hugh, Palatine Count of Tübingen, in the county which he had inherited from his father, hanged from a gallows some

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<sup>68</sup> *Castella* in an Italian context often refers to fortified villages / places rather than ‘castles’ in a North European sense.

<sup>69</sup> Crema surrendered to Frederick Barbarossa in January 1160.

<sup>70</sup> Thus granting or confirming their fiefs.

<sup>71</sup> Easter in 1160 fell on 27<sup>th</sup> March.

of his *ministeriales*, condemned so they say by an unjust judgement, and destroyed their castle of Möhringen.<sup>72</sup> For this Duke Welf issued a legal summons against him, but after receiving a humble response in satisfaction from him, [and] as he was a most kindly man, he cancelled his summons, although he did not [formally] abandon this legal charge. Then, some time later, the father recalled his son from Italy, and as he was about to go there [himself] to deal with various matters concerning land there, he handed over to his son all the possessions which he was to have from his mother.<sup>73</sup> Thus it happened that once his father had left Welf [the younger] renewed the aforesaid charge and repeatedly summoned the Count Palatine to make satisfaction. The latter relied not so much on his own men or powers as on the support of Duke Frederick, son of King Conrad, whom he urged to assist him in this matter, as if envious of Welf's good reputation and contemptuous of his good deeds. Rather than rendering satisfaction, he returned a threatening and contumacious response, and by doing so he roused the mind of the young man [*i.e. Duke Frederick*] to renew the conflict, and contrived the lamentable misfortune and wretched devastation of the whole of Swabia.<sup>74</sup> For Welf complained of the injury done to him to his friends, relatives and vassals [*fideles*], and he encouraged them all to assist him with the utmost willingness. Knights were mustered, and there gathered three bishops, those of Augsburg, Speyer and Worms,<sup>75</sup> Duke Berthold of Zähringen,<sup>76</sup> Margrave Berthold of Vohburg,<sup>77</sup> Margrave Herman of Baden,<sup>78</sup> Count Rudolf of Pfullendorf,<sup>79</sup> Count Albrecht of Habsburg,<sup>80</sup> the two brothers the Counts of Calw,<sup>81</sup> the

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<sup>72</sup> Near Stuttgart. Hugh [II] was Pfalzgraf of Swabia 1152-82, at first jointly with his elder brother Frederick, who died in 1162. Their father, Hugh [I] was an early supporter of Conrad III, and the latter had promoted him to the rank of Palatine Count (*Pfalzgraf*) before January 1146, *Conrad III Diplomata*, 266 no. 145. Hugh II married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Count Rudolf of Bregenz, whose mother was Welf VI's sister. According to the later account of Otto of Sankt Blasien, Count Hugh arrested three bandits, two of whom were his own men, and the third a vassal of Duke Welf. He let his own men go free, but hanged the dependant of the Welfs, and it was this blatant partiality which angered Welf VII, *Otonis de Sancto Blasio Chronicon*, ed. A. Hofmeister (MGH SRG 1912), p. 20.

<sup>73</sup> Welf VI's wife, Uta, was the only surviving child and heiress of Count Gottfried of Calw (died 1131/3). See above, note 38.

<sup>74</sup> Rhetorical as this comment is, there is some evidence to support it, notably a complaint by Abbot Manegold of Hirsau about the depredations of the abbey's property committed by the Count Palatine's brother Henry during the *Discordia* between the count and Duke Welf. The document is undated, but must have been written before the abbot's death on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1165, *Wurtembergische Urkundenbuch* iv.364-5 no. 64.

<sup>75</sup> Conrad of Hirscheck, Bishop of Augsburg 1152-67; Gottfried II, Bishop of Speyer 1164-7; Conrad [I] of Steinbach, Bishop of Worms 1150-71.

<sup>76</sup> Berthold IV, Duke of Zähringen 1152-86, son of Duke Conrad mentioned above, and thus Welf's cousin.

<sup>77</sup> Berthold II of Vohburg, Margrave of the Bavarian Nordgau (d. 1182).

<sup>78</sup> Herman IV, Margrave of Baden 1153-90, who died on the Third Crusade.

<sup>79</sup> He was married to Welf VI's daughter Elizabeth.

<sup>80</sup> Albrecht III, Count of Habsburg (d. 1199), who was married to a daughter of Rudolf of Pfullendorf and Elizabeth.

<sup>81</sup> Probably Conrad I and Adalbert I of Calw, who were cousins of Welf VII and his mother.

two [Counts] of Berg,<sup>82</sup> Gottfried of Ronsberg and his brother Rudolf, Counts Hartman of Kirchberg<sup>83</sup> and Henry of Veringen, Conrad the advocate of Konstanz and other great men of the land, with 2200 or more men-at-arms.

Establishing their camp not far from Tübingen around Vespers on Saturday 6<sup>th</sup> September, they decided to spend the Lord's Day quietly and at rest. On the other side was Duke Frederick with all those whom he could muster either through love or fear – the Counts of Zollern were there with a great following, as well as many others.<sup>84</sup> They kept all their knights together with them in their camp, and while some spent all that night in prayer, others anxiously negotiated [an arrangement] for satisfaction and compensation. But the Lord 'who knoweth the hearts' of all, and whose 'judgements are a great deep',<sup>85</sup> ordained or allowed matters to be settled in another way. For about the sixth hour some of the less prudent of our men, who did not foresee how matters would turn out, charged out of the camp, while the rest who wanted to spend the day at leisure and were unaware of this. They started fighting with some of their opponents, who had similarly rashly come forth from their own ranks, near the camp and under the eyes of the enemy. There was thus uproar in the camp – our men rushed out and seized their arms, trying to forestall the others as best they could. And so it was that with some running ahead, and others following, most of them arrived to assist their allies at the place of battle in confusion and without proper order. Meanwhile the enemy made no less haste from their camp, but they had already selected a safer spot for themselves above the river bank on a bluff overlooking the valley, which was very difficult for our men to approach. As soon as the multitude of our men had formed up in line of battle, Count Henry of Veringen gave the signal, and the host hastened forward, but because of the difficulty of the approach only a few reached the place of battle. However, those who did engage continued to fight bravely for the space of two hours, although nobody on either side was killed apart from one man, for everybody was well protected by their armour, so that it was much easier to capture rather than to kill them. So, while these people bore the brunt of the battle, so it is said, the remainder took flight, granting the enemy an undeserved victory, and gaining perpetual shame for themselves and their progeny. When they realised, therefore, that our men had fled, the enemy took prisoner those who were [actually] fighting – only a few of

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<sup>82</sup> Berthold and Ulrich, who were distant relatives of the Staufens.

<sup>83</sup> Hartman II, Count of Kirchberg (d. 1170).

<sup>84</sup> Count Frederick III of Zollern and his cousin Count Burchard of Hohenberg, whose family were traditional allies and supporters of the Staufens.

<sup>85</sup> *Acts*, 15:8; *Psalms*, 35:7 (Vulgate), 36.6 (AV).

whom escaped – and took the captives back to their camp. They then pursued the others, driving them before them like sheep from the pasture to the fold, capturing almost all of them, taking 900 prisoners and a huge amount of plunder. The survivors fled to the safety of forests, mountains or nearby castles. Welf himself reached the castle of Achalm with no more than three companions.

(31) Welf the elder returned from Italy at this time, and when he heard what had happened, he took steps to ransom the captives. Hugh took advice and returned the prisoners, and a peace agreement was made, as a result of which his land remained free from attack for a whole year. Once this year had passed the peace between them was broken, the count's land was everywhere plundered, and two of his castles, Kellmünz and Weiler, were destroyed. Forty of his men were captured there. He was indeed most upset [by this]. Despairing of help from his champion Duke Frederick, he was forced to go to seek help from the duke of Bohemia.<sup>86</sup> Having mustered a host of Bohemians, a horrid people hateful to God and man, he brought them to our land, and from Epiphany to the Purification of St. Mary,<sup>87</sup> in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1166, he stained the whole of Germany from Lake Geneva to Bohemia with the dreadful filth of these people, and with shameful depredations and arson. On Ash Wednesday a general court was held at Ulm, in the presence of our lord Duke Henry, and under the eyes of the emperor himself and Duke Frederick. There Hugh came to surrender to Welf the Younger, prostrating himself at his feet, and he did not resist when he was bound and consigned as prisoner; and indeed he was held in captivity for a year and a half, until the death of this same Welf.<sup>88</sup>

(32) In the following winter, around Epiphany, Welf the elder set off on the way to Jerusalem. Meeting the emperor in Italy he commended his son with all who pertained to him

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<sup>86</sup> Vladislav, Duke of Bohemia from 1140 (d. 1174), a close ally of the Staufens, to whom Frederick I had granted the right to wear a crown in 1158 [see Frederick I privileges, document (d)]. Vladislav considered himself thereafter to be King of Bohemia, but the Weingarten historian, as with a number of other hostile German witnesses, did not recognise this promotion.

<sup>87</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> January to 2<sup>nd</sup> February.

<sup>88</sup> Otto of Sankt Blasien later described the same events: 'The Emperor Frederick returned from Italy, and on his order the captive knights of Welf were released by the count palatine. A general court was summoned to meet at Ulm during Lent. Duke Welf came there, along with his nephew Henry, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, Duke Berthold of Zähringen, and many other great nobles of the region. He and his son were welcomed honourably by the emperor, who ordered the count palatine to surrender himself unconditionally into their hands [to answer] for the injuries he had done to them and to the kingdom. The count prostrated himself three times on the ground before Duke Welf, who [at first] refused to acknowledge him, but after he had finally been received he was taken away as a prisoner into exile at Chur, and then brought to the castle at Neuburg' [in the Voralberg], *Chronica*, p. 22.

to his grace, and he celebrated Easter at the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord. Meanwhile the emperor summoned Welf the younger to him in Italy, persuading him with many promises. He collected his knights, and crossing the Alps by the pass at Mount Septimanager, where the Rivers Rhine and Inn have their source, he arrived at Pavia. There he found envoys from the emperor, and he received payment from them. He crossed into Tuscany, where he dealt everywhere with the business of that land, and so he came to the emperor around the middle of July, not far from Rome. His father was at this time returning from Jerusalem, and as he was leaving Rome he met his son. [But] on seeing the detestable cruelties of the emperor, he spurned him and all his army, and returned home through the valley of Trent. For the emperor at this time destroyed so many churches, killed so many people and perpetrated so many other appalling deeds that he merited the punishment that followed from the just judgement of God. For the greater part of his army perished [there]. The Archbishop of Cologne, who was the instigator of all this evil and of the long-lasting schism,<sup>89</sup> the Bishops of Speyer, Regensburg, Prague, Verden and Liège,<sup>90</sup> and other princes, namely Duke Frederick the son of King Conrad, Duke Welf son of Duke Welf, Count Berengar of Sulzbach,<sup>91</sup> Count Henry of Tübingen,<sup>92</sup> along with many other great men of the realm died. The bones of almost all of these men were brought back home, after the flesh had been boiled from them. The bones of our Welf were carried to the monastery of Steingarten, which his father had founded, and buried there.

[*The Steingarten Continuation*]

Thus Welf the elder, reckoning that after the death of his son he would not engender an heir from his wife, since he did not love her, took pleasure rather in the embraces of others, and took pains to live the good life, spending his time in hunting, banquets and indulging in the delights of the flesh; though he seemed [also] generous on festival days and in making donations. So to avoid being unable to pay for such things, he sold to the Emperor Frederick his sister's son the principality of Sardinia, the duchy of Spoleto, the march of

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<sup>89</sup> Rainald of Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne 1159-67.

<sup>90</sup> Gottfried (II), Bishop of Speyer 1164-7; Eberhard, Bishop of Regensburg 1165-7; Daniel, Bishop of Prague 1148-67, and Herman, Bishop of Verden 1148-67, both of whom had taken part in the siege of Milan in 1161, and Alexander (II), Bishop of Liège 1164-7.

<sup>91</sup> Berengar was the only son of Count Gebhard III of Sulzbach (d. 1188), who subsequently, in 1174, made Barbarossa and his family his heirs, [see Frederick I privileges, document (f)].

<sup>92</sup> Henry was the younger brother of the Count Palatine Hugh [II]; he had earlier taken part in the siege of Lodi in 1161, *Fred. I Diplomata*, nos. 332, 334 (both June 1161).

Tuscany and the rich estate of Elisina, which is said [once] to have belonged to the lordship of Lady Matilda, and all that pertained to them. He distributed no small part of this money to various monasteries for the salvation of his soul. He was most generous to the church of Steingarten, which he had founded. He was eager to pay the masons constructing its walls and other buildings every year for as long as he lived. Also at this same time, he summoned the leading men (*optimates*) of both Bavaria and Swabia to the plain of the Lech outside Augsburg, where he solemnly celebrated Pentecost at a place called Gunzenlech, in the presence of an innumerable and splendid multitude, gathered all around. An agreement was made, in which he promised that all his patrimony would eventually go to his nephew, Duke Henry of Saxony and Bavaria. But, the scandal of dissension having arisen between them, he altered this agreement in favour of the Emperor Frederick and his sons. For the emperor, who was a shrewd man, foresighted in all matters, made every effort to satisfy his uncle's wish for gold and silver, and obtained the inheritance for himself, handed over in accordance with the common law (*lex gencium*). He retained part of it for himself as a sign of ownership, and enfeoffed Welf with the rest, adding to this some properties of his own. However, Welf excepted certain estates which he had previously vowed to give to God for the remission of his soul; namely Fidazhofen and its appurtenances, which he gave to St. Peter of Weissenau, Berg and Weiler with their appurtenances, which he left to St. Martin at Weingarten,<sup>93</sup> and Wiedergeltingen and an estate at Horn and Tschars, each of them with his rights [over them], which he gave for an endowment for St. John the Baptist at Steingarten.<sup>94</sup>

We think that enough has been said above about how this most noble man disposed of his property and his fabulous inheritance. Now we shall reveal a little about how he lived out the rest of his life. He did indeed abandon little or nothing of his previous celebrations and great expenditure, providing at the appropriate times high-quality weapons and costly garments for the knights of his court and suitable companions. He most generously welcomed outlaws or those in flight, wherever they came from. He squandered a great deal through his love of whores, but he spent no less in alms, and he took great pains over the care of the poor, and particularly of the blind and lepers. What more? For the more he strove to spend [on the latter], the greater the benefits which God would deign to bestow on him. It might be said of him that he was a man on whom fortune smiled, not blindly but with clear eyes. Finally, as he

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<sup>93</sup> On 13<sup>th</sup> August 1181, *Annales Welfici*, in *Historia Welforum*, ed. König, pp. 92-4.

<sup>94</sup> Welf granted Wiedergeltingen to Steingarten in 1170, buying out the vassal who had previously held this as a fief, and he added further gifts in 1183, *Monumenta Boica*, vi (Munich 1766), 488-9, 492-3.

passed into old age, the Father of mercies, who chastises every son whom he receives,<sup>95</sup> inflicted the trial of blindness upon him. He bore this scourge so patiently and in so dignified a manner as few other people could be imagined to have done. Thereafter he greatly increased his charity, and refrained from his customary indulgences, turning from carnal delights to frugality, and making every effort to support men of the cloth, but above all those of Steingarten. He summoned his wife Uta, a most noble and chaste lady, from the regions beyond the Alps and was reconciled with her. Finally he was struck down by serious illness at Memmingen, where he often stayed, and there, after making a full confession, he ended his days in his seventy-sixth year.<sup>96</sup> From there he was borne by his *ministeriales*, whom while he was still living he had ordered to do this in accordance with their sworn loyalty, to Steingarten. During this journey God brought great honour on this honourable prince, or so we think, since the Emperor Henry, who was returning from Italy, met the cortege, and thus his dead body was brought to Kaufbeuren, where his funeral was celebrated with great dignity. Once the emperor had resumed his journey, the body of the venerable man was brought to the place prescribed, accompanied by a great assembly of abbots, provosts, clergy, noblemen and knights, both his own men and those from the province, and there Bishop Udalschalk of Augsburg, one of his closest friends, laid him to rest next to his son.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Cf. *Ecclesiasticus*, 30.1; *Proverbs* 13.24.

<sup>96</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> December 1191.

<sup>97</sup> Udalschalk of Eschenlohe, Bishop of Augsburg 1184-1202