

Gábor Bradács

**POVERTY AND POOR RELIEF IN THE OTTONIAN AND
SALIAN EMPIRE**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2012

**POVERTY AND POOR RELIEF IN THE OTTONIAN AND
SALIAN EMPIRE**

by

Gábor Bradács

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

Examiner

Examiner

Budapest
May 2012

POVERTY AND POOR RELIEF IN THE OTTONIAN AND SALIAN EMPIRE

by

Gábor Bradács

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

External Reader

Budapest
May 2012

**POVERTY AND POOR RELIEF IN THE OTTONIAN AND
SALIAN EMPIRE**

by

Gábor Bradács

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Supervisor

External Supervisor

Budapest
May 2012

I, the undersigned, **Gábor Bradács**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 18 May 2012

Signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First I have to thank my parents and my sister for their support, encouragement and love. I would like to thank the Department of Medieval Studies at the Central European University for giving me the opportunity to participate in a wonderful and inspiring academic community and to be a student again, if only for a short while. My thanks must also be given to the Department of History at the University of Debrecen: the support and inspiration of my colleagues was inestimable. I am deeply indebted to my supervisor, Daniel Ziemann, for the help he provided me from the very start of my CEU career and for a great deal of inspiration and support. I am grateful to Marianne Sággy, Katalin Szende, and Balázs Nagy for the corrections and useful comments. I owe my gratitude to Judith Rasson who tirelessly improved my Academic English skills and provided me with grammatical and stylistic corrections.

And last but not least, I want to thank the humble reader sharing the same interests with me and who takes an interest in my imperfect work, work which is the result of my scholarly activity and interest for almost a decade.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	viii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
<i>Research questions and methodology</i>	1
<i>Previous research on poor relief and the representation of imperial power</i>	6
1. THE PRIMARY SOURCES OF OTTONIAN AND SALIAN POOR RELIEF	12
1.1 Charters.....	12
1.2 Hagiographical sources.....	18
1.3 Historiographical sources.....	28
1.4 The ordines of the royal coronation ceremonies	36
1.5 The councils of the Empire in the tenth and eleventh century	38
2. THE POVERTY AND POOR RELIEF IN THE EMPIRE OF THE	
OTTONIAN AND SALIAN RULERS	40
2.1. Poor relief in the Carolingian empire.....	40
2.2 Poverty in the Ottonian and Salian empire.....	45
2.3 Poor relief-policy in the Ottonian and Salian Reich.....	53
3. CONCLUSION.....	63
APPENDIX.....	65
<i>Overview of the charters</i>	65
BIBLIOGRAPHY	69
<i>Primary sources</i>	69
<i>Secondary literature</i>	72

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AUF: *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*

DA: *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters*

FDG: *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*

FmSt: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*

HRG: *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. Albrecht Cordes. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2008-

LMA: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*. Munich: Artemis & Winkler Verlag, 1980-1998

MGH Capit.: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Capitularia regum Francorum*.

MGH Conc.: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Concilia*.

MGH DD: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*.

MGH LL: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Leges in folio*.

MGH SS: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores in folio*.

MGH SS rer. Germ.: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*.

MPH N. S.: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Nova Series*.

VL: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, ed. Kurt Ruh. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1978-2007.

VSWG: *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*.

ZRG KA: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung*.

INTRODUCTION

Research questions and methodology

The topic of my MA thesis is poor relief and its role in the representation of the royal power in the ninth- and tenth century Holy Roman Empire. The territorial framework of the thesis' topic is the Kingdom of Germany, or rather the Eastern Frankish Kingdom¹ established in 919, and the Holy Roman Empire after 962; this political entity included not only the present-day German-speaking countries, but also Alsace, Lorraine, the Low Countries, and the northern part of Italy. The chronological framework ranges from the coronation of Henry I of Germany (919) and the beginning of the investiture contest (ca. 1075), which was the age of the development of the concept of sacral kingship in the Holy Roman Empire, corresponding to the image of the ruler with theocratic tendencies, and contemporary political thinking. The thesis combines church history, social, economic, and legal history. The complexity of the topic requires a thoughtful choice of methodology, and a variety of methods.

The primary sources are the scholarly series of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and the *Regesta Imperii*.² These source editions meet high standards of critical edition. Due to the complexity of the study there are two major source groups; the first and richest consists of charters and other administrative sources, which include German and Italian charters of the tenth and eleventh century. Another important group of the sources is historiographic and hagiographic sources, which enable a specific approach

¹ Hagen Keller and Gerd Althoff, *Heinrich I. und Otto der Grosse: Neubeginn auf karolingischem Erbe* (Göttingen: Muster-Schmidt, 1985).

² For instance: Johann Friedrich Böhmer and Emil von Ottenthal, ed., *Regesta Imperii II. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Herrschern aus dem Sächsischen Hause 919-1024*, (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1893); Johann Friedrich Böhmer and Harald Zimmermann, ed., *Regesta Imperii II. 5. Papstregesten 911-1024* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1998); Theodor Sickel, ed., *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I. und Otto I* (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata: Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, 1) (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1879-1884) Dietrich von Gladiss and Alfred Gawlik, ed. *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV. Vols. 1-3*, (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata: Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, 6. 1-3) (Berlin:

to “imperial” poor relief. Surprisingly, historiographic documents like the annals, chronicles, *gestae episcoporum*, etc., provided less information for my research than I expected. Although the legal sources, the council decisions and the *ordines* for royal coronations, contribute less to the thesis topic. Due to the limit of space archaeological and pictorial materials could not be integrated into this work though they surely provide useful material. The secondary literature also reflects this diversity, despite the fact that poor relief in the Ottonian and Salian age has only been researched tangentially by scholars.³ In recent German historical scholarship, research on representation, the self-interpretation of kings, and rituals of power have played an important role (Gerd Althoff,⁴ Ernst Schubert⁵); and the construction of memory within the Ottonian dynasty (Johannes Fried⁶).

One of the main theoretical problems of the thesis is to reconstruct the social groups which were affected by the social policy of the age, in other words, who were the poor in the tenth and eleventh century Holy Roman Empire? As the narrative sources mainly deal with the social elite, the paupers were mentioned only in the context of the churchmen, or in short passages in the annals as the victims of drought and famine. The charters do not help determine the exact numbers of the lower social classes. It is probable, however, that the urban poor were the objects of the charity

Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1941) (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1952 [1959]) (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1978).

³ Egon Boshof. “Untersuchungen zur Armenfürsorge im fränkischen Reich des 9. Jahrhunderts,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 58 (1976): 265-339; Peter Dinter. “Die Armenfürsorge in Bischofsviten des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts,” in: *Arbor amoena comis. Festschrift zum 25jährigen Bestehen des Mittellateinischen Seminars der Universität Bonn 1965-1990*, ed. Ewald Könsgen (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990): 133-142.

⁴ Gerd Althoff, *Inszenierte Herrschaft: Geschichtsschreibung und politisches Handeln im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003).

⁵ Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert, ed. *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1998).

⁶ Johannes Fried, *Der Weg in die Geschichte. Die Ursprünge Deutschlands bis 1024*, Propyläen Geschichte Deutschlands 1 (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1994); Fried’s concept is highly criticised in Gerd Althoff, “Von Fakten zu Motiven. Johannes Frieds Beschreibung der Ursprünge Deutschlands,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 260 (1995), 107-117; further see Hanna Vollrath, “Geschichtswissenschaft und

praxis of the rulers or the clergymen in the early medieval Holy Roman Empire. Poverty in the urban areas where the population had a low standard of living was more tangible than in villages, and it does not matter that the towns had a simple settlement structure and low population in comparison to later periods. Although there is no doubt that an analogy may be difficult with pre-modern societies, the sources suggest that royal grants primarily benefitted the poor, penniless, widows, and orphans living in or around towns. Since the major cities of the Holy Roman Empire of this age were also ecclesiastical centers (bishopric and archbishopric sees), the royal donations for poor relief were addressed to specific churches. The complexity of the problem and the scarcity of the source base explain why scholarship has not yet focused on the lower social strata in the tenth and eleventh century Holy Roman Empire.

As was mentioned above, the variety of sources and their interpretation necessitate a large range of applied methods. The social and economic level of the thesis requires a traditional historian's paradigm and sources. Close examination of the charters is needed here; all the documents should be explored in which any aspect of poor relief (offerings, the establishment of alms-houses, pious donations, pilgrim houses, shelters, etc.) are mentioned. One has to pay attention to the fact that due to the uniformity of charter texts, the word *hospicium* could mean feeding the poor, but the guest house of at monastery where pilgrims were sheltered; with regard to the terminology one has to consider whether any textual reception happened from some previous charter of the Carolingian era. This approach requires the traditional charter critique. One has to take into consideration how many charters were issued by which ruler, when, where, on what occasion, and who were the recipients of the donation mentioned in the charter.

Geschichtsschreibung. Zur Diskussion um das Buch 'Der Weg un die Geschichte' von Johannes Fried," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 43 (1995), 451-459.

These circumstances shed light on the political aspects of poor relief, namely, that the so-called core lands of the empire (*Kerngebiet*), for instance, Saxony in the Ottonian age or the Upper Rhineland during the Salian age, were affected by the imperial “social policy” more than other territories.⁷ This explains why certain churches were assigned the task of poor relief, since the practical implementation of charity activity was in the hands of the church. With the help of the charters one can reconstruct the economic tools given to the churches to provide poor relief in their dioceses. The charters also seem to be the primary sources for reconstructing the role of poor relief in the representation of power, showing how often gave the rulers *agape*, or made generous donations on the occasion of their coronation, or made pious donations on the anniversary of the death of their ancestors (who were also their parents). The charters can be presented in tables and graphs, demonstrating that the poor living in the “core areas” of the empire received more donations than those who lived in other territories of the Holy Roman Empire, and showing the ecclesiastical centers (abbeys or bishopric sees) which were the executive institutions of the “imperial” social policy. The first part of the thesis is essentially quantitative, based on a number of charters in which data deduced from the sources can be illustrated with the help of tables and graphs. However, using only the charters one touches only the surface of the poor relief of the Ottonians and Salians without understanding the ideological and/or theological background. If one relies solely on charters they show that the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire in the tenth and eleventh century were pious persons who embraced the cause of their poor subjects. The thesis, however, goes further and focuses mainly on the representative character of this social policy. The charters, which were formulated in a

⁷ Eckhard Müller-Mertens, *Die Reichsstruktur im Spiegel der Herrschaftspraxis Ottos des Großen. Prolegomena zur Frage Feudalstaat auf deutschem Boden, seit wann deutscher Feudalstaat?* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980).

constant, uniform manner, do not provide an answer to the question of what poor relief actually was in this period. The narrative sources give a more nuanced image.

First, one has to affirm that any activity which made the life of the poor, pilgrims, widows or orphans easier, if only for a short while, can be considered poor relief. For the persons receiving donations it did not matter whether the donation came through altruism, pious, devoted deeds offered to God and the church, or simply a well-considered political act (construction of a clientage or the representation of power). The short accounts of the annals about a donation do not require special examination; they can be matched with the data of the charters. The great imperial chronicles (Thietmar of Merseburg, Lampert of Hersfeld, Sigebert of Gembloux, Bernold of Konstanz, and others), and the biographies (the *Life of the Emperor Conrad II* written by Wipo or the *Life of Emperor Henry IV*) can only be used with much greater caution. These works were ordered by the rulers or members of the court circles, so they served the needs of the representation of power. The chronology is often inaccurate, and they are intentionally subjective in the evaluation of certain political events. In their case, new critical approaches to texts will be applied to examine the circumstances of the origin of the text, the question of authorship, and the context of the works compared to other texts and historical events. The narrative sources allow a qualitative study, which is the second part of the thesis' content. They can help to explicate ideological motives of the "imperial" social policy. It is clear so far, that the poor relief in the age of the Ottonians and the early Salians followed the pattern of the Carolingian dynasty, which is supported also by the narrative parts of charters and the *ordines* of the royal coronation ceremonies. According to the hagiographical documents, these manifestations of the royal piety followed particularly biblical patterns. The best examples for this are the two lives of Queen Mathilda and some biographies of bishops (Wolfgang of

Regensburg, Adalbert of Prague, Bruno of Toul, and others). Both the hagiographical and historiographical material indicate that poor relief in the tenth and eleventh centuries was connected with the idea of sacred rulership, charismatic kingship, and the Cluny Reforms.

The expected results of the thesis are to demonstrate that lay piety and charity in the empire of the Ottonian and Salian rulers played a role – maybe not the most important one – in rituals of power and the representation of the kingship as one of the main social responsibilities of the ruler to his subjects of the underclass and wandering pilgrims, as was expected by the Christian doctrines of the early medieval period. According to the examination of the administrative source material, social activity and charity at the most important imperial monasteries were expected by the ruler in exchange for donations of land, tithes, and other feudal rights in a certain region. The commission of poor relief received by the monasteries and cathedral chapters of the Holy Roman Empire was mostly connected to an anniversary of the kingship (the date of ruler's coronation, or the death of his parents). Sentiments of altruism and compassion by the ruling dynasty toward the imperial subjects cannot be excluded (the foundation and donation of monasteries with the particular task of poor relief and hospitality).

Previous research on poor relief and the representation of imperial power

The ecclesiastical structure of the Holy Roman Empire in the tenth and eleventh centuries received critical attention in the last century of German scholarship. This structure is generally known as the “imperial church” (*Reichskirche*) of the Ottonian and Salian age.⁸ Several elements of this early medieval German church have already

⁸ The substantial and concise work about the Ottonian and Salian *Reichskirche* is by Leo Santifaller, *Zur Geschichte des ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystems* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1964,

been studied in detail, especially issues concerning royal sanctity, the relations between royal power and the church, and other topics like the military and administrative service of the clergy.⁹ One of the most typical social tasks of the church, however, poor relief and other works of charity, have not been investigated for the age of the Ottonian and Salian dynasties. In a number of studies Egon Boshof conducted a thorough analysis of the institutions and measures concerning deeds of charity in the Carolingian era;¹⁰ a similar analysis is still lacking for later periods. A journal article of Siegfried Epperlein should be mentioned on the same topic.¹¹ A good number of different monographs, studies, and examinations have been published in recent decades – and earlier as well – treating the structure of the Ottonian “state”, the relations between the royalty and the clergy, and the concept of a systematic “imperial church” (Leo Santifaller); these scholarly achievements were made by Gerd Althoff,¹² John William Bernhardt,¹³ Egon

first edition 1954); for the literature before 1968 see: Oskar Köhler, “Die ottonische Reichskirche. Ein Forschungsbericht,” *Adel und Kirche. Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein and Karl Schmid (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1968), 141-204; a highly critical overview on the notion of the “Reichskirche” see Timothy Reuter, “The ‘imperial church system’ of the Ottonian and Salian rulers. A reconsideration.” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33 (1982): 347-374.

⁹ Perhaps the best summary of the secular tasks of the German high clergy in the Ottonian period was written by the professor of the University of Nebraska: Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, *The secular activities of the German episcopate, 919-1024* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1932); about the economic administration of the Holy Roman Empire from the Ottonians to the end of the House of Hohenstaufen see Carlrichard Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitum regis. Studien zu den wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des Königtums im Frankenreich und in den fränkischen Nachfolgestaaten Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien vom 6. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1-2 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1968).

¹⁰ Boshof, *Armenfürsorge*, 153-174; *ibid.*, “Untersuchungen zur Armenfürsorge im fränkischen Reich des 9. Jahrhunderts,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 58 (1976): 265-339.

¹¹ Siegfried Epperlein, “Zur weltlichen und kirchlichen Armenfürsorge im karolingischen Imperium. Ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftspolitik in Frankreich,” *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (1963), 41-59.

¹² Gerd Althoff, *Die Ottonen: Königsherrschaft ohne Staat* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005²); *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, eds. Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1998); *ibid.*, “Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Merseburg. Bischöfliche Repräsentation und Interessenvertretung im ottonischen Sachsen,” *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, ed. Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert, Vorträge und Forschungen 46 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1998), 267-294; Gerd Althoff and Hagen Keller, *Die Zeit der späten Karolinger und Ottonen: Krisen und Konsolidierungen, 888-1024*, Gebhardt Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte 3 (Stuttgart: Klett-Kotta, 2008);

¹³ John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936-1075*. (Cambridge: CUP, 2002).

Boshof,¹⁴ Josef Fleckenstein,¹⁵ Rudolf Schieffer,¹⁶ and Hagen Keller,¹⁷ among others.¹⁸

For the history of the ritual of power in the context of the Ottonian and Salian empire, as part of the representation of power the works of Gerd Althoff¹⁹ are of great importance. Both in charters and narrative texts one sees frequent connections between deeds of charity and the diverse rituals carried out as gestures or represented in images.²⁰ Althoff's monograph summarizes the phenomena which can be considered,

¹⁴ Egon Boshof, *Die Salier* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995); *ibid.*, *Königtum und Königsherrschaft im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Raoul Oldenburg Verlag, 1993); *ibid.*, "Königtum und Reichskirche in der Zeit Ottos von Bamberg," *Otto von Bamberg (1102-1139): Vorträge zum Jubiläumsjahr*, ed. Egon Boshof, Klaus Guth, Franz Machilek and Heimo Ertl (Nürnberg: Pirckheimer, 1989), 11-38.

¹⁵ Josef Fleckenstein, "Problematik und Gestalt der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche," *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit. Vorträge beim wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium aus Anlaß des 80. Geburtstags von Gerd Tellenbach*, ed. Karl Schmid (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1985), 83-98; *ibid.*, "Zum Begriff der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche," *Geschichte, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft. Festschrift für Clemens Bauer zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Erich Hassinger (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1974), 61-71; *ibid.*, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige. 2: Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1966).

¹⁶ Rudolf Schieffer, "Mönchs Bischöfe in der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 113 (2002): 65-79; *ibid.*, *Der geschichtliche Ort der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchenpolitik* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1998); *ibid.*, "Karolingische und ottonische Kirchenpolitik," *Mönchtum – Kirche – Herrschaft 750-1000: Josef Semmler zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Dieter R. Bauer (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998), 311-325; *ibid.*, "Freiheit der Kirche. Vom 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert," *Die Abendländische Freiheit vom 10. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert. Der Wirkungszusammenhang von Idee und Wirklichkeit im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Johannes Fried (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991), 49-66.

¹⁷ Hagen Keller, "Die internationale Forschung zur Staatlichkeit der Ottonenzeit." *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – europäische Perspektiven*, ed. Walter Pohl and Veronika Wieser (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 113-132; *ibid.* "Über die Rolle des Königs bei der Einsetzung der Bischöfe im Reich der Ottonen und Salier," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 44 (2010), 153-174.

¹⁸ Tina Bode, "Klöster und Bischofssitze als Kommunikationsknotenpunkte? – Nachrichtennetze in der ottonischen Reichskirche (936-1024)," *Verwandtschaft, Freundschaft, Bruderschaft: soziale Lebens- und Kommunikationsformen im Mittelalter: Akten des 12. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes vom 19. bis 22. März 2007 in Trier*, ed. Gerhard Krieger (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2009), 211-220; Kurt Reindel, "Die ottonisch-salische Reichskirche und der Investiturstreit," *Handbuch der Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Bayern. Bd. 1.: Von den Anfängen des Christentums bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Gerhard Müller, Horst Weigelt and Wolfgang Zorn (St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 2002), 31-52; Alfred Wendehorst and Stefan Benz, *Die Säkularkanonikerstifte der Reichskirche* (Neustadt an der Aisch: Degener, 1997); Gert Haendler, *Von der Reichskirche Ottos I. zur Papstherrschaft Gregors VII.* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlags-Anstalt, 1994); Stefan Weinfurter and Hans Martin Siefarth, *Die Salier und das Reich. 2: Die Reichskirche in der Salierzeit* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1992).

¹⁹ Gerd Althoff, "Ritual und Demonstration in mittelalterlichem Verhalten," *Personenbeziehungen in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, eds. Helmut Brall-Tuchel, Barbara Haupt und Urban Küsters (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1994), 457-476; *ibid.* "Rituale – symbolische Kommunikation," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 50 (1999), 140-151; *ibid.* "The variability of rituals in the Middle Ages," *Medieval concepts of the past. Rituals, memory, historiography*, eds. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried and Patrick Joseph Geary (Washington DC: German Historical Institute, 2003), 71-87; *ibid.* "Rituale als ordnungsstiftende Elemente," *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – europäische Perspektiven*, ed. Walter Pohl (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 391-398;

²⁰ For the importance of pictorial representations in the concept of the Ottonian rituals of power see Hagen Keller, "Ritual, Symbolik und Visualisierung in der Kultur des ottonischen Reiches," *FmSt* 35

for good reasons, as expressions of rituals and symbolic communication in the medieval German history up to the end of the fifteenth century.²¹

The history of poor relief in the Ottonian and Salian *Reich* has not been the subject of intensive scholarly interest. Only a few journal articles deal with the topic. The survey on poor relief described in the *vitae* of bishops by Peter Dinter²² is a short, but thorough analysis of the question, of whether the deeds of charity written in the lives of imperial bishops of the early medieval empire might be used as sources for investigating the “historical” context of the poor relief of this age, or whether are they rather based on hagiographical topoi and that is why they may be useful for a historian of literature – but not for reconstructing the history of poor relief in the Ottonian and Salian period. Dinter does not answer the question categorically, but maintains that behind the hagiographical *Wandermotive* one may assume some elements of actual charity praxis.

Klaus Krüger’s journal article combines the problems and notion of death, burial, *memoria*, and poor relief in the Ottonian period.²³ He mainly focuses on the concept of death, the praxis of burial, and the art of the Ottonian burial-places. Krüger considers that the burial-feasts of the early Christian period and Classical antiquity were connected with the treatment of strangers and wanderers, and later this was complemented with feeding the poor.²⁴ Krüger’s opinion that “institutionalized” poor

(2001), 23-59; Steffen Patzold, “‘Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit’: zum Herrscherbild im Aachener Otto-Evangeliar” *FmSt* 35 (2001), 243-272. See also Konrad Hoffmann, *Taufsymbolik im mittelalterlichen Herrscherbild* (Düsseldorf: Rheinland-Verlag, 1968).

²¹ Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2003).

²² Peter Dinter, “Die Armenfürsorge in Bischofsviten des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts,” *Arbor amoena comis. 25 Jahre Mittellateinisches Seminar in Bonn 1965-1990*, ed. Ewald Könsgen (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), 133-142.

²³ Klaus Krüger, “Sterben, Bestattung, Nachleben und Armenfürsorge in ottonischer Zeit,” *Memleben. Königspfalz, Reichskloster, Propstei*, ed. Helge Wittmann (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2001), 41-60.

²⁴ Krüger, *Sterben*, 56; Theodor Klauser, “Das altchristliche Totenmahl nach dem heutigen Stande der Forschung,” *Gesammelte Schriften zur Liturgiegeschichte, Kirchengeschichte und christlichen*

relief is linked with the Cluny reform movement and its spiritual inspirations, including *memoria*. He does not write more about the Ottonian practice of poor relief but rather the influence of Cluny on lay piety and almsgiving along with the monastic reforms. It is true that after the success of the Cluniac movement and the introduction of the Cluniac reforms into the German monasteries the number of pious donations increased rapidly, but I do not share the idea nor see evidence for “institutionalized” poor relief in this period.

A large number of books and journal articles deal with the concept and history of medieval poverty. Their common feature is that they focus particularly on the late medieval period. Scholars like Otto Gerhard Oexle,²⁵ Michel Mollat du Jourdin,²⁶ Christoph Kühberger,²⁷ Ines Buhoffer,²⁸ Artur Dirmeier,²⁹ and Michel Pauly³⁰ examine

Archäologie, ed. Theodor Klauser (Münster: Aschendorff'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1974), 114-120; Otto Gerhard Oexle, “Mahl und Spende im mittelalterlichen Totenkult,” *FmSt* 18 (1984), 401-420.

²⁵ Otto Gerhard Oexle, “Armut und Armenfürsorge um 1200. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der freiwilligen Armut bei Elisabeth von Thüringen,” *Sankt Elisabeth. Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige. Aufsätze. Dokumentation. Katalog* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1981), 78-100; *ibid.* “Armut, Armutsbegriff und Armenfürsorge im Mittelalter,” *Soziale Sicherheit und soziale Disziplinierung: Beiträge zu einer historischen Theorie der Sozialpolitik*, ed. Christoph Sachße (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1986), 73-101; *ibid.* “Potens und Pauper im Frühmittelalter,” *Bildhafte Rede im Mittelalter und frühen Neuzeit. Probleme ihrer Legitimation und ihrer Funktion*, ed. Wolfgang Harms and Klaus Speckenbach (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 131-149; *ibid.* “Arbeit, Armut, “Stand” im Mittelalter,” *Geschichte und Zukunft der Arbeit*, ed. Beate Redslob, Jürgen Kocka and Claus Offe (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 2000), 67-79.

²⁶ Michel Mollat du Jourdin, “La notion de pauvreté au moyen âge: position de problèmes,” *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 52 (1966), 6-24; *ibid.* “Le problème de la pauvreté au XIIe siècle,” *Vaudois languedociens et pauvres catholiques*, ed. Marie-Humbert Vicaire (Paris: Édouard Privat, 1967), 23-47; *ibid.* “Les moines et les pauvres,” *Il monachesimo e la riforma ecclesiastica 1049-1122. Atti della 4a Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 23-29 agosto 1968* (Milano: Vita e pensiero, 1971), 193-227; *ibid.* *Etudes sur l'histoire de la pauvreté* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, Université de Paris IV, 1974); *ibid.* *Les pauvres au moyen âge. Etude sociale* (Paris: Hachette, 1978); *ibid.* “Il concetto della povertà nel Medioevo: problematica,” *La concezione della povertà nel Medioevo. Antologia di scritti*, ed. Ovidio Capitani (Bologna: Pàtron, 1983), 1-34.

²⁷ Christoph Kühberger, *Aktuelle Tendenzen der historischen Armutsforschung* (Vienna: LIT-Verlag, 2005).

²⁸ Barbara Helbling, Magdalena Bless-Grabher and Ines Buhofner ed. *Bettelorden, Bruderschaften und Beginen in Zürich: Stadtkultur und Seelenheil im Mittelalter* (Zürich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung Buchverlag, 2002).

²⁹ Artur Dirmeier, “Armenfürsorge, Totengedenken und Machtpolitik im mittelalterlichen Regensburg: Vom *hospitale pauperum* zum Almosenam,” *Regensburg im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte vom frühen Mittelalter bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit*, ed. Martin Angerer and Heinrich Wanderwitz (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 1995), 217-236.

³⁰ Michel Pauly, “Hospitälär im Mittelalter: Wann und wo gehörte das Hospital zur Stadt,” *Was machte im Mittelalter zur Stadt?: Selbstverständnis, Außensicht und Erscheinungsbilder mittelalterlicher Städte; Vorträge des gleichnamigen Symposiums vom 30. März bis 2. April 2006 in Heilbronn*, ed. Kurt-Ulrich

the different aspects of medieval poverty: the religious and cultural context, temporal and spatial differences, and presence in the daily life, or the history of the *hospicia* which were created for poor relief, particularly in late medieval cities. The leading scholar of medieval social history, Karl Bosl, dealt with questions of the development of German society in the Middle Ages and also with the history and notion of poverty in the Middle Ages.³¹

This overview of the secondary literature demonstrates that a synthetic survey on the history of poverty and poor relief in the Ottonian and Salian age of the Holy Roman Empire is still lacking. One has to recognize, however, that the main reason for this is due to the fragmentary character of the primary sources, as will be shown below.

Jäschke and Christhard Schrenk (Heilbronn: Stadtarchiv, 2007), 245-269; *ibid.* *Peregrinorum, pauperum ac aliorum transeuntium receptaculum: Hospitäler zwischen Maas und Rhein im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007); *ibid.* "Hospitäler im Grenzraum zwischen Germania und Romania," *Quellen zur europäischen Spitalgeschichte in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: Sources for the History of Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Martin Scheutz (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), 133-164.

³¹ Karl Bosl, *Die Grundlagen der modernen Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Eine deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. 1-2 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1972); *ibid.* *Das Problem der Armut in der hochmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974); *ibid.* *Armut Christi: Ideal der Mönche und Ketzer, Ideologie der aufsteigenden Gesellschaftsschichten vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981).

1. THE PRIMARY SOURCES OF OTTONIAN AND SALIAN POOR RELIEF

1.1 Charters

The most important sources for research on the topic of poor relief and charitable activities in the Ottonian and Salian era are particularly the charters issued by the German kings and emperors, from Henry I to Henry V.³² I have examined about seventy different diplomas dealing with the problem of poor relief; ten of them are false or interpolated, but they were also considered here for the *termini* used in the texts. Five charters were issued by King Henry I,³³ sixteen by Otto I³⁴ and Henry III,³⁵ four by Emperor Henry II,³⁶ nine by Conrad II,³⁷ fifteen by Henry IV,³⁸ and three by Henry V,

³² About the charters of the Ottonian and Salian rulers see: Johannes Burkhardt, "Narrationes in ottonischen Königs- und Kaiserurkunden. Versuch einer Typologie," *Arbeiten aus dem Marburger Hilfswissenschaftlichen Institut*, ed. Erika Eisenlohr & Peter Worm (Marburg an der Lahn: Universitätsbibliothek, 2000), 133-177; Theo Kölzer, "Die ottonisch-salische Herrscherurkunde," *Typologie der Königsurkunden. Kolloquium der Commission Internationale de Diplomatique in Olmütz, 30.8.-3.9. 1992*, ed. Jan Bistrický (Olomouc, Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 1998), 127-142.

³³ MGH DD H I nr. 1 (Fulda, 3 April, 920); MGH DD H I nr. 19 (Nabburg, 30 June, 929); MGH DD H I nr. 26 (Werla, 23 February, 931); MGH DD H I nr. 37 (Erwitte, 9 May, 935); MGH DD H I nr. †42 (Worms, 931?).

³⁴ MGH DD O I, n. 2 (Magdeburg, 14 October, 936); MGH DD O I, nr. 5 (Dahlum, 30 December, 936); MGH DD O I nr. 29 (Salz, 29 May, 940); MGH DD O I nr. 41 (Magdeburg, 6 August, 941); MGH DD O I, nr. 68 (945-953?); MGH DD O I nr. 81 (Rheims, 19 September, 946); MGH DD O I nr. 106 (Frankfurt, 26 December, 948); MGH DD O I nr. 179 (Frankfurt, 10 March, 956); MGH DD O I nr. 210 (Cologne, 3 June, 960); MGH DD O I nr. 213 (Magdeburg, 13 July, 960); MGH DD O I nr. 227 (Brüggen an der Leine, 7 June, 961); MGH DD O I nr. 237 (Rignano Flaminio, 21 February, 962); MGH DD O I nr. 240 (Pavia, 2 April, 962); MGH DD O I nr. 258 (San Leo, 26 August, 963); MGH DD O I nr. †442 (Rome, 962); MGH DD O I nr. †453 (Strasbourg, 1 November, 972).

³⁵ MGH DD H III nr. 2 (Andernach, 22 June, 1039); MGH DD H III nr. 6 (Goslar, 3 September, 1039); MGH DD H III nr. 75 (Seligenstadt, 21 April, 1041); MGH DD H III nr. 111 (Regensburg, 2 October, 1043?); MGH DD H III nr. 114 (Ingelheim, 29 November, 1043); MGH DD H III nr. 221 (Minden, 20 July, 1048); MGH DD H III nr. 236 (Hildesheim, 4 June, 1049); MGH DD H III nr. 255 (Goslar, 16 September, 1050); MGH DD H III nr. 262 (unknown, 1051); MGH DD H III nr. 335 (Brixen, 22 March, 1055); MGH DD H III nr. 346 (unknown); MGH DD H III nr. 364 (Strasbourg, 23 January, 1056); MGH DD H III nr. 372 (Trier, between 31 May and 30 June, 1056); MGH DD H III nr. 380 (Bodfeld, 23 September, 1056); MGH DD H III nr. †391 (Mainz, 25 July, 1044); MGH DD H III nr. †409 (Konstanz, 4 January, 1056?).

³⁶ MGH DD H II nr. 291 (Fasciano, 1014); MGH DD H II nr. 297 (Piacenza, 1014); MGH DD H II nr. 354 (Dammerkirch, 29 August, 1016); MGH DD H II nr. 429 (Fulda, 3 May, 1020).

³⁷ MGH DD K II nr. 2 (Mainz, 10 September, 1024); MGH DD K II nr. 17 (Goslar, 22 January, 1025); MGH DD K II nr. 48 (Trier, 11 January, 1026); MGH DD K II nr. 57 (Peschiera, 15 March, 1026); MGH DD K II nr. 172 (Belgern, 14 September, 1031); MGH DD K II nr. 187 (Nijmegen, 28 April, 1033); MGH DD K II nr. 210 (Regensburg, 6 May, 1034); MGH DD K II nr. 227 (Weissenburg/Alsace, 28 February, 1036); MGH DD K II nr. 257 (Florence?, 18 February, 1038).

³⁸ MGH DD H IV nr. 10 (Worms, 5 April, 1057); MGH DD H IV nr. *49 (Aachen, 2 March, 1059); MGH DD H IV nr. 56 (Pöhlde, 27 July, 1059); MGH DD H IV nr. 138 (Quedlinburg, 18 November, 1064); MGH DD H IV nr. 147^a (Worms / Mainz, March-April 1065); MGH DD H IV nr. †159 (Trier,

the last emperor of the Salian dynasty.³⁹ Otto II,⁴⁰ and Otto III⁴¹ issued only two charters each concerning poor relief and hospitality, in 975 and 985. Most of the churches addressed were located in Germany; fifteen charters have been published for Italian monasteries and cathedral chapters, five documents were given to churches in Lorraine and Flanders (Metz, Verdun, Hastière, Nivelles and Cambrai). Fifty-six abbeys and monasteries received charters connected in some way with charity, and fourteen charters were issued to archbishopric and bishopric cathedral chapters (Magdeburg, Salzburg, Minden, Hildesheim and Speyer in Germany, Pisa and Bologna in Germany). Only the imperial abbey of Fulda, the oldest and the most prestigious monastic community in the empire north of the Alps received ten charters dealing with poor relief, two of which have proved false.⁴² All of the emperors except Emperor Otto III gave at least one charter to Fulda confirming the rights and estates of the abbey. Charlemagne gave the original charter in 774, confirming the free election of the abbot, and Emperor Louis the Pious added immunity to complete his father's donation.⁴³

It is no surprise that the imperial abbeys were obliged to give shelter to pilgrims and itinerants, who were mostly clerics. The fifty-third chapter of the Rule of Benedict orders the following: "Let all guests who arrive be received like Christ, for He is going

1065); MGH DD H IV nr. †181 (Trebur, 13 July, 1066); MGH DD H IV nr. 190 (Wiehe, 1067); MGH DD H IV nr. 358 (unknown, 1084); MGH DD H IV nr. †368 (unknown); MGH DD H IV nr. †406 (unknown, 1 August, 1089); MGH DD H IV nr. 465 (Speyer, 26 March, 1101); MGH DD H IV nr. 466 (Speyer, 10 April, 1101); MGH DD H IV nr. 471 (Kaiserswerth, 3 August, 1101 Speyer, 15 February, 1102); MGH DD H IV nr. 475.

³⁹ Stumpf, Reg. nr. 3066 (Passau, 25 June, 1111); Stumpf, Reg. nr. 3082 (Hersfeld, 9 November, 1111); Stumpf, Reg. nr. 3221 (unknown, end of May 1118); a new critical edition of Henry V's charters see Matthias Thiel and Alfred Gawlik, *Die Urkunden Heinrichs V. und der Königin Mathilde*, MGH DD H V (online version, see <http://www.mgh.de/ddhv/>).

⁴⁰ MGH DD O II nr. 103 (Fulda, 27 May, 975).

⁴¹ MGH DD O III nr. 18 (Nijmegen, 20 August, 985).

⁴² MGH DD H I nr. 1 (Fulda, 3 April, 920); MGH DD O I, n. 2 (Magdeburg, 14 October, 936); MGH DD O II nr. 103 (Fulda, 27 May, 975); MGH DD H II nr. 429 (Fulda, 3 May, 1020); MGH DD K II nr. 172 (Belgern, 14 September, 1031); MGH DD H III nr. 75 (Seligenstadt, 21 April, 1041); MGH DD H III nr. 380 (Bodfeld, 23 September, 1056); Stumpf, Reg. nr. 3082 (Hersfeld, 9 November, 1111); and the two forged charters MGH DD H IV nr. †368 and †406; on the history of Fulda in the period see Gangolf Schrimpf ed., *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen* (Frankfurt am Main: Knecht, 1996).

to say, “I came as a guest, and you received Me” (Matt. 25:35). And all let due honor be shown, especially to the domestics of the faith and to pilgrims.”⁴⁴

The very first charter of King Henry I, published on 3 April 920, corroborated the privileges donated by Louis the Pious,⁴⁵ Louis the German,⁴⁶ and King Conrad I,⁴⁷ for instance, royal defense, immunity against the jurisdiction of the lay nobility,⁴⁸ the right to collect the tithe within the territory of the monastery, and the right of free election of the abbot.⁴⁹ Henry also remarked in the charter about the tithe that it was intended to be used for renovation of church buildings and to provide food and accommodation for the poor, pilgrims, and guest monks. This passage became the model for later charters about the social function of the tithe. The tithe was to be used for maintaining of monastic buildings (*aedificia perficienda vel restauranda*), providing candles for light in the church (*luminariaque renovanda*), and feeding the poor and guests (*pauperibus quoque et peregrinis tempore susceptionis usus necessarios possint prebere*),⁵⁰ as was ordered by the rules of St. Benedict of Nursia (chapters 31 and 53).⁵¹ These requirements, namely, feeding the poor and accommodating the guests appear in the Carolingian charters almost in the same manner and the Carolingian charters refer

⁴³ Johann Friedrich Böhmer and Hanns Leo Mikoletzky, *Regesta Imperii II. Sächsisches Haus 919-1024. 2: Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Otto II. 955 (973) – 983* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1950) nr. 173, 613.

⁴⁴ *Omnes supervenientes hospites tamquam Christus suscipiantur, quia ipse dicturus est: Hospis fui et suscepistis me; et omnibus congruus honor exhibeatur, maxime domesticis fidei et peregrinis.*

⁴⁵ Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii II*, nr. 613.

⁴⁶ MGH DD LD nr. 15.

⁴⁷ MGH DD K I nr. 6.

⁴⁸ *...eiusdem monasterii cum sibi subiectis sub immunitatis nostrae defensione possidere...*

⁴⁹ *...ipsi monachi inter se tales invenire possint qui ipsam congregationem secundum regulam pii patris Benedicti regere valeant, per hanc nostram auctoritatem consensum et licentiam habeant eligendi abbates.*

⁵⁰ MGH DD H I nr. 1, 39: *decimas accipiendas propter aedificia perficienda vel restauranda luminariaque renovanda et ut sibi fidelibusque suis, pauperibus quoque et peregrinis tempore susceptionis usus necessarios possint prebere, iuxta id quod sanctae regulae propositum atque mandatum iubet monachos in susceptione hospitem pauperumque semper esse paratos.*

⁵¹ Benedict of Nursia, *Regula*. Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina 66, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1852), : C. 31. *Infirmorum, infantum, hospitem pauperumque cum omni sollicitudine curam gerat, sciens sine dubio quia pro his omnibus in die iudicii rationem redditurus est*

also to the *Rule of St. Benedict*.⁵² In his other charter Henry the donation and the lighting of the church building for his “eternal memory” on behalf of his wife, Queen Matilda ensuring prayers to Lord for mercy (*pro nobis coniuge proleque nostra domini misericordiam exorare*).⁵³

Both the praxis and the room provided for the support of the poor and pilgrims were called *hospitium*.⁵⁴ In his other charter Henry I ordered that the tithe from the tenure called Biessenhofen, which belonged to the monastery of Kempten (Allgäu), was intended to be used *ad hospitale in sustentationem pauperum*.⁵⁵ The charter of Otto I issued on 6 August, 941 is perhaps the most valuable and substantial for research on the caritative praxis of the Ottonian “state” and “imperial church.” This document was issued for the monastery dedicated to St. Maurice in Magdeburg and Otto donated the villages Rohrsheim, Upling, and Netthorn to the monastery, along with all of the estates, forests, fishing lakes, salt-pits, and mills around these settlements, for the express purpose of poor relief.⁵⁶ The duty of the villages was to provide a living for the poor in the territory donated to Saint Maurice.⁵⁷

⁵² See below.

⁵³ MGH DD H I, nr. 37.

⁵⁴ About the concept of the hospitium see: David Walker, “Hospitium: a feudal service of hospitality,” *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 76 (1957), 48-61.

⁵⁵ MGH DD H I nr. 19 (Nabburg, 30 June, 929)

⁵⁶ MGH DD O I nr. 41 (Magdeburg, 6 August, 941): ...*Quocirca noverit omnium fidelium nostrorum tam presentium quam et futurorum industria, qualiter nos pro dei amore nostraeque animae remedio, nostri etiam sospitate regnique stabilitate ad monasterium quod deo sanctisque martiribus Mauricio atque Innocentio construximus, quicquid infra marcam hic nominatarum villarum: Uplingi, Rareshem, Netthorp, proprietatis habuimus in pago Hardaga in comitatu Thiatmeri, in **hospitales recipiendorum usus pauperum** iure perenni in proprium donavimus cum omnibus adiacenciis et appendiciis suis illuc legaliter aspicientibus, quandum nostri inde fuit, mancipiis agris pratis pascuis silvis aquis aquarumque decursibus molendinis piscationibus viis et inviis mobilibus et immobilibus, omnia ad coenobium deo pro veneratione prelibatorum martirum, Mauricii videlicet et Innocentii, in loco qui dicitur Magadoburg a nobis fundatum in predictos **usus hospitalitatis pauperum** contulimus...*

⁵⁷ For the early history of the monastery and the archepiscopal seat of Magdeburg see: Marc-Robert Wistuba, “Vom Moritzkloster zum Erzbistum Magdeburg,” *Auf den Spuren der Ottonen. Protokoll des Wissenschaftlichen Kolloquiums am 26. Mai 2000 in Wetzendorf/Memleben*, ed. Gerlinde Schlenker, vol. 2 (Halle an der Saale: Landesheimatbund Sachsen-Anhalt, 2000), 44-54; Bernd Päffgen, “Magdeburg im 10. Jahrhundert: Überlegungen zur Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Kirchen,” *Der Magdeburger Domplatz: Archäologie und Geschichte 805-1209*, ed. Heike Pöppelmann, Matthias Puhle and Harald Meller (Magdeburg: Magdeburger Museen, 2006), 127-165; Walter Möllenberg, “Der Liber privilegiorum s. Mauricii Magdeburgensis,” *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*:

The charters of the Salian period show a slightly change. They are still based on the Carolingian and Ottonian patterns, but the transcendent issues like the eternal reward or the memory of the departed ancestors is much more accentuated.⁵⁸ In the Salian period one can see that the reason for these bestowals was not only relief of people in need. The empress consort, Agnes of Poitou, widow of Emperor Henry III, and the mother of the infant King Henry IV, donated the estate of Sülchen in the name of her son to the cathedral chapter of Speyer in order that the clerics of this church would celebrate masses for the admission of the emperors Henry III and Conrad II to eternal bliss.⁵⁹ In the charter issued on 5 April, 1057, in Worms, the empress consort ordered the shelter and feeding of paupers as *plenum servitium: ibidem servientibus plenum servitium inde exhibeat nec non et elemosinarum consolatione pauperum inopiae succurrat*. This was not the only document in which Agnes ordered monastic charity in the name of her infant son; on March 2, 1059, she issued a charter at Aachen in which she renewed the pious donations of her husband, Emperor Henry III. The income and revenues of the female convent of Nivelles (the collegiate church of Saint Gertrude) were ordered to be divided into three parts: one part belonged to the prelatess, the other part to the congregation of seventy-two nuns, and the rest went to the hospital.⁶⁰ This is the only document of Henry IV, where the word *xenodochium* was used. Although the meaning of this Greek word is problematic, it can be traced back to

Festschrift für Robert Holtzmann zum 60. Geburtstag, ed. Walter Möllenberg and Martin Linzel (Berlin: Ebering, 1933), 93-102.

⁵⁸ On the Salian charters see Hansmartin Schwarzmaier, "Das 'salische Hausarchiv'," *Die Salier und das Reich*, vol. 1, ed. Odilo Engels, Franz-Josef Heyen, Franz Staab and Stefan Weinfurter (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke), 97-116.

⁵⁹ MGH DD H IV nr. 10 (Worms, 5 April, 1057)

⁶⁰ MGH DD H IV nr. *49 (Aachen, 2 March, 1059): *volo erga eundem locum me prestare paterne pietatis heredem et de rebus eiusdem ecclesie nostre quoque auctoritatis preceptum innovare, ut congregatio illa ... nostris decretis perpetuam rerum suarum firmitatem optineat. Res ipse in tres portiones divise existunt: in xenodochium, in beneficium abbatisse, in prebendam fratrum seu sanctimonialium LXXIIum. Que partes ut a se possint certissime distingui, placuit hec nomina villarum ad unam quamque pertinentium distincte subnotari*; about the convent of Saint Gertrude at Nivelles see Claudine Donnay-Rocmans, *La collégiale Sainte-Gertrude de Nivelles* (Paris: Duculot, 1979); Alphonse Mottart, *La collégiale Sainte-Gertrude de Nivelles* (Nivelles: Les Archers, 1954).

a Carolingian capitulary where the function of the *senedochia* was defined: *si ita pauperes pascere voluerint et consilio facere quomodo abantea fuit, habeant ipsa senedochia et regant ordinabiliter*.⁶¹ The other possible source of the idea of the *xenodochium* may be the capitulary of Emperor Louis the Pious from 826, which says that *xenodochium*, or *exenodochium id est locus venerabilis, in quo peregrini suscipiantur*.⁶² In his other charter, written on November 18, 1064, Henry IV ordered that food for three hundred poor people should be provided: *det elemosinas trecentis pauperibus singulis panem integrum cum caeteris, quae dues dederit misericorditer* *tribunes* on 22 November, the day of the death of his mother, Empress Consort Agnes.⁶³ These selected examples from charters show clearly that the praxis of poor relief in the Ottonian and Salian imperial church was rooted in the works of mercy from the Carolingian age. The use of the *termini* in charters and the role of poor relief as part of the representation of royal power, as it can be demonstrated in administrative documents, indicate the continuity of poor relief as a kind of “state function” in the early medieval Frankish and German empires.

At the end of this period, during the investiture contest and under the reign of Emperor Henry V (1106-1125), the ideology and the praxis of charity did not change substantially as seen in the royal charters. One of the earliest charters he issued after his coronation as emperor (13 April, 1111) confirmed the foundation of the Augustine monastery of St. Nikola in Passau by Bishop Altmann von Passau; the emperor ordered the use of the tithe from the gardens, orchards, vineyards and plow-lands to be used to receive the poor (*ad hospitale pauperum*).⁶⁴ The same was ordered in the emperor’s other charter to Fulda Abbey; the abbot should take care of the use of the tithe for the

⁶¹ MGH Capit. 1 nr. 95, p. 200; Boshof, *Armenfürsorge*, 159-160.

⁶² MGH LL 1, 254.

⁶³ MGH DD H IV nr. 138.

poor and pilgrims, and the monks were obliged “to be always ready receiving the poor” (*monachos in susceptione hospitum pauperumque semper esse paratos*).⁶⁵ It is apparent that neither the terminology nor the ideology changed essentially much to the end of the Salian period; the emperor merely renewed the old privileges and dispositions given by his predecessors.

In brief, “imperial poor relief” in the Holy Roman Empire of the Ottonian and Salian period existed to some extent, especially as connected to imperial abbeys and monasteries. These caritative activities might not necessarily have been motivated by the feeling of charity, but certainly this motivation should not be excluded. Deeds of charity seem to have been elements of the attitudes expected of the king as the protector all of his subjects, including the poor. These expected attitudes are expressed by the typical formulae of the arengas or dispositions of the charters.

1.2 Hagiographical sources

This subchapter deals with the hagiographical sources which may contain valuable information on the Ottonian and Salian poor relief. One has to pay attention to the difficulties of the distinction hagiography and historiography; this distinction will be more problematic in the case of the bishops’ lives where the actual historical events, the citation of charters and the pure hagiographic motivations are totally confused.⁶⁶

The *Vita Mathildae reginis* is the life of Matilda of Ringelheim, queen consort of Germany (ca. 895-968), the wife of King Henry I of Germany (876-936) and the

⁶⁴ Stumpf, Reg. nr. 3066 (Passau, 25 June, 1111): *scilicet decimas de hortis, de pomeriis, de vineis, de agris, quę de illo domate coluntur, ad hospitale pauperum ibidem constitutum.*

⁶⁵ Stumpf, Reg. nr. 3082 (Hersfeld, 9 November, 1111): *habeat prefatus abbas successoresque eius potestatem decimas accipiendas propter ędificia perficienda vel restauranda luminariaque renovanda, et ut sibi suisque fidelibus, pauperibus quoque et peregrinis tempore susceptionis usus necessarios possint impendere, idque sanctę regulę propositum ac mandatum iubet, monachos in susceptione hospitum pauperumque semper esse paratos.*

mother of Emperor Otto I (912-973).⁶⁷ The Life has survived in two versions, the shorter “older”, and the more detailed “later” versions. The *Vita* contains important information about the political history of the Ottonian period of early medieval Germany, and the family of queen consort Matilda. Saint Matilda was celebrated for her devotion to prayer and almsgiving; her first biographer depicted Matilda like the Frankish queen, Radegund (ca. 520-586), as she left her husband in the middle of the night and stole away to pray or give alms to the poor.⁶⁸

The first, “older” version (*Vita Mathildae reginis antiquior*) must have been written after the death of Emperor Otto the Great (973), but before the birth of his grandson, Emperor Otto III (980), as the dedicated ruler of the Holy Roman Empire had no child at the time the biography was written.⁶⁹ Most historians consider that the first version was written in the nunnery of Nordhausen (Thuringia, Germany), which is mentioned many times in the biography.⁷⁰ The author of the text cannot be determined easily. Not many features give explicit information; the glorification of the ruling dynasty is in the abstract. Calling Saxony *patria Saxonum* may refer to an author of Saxonian origin, who could also have been a member of the ruling Liudolfingen kin; otherwise, the author may have belonged either to the monastery of Nordhausen or that of Quedlinburg, both of which were founded by Queen Matilda.

⁶⁶ On this methodological issue see Stephanie Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum. Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2000).

⁶⁷ Bernd Schütte, *Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde (Vita Mathildis reginae antiquior – Vita Mathildis reginae posterior)*, MGH SS rer. Germ. 66 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1994)

⁶⁸ On Radegund’s biography see Jason Kahn Glenn, “Two lives of Saint Radegund,” *The Middle Ages in texts and texture: reflections on medieval sources*, ed. Jason Kahn Glenn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 57-70.

⁶⁹ Bernd Schütte, *Untersuchungen zu den Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1994), 50.

⁷⁰ See the general views by Rudolf Köpke, “Die beiden Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde,” *FDG* 6 (1866): 153; Patrick Corbet, *Les saints ottoniens. Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour de l’an mil* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1986), 120; Gerd Althoff, “Causa scribendi und Darstellungsabsicht: Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde und andere Beispiele,” *Litterae Medii Aevi. Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth*, ed. Michael Borgolte and Herrad Spilling (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1988), 117-126.

The longer “later” version (*Vita Mathildae reginis posterior*) was commissioned by King Henry II of Germany. As Henry is called *rex* in the text, and any references to his imperial dignity are missing, one may conclude, that the “later” version may have written between the beginning of the reign of Henry II (1002) and his coronation as emperor in Rome (1014).⁷¹ Matilda is mentioned in the longer biography as the *proava* of the new king. This new, revised, biography of Queen Matilda, as an ancestor of King Henry II may have served as a propagandistic, semi-fictional dynastic genealogy for the new king, who made an effort to establish a cult of the holy queen. Since the *Vita posterior* was one of the most important sources for the major historiographer of the Ottonian Saxony, Thietmar of Merseburg (975-1018), and most of the early manuscripts of the longer Life of Queen Matilda are found in Saxony, it is probable that this version may also have been written in the Saxon territories.

Until the nineteenth century the *Vita antiquior* was unknown, since it was inserted in the text of the *Annales Palidenses*, the annals of the Benedictine monastery of Pöhlde (today: Herzberg am Harz, Lower Saxony, Germany). The *Annales Palidenses* remained in two manuscripts, in Oxford⁷² and Göttingen.⁷³ The *Vita posterior* was perpetuated in a much broader manuscript tradition; the oldest manuscript containing the biography of Queen Matilda is kept in Berlin⁷⁴ (from the early eleventh century); other copies are found in Brussels⁷⁵ (the manuscript is mostly based on a lost Düsseldorf manuscript), Cologne,⁷⁶ and Darmstadt.⁷⁷ The editor of the *Vitae Mathildae reginis*, Bernd Schütte, used all of these manuscripts for the critical edition of the Lives

⁷¹ Lothar Bornscheuer, *Miseriae regum. Untersuchungen zum Krisen- und Todesgedanken in den herrschaftstheologischen Vorstellungen der ottonisch-salischen Zeit* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1968): 60-69.

⁷² Bodleian Library, Laudianus misc. 633, fol. 1^a-94^b

⁷³ Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8^o Cod. ms. hist. 333, 8^r-330^v

⁷⁴ Staatsbibliothek-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Fragment 40 (only one folio page)

⁷⁵ Bibliothèque Royale 3134 [329-41], fol. 83^a-136^b

⁷⁶ Historisches Archiv, Chroniken und Darstellungen 263, fol. 1^r-15^r

⁷⁷ Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek 2709, fol. 74^r-91^r

of Queen Matilda, the Oxford manuscript for the *Vita antiquior* and the Brussels copy for the *Vita posterior*. Schütte describes the manuscript tradition and the later reception of the *Vita Mathilda reginis* meticulously in the introduction to the critical edition and in a number of different studies.⁷⁸

Chapters eight and nine of the *Vita antiquior* deal with Queen Matilda's charity activities. In respect of the historical facts, it seems that the Older Life of the queen consort contains valuable information about the foundations of Saxon monasteries and nunneries. The author of the *Vita* uses a biblical phrase, *ibunt de virtute in virtutem*,⁷⁹ as the queen founded new churches and monastic communities, for instance, at Pöhlde (between 946 and 950), Quedlinburg (about 961), and Gernrode (before 965). The establishment of the monastery at Gernrode, however, seems to be connected with Margrave Gero of Saxony, although the alleged foundation by Queen Matilda appears both in the *Vita antiquior* and the *Annales Palidenses* due to the relationship of the queen with Hadwig, the first prelatess of Gernrode.⁸⁰ The other parts of the chapter eight are mostly based on the Life of Queen Radegundis written by Venantius Fortunatus, a Frankish hagiographer of the sixth century, in which the pious Queen Matilda offers the churches and monasteries that she established not only to clerics, but also to paupers and indigents; the poor received warm meals in the refectories of the monasteries every day; pilgrims and wanderers could take a bath in the churches of the queen consort. All of these passages in the *Vita antiquior* are rewordings of the description of the pious deeds of Saint Radegund, although one cannot say that it is a mere literary topos, because the several charters issued by the queen consort or King Henry I confirm the fact of these foundations. Chapter nine describes the life of the

⁷⁸ Schütte, *Die Lebensbeschreibungen*, 18-40.

⁷⁹ Psalms 83: 8, "they shall go from virtue to virtue"

⁸⁰ Winfrid Glocker, *Die Verwandten der Ottonen und ihre Bedeutung in der Politik. Studien zur Familienpolitik und zur Genealogie des sächsischen Kaiserhauses*. (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1989), 355.

widowed queen consort after 936; there is no mention, however, of the date of these events, but they are known from other sources (the Saxon history written by Widukind of Corvey, or the Annals of Quedlinburg). After the death of King Henry I of Germany, Matilda moved to the house of secular canonesses in Quedlinburg. The abbey was founded in 936 by Queen Matilda as a memorial to her husband. Henry was buried there, as was Matilda herself. This chapter gives a detailed account of the relationship of the widowed queen consort with, Ricburg, the first abbess of the convent, who helped Matilda with poor relief and provided care for the sick and infirm.⁸¹

Chapters seventeen and eighteen of the “Later Life” are revised and more detailed versions of chapters eight and nine of the “Older Life.” A high-contrast difference from the “Older Life” is the more intensive use of Classical Latin verses, especially the *Aeneid* of Vergil, as well rhymed prose (“and she who ruled over many as their queen would serve the poor as if she were their handmaiden”).⁸² Chapter eighteen gives an account of a miracle performed by the queen when she stood on the mountaintop and gave food to a great multitude of paupers. Matilda threw down a slice of bread, and the slice was multiplied and shared by all of the poor who were present and witnesses of the miracle. This episode has no parallel in the “Older Life,” but the source of the miracle is quite clear: the feeding the multitude by Christ in all four canonical Gospels,⁸³ and the intact slice of bread shared by the saint and given to the poor mentioned by Sulpicius Severus in his *Life of Saint Martin* (chapter 26, verse 2). The “Later Life” contains a number of miracles performed by the queen consort before

⁸¹ Vita antiquior c. 9: ...*sanctimonialis autem ante eam sedens nomine Ricburg, que ipsius in ministerium praelecta erat*. Schütte, *Die Lebensbeschreibungen*, 129.

⁸² Vita posterior c. 17: ...*que multis imperabat regina, pauperibus serviebat quasi ancilla*. Schütte, *Die Lebensbeschreibungen*, 180.

⁸³ Matthew 14:13-21 and 15:32-39; Mark 6:31-44 and 8:1-9; Luke 9:10-17; John 6:5-15.

and after her death; the intention of writing of this new version of Mathilda's life may have been her canonization.⁸⁴

The *Epitaph of Adelheid* by Odilo of Cluny is another important hagiographical work on poor relief in the Ottonian period.⁸⁵ Odilo (died ca. 1048), one of the most important figures in the history of the influential Cluny Abbey composed his biographical work on the life of Empress Adelheid (or Adelaide, died 999) of Burgundy, the second wife of Emperor Otto the Great, soon after the death of the empress consort. The work was dedicated to the abbot of the monastery San Salvatore in Pavia, Andrew; between 1024 and 1026 the *Epitaph* was revised.⁸⁶ The *Epitaph* tells a lot of stories when the widowed Empress Adelheid took care of the poor in different ways.⁸⁷ In Odilo's work is the hagiographic inspired ideal of the just ruler and noble ruler; it is influenced by the theology of Saint Jerome and the genre of the epitaph is also one of the most characteristic literary genre of Jerome. The phrase *caritativa compassio* is inspired the mimesis of Christ: Odilo assumes that the deeds of charity and the other gestures of the self-abasement actually led to the death of Adelheid, following the principles of Apostle Paul of the obedience until the end (2 Corinthians 11:29).⁸⁸ Adelheid's compassion to the poor of Christ, the poor relief and the

⁸⁴ Robert Folz, *Les saintes reines du Moyen Âge en Occident* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1992), 64-65; Corbet, *Saints ottoniens*, 249-252.

⁸⁵ Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium Adelheidae imperatricis*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), 637-645; a recent critical edition see Herbert Paulhart ed., *Die Lebensbeschreibung der Kaiserin Adelheid von Abt Odilo von Cluny*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Ergänzungsband 20,2 (Graz: Böhlau, 1962), 27-45; Bornaescheuer, *Miseriae regum*, 41-59; English translation see Sean Gilsdorf ed. *Queenship and sanctity: The lives of Mathilda and The epitaph of Adelheid* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004) with a huge bibliography and a detailed introduction.

⁸⁶ On the *Epitaph* see Paolo Lamma, *Momenti di storiografia Cluniacense* (Rome: Istituto storico Italiano per il Medio evo, 1961), 30, 57; Johannes Staub, "Odilos Adelheid-Epitaph und seine Verse auf Otto den Großen," *Latin culture in the eleventh century: proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies; Cambridge, September 9-12, 1998*, vol. 2, ed. Michael W. Herren, Christopher James MacDonough and Arthur G. Ross (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 400-409.

⁸⁷ Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium Adelheidae imperatricis*, 642-644.

⁸⁸ Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium Adelheidae imperatricis*, 643: *Quae fuit maxima eius tribulation pro cunctis a lege Dei declinantibus caritativa compassio*; Bornaescheuer, *Miseriae regum*, 53.

almsgiving ultimately will led to the happiness of the “eternal banquet” (*aeterna tabernacula*).⁸⁹

Several lives of canonized bishops are closely connected to urban poverty because the bishops were usually responsible for feeding the poor living in the town. Famines are often mentioned as motivation for the mercy shown by the bishops. Anselm of Liège recounts, in his *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*,⁹⁰ that Bishop Wazo, received twelve paupers (or pilgrims), and, “according to the tradition of the holy fathers” gave them food.⁹¹ According to his life written by Gerhard of Augsburg, the bishop of Augsburg, Ulrich (Udalrich), ordered the giving of one-third of the ecclesiastical possessions to feed the poor and for the salary of the clerics.⁹² Adalbert of Prague gave orders many times for providing food the poor of his episcopal see; he ordered a division of the church possessions and that third be used for the paupers.⁹³ Before Adalbert left Prague, he distributed all the silver items kept in the treasury of the bishopric see to the poor.⁹⁴ In the life of Bishop Conrad of Konstanz there is an account

⁸⁹ Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium Adelheidae imperatricis*, 641 (c. 10); Bornscheuer, *Miseriae regum*, ibid.

⁹⁰ Anselm of Liège. *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium*, ed. Rudolf Köpke, MGH SS 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1846), 189-234; Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 2 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1923), 372-375; Franz Josef Worstbrock, “Anselm von Lüttich,” VL 1 (1978), 392-393.

⁹¹ Anselm of Liège, *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, 217, c. 47: *Duodecim pauperibus vel peregrinis cottidie coram fratribus reficiendis sufficientia alimenta constituit asserens hoc etiam parum esse, cum traditio sanctorum patrum dimidiam partem...*

⁹² Gerhard of Augsburg, *Vita Udalrici*, MGH SS 4, ed. Georg Waitz (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), 412, c. 26: *ut...tertia pars [possessionum] presbiteris pauperibusque...eo vivente donaretur*; on the life see Manitius, *Lateinische Literatur*, 207-208; Werner Wolf, *Von der Ulrichsvita zur Ulrichslegende. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und Wandlung der Vita Udalrici als Beitrag zu einer Gattungsbestimmung der Legende*. PhD thesis (Munich: Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität, 1967); Walter Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter. Bd. 4.: Ottonische Biographie: Das hohe Mittelalter: 920-1220 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1999), 148-151.

⁹³ Johannes Canaparius, *Vita Adalberti*, MPH N. S. 4,1, ed. Jadwiga Karwasińska (Warsaw: Państwo Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962), 14, c. 9: *...terciam vero in agmina pauperum proflua, miseratione expensens...*; on the *Life of Adalbert* see Jadwiga Karwasińska, “*Studia krytyczne nad żywotami św. Wojciecha, biskupa praskiego*” [Critical studies on the lives of Saint Adalbert, bishop of Prague], *Studia Źródłoznawcze. Commentationes* 2 (1958), 41-79; Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum*, 478-479, 554; Johannes Fried argues against the traditional view of authorship and denies Canaparius as the author of the *Vita Adalberti*, see: Johannes Fried, “Gnesen – Aachen – Rom. Otto III. und der Kult des hl. Adalbert. Beobachtungen zum älteren Adalbertsleben,” *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren. Die Berliner Tagung über den „Akt von Gnesen*”, ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2002), 235-279.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 19, c. 13: *Argentum pauperibus large distribuens episcopalem cameram evacuat.*

of a *hospicium* established by the bishop himself, who was usually called the “father of the poor.”⁹⁵ One has to be aware, however, that some of these accounts belong to the realm of hagiographical *topoi* and the classical education of the authors. The chronologically more distant the hagiographical account is from the life of the saint or venerated bishop, the less is the chance that the information about poor relief is factual.⁹⁶ The reports about the visitation of the poor by the bishop at night match the image of the bishop as “the good shepherd.” Bruno of Querfurt writes about Saint Adalbert of Prague: *Ubi accepit vir Dei onus argenti, omnia secutura nocte pauperibus expendit.*⁹⁷ The almsgiving during the night (or in secret) correspond to the Gospels as well, and thus to the ideal of the “good shepherd:”

Therefore when thou doest an alms-deed, sound not a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may be honoured by men. Amen I say to you, they have received their reward. But when thou dost alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth. That thy alms may be in secret, and thy Father who seeth in secret will repay thee (Matthew 6:2-4).⁹⁸

Some hagiographical texts report about the agapes organized by bishops for the poor, patterned after the Last Supper.⁹⁹ According to Otloh of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, the holy bishop Wolfgang of Regensburg received the poor and beggars of the town and gave them a banquet; Otloh reports that Wolfgang not only dined piously them, but he personally served the dinner and called the poor “brother” and “lord.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ *Vita s. Chuonradi episcopi*, MGH SS 4, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), 439, c. 15: *Pater erat pauperum, quibus etiam propriis sumptibus Constanctiae instituit hospicium.*

⁹⁶ Dinter, *Armenfürsorge*, 137.

⁹⁷ Bruno of Querfurt, *Vita Adalberti*, MPH N. S. 4,2, ed. Jadwiga Karwasińska (Warsaw: Państwo Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969), 15, c. 12; Heinrich Gisbert Voigt, *Brun von Querfurt, Mönch, Eremit, Erzbischof der Heiden und Märtyrer* (Stuttgart: Steinkopf, 1907), 333-376; Reinhard Wenskus, *Studien zur historisch-politischen Gedankenwelt Bruns von Querfurt* (Münster: Böhlau, 1956), 7-68, 81-90, 124-201; Dieter Berg, “Brun von Querfurt,” VL 1 (1978), 1053-1056.

⁹⁸ *Cum ergo facies elemosynam noli tuba canere ante te sicut hypocritae faciunt in synagogis et in vicis ut honorificentur ab hominibus amen dico vobis receperunt mercedem suam. Te autem faciente elemosynam nesciat sinistra tua quid faciat dextera tua. Ut sit elemosyna tua in abscondito et Pater tuus qui videt in abscondito reddet tibi.*

⁹⁹ Matthew 26:17-30; Mark 14:12-26; Luke 22:7-39; John 13:1-17:26.

¹⁰⁰ Otloh of St. Emmeram, *Vita s. Wolfkangi episcopi Ratisbonensis*, MGH SS 4, ed. Georg Waitz (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), 536, c. 22: *Refectionis tempore...mendici et pauperes, quos ipse vocabat*

This pious deed also has a biblical reference, namely, Christ washing the feet of the Twelve Disciples.¹⁰¹ Archbishop Heribert of Cologne performed a different act of charity: instead of giving food, he baptized the son of a poor man personally, and became the godfather of the little child.¹⁰² The same deeds were carried out by the other important archbishop of Cologne of the Salian times, Anno: he undertook the education of poor children and became godfather to many of them.¹⁰³ The admonition and education of the children and nuns was completely new and had no precedent in Western hagiography, so one may well think that this description is factual.¹⁰⁴

The most important deed of poor relief was the foundation of *hospicia*.¹⁰⁵ Conrad, the bishop of Konstanz, established a *hospicium* in his own house;¹⁰⁶ according to Adam of Bremen,¹⁰⁷ the founder of the archbishopric see of Hamburg and Bremen, St. Ansgar (801-865), also built a *hospicium*. Irrespective of whether it really happened

dominos et fratres, coram se residebant in subselliis, ut caute perspiceret, quomodo ministraretur illis...portio tanta reservabatur, ut non solum pauperes de foris remanentes, sed...in habitaculis commorantes recrearentur; Manitius, *Lateinische Literatur*, 83-103; Franz Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Bd. 2. *Die Zwischenzeit vom Ausgang des karolingischen Zeitalters bis zur Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1992), 473-483, 629-630; Benedikt Konrad Vollmann, "Otloh von St. Emmeram," *VL* 11 (2004), 1116-1152.

¹⁰¹ John 13:1-15.

¹⁰² Rupert of Deutz, *Vita Heriberti*, ed. Peter Dinter (Cologne: Röhrscheid, 1976), 64; John H. van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 377-385.

¹⁰³ *Vita Annonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis*. MGH SS 11, ed. Rudolf Köpke (Hannover: Hahn, 1854), 471, (I 9).

¹⁰⁴ Dinter, *Armenfürsorge*, 139; further see Karl Joseph Leyser, *Am Vorabend der ersten europäischen Revolution. Das 11. Jahrhundert als Umbruchszeit* (Munich: Stiftung Historisches Kolleg, 1994).

¹⁰⁵ For the history of the *hospicia* and *xenodochia* see: Ludwig Schmugge. "Zu den Anfängen des organisierten Pilgerverkehrs und zur Unterbringung und Verpflegung von Pilgern im Mittelalter," *Gastfreundschaft, Taverne und Gasthaus im Mittelalter*, ed. Hans Conrad Peyer (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1983), 37-60; Thomas Szabó: "Xenodochia, Hospitäler und Herbergen. Kirchliche und kommerzielle Gastung im mittelalterlichen Italien 7. bis 14. Jahrhundert," *ibid.*, 61-92.

¹⁰⁶ *Vita s. Chuonradi episcopi*, 439 (c. 15): *...quibus [pauperibus] et domum ipsa civitate aedificavit.*

¹⁰⁷ On Adam's life and work see Franz-Josef Schmale, "Adam von Bremen," *VL* 1 (1978), 50-54; Lutz E. von Padberg, "Geschichtsschreibung und kulturelles Gedächtnis: Formen der Vergangenheitswahrnehmung in der hochmittelalterlichen Historiographie am Beispiel von Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 105 (1994), 156-177; Volker Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde. Identität und Fremdheit in den Chroniken Adams von Bremen, Helmolds von Bosau und Arnolds von Lübeck* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2002), 30-137; David Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden. Vorstellungen und Fremdkategorien bei Rimbart, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2005).

or not, the source reflects the ideal of the merciful bishop of the Salian age.¹⁰⁸ The intention of founding shelters and/or hospitals goes back to the praxis of the monasteries, with the express purpose of the hospitality. Otloh describes that when he reformed some of the monasteries of Regensburg, and established new ones Wolfgang of Regensburg also took care of the poor of his diocese.¹⁰⁹

As one can see, it is difficult to reconstruct urban poor relief and hospitality in the Holy Roman Empire. In comparison with later centuries, there are only a few sources and they are not always reliable. Despite of these problems, however, one can draw some conclusions: in this era the town and its surrounding area were not such separate entities as in later periods. The donors did not exclude the rural population from alms and poor relief, but still it is sensible to infer that the benefits of these deeds of charity were mainly aimed at the urban population, if one thinks of the organized agapes and *hospicia*. It is also clear that poor relief was not practiced only by the ruler, but also by bishops and archbishops, who were considered since Late Antiquity the “shepherds” of their “flocks,” thus, the bishops were responsible for the welfare and feeding of the people belonging to their dioceses. One has to consider the possibility that the poor relief of the rulers was inspired by that of the bishops. It may require further investigation but one thing is clear: if the unction and other liturgical elements in the ordainment ceremony of the bishops inspired also the ceremony of the coronation (see below);¹¹⁰ is it possible that the act of almsgiving and other charity activities of the bishops influenced the deeds of the rulers?

¹⁰⁸ Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*. MGH SS rer. Germ. 2, ed. Bernhard Schmiedler. (Hannover: Hahn, 1917), 36, (I 30).

¹⁰⁹ Otloh of St. Emmeramm, *Vita s. Wolfkangi episcopi Ratisbonensis*, 533 (c. 16): *...tanta praedia monachorum usibus possidenda contradidit, de quibus...non solum iidem monachi, sed etiam hospites et pauperes...sustentari possent*; for the reforms of Wolfgang see: Petra Streng. “Wolfgang von Regensburg: Das Leben eines Heiligen und Reformers im Spiegel der Überlieferung,” *Herrscher, Helden, Heilige*, ed. Ulrich Müller and Werner Wunderlich. (St. Gallen: UVK, Fachverlag für Wissenschaft und Studium, 1996), 665-680.

¹¹⁰ Althoff, *Macht der Rituale*, 111.

1.3 Historiographical sources

Widukind of Corvey was a monk at the monastery of Corvey (North Rhine-Westphalia) died after 973. His life is almost totally unknown; Widukind's major historiographical work is the history of the Saxons in three books (*Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres*), in which he deals with the history of the Saxons from the mythical beginnings to the death of Emperor Otto I.¹¹¹ Widukind revised his chronicle in three versions between 967 and 973. Despite several factual errors and the mythical Saxon ancient history, the *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum* is one of the most important and most comprehensive narrative text of the history of the tenth century empire; it is important for reconstructing the history of the Ottonian kingdom before the coronation of Otto the Great as emperor. In this third book (chapter 74), Widukind describes the life of Queen Matilda at the Quedlinburg Abbey and her pious deeds:

Then she visited the sick whenever she heard about someone in her neighborhood; and she stretched out her hand to the poor, then the guests, who always were there, with all the generosity she had; she left no one left without a little gift or without the necessary support they needed.¹¹²

Widukind also describes the death of Matilda as a queen “full of honor, full of good deeds and almsgiving, distributing all the royal possessions in the service of God to the servants and poor, she gave back her soul to Christ on the second day of Ides of

¹¹¹ For the critical edition of the chronicle see *Die Sachsengeschichte des Widukind von Korvei* (Widukindi monachi Corbeiensis *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri III*). Anhang: *Die Schrift über die Herkunft der Schwaben*, ed. Paul Hirsch and Hans-Eberhard Lohmann, MGH SS rer. Germ. 60 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1935); about Widukind and his historiographical activity see Helmut Beumann, *Widukind von Korvei. Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung und Ideengeschichte des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1950); James Arthur Brundage, “Widukind of Corvey and the ‘Non-Roman’ Imperial Idea,” *Mediaeval Studies* 22 (1960), 15-26; Helmut Beumann, “Historiographische Konzeption und politische Ziele Widukinds von Corvey,” *La storiografia altomedievale* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1970), 857-894; Althoff, *Causa scribendi*; *ibid.*, “Widukind von Corvey († nach 973),” *LMA* 9 (1998), 76-78.

¹¹² Widukind, *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum*, 150: *Deinde infirmos ubicumque audivit in vicino visitavit, necessaria prebuit; deinde pauperibus manum porrexit; deinde hospites, qui semper aderant, cum omni largitate suscepit; neminem sine affatu blando dimisit, nullum fere sine munusculis vel necessariis adiumentis vacuum reliquit.*

March.”¹¹³ Both descriptions show similarities to the “Life of Matilda,” which confirms that the unknown author of the *Vita antiquior Mathildis* probably knew Widukind’s description.¹¹⁴ Widukind gives an account of the death of Emperor Otto the Great (973): he says that shortly before his death the emperor took part in mass and “he stretched out his hand to the poor, according to custom” (*pauperibus iuxta morem manus porrexit*).¹¹⁵ This is all that one can know about the poor relief in the early Ottonian *Reich* according to the narrative of Widukind.

Thietmar of Merseburg was born in 975 in the noble family of the counts of Walbeck (today Oebisfelde-Weferlingen, Saxony-Anhalt). His parents were Count Siegfried of Walbeck (d. 990) and Countess Kunigunde of Stade. Thietmar himself was raised in the Abbey Quedlinburg; in 987 he moved to the monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Berge (today in Magdeburg). In the Quedlinburg Abbey he received a thorough education, together with his relative, Bruno of Querfurt later bishop and martyr. The school years in Magdeburg were essential to the development of Thietmar’s political views a supporter of Ottonian church policy and he also became the representative of the Saxon noble consciousness.¹¹⁶ In 1002 Thietmar became the provost of Walbeck Abeby, which had been founded by his grandfather, Count Lothar II of Walbeck (942). After the death of Bishop Wigbert of Merseburg (1009) Thietmar received the bishopric from King Henry II of Germany, who had restored the diocese

¹¹³ Ibid. 151: *Igitur plena dierum, plena omni honore, plena operibus bonis et elemosinis, cunctis divitiis regalibus distributis servis Dei et ancillis ac pauperibus, secundo Idus Martias animam Christo reddidit.*

¹¹⁴ Schütte, *Die Lebensbeschreibungen*, 12-18

¹¹⁵ Widukind, *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum*, 152; Krüger, *Sterben*, 56.

¹¹⁶ Helmut Lippelt, *Thietmar von Merseburg. Reichsbischof und Chronist* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1973), 64-71, 121-137; Gerd Althoff, “Das Bett des Königs in Magdeburg: zu Thietmar II, 28,” *Festschrift für Berent Schweineköper zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Hans-Martin Maurer and Hans Patze (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1982), 141-153; Helmut Beumann, “Thietmar, Bischof von Merseburg,” *VL* 9 (1995), 795-801; Gerd Althoff, “Thietmar von Merseburg, Bischof von Merseburg (1009-1018),” *LMA* 8 (1997), 694-696; David A. Warner, “Thietmar of Merseburg: the image of the Ottonian bishop,” *The year 1000: religious and social response to the turning of the first millennium*, ed. Michael Frassetto (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 85-110; Kerstin Schulmeyer-Ahl, *Der Anfang vom Ende der Ottonen: Konstitutionsbedingungen historiographischer Nachrichten in der Chronik Thietmars von*

some years before. As bishop, Thietmar aimed to restore the former territory of the diocese.¹¹⁷ Thietmar died on December 1, 1018; he was buried in the Cathedral of Merseburg. He called his main work the *Chronicon*;¹¹⁸ the so-called “Corvey Version” of the chronicle is entitled *Gesta Saxonum*. The author started writing his chronicle in 1012, and finished it before his death (1018). Thietmar had the intention of portraying the history of the city and bishopric of Merseburg on the one hand, other hand, he wanted to describe the “life and deeds of the pious kings of Saxony” (*Saxoniae regum vitam moresque piorum*).¹¹⁹ The chronicle consists of four books; the first book describes the imperial history from King Henry I to the death of Emperor Otto III (919 to 1002); the other books deal with the history of Emperor Henry II until the death of Thietmar. His source was primarily the *Gesta Saxonum* by Widukind of Corvey, in addition, he also had a number of charters from Merseburg, Magdeburg, and Walbeck: some of them are only preserved in Thietmar’s chronicle. His account, however, is mostly based on oral reports and his personal experiences; that is why his work is essential for the history of the late Ottonian Empire, but it must also be used with source criticism. Thietmar writes about Queen Matilda, her life in the convent of Quedlinburg, and her pious deeds, including feeding the poor and also the birds.¹²⁰ He describes the synod of Dortmund (1005), where King Henry II and Queen Cunigunde convoked the archbishops and bishops of the empire. Thietmar was aware of a banquet at the synod when three hundred poor people were received; the banquet cost thirty denarii and thirty candles were put out for light.¹²¹ Duke Bernhard of Saxony gave

Merseburg (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009): this is probably the most excellent and most comprehensive work on Thietmar’s political theology.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. 109-115.

¹¹⁸ Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*. MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 9, ed. Robert Holtzmann (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1935), 5 (Prologue).

¹¹⁹ Ibid. 3, 5.

¹²⁰ Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, 26 (I, 21 [11]).

¹²¹ Ibid. 296 (VI, 18): *Episcopi singuli C[CC] pauperes pascant et XXX de]narios expendant et trigin[ta] lumina accendant.*

another banquet at the synod for five hundred paupers at a cost of fifteen solidi. The largest contribution of this synod to poor relief was made by the royal couple: Henry and Cunigunde gave one thousand and five-hundred denarii for their salvation and received the same number of the poor.¹²²

Wipo of Burgundy was chaplain of Emperor Conrad II. Only a few things are known about his life; he was born before 1000 and died after 1047.¹²³ What is known about his life it comes from his major work, the *Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris*. This is a biography of Emperor Conrad II, written about 1047, dedicated to the young King Henry III, the son and successor of Conrad, describing Conrad's life from his coronation (1024) until his death (1039).¹²⁴ Wipo gives an interesting account of Conrad's piety; after the new king's coronation, Conrad met three people in Mainz, where he was crowned, namely, a peasant from the church of Mainz, a servant, and a widow. The king was ready to hear his subjects, but some of the nobles warned him not to do this because Conrad must hurry to his consecration mass. But Conrad refused them and said that it was his royal duty to hear the voices of his loyal subjects; it was better for him "not to hear the laws, but to do justice" (*Memini vos saepe dixisse, non auditores legis, sed factores iustificari*).¹²⁵ He was ready "among so many luxurious services to hear the cries of the poor and end the cause [of their cries]" (*...inter deliciosa regis ministeria tot pauperum clamores audire et eorum causas finire*).¹²⁶ For the defense of churches, widows, and orphans, Conrad was always ready

¹²² Ibid.: [Rex et regina infra XXX dies] MD denarios pro animae redemp[tione erogent et totidem pau]peres pascant.

¹²³ About Wipo see Walther Seydel, *Studien zur Kritik Wipos* (Wrocław: Trewendt, 1898); Tilman Struve, "Wipo, Dichter und Geschichtsschreiber (†nach 1046)," *LMA* 9 (1998), 243-244; Rudolf Schieffer, "Wipo," *VL* (1999), 1240-1248.

¹²⁴ Wipo of Burgundy, *Gesta Chuonradi regis*, MGH SS rer. Germ. 61, ed. Harry Bresslau (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1915), 1-62.

¹²⁵ Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi regis*, 26; Bornscheuer, *Miseriae regum*, 194-207.

¹²⁶ Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi regis*, 27.

to intervene with his royal dignity.¹²⁷ The scene, in which Conrad stopped to his humble servants and Wipo's preaching – interpreted by Conrad – is rather the concept of the chaplain of the emperor, but inspired by Conrad: and the main point of this scene is the humiliation (*humiliatio*) of the ruler which will be followed by the ultimate glorification (*exaltatio*).¹²⁸

The chronicle of Bernold of Konstanz (other known as Bernoldus monachus S. Blasii) is an important narrative text of the Salian age. Bernold was born around 1050; almost nothing is known of his life. He was raised in the school of the cathedral chapter of Konstanz and his teachers were famous *scholastici* of the age, Adalbert of Konstanz and Bernhard of Hildesheim. Both were zealous followers of the policy of Pope Gregory VII and they influenced the political views of the young Bernold. Bernold took part in the synod of Rome (1079); five years later he was ordained by the pontifical legate, Bishop Eudes of Ostia (later Pope Urban II). Bernold lived as monk in the Benedictine monastery of Sankt Blasien in the Black Forest, later he moved to the monastery of Schaffhausen (Switzerland); there he died in 1100.¹²⁹ In his chronicle¹³⁰ Bernold describes world history from the birth of Christ to the year 1100; before 1054 his work is a compilation mostly based on the world chronicle of another important

¹²⁷ Ibid.: *Ita rex in talibus causis, pro quibus maxime regia auctoritas interpellari solet, hoc est pro ecclesiarum, viduarum, orphanorum defensione, ad reliqua regimina sibi ea die viam praeparavit.*

¹²⁸ Bornscheuer, *Miseriae regum*, 197-200; G. Althoff argues that there was no demonstrative act of the self-abasement but Conrad was still conscious with the theocratic duties of his royal dignity, Althoff, *Macht der Rituale*, 115; further see Hartmut Hoffmann, *Mönchskönig und rex idiota. Studien zur Kirchenpolitik Heinrichs II. und Konrads II* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1993), 143-144.

¹²⁹ Ernst Strelau, *Leben und Werke des Mönches Bernold von St. Blasien* (Jena: Frommansche Buchdruckerei, 1889); Otto Regenbogen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Investiturestreites. 1: Bernold von Hochdorf. Seine Herkunft und Heimat, sein Amt und seine Beziehungen zu den Klöstern St. Blasien und Schaffhausen* (Friedrichshafen: Author's edition, 1935); Heinrich Weisweiler, "Die päpstliche Gewalt in den Schriften Bernolds von St. Blasien," *Studi gregoriani* 4 (1952), 129-147; Johanna Autenrieth, "Bernold von Konstanz," *NDB* 2 (1955), 127-128; Ian Stuart Robinson, "Bernold von St. Blasien," *VL* 1 (1978), 795-798; Wilfried Hartmann, "Bernold von Konstanz (Bernold von St. Blasien), mittellateinischer Autor (†1100)," *LMA* 1 (2007-2008); Ian Stuart Robinson, "Bernold von Konstanz und der gregorianische Reformkreis um Bischof Gerhard III.," *DA* 46 (1990), 155-188; *ibid.* "The friendship circle of Bernold of Constance and the dissemination of Gregorian ideas in late eleventh-century Germany," *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian P. Haseldine (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 185-198.

historian of the eleventh century, Hermannus Contractus (Hermann of Reichenau, or Herman the Cripple 1013-1054). Bernold's chronicle is detailed writing about the history of the investiture contest in Southwestern Germany; it is not by chance that Bernold wrote in the spirit of the Gregorian reform movement against Emperor Henry IV. Bernold wrote to the year 1075 about Archbishop Anno of Cologne, who was called in the chronicle *fidens et prudens Christi Iesu minister*:¹³¹ according to Bernold, the archbishop dispensed his treasures among the "poor of Christ" (*pauperes Christi*), and established five new churches in order to "accumulate his treasures in the heaven" (*in celeste gazophilacium congesta thesaurizavit*).¹³² Bernold wrote about the widowed empress consort, Agnes of Poitou, on the occasion of her death (1077) that she despised the royal glory and the earthly life, prayed and sang psalms all night, deposed her royal insignia, went to the poor, accommodated them in the churches, and dressed in cheap clothes.¹³³ Bernold probably knew the letter of Peter Damien, in which the Empress Agnes is praised for having turned her back on glory and deposed her crown and purple cloth.¹³⁴ In the same year, when the German anti-king, Rudolf of Rheinfelden (ruled between 1077 and 1080; he was also the father-in-law of King Saint Ladislaus of Hungary since 1078), was crowned by a pontifical legate in Mainz, a rebellion started under the inspiration of "simoniac clerics" (*per suggestionem simoniacorum clericorum*). In putting down the, Rudolf killed a number of people. As absolution for this crime, the new anti-king had to make a choice to fast in Lent for forty days or give

¹³⁰ Ian Stuart Robinson, *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz 1054-1100* (MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 14) (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2003).

¹³¹ See Luke 12:42, *fidelis dispensator et prudens*; Robinson, *Chroniken*, 229.

¹³² Robinson, *Chroniken*, 229; the sentence is the paraphrase of Matthew 6, 20: *thesaurizate...thesauros in caelo*.

¹³³ Robinson, *Chroniken*, 304.

¹³⁴ Kurt Reindel ed., *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, vol. 3, MGH Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit 4,3 (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1989), 149 (no. 104): *Nos enim aliquando ieiunamus a cibis, sed tu ieiunas a corona atque a tot et tam magnificis imperialis gloriae pompis*.

a banquet for forty poor people otherwise he could not take part in communion.¹³⁵ Unfortunately, Bernold does not reveal Rudolf's decision. Rudolf was close to the monastery of St. Blasien and supported the introduction of the monastic reform into Bernold's convent.¹³⁶ This is, however, a very new aspect in the practice of the poor relief: a king, who is actually an anti-king, who received the sacraments of the royal coronation but who was assaulted by a group of clerics (and it does not matter if they were "simoniac") – this king gave a banquet for the poor, participated in the deeds of charity as many of his ancestors, but his motivation was the penance. One has arrived to the issue of the rituals, namely, the motivation of the poor relief as the ritual of power; Rudolf showed a unique way of the role of poor relief in the legitimating rituals.¹³⁷

The last narrative text is the *Life of Emperor Henry IV (Vita Heinrici IV imperatoris)*: this is the biography of the Emperor Henry IV,¹³⁸ written by an anonymous author soon after the death of the emperor (1106); the author must have been a close member of the imperial court, most probably a cleric, who described

¹³⁵ Robinson, *Chroniken*, 412.

¹³⁶ See Petra Skoda, "St. Blasien, Rudolf von Rheinfelden und die Zähringer," *In frumento et vino opima: Festschrift für Thomas Zotz zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Heinz Krieg and Alfons Zettler (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2004), 181-194.

¹³⁷ For the role of the penance in the ritual of power see Gerd Althoff, "Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung. 'Emotionen' in der öffentlichen Kommunikation des Mittelalters," *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter. Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde*, ed. Gerd Althoff (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997), 258-281 and *ibid.*, "Der König weint: rituelle Tränen in öffentlicher Kommunikation," *"Aufführung" und "Schrift" in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996), 239-252.

¹³⁸ On the life of Henry IV see: Gerold Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.*, 7 vols. (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, Leipzig 1890-1909); this is still the most comprehensive, although a very much disputed monumental historical fresco on the life of Emperor Henry IV and his son, Henry V; the literature on the life of Henry is immense, one may be restricted to the most important works: Egon Boshof, *Heinrich IV. Herrscher an einer Zeitenwende* (Göttingen: Muster-Schmidt, 1990); Monika Suchan, *Königsherrschaft im Streit. Konfliktaustragung in der Regierungszeit Heinrichs IV. zwischen Gewalt, Gespräch und Schriftlichkeit* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1997); Glauco Maria Cantarella and Dorino Tuniz ed., *Il papa ed il sovrano: Gregorio VII ed Enrico IV nella lotta per le investiture* (Novara: Europa, 1998); Ian Stuart Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany 1056-1106* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999); Tilman Struve, *Salierzeit im Wandel: zur Geschichte Heinrichs IV. und des Investiturstreites* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006); Gerd Althoff, *Heinrich IV.* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006); Stefan Weinfurter, *Canossa: Die Entzauberung der Welt* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2006); Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter ed., *Salisches Kaisertum und neues Europa. Die Zeit Heinrichs IV. und Heinrichs V.* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007); Gerd Althoff ed., *Heinrich IV.* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2009).

Henry's life with sympathy to the emperor and with the political agenda to preserve the theocratic role of the Holy Roman emperors. The most recent view of the research considers Bishop Erlung of Würzburg, royal chancellor as the author of the *Vita Heinrici IV imperatoris*, while Eckhard Freise says for the authorship of an unknown author from Regensburg (monastery of St. Emmeram), because the only single remained manuscript came also from here.¹³⁹ Henry's biography is an idealized portrait of a ruler on a solid political theological basis; in this political theology plays the poor relief an immense role, the most important feature of the royal *humilitas* and the imitation of Christ; the biographer of Henry IV continues the political theological tradition which appears with Conrad II, namely, the emperor as *vicarious Christi*.¹⁴⁰ As the biography says according to Luke 16:9: *Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis, ut, cum defeceritis, recipiant vos in aeterna tabernacula*.¹⁴¹ The motive of the "eternal dwellings" was already mentioned in the *Epitaph Adelheidis*: one may assume with good reason that this part of the *Life of Emperor Henry IV* accounts for the epitaph, but also the epitaphs of Saint Jerome.¹⁴² This is not the first reflection on the Gospel of Luke: L. Bornscheuer draws the attention on charters of three Carolingian rulers (Pippin the Younger, Carloman I and Charlemagne) who granted the right of immunity for the St. Denis Abbey, but these charters do not deal

¹³⁹ *Vita Heinrici imperatoris IV*, ed. Wilhelm Bernhard, MGH SS rer. Germ. 58 (Hannover: Hahn, 1899); Eckhard Freise, Dieter Guenich and Joachim Wollasch ed., *Das Martyrolog – Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996), 101; about the *Life of Emperor Henry IV* see further: Siegmund Hellmann, "Die Vita Heinrici IV. und die Kaiserliche Kanzlei," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 28 (1934), 273-334; Bornscheuer, *Miseriae regum*, 149-168; Manfred Schluck ed., *Die Vita Heinrici IV. Imperatoris. Ihre zeitgenössischen Quellen und ihr besonderes Verhältnis zum Carmen de bello Saxonico* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1979); Franz-Josef Schmale, "Erlung von Würzburg," *VL* 2 (1980), 602-605; Helmut Beumann, "Zur Verfasserfrage der Vita Heinrici IV.," *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Lutz Fenske, Werner Rösener and Thomas Zotz (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1984), 305-319; Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, 479-488.

¹⁴⁰ Bornscheuer, *Miseriae regum*, 157.

¹⁴¹ *Make unto you friends of the mammon of iniquity; that when you shall fail, they may receive you into everlasting dwellings.*

¹⁴² Bornscheuer, *Miseriae regum*, *ibid.*

with the poor relief.¹⁴³ This fact underlines the connection of the Carolingian political thinking with that of the Ottonian and Salian one: the promise of the eternal reward and the pious deeds of the ruler guarantee the salvation of the king; in the Carolingian context it was the grant of immunity for the monastery, in the Salian period this pious deed was the poor relief, however, the theological implication is the same.

1.4 The *ordines* of the royal coronation ceremonies

I have found only one reference to poor relief in the *ordo* of royal-/imperial coronations between the tenth and eleventh century. The *ordines* carried the elements of the highest lay and spiritual power in gestures, symbols, acts, and rituals. They expressed the relation of the power of a prelate and a ruler, incorporated in the person of the king or emperor, so they were used in different forms both in the consecration of a king and the ordaining of a bishop.¹⁴⁴ One of the most detailed and most ancient coronation *ordines* is the so-called *Ordo Cencius II*,¹⁴⁵ which also mentions the duty of the ruler toward the poor. Eduard Eichmann has tried to determine the philological and ideological relations of this *ordo* with other texts.¹⁴⁶ Reinhard Elze succeeded in discovering the probable time and place, when this *ordo* might have been written (the pontifical court in the first half of the twelfth century) and the philological and

¹⁴³ MGH DD Karol. 26 (St. Denis, 23 September, 768), 44 (Samoussy, January, 769), 94 (Quierzy, 14 March, 775); the Merovingian charters mentioned by Bornscheuer are forged, Bornscheuer, *Miseriae regum*, 158.

¹⁴⁴ For the royal *ordines* see Percy Ernst Schramm, "Die Ordines der mittelalterlichen Kaiserkrönung. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kaisertums," *AUF* 11 (1930), 285-391; *ibid.* "Ordines-Studien. 2. Die Krönung bei den Westfranken und den Franzosen. 3. Die Krönung in England," *AUF* 15 (1938), 3-55, 305-391; Michel Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut Moyen Âge*, vol. 1-5 (Louvain: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 1931-1961); Aimé-Georges Martimort, *Les "ordines", les ordinaires et les cérémoniaux* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991); Hans Hubert Anton, "Ordo (Ordines). III. Krönungsordines," *LMA* 6 (1993), 1439-1441.

¹⁴⁵ Reinhard Elze ed. *Die Ordines für die Weihe und Krönung des Kaisers und der Kaiserin. Ordines coronationis imperialis*, MGH Fontes iuris, 9 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1960).

¹⁴⁶ Eduard Eichmann, "Die Ordines der Kaiserkrönung," *ZRG KA* 2 (1912), 1-44.

ideological antecedents of the text (the so-called Mainz Pontificale from about 960 and the *Benedictio Reginae*).¹⁴⁷

According to this ordo, the prelate or the pope asks the king before the coronation whether he will be affable and merciful in the name of the Lord to those who are in need, namely, the poor and the strangers. The answer is a short: “I will.”¹⁴⁸ Surveying the Ottonian pontificals and other *ordines* of the tenth and eleventh century, I did not find reference anywhere else to relief of the poor and pilgrims. This does not mean, however, that one of the incomplete remained *ordines* of the Ottonian or early Salian period did not contain some similar ideological component. One finds again the commandment for poor relief in the *ordo* of the coronation of the queen-/empress in a thirteenth century manuscript found in Gniezno, Poland. This *ordo* shows the relation with the *Benedictio Reginae* and the so-called *ordo* of Constantinople, also written in Rome in the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁴⁹ The prelate says when he was giving the scepter to the queen and that she has to “take the rod of power and equity, and be merciful and affable to the poor, take care for widows, servant and the orphans, so that the Almighty God enlarges you with His grace. He lives.”¹⁵⁰ The philological and conceptual similarities indicate either a common root of the *Ordo Censius II* and the Gniezno *ordo*, or influence between them.

¹⁴⁷ Elze, *Ordines*, XIII, XXVI, 36; Carl Erdmann, “Königs- und Kaiserkrönung im ottonischen Pontifikale,” *Forschungen zur politischen Ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters*, ed. Carl Erdmann and Friedrich Baethgen (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1951), 53; Percy Ernst Schramm, “Die Krönung in Deutschland bis zum Beginn des Salischen Hauses,” *ZRG KA* 24 (1935), 264-278.

¹⁴⁸ Elze, *Ordines*, 39: *Interrogatur: Pauperibus et peregrinis omnibusque indigentibus vis esse propter nomen Domini affabilis et misericors? R(espondet): Volo.*

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 58-59.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 60: *Accipe virgam virtutis et equitatis, et esto pauperibus misericors et affabilis, viduis, pupillis et orphanis diligentissimam curam exhibe, ut omnipotens Deus tibi adaugeat gratiam suam. Qui vivit.*

1.5 The councils of the Empire in the tenth and eleventh century

Another legal source for the history of Ottonian and Salian poor relief is the decisions of the imperial councils and provincial councils held in this period. The major methodological problem of this survey is that a useful critical edition of the councils' decision is available only for the tenth century.¹⁵¹ A scholarly investigation of the history of the councils in the Salian age as well a critical edition of the council documents is needed.¹⁵²

About 950 a council was held in Mainz with the participation of Archbishop Frederick of Mainz, Bishop Anno of Worms and Bishop Udo of Strasbourg. There is no mention of the exact date of the council and other sources do not give any information about the year when the council was held. According to the archontology of the participants, one may assume that the assembly took place between the April 950 and October 954.¹⁵³ In the last disposition of the council one reads that the preferred form of charity donation for clergymen is that they should feed at least three poor people; but if someone has not enough resources to fulfill this requirement, it is enough to ensure the food for two or only one poor person.¹⁵⁴ This disposition can be traced back to the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*, which assesses that clergymen have to invite poor, pilgrims, and orphans to their banquets or dinners.¹⁵⁵ The sentence *quia sicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita elemosina extinguit peccatum* came from the *Conlationes* of John

¹⁵¹ Ernst-Dieter Hehl ed. *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens 916-1001*, vol. 1-2, MGH Concilia 6,1, (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1987-2007).

¹⁵² Martin Boye, "Die Synoden Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens von 922-1059," *ZRG KA* 18 (1929), 131-284; *ibid.*, "Quellenkatalog der Synoden Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens von 922-1059," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 48 (1930), 45-96.

¹⁵³ Hehl, *Konzilien*, 173; Boye, *Synoden*, 141.

¹⁵⁴ Hehl, *Konzilien*, 177: *Prelata siquidem devotio precaminum elemosinarum caritativa dispensatio ornetur, ita ut eorum quisque iuxta facultatis qualitatem pauperes pascat, si plures nequeat, tres. Cui autem possibilitas hoc agere denegaverit, duos vel saltem unum pascere curet...*

Cassian, who regarded almsgiving as one of the instruments by which one can be absolved of his sins.¹⁵⁶

This is the only council decision of the Ottonian age which deals expressly with poor relief as a duty of priests and prelates. The word *pauperes* appears in other documents too, although in a different context without connection to charity praxis. Further analysis of the still-unedited council documents and regestae of the Salian period may bring new results.

As result of the analysis of the primary sources one may draw some conclusions: the charters as legal documents record the act of poor relief when and where it happened, but they do not tell more about the possible implications of the almsgiving, unless the arenga or the disposition of the charter refers to the motivations of the grantor.

¹⁵⁵ Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze ed., *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du 10^e siècle [Pontificale Romano-Germanicum saeculi decimi]*, vol. 1 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963), 288 (80, 51)

¹⁵⁶ Hehl, *Konzilien*, 177 (note 36); John Cassian, *Conlationes*, ed. Michael Petschenig, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 13 (Vienna: Gerold, 1886), 561: *Similiter etiam per elemosynarum fructum uulneribus nostris medella praestatur, quia sicut aqua extinguit ignem, sic elemosyna extinguit peccatum.*

2. THE POVERTY AND POOR RELIEF IN THE EMPIRE OF THE OTTONIAN AND SALIAN RULERS

2.1. *Poor relief in the Carolingian empire*

My thesis topic is the poor relief in the Ottonian and Salian period of the Holy Roman Empire, but as it was discussed above, many implications, both theological and political, came from the Frankish Empire of the Carolingians; one could have seen the some parallels between the literary and theological topoi used in the charters and hagiographic narratives. Some of the Ottonian and Salian charters used the same terminology and legal frameworks for the lay and ecclesiastical charity as Carolingian charters, capitularies, and council decisions. As with many other elements of the church policy, the poor relief of the Ottonian and Salian rulers can also be traced back to Carolingian origins.¹⁵⁷ First, I want to point on the legal terminology of the charters and to refer to similarities in the Ottonian and Salian diplomas, if there any.

In 778, Abbot Gundehald of Lorsch asked King Charlemagne to distribute one third of the goods of the monastery among the poor; the king gave permission for the distribution.¹⁵⁸ The *Chronicon Laureshamense* does not give any further information on these goods; the reason for this pious donation, however, is well-known in the Ottonian charters either, namely “the remedy of the soul” (*pro animae remedio pauperum indigentiae prerogare*). “Special compassion for the poor” (*maxime circa inopes compassionis*) is also mentioned in chronicle, which it seems can be traced back to the original charter.¹⁵⁹ As parallel, one may cite here a charter of Otto the Great from 940

¹⁵⁷ Santifaller, *Reichskirchensystem*, 20-26.

¹⁵⁸ Johann Friedrich Böhmer, Engelbert Mühlbacher and Johann Lechner ed. *Regesta Imperii I. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751-918* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner’schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1908) nr. 216a.

¹⁵⁹ *Chronicon Laureshamense*, ed. Karl Pertz (MGH SS 21) (Hannover: Hahn, 1869), 349: *Brevi dehinc interiectu temporis Gundelandus, instante sibi divinae vocationis bravio, misit ad regem Aquisgrani*

which he issued to the St. Emmeram Abbey of Regensburg: the reason of the donation of right for hunting and the privilege of immunity, as well the leasehold for mills, fishing lakes and forests in order to ensure the continuous almsgiving for the poor and guests – all of them are for the eternal reward and salvation of the soul of Otto’s father, King Henry I, and for the salvation of Otto himself.¹⁶⁰ There are a couple of other charters from the Ottonian and Salian period with the same intention, namely, donation for the remedy of the soul.¹⁶¹ Four years later, Charlemagne confirmed the possession of several monasteries in Alsace, Alemannia, and other territories to the St. Denis Abbey; the special requirement of the king was that the incomes from these monasteries would be used for feeding the monks, wanderers, and the poor, according to the testimony of Abbot Fulrad (in 777).¹⁶²

Between 788 and 790 (the year is unsure) a provincial synod was held and its decisions were summarized in a capitulary; the first chapter of this document deals with the use of the *xenodochia*, which were established as places where the poor could be nourished (*pauperes pascare*).¹⁶³ At some points this capitulary refers to another document issued by Pippin of Italy, son of Charlemagne and king of the Lombards (781-810), in Pavia (787). The first chapter mentions the *sinodochia* which will be built “without any delay” by the young king by the command of King Charlemagne to be used as shelters for the poor, widows, and orphans.¹⁶⁴

consulens et obsecrans, quatenus ei liceret extremum vitae cursum iam peragenti aliqua de monasterii rebus impendia pro animae remedio pauperum indigentiae prerogare. Qui, ut erat pronae in omnes clementiae et maxime circa inopes compassionis, indulsit ei tertiam partem rerum dumtaxat mobilium, in pauperum pro arbitrio suo distributionem.

¹⁶⁰ MGH DD O I 29 (Salz, 29 May, 940): *et pro remedio animae patris nostri et ob aeternae remunerationis augmentum...*

¹⁶¹ MGH DD O I 41; MGH DD K II 210; MGH DD H III 6, 48.

¹⁶² Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii I*, nr. 259.

¹⁶³ Alfred Boretius ed. *Capitularia regum Francorum I*, MGH Capit. 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1883), 200 (nr. 95): *...iussit ut quicumque senedochia habent, si ita pauperes pascere voluerint et consilio facere quomodo abantea fuit, habeant ipsa senedochia et regant ordinabiliter.*

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. 198: *Placuit nobis atque convenit, ut omnes iustitiae pleniter factae esse debeant infra regnum nostrum absque ulla dilatione, tam de ecclesias quam de sinodochiis seu pauperes et viduas vel orfanos atque de reliquos homines secundum iussionem domini nostri Karoli regis.*

The capitulary of Emperor Charlemagne (809) prohibits the sale fruit before harvest and disposes of the aid which had to be given during the famine of this year (chapter 24);¹⁶⁵ chapter 27 of this capitulary may be connected with the previous resolution, namely, fair trade with the poor (*Ut nullus comparationes faciat cum paupere dolose, nisi per iustitiam*).¹⁶⁶

Another capitulary was issued in 813 under Emperor Charlemagne¹⁶⁷ which disposed on ecclesiastical issues like the prohibition of the intervention of laymen in canon law or in the designation of clergymen, the question of tithes, and so on; chapter 11 focuses on the care of servants and the subjects of the kingdom because of famine.¹⁶⁸ The next chapter of the same capitulary authorizes the bishop, according to canonical statutes, to donate the assets of the church, before witnesses (probably, the royal *missi*), to the poor.¹⁶⁹

Emperor Charlemagne's son and successor, Emperor Louis the Pious, states in one of his capitularies in 819 that the wealthier churches were obliged to give two third of their property to the poor and a third to the clergy, unless it had been decreed otherwise by the grantor.¹⁷⁰ Emperor Louis issued another capitulary (825) with a

¹⁶⁵ Georg Heinrich Pertz ed., *Capitularia regum Francorum* (MGH LL 1) (Hannover: Hahn, 1835), 156: *De debitis pauperum anterioribus, et negotia facienda antequam fructus colligatur, omnino inantea cavenda hoc ex ore proprio locuti sumus. Unusquisque praesenti anno, sive liberum sive servum suum de famis inopia adiutorium praebeat.*

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. 157.

¹⁶⁷ Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii I*, nr. 481.

¹⁶⁸ Pertz, *Capitularia*, 189: *Ut unusquisque propter inopiam famis suos familiares et ad se pertinentes gubernare studeant.*

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. 190: *Ut unicuique episcoporum liceat de thesauro ecclesiae pauperibus erogare nutrimentum secundum canones, cum testibus;* to the function of the right and law in Charlemagne's empire see Rosamond McKitterick, "Some Carolingian law-books and their function," *Authority and Power. Studies on Medieval Law and Government Presented to Walter Ullman on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Brian Tierney and Peter A. Linehan (Cambridge: CUP, 1980), 13-27; Hubert Mordek, "Zur Kirchenrechtsreform am Beispiel des Frankfurter Kapitulars," 794 – *Karl der Große in Frankfurt am Main. Ein König bei der Arbeit. Ausstellung zum 1200-Jahre-Jubiläum der Stadt Frankfurt am Main*, ed. Johannes Fried (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1994), 134-136; Wilfried Hartmann, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht um 900: Die Bedeutung der spätkarolingischen Zeit für Tradition und Innovation im kirchlichen Recht* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2008).

¹⁷⁰ Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii I*, nr. 674; Pertz, *Capitularia*, 206: *C. 4. Statutum est, ut quicquid tempore imperii nostri a fidelibus ecclesiae sponte conlatum fuerit, in dicioribus locis duas partes in usus pauperum, tertiam in stipendia cedere clericorum aut monachorum; in minoribus vero locis aequae inter*

different content: while his and his successors' previous requirements ensured the feeding or accommodation of people in need, chapters 7 and 8 warned the counts to keep peace with the bishops, to observe the laws and royal dispositions, and to protect the orphans, widows, and the poor living in the territory of their administrative units (*Pupillorum et viduarum vero et ceterorum pauperum adiutores ac defensores, et sanctae ecclesiae vel servorum illius honoratores iuxta vestram possibilitatem sitis*).¹⁷¹

King Lothar I, the son of Louis the Pious, disposed in his capitulary (about 825) of the exclusive use of the *xenodochia* by the poor and the return of those buildings which were not used as *xenodochia* or they had been completely uncared for since the death of King Pippin; furthermore, the king reserved the right to see that monasteries and *xenodochia* followed the admonitions of the bishop. For feeding the poor a fifth of the crops was supposed to be given.¹⁷²

Charles the Bald as king of West Francia (840-877) probably took part in the council of Meaux (June 845 – February 846) together with the archbishops of Sens (Wenilo) and Reims (Hinkmar).¹⁷³ The capitulary issued after this council contains a great number of different decisions and commands dealing with the questions of church discipline in particular. Chapter 40 discusses the restoration of damaged or uncared-for

clerum et pauperes fore dividendum; nisi forte a datoribus, ubi specialiter dandae sint, constitutum fuerit; Boshof, *Armenfürsorge*, 155-156; for the broader social context see Eckhard Müller-Mertens, *Karl der Grosse, Ludwig der Fromme und die Freien. Wer waren die liberi homines der karolingischen Kapitularien (742/743 - 832)? Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte und Sozialpolitik des Frankenreiches* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963)

¹⁷¹ Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii I*, nr. 798; Pertz, *Capitularia*, 243-244.

¹⁷² Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii I*, nr. 1025; Boretius, *Capitularia*, 332: C. 3. *Ut in xenodochiis rationabiliter dispositis et adhuc in pristino statu manentibus testatoris omnino conscripta serventur. In his vero quae ab initio iustae rationis dispositione caruerunt volumus ut quinta pars fructuum pauperibus detur; similiter in illis quae rationabilem dispositionem habuerunt et tamen qualibet negligentia pristini status ordinatione carent, volumus ut conditio suprascripta servetur, quousque per bonorum ordinatorum providentiam et temporum abundantiam ad priorem valeant ascendere dispositionem*; Hubert Mordek, "Fränkische Kapitularien und Kapitulariensammlungen," *Studien zur fränkischen Herrschergesetzgebung: Aufsätze über Kapitularien und Kapitulariensammlungen ausgewählt zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Hubert Mordek (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2000), 1-53.

¹⁷³ Irmgard Fees ed. *Regesta Imperii I. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751-918 (987). Vol. 2: Die Regesten des Westfrankenreichs und Aquitaniens. Part 1: Die Regesten Karls des Kahlen 840 (823) – 877* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2007), nr. 488; For the participation of the king at the council

buildings of the *xenodochia* or other types of shelter for the poor; the capitulary cites the decision of the council of Orléans (549) which says that if one intends to alienate a *xenodochium* he has to take the irrevocable anathema as *necator pauperum* into account.¹⁷⁴

The restoration of the destroyed or neglected buildings of *xenodochia* and poor-houses remained an issue even in the second half of the ninth century; when Emperor Louis II (the Younger, 855-875) gave instructions to the royal envoys (*missi dominici*) how to defend the rights of the churches against the laymen and how to protect the church assests, he also mentioned the importance of restoring the *xenodochia* and *hospicia*.¹⁷⁵

The frequent and recurring dispositions of the Carolingian rulers in the ninth century indicate that the poor relief was not regarded even by the churchmen as an imperative necessity:¹⁷⁶ the destruction or the neglect of *xenodochia* may refer to the chaotic wartime period in the Frankish Empire before and after the treaty of Verdun and the collapse of the central power. Only a few percent of the Carolingian capitularies

see: Ferdinand Lot and Louis Halphen, *La régné de Charles de Chauve* (Paris: Champion, 1909), 149; Janet Loughland Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London: Longman, 1992), 147.

¹⁷⁴ Wilfried Hartmann ed. *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 843-859* (MGH Conc. 3) (Hannover: Hahn, 1984), 103-104: *Admonenda est regia magnitudo de hospitalibus, quę tempore praedecessorum suorum et ordinata et exulta fuerunt et modo ad nihilum sunt redacta. Sed et hospitalia Scothorum, quę sancti homines gentis illius in hoc regno construxerunt et rebus pro sanctitate sua adquisitis ampliaverunt, ab eodem hospitalitatis officio funditus sunt alienata. Et non solum supervenientes in eadem hospitalia non recipiuntur, verum etiam ipsi, qui ab infantia in eisdem locis sub religione domino militaverunt, et exinde eiciuntur et ostiatim mendicare coguntur. Unde pertimescenda est canonica sententia et maxime decretalis Symmachi papę definitio quia ut necator pauperum et Christi traditor Iudas isdem, qui huius sceleris auctor et perpetrator esse dinoscitur, praesenti et perpetuo est anathemate feriendus. Qui reiculam, inquit Symmachus papa, vel quicquid fuerit ecclesię, petunt a regibus et corrumpendę pietatis instinctu egentium substantiam rapiunt, irrita habeantur, quę obtinent, et a communione' ecclesię cuius facultatem auferre cupiunt, excludantur. Item in canone Aurelianensi: Si quis quolibet tempore contra hanc constitutionem nostram venire temptaverit aut aliquid de consuetudine vel facultate senedochii abstulerit, ut ac senodochium, quod avertat dues, esse desinat, ut necator pauperum inrevocabili anathemate feriatur; for the council of Orléans see Friedrich Maassen ed., *Concilia aevi Merovingici (511-695)* (MGH Conc. 1) (Hannover: Hahn, 1893), 105.*

¹⁷⁵ Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii I*, nr. 1230; Pertz, *Capitularia*, 434: C. 5. *Directi abbates monasteria monachorum et puellarum ac senodochia circumeant, si unde administrantur debita obsequia habeant, et concorditer degant, inquirant. Quicquid inordinatum reppererint, regulariter corrigant; senodochia autem sic ubi sunt neglecta, ad pristinum statum revocent; hospitales vero pauperum tam in montanis quam et ubicumque fuisse noscuntur, pleniter et diligenti cura restaurentur.*

dealt with the poor relief.¹⁷⁷ One has to keep in mind that the institution of the *xenodochia* itself is not a Frankish invention: their importance had been increased in the realm of Charlemagne after the conquest of the Kingdom of the Langobards (774), where the *xenodochia* already had a long tradition.¹⁷⁸ It is also not by chance that the raiders of the *xenodochia* and the church estates belonging to it were heavily punished and condemned by the church.¹⁷⁹ After the extinction of the eastern line of the Carolingian rulers (911) and the election of Henry the Fowler of Saxony (919) the new dynasty of the Liudolfing had to restore the system of poor relief in the territory of the former East Francia, based on Carolingian principles and the support of the church. Actually, poor relief in the Carolingian Empire did not appear suddenly and without any continuity: Wilfried Hartmann assumes a stronger continuity as it was supposed before.¹⁸⁰ The next chapter tries to follow the continuity and innovations of poor relief in the East Frankish territories of the after-Carolingian period.

2.2 Poverty in the Ottonian and Salian empire

Michel Mollat du Jourdin formulated a proper definition of the poverty which may also be applied, according to his implications, not only to the concept of medieval poverty, but also to other periods. The main characteristics are: a poor person is someone who, either temporarily or permanently, is suffering the situation of weakness, dependence, humiliation, and privation, and the degree of this suffering depends on the period and society.¹⁸¹ In the Christian context the attitude towards poverty was two-

¹⁷⁶ Epperlein, *Armenfürsorge*, 59.

¹⁷⁷ Katrin Dort and Christian Reuther, "Armenfürsorge in den karolingischen Kapitularien," *Zwischen Ausschluss und Solidarität. Modi der Inklusion/Exklusion von Fremden und Armen in Europa seit der Spätantike*, ed. Raphael Lutz and Herbert Uerlings (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2008), 133-164.

¹⁷⁸ Boshof, *Armenfürsorge*, 162.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 170-171.

¹⁸⁰ Hartmann, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht*, 60-99.

¹⁸¹ Michel Mollat (du Jourdin), "Pauvreté chrétienne III. Moyen âge," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique. Doctrine et histoire*, vol. 12, ed. Marcel Viller (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), 648.

fold: while the Old Testament viewed poverty on a really phenomenological level, the New Testament considered it something which could contribute to an individual's redemption and also play an important role in the salvation history of mankind.¹⁸² In the tradition of the Old Testament, poverty is considered both the feature of equality before God ("The rich and poor have met one another: the Lord is the maker of them both,"¹⁸³), but also an instrument of divine punishment; opulence is the sign of divine grace, respectively ("The blessing of the Lord maketh men rich: neither shall affliction be joined to them,"¹⁸⁴ "For it is easy in the eyes of God on a sudden to make the poor man rich"¹⁸⁵). In the New Testament, the attitude toward the poverty and wealth changed substantially: Jesus came into the world with the promise of his Father's kingdom, in which the people in need will be blessed, but in this eternal kingdom there will be no place for the rich, because "they already have their consolation;" in the kingdom of God the hated, persecuted, and hungry people are very welcome.¹⁸⁶ The theological and practical origins of Christian poor relief are found in the epistles of Saint Paul; the second epistle to the Corinthians contains an interesting conclusion, in which the poverty becomes Christ's instrument for the salvation of mankind, saying:

¹⁸² Uta Lindgren, "Armut und Armenfürsorge I. A. Begrifflichkeit. I. Soziologie," *LMA* 1 (1980), 985; Simon Légasse, "Pauvreté chrétienne I. Écriture sainte," Viller, *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 614-634 (with further bibliography).

¹⁸³ Proverbs 22:2.

¹⁸⁴ Proverbs 10:22

¹⁸⁵ Ecclesiasticus 11:23

¹⁸⁶ Luke 6:21-26; Matthew 5:11-12; for Jesus' attitude to the poor see further: Jon Sobrino, "Relation de Jésus avec les pauvres et les déclassés. Importance de la morale fondamentale," *Concilium* 150 (1979), 25-34; Eduard Lohse, "Das Evangelium für die Armen," *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 72 (1981), 51-64; to the Gospel of Luke as the "gospel of the poor" see George W. S. Nickelsburg, "Riches, the Rich and God's Judgement in 1 Enoch 92-105 and the Gospel According to Luke," *New Testament Studies* 25 (1978-1979), 324-344; Gabriel Pérez, "Lucas, evangelio de exigencias radicales," *Servidor de la Palabra. Miscelanea biblica en honor del P. Alberto Colunga* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 1979), 319-367; Thomas E. Phillips, "Reading Recent Readings of Issues of Wealth and Poverty in Luke and Acts," *Currents in Biblical Research* 1 (2003), 231-269.

“For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that being rich he became poor, for your sakes; that through his poverty you might be rich.”¹⁸⁷

The poor were organic part of medieval daily life. There were many reasons for being poor in the Middle Ages; after the end of the Carolingian empire there was an increase in population numbers.¹⁸⁸ Changes in the system of land tenure led to a crisis in agriculture, which caused the pauperization of the lower social strata.¹⁸⁹ This pauperization and the loss of one’s own land may have led to migration into the towns; poverty was aggravated by periodic famines between the ninth and eleventh century.¹⁹⁰ The other group of medieval poor consisted of the voluntary paupers, who were mostly monks, hermits, and pilgrims.¹⁹¹ Both groups of poor were targets of these pious donations. However, the word *pauper* did not mean exclusively penniless people, but also those who could not defend themselves as they were not allowed to carry weapons, in other words: the unprotected.¹⁹²

In the normative texts of the late eighth and early ninth century one can see a structural change, as the distinction between the “rich” (*potentes*) and “poor” (*pauperes*) was introduced in the terminology; the term *pauperes liberi*, for instance, refers to a person who is unable to wield power but is obliged to take part in military operations and fight as a soldier (*pauperiores liberi, qui in exercitum ire debent*), or the

¹⁸⁷ 2 Corinthians 8:9 and *ibid.* 9:11 (“That being enriched in all things, you may abound unto all simplicity, which worketh through us thanksgiving to God”); to the question of the “poverty” of Christ see Légasse, *Pauvreté*, 632-633 and S. Zedda, “La povertà di Cristo secondo s. Paolo (2 Cor. 8, 9; Fil. 2, 7-9; Col. 1, 24; 2 Cor. 13, 3-4),” *Evangelizzare pauperibus. Atti della XXIV Settimana Biblica* (Brescia: Paideia, 1978), 343-370 (the book is the most comprehensive overview of the issue of poverty in the Bible).

¹⁸⁸ Dinter, *Armenfürsorge*, 134.

¹⁸⁹ Ernst Werner, “Armut und Reichtum in den Vorstellungen ost- und westkirchlicher Häretiker des 10.-12. Jahrhundert,” *Povertà e ricchezza nella spiritualità dei secoli XI e XII. Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla spiritualità medievale*, vol. 8. Todi: Presso l’Accademia Tudertina, 1969, 105-112.

¹⁹⁰ For the history of the medieval famines see: Fritz Curschmann. *Hungersnöte im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 8. bis 13. Jahrhundert*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1900, 82-85 (this is still the most comprehensive, but to some extent outdated work about the history of medieval famines).

¹⁹¹ Mollat du Jourdin, *Les moines*, 215.

¹⁹² Bosl, *Armut Christi*, 41-47; Dinter, *Armenfürsorge*, 135.

vassals at the royal court, who have no power (*pauperiores vassi de palatio*).¹⁹³ This dichotomy appeared already in the literature of the previous century; one should think of the *Historia* by Gregory of Tours, in which he makes a sharp distinction between the *maiores* and *minores*, as the social élite distinguished itself from the mass of the poor.¹⁹⁴ The important feature which made a sharp border between the small group of the upper class and the mass of paupers was work: it declassified, degraded one, who worked; it was considered “servant’s work” (*opus servile*), which was enough that free, independent people become “poor,” or rather “servants.”¹⁹⁵ But this “service” was not a total dependence on the élite: it needed the work of the lower strata of the society so the upper-class, or the social class which was still able to arm itself, provided the military and the social protection for the “poor,” with law, order, and poor relief, which also included the relief of widows and orphans.¹⁹⁶

The terminology of poverty did not change essentially in the Ottonian period. One can say, with good reason, that the vast majority of society could be regarded as poor, but it was not automatic, that they always required financial aid. Peter Dinter assumes that famines and other great disasters might have played an important role in the pauperization of the population of the Ottonian and Salian *Reich*, or at least they might have been a cause of the numerous pious donations of this era.¹⁹⁷ This suggestion is worth thinking over; if one compares the data of the disasters described in the narrative texts of the Ottonian and Salian age with that of the charters mentioned above, one may establish some connection between the practical poor relief and the actual

¹⁹³ Boretius, *Capitularia*, 100 (nr. 34): *C. 12. De obpressionibus liberorum hominum pauperum, qui in exercitu ire debent et a iudicibus sunt obpressi*; *Annales Laureshamenses*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz (MGH SS 1) (Hannover: Hahn, 1826), 38: *...noluit de infra palatio pauperiores vassos*; Bosl, *Grundlagen*, 71.

¹⁹⁴ Johannes Schneider, “Die Darstellung der pauperes in den Historiae Gregors von Tours,” *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 4 (1966), 57-74, especially 71-74.

¹⁹⁵ Bosl, *Grundlagen*, 89.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ Dinter, *Armenfürsorge*, 134.

difficulties of everyday life. Little information is available about these famines and disasters; the “Life of Saint Gerard” by Widric mentions a famine in Lorraine, particularly around Toul (984).¹⁹⁸ Three years later storms caused severe damages and floods in the western part of the empire. Archbishop Adalbero of Reims described the storm in his letter to Archbishop Egbert of Trier and the damages caused to the traffic in the territory of Lorraine and around Trier.¹⁹⁹ In the autumn of 989 another kind of natural disaster caused damage in the same territory, the Rhineland and Lorraine: a severe drought and extraordinary heat in spring and summer was followed by the illness and starvation of both humans and animals. The witness of this event, Archbishop Gerbert of Reims (later Pope Sylvester II), also suffered from the famine, writing about an “infectious autumn” (*pestilens autumnus*).²⁰⁰ In addition, the appearance of Halley’s Comet and a solar eclipse (on October 21, 990) boosted the panic in the realm of the nine-years-old Emperor Otto III.²⁰¹ In 992, the crops perished in storms in some territories of Germany and Italy, and the aurora borealis could be seen in the empire.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Widric, *Vita s. Gerardi episcopi*, ed. Georg Waitz (MGH SS 4) (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), 496: C. 8. *De inedia panis vitata, cellariis beati viri ad erogandum apertis. Reflexo autem tramite ad propria dum remeat, Langobardorum fines mox penetrat, ubi quam plures creditae sibi plebis repperit, quos victus inedia e a nativo solo expulit. Hos misericordiae sinu confovens, suae comites viae ascivit, et multitudinem trecentorum ferme hominum suo alendam sumptu congregavit, cum qua propriam urbem mediante quadagesima introiit*; Johann Friedrich Böhmer and Mathilde Uhlirz ed. *Regesta Imperii II. Sächsisches Haus 919-1024. 3: Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Otto III* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1956), nr. 956z.

¹⁹⁹ Fritz Weigle ed. *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims* (MGH Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit 2) (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1966), 138 (nr. 109): *Omni difficultate rerum accepto itinere interclusi expectendum censuimus portum salutis. Nam declivia montium torrentes continui intercipiunt. Campestria sic iuges aquae vestiunt, ut villis cum habitatoribus sublati, armentis enectis, terrorem ingerant diluvii renovandi. Spes melioris aurae a phisicis sublata. Refugimus itaque ad vos tamquam ad arcam Noe, Treverimque invisere totis viribus conamur, beati O. per vim extorta obsequia in beati Petri apostolorum principis devotionem relaturi*; Curschmann, *Hungersnöte*, 107.

²⁰⁰ Weigle, *Briefsammlung*, 190 (nr. 162): *pestilens autumnus pene vitam exforsit*; Curschmann, *Hungersnöte*, 107; Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii II*, nr. 1016c, 1017.

²⁰¹ Martina Giese ed. *Annales Quedlinburgenses* (MGH SS rer. Germ. 72) (Hannover: Hahn, 2004), 477 (989): *Cometae apparuerunt, quas pestilentia subsequuta est grandis hominum et iumentorum et maxima boum*; *ibid.* (990): *Ecclipsis solis facta est XII. Kalend. Novemb. hora quinte dei*; to the identification of Halley’s Comet and the chronology of the solar eclipse see: Derek Justin Schove and Alan J. Fletcher, *Chronology of eclipses and comets AD 1-1000* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 242, 297.

²⁰² Giese, *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, 482 (992): *XII. Calend. Novembris totum coelum ter in nocte visum est rubrum fuisse*; *ibid.* (993): *In nocte natalis sancti Stephani protomartyris, id est VII. Calend. Ianuarii, inauditum seculis miraculum vidimus, videlicet circa primum gallicinium tantam lucem subito ex aquilone effulsisse, ut plurimi dicerent diem oriri. Stetit autem unam plenam horam; postea rubente*

In the next year, cold weather after the heat and drought destroyed the agricultural territories, an early cold and snowy winter caused famine again.²⁰³ The disastrous events of the year 993, the long cold winter, the drought and famine they caused the death of thousands in the borderland of Germany and France, as well in Saxony (994).²⁰⁴ The first two decades of the reign of Otto III was full of disasters, so one may assume that Emperor Otto was forced to give numerous donations to the poor. Looking at the list of the charters, however, only one diploma was issued by the young emperor in 985, to the Kornelimünster Abbey. The abbey lies near the Rhine river (today it is a part of Aachen). Thus, the estate of the abbey might have been affected by the disasters between 984 and 989. Otto confirmed the previous privileges, the right of the immunity, the market, and the mint. The emperor handed the tithe to the abbey for the food and hospitality of the poor and the monks.²⁰⁵ The charter does not give any further account of the disasters; its terminology is too general and based on previous documents.

In the Salian period there is less information about the disasters and their probable consequences for the social conditions. As result of a famine in many parts of the empire lack, poverty and misery were present in 1056; this was the year when

aliquantulum coelo, in solitum conversum est colorem; see Robert Russell Newton, *Medieval chronicles and the rotation of the earth* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1972), 713; Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii II*, nr. 1077a.

²⁰³ Georg Waitz, *Annales Hildesheimenses* (MGH SS rer. Germ. 8) (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), 26 (993): *Et inde a nativitate sancti Johannis baptistae usque in 5 Id. Novembr. pene per omnem aetatem et autumnum siccitas nimia et fervor inmanis fuit; ita ut innumerabiles fruges non pervenirent ad temporaneam maturitatem propter solis ardorem; quo non modicum subsequebatur frigus, et magna nix cecidit, magnaue pestis simul et mortalitas hominum atque iumentorum evenit*; Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii II*, nr. 1078b, 1110d.

²⁰⁴ Giese, *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, 484-485 (994): *Hiems durissima 3. Non. Novembr. exorta, usque 3. Non. Maii stetit, rarissimis intermissa diebus. Deinde pestiferis et frigidis flantibus ventis, noctibus plurimis pro rore hibernum cecidit frigus. Ad ultimum Non. Iulii grande est factum gelu, tantaque siccitas fluminum et penuria facta est pluviarum, ut in plerisque stagnis et pisces morerentur, et in terris arbores plurimae penitus arescerent, et fruges perirent et linum. Subsequuta, quoque est grandis pestilentia hominum, porcorum, boum et ovium; prata etiam in plerisque locis ita exaruerunt, veluti igne exusta fuissent ... Fames etiam hoc anno magna facta est pluribus in locis Saxoniae*; Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii II*, nr. 1132b.

²⁰⁵ MGH DD O III 18 (Nimwegen, August 20, 985): *...Decima vero omnis dominicate culture ad usus fratrum pertinens iubemus atque sancimus, ut perhennis temporibus ad portam monasterii in alimoniam pauperum atque hospitum detur, cetera autem omnia ad stipendia monachorum ibidem deo famulantium proficiant in augmentis.*

Emperor Henry III died and his son and successor, Henry IV, was only three years old.²⁰⁶ In the years 1060, 1061, 1062, 1068 and 1069 famines occurred throughout the empire caused by drought, storms, or cold winters,²⁰⁷ but only three charters were issued by King Henry IV, without any further reference to the famines of these years, which would have been severe according to the accounts of the historians of the late Salian period (Bernold of Konstanz, Lampert of Hersfeld, Hermann of Reichenau, and others).²⁰⁸

Thus, there is no persuasive proof that the “imperial” relief of the Ottonian and the Salian age might have been connected with the severe natural disasters of the period. On the contrary, in the decades of the heavy disasters (the 990s and the 1060s) probably the fewest number of charters were issued; clearly one cannot deny a probable connection of institutionalized poor relief with famine, plague, and natural disaster, on the basis of the fragmentary source material.

The number of the people who requested help in the Ottonian and Salian age also cannot be determined accurately. The charters tell about perhaps two hundred people who were fed or clothed by the pious donations of the rulers. The charters of Henry IV (issued in 1064 to Magdeburg and in 1101 to the Monastery of St. Maximin) mention only three hundred people who were received by different churches by the grace of the emperor;²⁰⁹ the number of the people fed by the cathedral chapter of

²⁰⁶ Georg Waitz ed. *Chronicon Wirzburgense* (MGH SS 6) (Hannover: Hahn, 1844), 31: *Fames multas provincias afflixit. Egestas et penuria undique praevaluit. Multa mala tunc temporis facta sunt*; Johann Friedrich Böhmer and Tilman Struve ed. *Regesta Imperii III. Salisches Haus 1024-1125. 2. 1056-1125, Abt. 3: Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Heinrich IV. 1056-1106* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1984), n. 88; Curschmann, *Hungersnöte im Mittelalter*, 119.

²⁰⁷ Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii III/2,3*, nr. 206, 237, 278, 498, 540; Curschmann, *Hungersnöte im Mittelalter*, 119-120.

²⁰⁸ The charters mentioned above are MGH DD H IV nr. 138 (Quedlinburg, 18 November, 1064), MGH DD H IV nr. 147a (Worms / Mainz, March-April 1065), MGH DD H IV nr. 190 (Wiehe, 1067).

²⁰⁹ MGH DD H IV 138 (Quedlinburg, 18 November, 1064): *Et in utroque die preter prandium, quod exhibet fratribus, det elemosinas trecentis pauperibus singulis panem integrum cum ceteris, quæ deus dederit misericorditer tribuens...*; MGH DD H IV 465 (Speyer, 26 March, 1101): *Decernimus quoque, ut in anniversario die nostrae ordinationis ad imperium, quæ est pridie kal. aprilis, fratres servitium inde habeant et trecenti pauperes pascantur et ex his duodecim vestiantur; et, quod nobis vivente de*

Magdeburg and the Trier monastery of St. Maximin is so small that one cannot think this was a satisfying solution to the problem of poverty and famine. Otherwise, feeding the poor living in and around Magdeburg and Trier was not a daily practice, but rather an annual event. The description of the council of Dortmund by Thietmar of Merseburg (see above) confirms the fact that royal or ecclesiastical poor relief might have been a provisional solution for the social problems of the age. As was mentioned above, three hundred poor people were fed by the participating bishops, five hundred by Duke Bernhard of Saxony, and one thousand five hundred by the royal couple (Henry II and Queen Cunigunde) when they were received in Dortmund. This is two thousand three hundred people together which can be regarded as a relatively great number of people to take part in a banquet given by the participating notables of the council – but still, this was only one single event!²¹⁰ Clearly, the practice of poor relief in the Ottonian age and later cannot be compared to our notion of poor relief; there was no institutionalized charity or the financial means for continuous poor relief. The only institution which was willing and able to maintain the social justice and a relative “welfare” in the society of the early medieval Holy Roman Empire (and later), was the church: the church, which received its donations from the king or emperor, and which was therefore greatly reliant on the economic situation and depending on the benevolence of the royal power. Such poor relief could be successful only when co-operation functioned between the church and the “state.” But this co-operation depended on the personal interest of the ruler, who might have had any number of expectations of the church, like representation or the glorification of the royal power, or the ideological ratification of the royal might. The next chapter aims to show the possible intentions and interests which were present in the practical realization of poor relief.

pauperibus et fratribus fieri constituimus, idem post obitum nostrum in anniversario nostro observari disponimus.

2.3 Poor relief-policy in the Ottonian and Salian Reich

If the majority of the population in the Ottonian and Salian Empire lived in “poverty”, we must keep in mind that the concept of poverty in the early Middle Ages was very different from ours, because it referred to social conditions of dependance or to work-lifestyles.²¹¹ Of course, the accepted features of poverty were not unknown in the Ottonian and Salian Holy Roman Empire: lack of financial means, indigence, poor conditions and standards of living, or social dependance to the upper social strata.²¹² The chapter aims to answer the question of, what were the actual and real intentions of poor relief (royal and ecclesiastical) in the early medieval Holy Roman Empire? The previous chapter made clear that the dispositions and practical activities of the poor relief carried out in the tenth and eleventh century, were unable to improve the social conditions and standards of living of the poor – but what should have been the real intentions? One tries to determine the role of the representation and the rituals of the royal power, as well the pontifical dignity on the one hand, and to discover the possible ideological background of the deeds of charity in the realm of the early medieval Holy Roman rulers on the other hand.²¹³

From sixty-two authentic charters between 919 and 1125, only twenty-seven were issued by Ottonian rulers. Emperor Otto II and Otto III, father and son, gave only one charter each dealing with the issue of poor relief. Most charters record the donation

²¹⁰ Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, 296.

²¹¹ For the development of the concept of poverty see Bronislaw Geremek, *Poverty. A history* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 15-72.

²¹² Bosl, *Armut Christi*, 5; *ibid.* *Das Problem der Armut in der hochmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft* (Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philologisch-historische Klasse, 104/5) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften); *ibid.* “Armut, Arbeit, Emanzipation. Zu den Hintergründen der geistigen und literarischen Bewegung vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert,” *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Herbert Helbig zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Knut Schulz (Cologne: Böhlau, 1976), 128-146.

²¹³ John W. Bernhard, “King Henry II of Germany: Royal self-representation and historical memory,” Althoff, *Medieval concepts*, 39-69; *ibid.*, “Rechtsgewohnheiten und Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter,” *Gewohnheit, Gebot, Gesetz: Normativität in Geschichte und Gegenwart; eine Einführung*, ed. Nils Jansen and Peter Oestmann (Tübingen: Mohr & Siebeck, 2011), 27-52.

or corroboration of different privileges, like the legal immunity, the right of the free election of the abbot, certain royal rights (mintage, market, the rights over forests, lakes etc.). Poor relief appears in these documents as an extra administrative task. In his charter from 930, King Henry I obliged Kempten Abbey (Bavaria) to expend its tithe from *Buosenhoua* (Biessenhofen, Bavaria) for the support of the poor.²¹⁴ A same example is the charter for the Fulda Abbey by King Otto I (936) who affirmed the previous privileges (royal protection, free election of the abbot, immunity) of Louis the Pious, Conrad I and Henry I; the tithe collected from the estates of the abbey shall be used for the alimentation of the poor and pilgrims.²¹⁵

In the Ottonian age few documents were made with the explicit implication of poor relief. One of them is the charter of Otto I from 941, in which the king gives the monastery of St. Maurice in Magdeburg all his property in the villages Rohrsheim, Uplingi and Netthorp in the Harzgau for the alimentation of the poor.²¹⁶ Unfortunately, no other information is known about this charter, neither Widukind, nor other historians and annals mention it. The history of the monastery Hastière (in German Waulsort, today Belgium) founded in 946 is better known: Otto authorized the foundation of the

²¹⁴ MGH DD H I nr. 19 (Nabburg, 30 June, 929): *post eius autem obitum (Abbot Agilolf) ambae donationes ad alimoniam fratrum et decimationes salicae terrae in Buosenhoua ad **hospitale in sustentationem pauperum** pertinerent et, si eis abstraherentur, ad condonatores vel successores eorum remearent.*

²¹⁵ MGH DD O I n. 2 (Magdeburg, 14 October, 936): *habeat praefatus abbas successoresque eius potestatem decimas accipiendas propter aedificia perficienda vel restauranda luminariaque renovanda et ut sibi fidelibusque suis, **pauperibus** quoque et **peregrinis** tempore susceptionis usus necessarios possint praebere, iuxta id quod sanctae regulae propositum ac mandatum iubet monachos in susceptione **hospitum pauperumque** semper esse paratos...*

²¹⁶ MGH DD O I, nr. 41 (Magdeburg, 6 August, 941): *...Quocirca noverit omnium fidelium nostrorum tam presentium quam et futurorum industria, qualiter nos pro dei amore nostraeque animae remedio, nostri etiam sospitate regnique stabilitate ad monasterium quod deo sanctisque martiribus Mauricio atque Innocentio construximus, quicquid infra marcam hic nominatarum villarum: Uplingi, Rareshem, Netthorp, proprietatis habuimus in pago Hardaga in comitatu Thiatmeri, in **hospitales recipiendorum usus pauperum** iure perenni in proprium donavimus cum omnibus adiacenciis et appendiciis suis illuc legaliter aspitientibus, quandum nostri inde fuit, mancipiis agris pratis pascuis silvis aquis aquarumque decursibus molendinis piscationibus viis et inviis mobilibus et immobilibus, omnia ad coenobium deo pro veneratione prelibatorum martirum, Mauricii videlicet et Innocentii, in loco qui dicitur Magadoburg a nobis fundatum in predictos **usus hospitalitatis pauperum** contulimus...; for the monastery and cathedral chapter of St. Maurice see Gottfried Wentz and Berent Schwineköper, *Das Domstift St. Moritz in Magdeburg* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972).*

monastery dedicated to the poor relief and hospitality at the request of Archbishop Frederick of Mainz and Bishop Odo of Liège; the foundation was initiated by a noble man named Egilbert and his wife Hereswind, who invited Irish monks into their new foundation. Otto donated the right of the free election of the abbot to the monastery with the restriction, until as long as the Irish monks live, they are allowed to elect someone of them as abbot, and in addition, the king granted the title to the convent “monastery of the pilgrims” (*monasterium peregrinorum*).²¹⁷ The charter is perhaps the only one document which confirms the existence of the lay piety and the existence of a monastery founded by not a royal or ecclesiastical person. The monastery has its own historiographical compilation, the *Historia Walciodorensis monasterii*, which gives a more detailed account of the foundation and the installation of the monastery.²¹⁸

Emperor Otto II confirmed the same charter for Fulda, as it was already done by his father and other predecessors (Pippin, Louis the Pious, Conrad I and Henry I). He confirmed especially the royal protection, the immunity, the exemption from episcopal authority, and the collection of tithe for the poor relief.²¹⁹ Otto III confirmed also all the privileges granted to the monastery of Kornelimünster at the request of the Abbot Erwicus, who appeared before the emperor with his monks (*cum sibi subiecta*

²¹⁷ MGH DD O I nr. 81 (Reims, 19 September, 946): *Quorum petitionibus nos, sicuti dignum erat, aurem libentissime accomodantes, quippe qui salutis nostri commoda postulabant, statuendo decrevimus ut illud monasterio perpetuo in usus peregrinorum et pauperum stabiliatur firmetur atque corroboretur et semper in ditione Scottorum permaneat et, quamdiu aliquis illorum vixerit, nullus alius fiat abbas nisi unus ex ipsis, post decessum vero illorum alius deum diligens amator sancte regule efficiatur abbas. [Ipsam autem monasterium quia ad hoc noscitur esse constructum, vocetur deinceps monasterium peregrinorum.]*

²¹⁸ Georg Waitz ed. *Historia Walciodorensis monasterii* (MGH SS 14) (Hannover: Hahn, 1883), 510-512.

²¹⁹ MGH DD O II nr. 103 (Fulda, 27 May, 975): *...Precipimus etiam ut de villis ecclesiae sancti Bonifacii, servis etiam et colonis in illis manentibus quas moderno tempore habere videtur vel quae deinceps in ius ipsius loci dominus amplificaverit, habeat praefatus abbas successoresque eius potestatem decimas accipiendas propter aedificia perficienda vel restauranda luminariaque renovanda et ut sibi fidelibusque suis, pauperibus quoque et peregrinis tempore susceptionis usus necessarios possint praebere, iuxta id quod sanctae regulae propositum ac mandatum iubet monachos in susceptione hospitum pauperumque semper esse paratos; the charter is the literal copy of the MGH DD O I nr. 2 and the pontifical bulla issued by Pope Zachary (741-752), see Philipp Jaffé, Samuel Löwenfeld, Ferdinand Kaltenbrunner and Paul Ewald ed. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ad condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum 1198*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Veit, 1885), nr. 2293.*

catervula), and at the request of his mother, Empress Theophanu (*genitrici nostre dilectissime commonenti obsequentes*);²²⁰ all of the previous dispositions of his predecessors were corroborated, and Otto commanded that the tithe has to be distributed to the poor and travellers at the convent gate.²²¹

Henry II was the only ruler of the Liudolfing dynasty who granted pious donation to a church for the salvation of his soul, preparing the way for the practice of the Salian rulers.²²² In his charter to the Reichenau Abbey (1016),²²³ Henry corroborated the the submitted privileges to the monastery at the request of Abbot Bern, on the basis of the previous documents issued by Otto I, Charles III, Louis the Pious and Charlemagne, which contain the right of the free election of the abbot (with royal approval), as well the possession of the ninth and the tithe in the Suebian territories. Henry also declares, that he contributes with the grant of tithe to the monks that they pray to God for mercy and the redemption of Henry's soul, furthermore he gave the tithe as the sign of his charity to the monastery. The emperor did not specify the content of the sentence *quae pro nostra elemosina praedicto contulimus monasterio*, but one may assume, on the basis of later evidences, that it is about the implication of the poor relief; the tithe might have been used later by the monastery for the poor relief.²²⁴ Emperor Henry II confirmed also the privileges of the important imperial

²²⁰ Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner ed., *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin* (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1991).

²²¹ MGH DD O III nr. 18 (Nimwegen, 20 August, 985): ...***Decima*** vero omnis dominicate culture ad usus fratrum pertinens iubemus atque sancimus, ut perhennis temporibus ad portam monasterii ***in alimoniam pauperum atque hospitum detur***, cetera autem omnia ad stipendia monachorum ibidem deo famulantium proficiant in augmentis.

²²² John William Bernhardt, "Der Herrscher im Spiegel der Urkunden: Otto III. und Heinrich II. im Vergleich," *Otto III. – Heinrich II. Eine Wende?* Ed. Bernd Schneidmüller (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000), 327-348.

²²³ About Reichenau in this period see Thomas Kreutzer, *Verblichener Glanz: Adel und Reform in der Abtei Reichenau im Spätmittelalter* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008).

²²⁴ MGH DD H II nr. 354 (Dammerkirch, 29 August, 1016): ...*Haec autem superius comprehensa pro emolumento animae nostrae ad idem monasterium contulimus, quatenus monachi stipendium necessarium habentes pro nobis alacrius domini misericordiam exorare procurent, sed et statuentes praecipimus, ut nonae atque decimae, quae **pro nostra elemosina** praedicto contulimus monasterio,*

abbey of Fulda in his charter from 1020 at the request of Abbot Richard, with the same content than his predecessors: the collection of the tithe from the monastery's estates and for the purpose of renovation of the monastery buildings, as to care for the poor and pilgrims.²²⁵

Conrad II changed to some extent the attitude toward poor relief. As the first member of a new royal dynasty, he had problems of legitimacy: though related to the Liudolfing dynasty (unless he would have not had any chance to be elected), on the election of the new king, he had prove being the most appropriate person for the royal (and later the imperial) crown.²²⁶ The interesting event on his coronation, the meeting of Conrad with his three subjects had already been mentioned. This scene was his test as a pious and just ruler. It really does not matter, whether Wipo's account of this event based on facts or not, it expresses the ritual of the new king's performing his duties.²²⁷ The duty of the king is being a just ruler who cares for poor and under-class subjects as well: the "imitation of Christ" requires the protection of the church, the widows and the orphans – the weak. Conrad, as *vicarius Christi*, gave in this act the example of the proper way to follow Christ.²²⁸ Under the name of Emperor Conrad II nine charters were issued dealing with poor relief as well. Like his predecessors on the imperial

primo antequam summa censuum et tributorum dispertiat, agentibus monasterii dentur, et postmodum fiat divisio partium, quae ad nostrum vel comitum nostrorum ius pertinere debent.

²²⁵ MGH DD H II nr. 429 (Fulda, 3 May, 1020): *...Precipimus etiam, ut de villis aecclesiae sancti Bonifacii, servis etiam et colonis in illis manentibus, quas moderno tempore habere videtur vel quae deinceps in ius ipsius loci dominus amplificaverit, habeat prefatus abbas successoresque eius potestatem decimas accipiendas propter aedificia perficienda vel restauranda luminariaque renovanda, et ut sibi fidelibusque suis, pauperibus quoque et peregrinis tempore susceptionis usus necessarios possint prebere, iuxta id quod sanctae regulae propositum ac mandatum iubet monachos in susceptione hospitum pauperumque semper esse paratos.*

²²⁶ About the election of Conrad II see Herwig Wolfram, *Konrad II 990-1039. Kaiser dreier Reiche* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2000), 60-63.

²²⁷ Althoff, *Macht der Rituale*, 88; *ibid.* "Königsherrschaft und Konfliktbewältigung im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 23 (1989), 272; Ludger Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade. Zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühalsalischen Zeit* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), 144; Wolfram, *Konrad II*, 67.

²²⁸ Wolfram, *Konrad II*, 67-68; Althoff, *Königsherrschaft*, 275-276; Hartmut Hoffmann, *Mönchskönig und rex idiota. Studien zur Kirchenpolitik Heinrichs II. und Konrads II*, MGH Studien und Texte, 8 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1993), 128.

throne, Conrad confirmed the estates, rights, royal protection and immunity, privileges of Fulda Abbey donated by his ancestors; he granted the right and the amount of the tithe to the monks in order to fulfill the requirements of the hospitality and charity ordered by Saint Benedict's Rule.²²⁹ The monastery of Werden played an important role in Conrad's church policy: he granted two charters to the convent under his reign (1024 and 1033), in which he guaranteed the royal protection, immunity, the rights over the tithe and the freedom of the economic activity in the monastic estates.²³⁰ Conrad ordered to distribute the tithe among the poor and the guests at the gate of convent "for his eternal happiness."²³¹ For the salvation of his soul confirmed Conrad the estates and the rights over the tithe of the monastery dedicated to the Holy Virgin in Florence for behalf and use of the poor and pilgrims.²³²

The eternal reward played an even more important role in the poor relief policy of Conrad's son and successor, Emperor Henry III.²³³ Henry was the first ruler who gave donations for the sake of his father's memory; these donations were privileges to churches, but also the alimentation of poor and the pilgrims. For his eternal reward,

²²⁹ MGH DD K II nr. 172 (Belgern, 14 September, 1031): *habeat prefatus abba successoresque eius potestatem decimas accipiendas propter ædificia perficienda vel restauranda luminariaque renovanda, et ut sibi suisque fidelibus, pauperibus quoque et peregrinis tempore susceptionis usus necessarios possint impendere, idque sanctę regulę propositum ac mandatum iubet monachos in susceptione hospitum pauperumque semper esse paratos.*

²³⁰ MGH DD K II nr. 2 (Mainz, 10 September, 1024); MGH DD K II nr. 187 (Nijmegen, 28 April, 1033).

²³¹ MGH DD K II nr. 2: *...preterea, quod aliis quoque monachorum cęnobiis concessum est, ut, ubicumque dominicatos mansos habuerint, in quocumque sint episcopio seu prefectura, vel in omni regno a deo nobis collato decimas dent ad portam monasterii nec ab ullo penitus alibi dare cogantur, sed ab eisdem pro nostra beatitudine perpetua supervenientibus peregrinis et hospitibus serviatur*; MGH DD K II nr. 187: *in quocumque sint episcopio seu prefectura, vel in omni regno a deo nobis collato decimas dent ad portam monasterii nec ab ullo penitus alibi dare cogantur, sed ab eisdem pro nostra beatitudine perpetua supervenientibus peregrinis ac hospitibus serviatur.*

²³² MGH DD K II nr. 210 (Regensburg, 6 May, 1034): *...nos quoque pro remedio nostrę animę in usum hospitum et peregrinorum locum illum alicuius beneficii munere ditaremus.*

²³³ Johannes Laudage, "Heinrich III. (1017-1056) – Ein Lebensbild," *Das salische Kaiser-Evangeliar Codex Aureus Escorialensis, Kommentar Band 1*, ed. Johannes Rathofer (Madrid: Testimonio, 1999), 83-122; Boshof, *Die Salier*, 91-164; Althoff, *Der König weint*; Gerhart Burian Ladner, *Theologie und Politik vor dem Investiturstreit: Abendmahlstreit, Kirchenreform, Cluni und Heinrich III.; mit einer Vorbemerkung zum Neudruck* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968).

Emperor Henry offered pious donations to the cathedral chapter of Minden,²³⁴ the monastery of Farfa,²³⁵ the cathedral chapter of Salzburg,²³⁶ and the monastery of Verdun dedicated to Mary Magdalene.²³⁷ For the pious memory of his father granted Emperor Henry III to the Corvey Abbey:²³⁸ the charter has an interesting remark, namely it was issued for the memory of the previous emperor, Conrad, but also for “the stability of the kingdom given to us by the God and to exercise the charity carefully” (*atque pro stabilitate regni a deo nobis collati domini misericordiam attentius exorare*). Henry also confirmed the cathedral chapter of Hildesheim the estate in Poppenburg (today Lower Saxony) with an annual commemoration on the day of his father’s death.²³⁹

One of the earliest charters of King Henry IV, or his guardians, in 1057, disposed of the celebration of the memory of his grandparents, Emperor Conrad II and

²³⁴ MGH DD H III nr. 2 (Andernach, 22 June , 1039): *Quicquid vero fiscus exinde sperare potuerit, pro aeterna remuneratione praedictae aecclesiae ad stipendia pauperum et luminaria concinnanda concessimus*; MGH DD H III nr. 221 (Minden, 20 July, 1048): *Quicquid vero fiscus exinde sperare potuerit, pro aeterna remuneratione praedictae aecclesiae ad stipendia pauperum et luminaria concinnanda concessimus*.

²³⁵ MGH DD H III nr. 255 (Goslar, 16 September, 1050): *...Et quicquid de predicti monasterii possessionibus fiscus noster sperare potuerit, totum nos pro eterne remunerationis premio predicto monasterio concedimus, ut in alimoniam pauperum et stipendia monachorum ibidem deo famulantium nostris futurisque temporibus semper proficiat in augmentis*.

²³⁶ MGH DD H III nr. 335 (Brixen, 22 March, 1055): *Cum in hoc praesentis vitae stadio discurrentes praemium inmarcescibile adipisci cupimus et aecclesiarum atque orphanorum viduarum nec non omnium egenorum inopiam elemosinarum largitate ditare festinamus, quia inde aeternam mercedem accipere speramus et pro meritorum qualitate unicuique, prout possumus, digna retribuentes atque in semita iusticie ita gressus nostros confirmantes, videlicet bonis et nobis fideliter servientibus praemia cumulando, malis autem et Christi nostrique infidelibus poenas minitendo...*

²³⁷ MGH DD H III nr. 364 (Strassbourg, 23 January, 1056): *Quia ex divina iussione orphanorum aut aecclesiarum omniumque egentium inopiam, prout possumus, divinis aut terrenis divitiis ditamus, unde eterna premia speramus...*

²³⁸ MGH DD H III nr. 6 (Goslar, 3 September, 1039): *...Sed et de dominicatis mansis vel nunc habitis vel post acquirendis a reddendis decimis plenam idem monasterium habeat immunitatem, et, sicut hactenus fuit, ut dentur ad portam in susceptionem hospitem et peregrinorum in quibuslibet episcopis pagis vel territoriis vel omnibus, quae ibidem propter divinum amorem et illius sancti loci venerationem collata fuerint, ut liceat ibidem deo famulantibus sub nostrae immunitatis tuitione quieto ordine vivere ac residere et melius illos delectet omni tempore pro vite animaeque nostrae perpetua felicitate et pro remedio pie memorie genitoris nostri Chvonradi Romanorum videlicet imperatoris augusti atque pro stabilitate regni a deo nobis collati domini misericordiam attentius exorare*.

²³⁹ MGH DD H III nr. 236, (Hildesheim, 4 June, 1049): *...ea videlicet conditione ut patris nostri imperatoris Cönradi, ob cuius refrigerium animae hoc fecimus memoriale, eodem modo sicuti antecessoris sui felicitis imperatoris Heinrici ibi iugiter maneat memorialis probenda, unde pro ipsius spiritus elemosina semper reficiatur pauperum Christi indigentia, et ut illius obitus dies anniversarius*

Empress Gisela and his father, Emperor Henry III: the bishop of Speyer was supposed to celebrate and hold a commemoration on the days of the death of the young emperor's grandparents and father, on which the bishop has to give alms to the poor.²⁴⁰ Henry renewed his donation to Speyer near fifty years later, when he ordered to feed two hundred poor people on the commemoration day of her grandmother Empress Gisela.²⁴¹ Speyer played an important role in the life of the Salian royal dynasty, as the cathedral was their family burial place.²⁴² In 1064, King Henry IV confirmed the donation of the estate *Subizi* to the cathedral chapter of Magdeburg; a certain part of the benefice was supposed to be used for the complete alimentation of the brothers in the cathedral chapter, as well the alimentation of three hundred paupers on the day of St. Cecilia (22 November) which is the day of his father's death as well, however, the commemoration day of Emperor Henry III later should be substituted by the commemoration day of Empress Agnes of Poitou, the widow empress consort of Henry III.²⁴³

quotannis et constitutivis elemosinis et eiusdem cleri communibus vigiliarum et missarum celebretur orationibus.

²⁴⁰ MGH DD H IV nr. 10 (Worms, 5 April, 1057): *donavimus atque in proprium tradidimus, ea videlicet conditione uti prefatę ecclesię episcopus quotannis in anniversariis diebus felicitis memorię avorum nostrorum Chōnradi et Giselę...universis congregationibus deo ibidem servientibus plenum servitium inde exhibeat nec non et elemosinarium consolatione pauperum inopię succurrat.*

²⁴¹ MGH DD H IV nr. 466 (Speyer, 10 April, 1101): *...ad oblacionem vero Beienstein pro anima filie nostre Adhelheith in Spirensi cripta sepulte, Sulicho eciam, ut servitium inde cunctis fratribus Spirensis civitatis et elemosine pauperibus in aniversariis avi nostri Conradi et ave nostre Gisele et patris nostri Heinrici festivi donentur;* MGH DD H IV nr. 475 (Speyer, 15 February, 1102): *...Constituimus etiam, ut de predicta curia episcopus cunctis de omnibus ecclesię fratribus in anniversario ave nostre Gisele imperatricis vespere ad vigiliis et mane ad missam pro defunctis ad maiorem ecclesiam, ubi ipsa sepulta est, convenientibus in refectorio refectionem honeste ministret et insuper in eadem die CC pauperes pascat;* Stefan Weinfurter, "Herrschaftslegitimation und Königsautorität im Wandel. Die Salier und ihr Dom zu Speyer," *Die Salier und das Reich* vol 1., ed. Odilo Engels (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1991), 55-96.

²⁴² Ingrid Heidrich, "Bischöfe und Bischofskirche von Speyer," *Die Salier und das Reich. Bd. 2. Die Reichskirche in der Salierzeit*, ed. Stefan Weinfurter (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1991), 200-201.

²⁴³ MGH DD H IV nr. 138 (Quedlinburg, 18 November, 1064): *Quicquid autem eiusdem villae reliquum esse dinoscitur...communi fratrum iuri concedimus, eo scilicet pacto ut ille, cui fratres eandem villam...commendaverint, duo per singulos annos convivia, qualia solent esse meliora, fratribus exhibeat, unum videlicet in anniversario domni Heinrici serenissimi imperatoris, nostri...amantissimi genitoris, alterum vero in natali sanctae Ceciliae virginis, quod tamen quandoque transmutari debeat in anniversarium eiusdem religiosissimae nostrae genitricis. Et in utroque die preter prandium, quod exhibet fratribus, det elemosinas trecentis pauperibus singulis panem integrum cum ceteris, quę deus dederit misericorditer tribuens.*

The eternal reward was taken into account in the charter of Emperor Henry V to the Fulda Abbey, in which he confirmed all of the previous donations, rights, as well the duties toward the poor and pilgrims (1111); he also declared that the vassals of the abbey are only under the command of the abbot and the ruler, and one else is able to dispose of the abbey's troop.²⁴⁴

This survey of the charters' terminology indicates that the Salian rulers persuaded a more conscious policy of poor relief. The importance of the dynastic memory in the case of a new royal dynasty is understandable. One has to take into account, respectively, the influence of the Cluniac reform movement, which became more important in the Salian period.²⁴⁵ However, both Henry II and Conrad II tried to keep the influence of Cluny from the German monasteries away, but the Abbot Poppo of Stablo managed to introduced the reformed Benedictine doctrine of Cluny in some imperial abbey.²⁴⁶ In the propaganda of Emperor Conrad II played the compassion to his subjects an important role shaping his image as the *vicarius Christi*.²⁴⁷ Memory, sacral legitimation, pious deeds for salvation, even compassion²⁴⁸ – they were or

²⁴⁴ Stumpf, Reg. nr. 3082 (Hersfeld, 9 November, 1111): *Sed eidem abbati suisque successoribus liceat eiusdem monasterii (ergänze res) cum sibi subiectis sub nostra defensione possidere, et quicquid de supradictis rebus ius fisci exigere poterat, pro eterna remuneratione prefato monasterio et monachis confirmavimus firmissime precipientes, ut de villis ecclesie sancti Bonifacii, servis etiam et colonis in illis manentibus, quas moderno tempore habere videtur vel que deinceps in ius ipsius loci dominus amplificaverit, habeat prefatus abbas successoresque eius potestatem decimas accipiendas propter edificia perficienda vel restauranda luminariaque renovanda, et ut sibi suisque fidelibus, **pauperibus quoque et peregrinis tempore susceptionis usus necessarios** possint impendere, idque sancte regule propositum ac mandatum iubet, monachos in susceptione hospitum pauperumque semper esse paratos.*

²⁴⁵ Krüger, *Armenfürsorge*, 56-57; for the connection of the monastic reform and the new type of charity in the eleventh century see Joachim Wollasch, "Totengedenken im Reformmönchtum," *Monastische Reformen im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, ed. Raymund Kottje and Helmut Maurer, Vorträge und Forschungen, 38 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989), 147-166.

²⁴⁶ Wolfram, *Konrad II*, 311-324; Hoffmann, *Mönchskönig*, 27-49.

²⁴⁷ About the concept of the *vicarius Christi* in the medieval political thinking see Franz-Reiner Erkens, "Vicarius Christi – sacratissimus legislator – sacra majestas. Religiöse Herrschaftslegitimierung im Mittelalter," *ZRG KA* 89 (2003), 1-55; Adolf von Harnack, "Christus praesens – Vicarius Christi: Eine kirchengeschichtliche Skizze," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 34 (2007), 415-446.

²⁴⁸ One can read in the charter of Emperor Henry III (MGH DD H III nr. 352) to the people in Val Sacco, that the emperor has to "reach the hand of mercy for the poor", especially if they are oppressed by violent people (...*In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis. Henricus divinus favente clementia Romanorum inperator augustus. Si **miseris et pauperibus** secundum quod scriptum est 'Subvenite misero' manum*

probably they might have been the main indicators and motivations of poor relief of the Ottonian and Salian rulers. Previously it was indicated that bishops played a more essential role in the almsgiving and the practice of charity, in which also the education of poor children and orphans or the accomodation of the paupers and pilgrims were included. In comparison with the prelates' charitable, the charity of the kings and emperors of the Holy Roman Empire is almost negligible, if one did not take the financial support of the rulers into consideration.

After the Salian period, Church and State relations essentially, even if not fundamentally changed. The alliance and co-operation of the early medieval Church and State slowly came to an end and this affected poor relief: the rise of towns as legal, autonomous entities and the new religious orders played an even more important and practical role in the almsgiving; poor relief, as the totality of institutions, groups and individuals struggling against the poverty, neglected the state authorities, and the poor relief remained in the realm of the individual charity and benevolence until the emergence of the modern nation-states.

misericordie, prout imperialem decet clementiam, porrigimus, videlicet ut a violentis oppressionibus, et hic et in futuro premium nos recepturos sperare debemus).

3. CONCLUSION

In the previous chapters, the social policy, the poverty and the poor relief was presented in the early medieval Holy Roman Empire, focusing on the Ottonian and Salian age. The sources on this topic are fragmentary and sporadic. Taking the different kind of sources – narrative texts, like historiographical and hagiographic texts, charters, councilar decisions etc. – into consideration one may conclude the following:

1. Poor relief and the notion of poverty is rooted in the Carolingian traditions: in this context, the poor were considered as powerless people, without right to rule, or simply servants. The church and its institutions – monasteries, *xenodochia*, *matricula* etc. – were used in the everyday practice of the hospitality and poor relief.
2. It is not easy to determine who were actually the subjects of the pious donations of poor relief: new settlers into the growing towns, pilgrims (who were usually wealthy persons!), or peasants, who went bankrupt by the bad weather or the destruction of wars etc. The existence of the huge number of these people can be neither proved nor excluded positively, or rather one can only assume the impact of the demographic change in the status of poverty within the society of the Ottonian and Salian empire.
3. There were no network of the institutions of poor relief, nor organized distribution of *elemosynae* or food; the rulers entrusted the church (monasteries and bishoprics) with the alimentation of the poor and the accomodation of pilgrims, and they also covered their costs – to a certain extent. Little information exists about the “cost of charity”, but these do not allow any further conclusions.

4. The rulers of the Liudolfing dynasty, the Ottonians (between 919 and 1024), carried on the practice of poor relief that they inherited from the Carolingians. This is proved by the similarity of the terminology of the legal texts and the importance of the monastic centers.
5. In comparison with the Ottonian age, the Salian dynasty (1024-1125) focused on the poor relief as the possible medium of the representation of royal power, but it played an even more important role in the dynastic cult: the agapes were rather dynastic commemorations than practical solution of the poverty. Obviously, cathedral chapters were more frequently the places of poor relief: both the poor relief initiated by the bishops and the rulers of the Salian period. This refers to the growing importance of the towns as well.
6. Only few references survive about the charity of queens and empresses. Hagiographical narratives about the life of Saint Mathilda or Adelhaid are inspired by the biblical and hagiographic terminology, so they are less reliable, although the ascribed deeds of charity by the queens cannot be denied.
7. The lack of artistic representations of poor relief from this period is remarkable; there is one picture, however, in the so-called Bamberg Apocalypse (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS A. II. 42), an eleventh century richly illuminated manuscript containing the Book of Revelations: the Virtues defeat the Vices, and on the picture in the right corner below, one can see a figure clothed like a beggar. Other pictures depict an emperor (Otto III?) and two apostles (Peter? Paul?); there is no reference to the identity of the figure. Representations of poor-relief on images is unknown, but it does not mean that they did not exist.

APPENDIX

Overview of the charters

Henry I.

Signature	Date of the charter	Addressed church
MGH DD H I nr. 1	Fulda, April 3, 920	Fulda
MGH DD H I nr. 19	Nabburg, June 30, 929	Kempten (Allgäu)
MGH DD H I nr. 26	Werla, February 23, 931	Werden
MGH DD H I nr. 37	Erwitte, May 9, 935	Paderborn
MGH DD H I nr. †42	Worms, 931 (?)	Klingenmünster

Otto I.

Signature	Date of the charter	Addressed church
MGH DD O I, n. 2	Magdeburg, October 14, 936	Fulda
MGH DD O I, nr. 5	Dahlum, December 30, 936	Werden
MGH DD O I nr. 29	Salz, May 29, 940	St. Emmeram (Regensburg)
MGH DD O I nr. 41	Magdeburg, August 6, 941	St. Maurice (Magdeburg)
MGH DD O I, nr. 68	945-953 (?)	Salzburg
MGH DD O I nr. 81	Rheims, September 19, 946	Waulsort / Hastière
MGH DD O I nr. 106	Frankfurt, December 26, 948	Kempten (Allgäu)
MGH DD O I nr. 179	Frankfurt, March 10, 956	St. Maximin (Trier)
MGH DD O I nr. 210	Cologne, June 3, 960	St. Peter (Metz)
MGH DD O I nr. 213	Magdeburg, July 13, 960	San Salvatore (Sesto al Reghena)
MGH DD O I nr. 227	Brüggen an der Leine, June 7, 961	Minden
MGH DD O I nr. 237	Rignano Flaminio, February 21. 962	Abbadia San Salvatore
MGH DD O I nr. 240	Pavia, April 2, 962	Leno (near Brescia)

MGH DD O I nr. 258	San Leo, August 26, 963	San Zaccaria (Venice)
MGH DD O I nr. †442	Rome, 962	St. Maximin (Trier)
MGH DD O I nr. †453	Strasbourg, November 1, 972	Ottobeuren

Otto II. & Otto III.

Signature	Date of the charter	Addressed church
MGH DD O II nr. 103	Fulda, May 27, 975	Fulda
MGH DD O III nr. 18	Nijmegen, August 20, 985	Kornelimünster

Henry II.

Signature	Date of the charter	Addressed church
MGH DD H II nr. 291	Fasciano, 1014	Pisa
MGH DD H II nr. 297	Piacenza, 1014	San Salvatore (?)
MGH DD H II nr. 354	Dammerkirch, August 29, 1016	Reichenau
MGH DD H II nr. 429	Fulda, May 3, 1020	Fulda

Conrad II.

Signature	Date of the charter	Addressed church
MGH DD K II nr. 2	Mainz, September 10, 1024	Werden
MGH DD K II nr. 17	Goslar, January 22, 1025	Corvey
MGH DD K II nr. 48	Trier, January 11, 1026	St. Maximin (Trier)
MGH DD K II nr. 57	Peschiera (Borromeo?), March 15, 1026	Leno (near Brescia)
MGH DD K II nr. 172	Belgern, September 14, 1031	Fulda
MGH DD K II nr. 187	Nijmegen, April 28, 1033	Werden
MGH DD K II nr. 210	Regensburg, May 6, 1034	Badia Fiorentina (?) (Florence)
MGH DD K II nr. 227	Weissenburg (Alsace), February 28, 1036	Leno (near Brescia)
MGH DD K II nr. 257	Florence (?), February 18, 1038	Santo Sepolcro (Noceati, today Sansepolcro)

Henry III.

Signature	Date of the charter	Addressed church
MGH DD H III nr. 2	Andernach, June 22, 1039	Minden
MGH DD H III nr. 6	Goslar, September 3, 1039	Corvey
MGH DD H III nr. 75	Seligenstadt, April 21, 1041	Fulda
MGH DD H III nr. 111	Regensburg, October 2, [1043]	Moosburg (an der Isar)
MGH DD H III nr. 114	Ingelheim, November 29, 1043	Leno (near Brescia)
MGH DD H III nr. 221	Minden, July 20, 1048	Minden
MGH DD H III nr. 236	Hildesheim, June 4, 1049	Hildesheim
MGH DD H III nr. 255	Goslar, September 16, 1050	Farfa
MGH DD H III nr. 262	unknown, 1051	St. Maximin (Trier)
MGH DD H III nr. 335	Brixen, March 22, 1055	Salzburg
MGH DD H III nr. 346	unknown	Bologna
MGH DD H III nr. 364	Strasbourg, January 23, 1056	St-Marie-Madeleine (Verdun)
MGH DD H III nr. 372	Trier, between May 31 and June 30, 1056	St. Maximin (Trier)
MGH DD H III nr. 380	Bodfeld, September 23, 1056	Fulda
MGH DD H III nr. †391	Mainz, July 25, 1044	St. Maximin (Trier)
MGH DD H III nr. †409	Konstanz, January 4, 1056 (?)	Ebersheim (Mainz)

Henry IV.

Signature	Date of the charter	Addressed church
MGH DD H IV nr. 10	Worms, April 5, 1057	Speyer
MGH DD H IV nr. *49	Aachen, March 2, 1059	Nivelles
MGH DD H IV nr. 56	Pöhlde, July 27, 1059	Minden
MGH DD H IV nr. 138	Quedlinburg, November 18, 1064	Magdeburg

MGH DD H IV nr. 147a	Worms / Mainz, March-April 1065	Saint-Sépulcre (Cambrai)
MGH DD H IV nr. †159	Trier, 1065	St. Maximin (Trier)
MGH DD H IV nr. †181	Trebur, July 13, 1066	St. Maximin (Trier)
MGH DD H IV nr. 190	Wiehe, 1067	Lorsch
MGH DD H IV nr. 358	unknown, 1084	Farfa
MGH DD H IV nr. †368	unknown	Fulda
MGH DD H IV nr. †406	unknown, August 1, 1089	Fulda
MGH DD H IV nr. 465	Speyer, March 26, 1101	St. Maximin (Trier)
MGH DD H IV nr. 466	Speyer, April 10, 1101	Speyer
MGH DD H IV nr. 471	Kaiserswerth, August 3, 1101	Prüm
MGH DD H IV nr. 475	Speyer, February 15, 1102	Speyer

Henry V.

Signature	Date of the charter	Addressed church
Stumpf, Reg. nr. 3066	Passau, June 25, 1111	St. Nikola (Passau)
Stumpf, Reg. nr. 3082	Hersfeld, November 9, 1111	Fulda
Stumpf, Reg. nr. 3221	unknown, end of May 1118	Bologna

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

- Adam of Bremen. *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*. MGH SS rer. Germ. 2. Ed. Bernhard Schmeidler. Hannover: Hahn, 1917.
- Anselm of Liège. *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium*. MGH SS 7.. Hannover: Hahn, 1846, 189-234.
- Boretius, Alfred, ed. *Capitularia regum Francorum I*. MGH Capit. 1. Hannover: Hahn, 1883.
- Böhmer, Johann Friedrich and Heinrich Appelt, ed. *Regesta Imperii III. 1. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Konrad II. 1024 – 1039*. Graz: Verlag Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1951.
- Böhmer, Johann Friedrich and Theodor Graff, ed. *Regesta Imperii II. 4. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Heinrich IV. 1002 – 1024*. Vienna – Cologne – Graz: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1971.
- Böhmer, Johann Friedrich and Hanns Leo Mikoletzky, ed. *Regesta Imperii II. Sächsisches Haus 919-1024. 2: Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Otto II. 955 (973) – 983*. Vienna: Böhlau, 1950.
- Böhmer, Johann Friedrich, Engelbert Mühlbacher and Johann Lechner ed. *Regesta Imperii I. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751-918*. Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1908.
- Böhmer, Johann Friedrich and Emil von Ottenthal, ed. *Regesta Imperii II. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Herrschern aus dem Sächsischen Hause 919-1024*. Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1893.
- Böhmer, Johann Friedrich and Harald Zimmermann, ed. *Regesta Imperii II. 5. Papstregesten 911-1024*. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1998.
- Breslau, Harry, ed. *Die Urkunden Konrads II.* (MGH DD K II). Hannover – Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1909.
- Bresslau, Harry and Paul Kehr ed. *Die Urkunden Heinrichs III.* (MGH DD H III). Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1926-1931.
- Bruno of Querfurt. *Vita Adalberti*. MPH N. S. 4,2. Ed. Jadwiga Karwasińska. Warsaw: Państwo Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969.
- Elze, Reinhard, ed. *Die Ordines für die Weihe und Krönung des Kaisers und der Kaiserin. Ordines coronationis imperialis*. MGH Fontes iuris, 9. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1960.

- Fees, Irmgard ed. *Regesta Imperii I. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751-918 (987). Vol. 2: Die Regesten des Westfrankenreichs und Aquitaniens. Part 1: Die Regesten Karls des Kahlen 840 (823) – 877.* Cologne: Böhlau, 2007.
- Freise, Eckhard, Dieter Guenich and Joachim Wollasch ed. *Das Martyrolog – Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg.* Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996.
- Gerhard of Augsburg. *Vita Udalrici.* MGH SS 4. Ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Hahn, 1841, 377-425.
- Gilsdorf, Sean ed. *Queenship and sanctity: The lives of Mathilda and The epitaph of Adelheid.* Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004.
- Hartmann, Wilfried ed. *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 843-859.* MGH Conc. 3. Hannover: Hahn, 1984.
- Hehl, Ernst-Dieter ed. *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens 916-1001, vol. 1-2.* MGH Concilia 6,1. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1987-2007.
- Hirsch, Paul and Hans-Eberhard Lohmann ed. *Die Sachsengeschichte des Widukind von Korvei (Widukindi monachi Corbeiensis Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri III). Anhang: Die Schrift über die Herkunft der Schwaben.* MGH SS rer. Germ. 60. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1935.
- Johannes Canaparius. *Vita Adalberti.* MPH N. S. 4,1. Ed. Jadwiga Karwasińska. Warsaw: Państwo Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962.
- John Cassian. *Conlationes.* Ed. Michael Petschenig. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 13. Vienna: Gerold, 1886.
- Maassen, Friedrich ed. *Concilia aevi Merovingici (511-695).* MGH Conc. 1. Hannover: Hahn, 1893.
- Odilo of Cluny. *Epitaphium Adelheidae imperatricis.* Ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. MGH SS 4. Hannover: Hahn, 1841, 637-645.
- Otloh of St. Emmeram. *Vita s. Wolfkangi episcopi Ratisbonensis.* MGH SS 4. Ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Hahn, 1841, 521-542.
- Paulhart, Herbert ed. *Die Lebensbeschreibung der Kaiserin Adelheid von Abt Odilo von Cluny.* Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 20,2. Graz: Böhlau, 1962, 27-45.
- Pertz, Georg Heinrich ed. *Capitularia regum Francorum.* MGH LL 1. Hannover: Hahn, 1835.
- Reindel, Kurt, ed. *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani, vol. 3.* MGH Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit 4,3. Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1989.
- Robinson, Ian Stuart, ed. *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz 1054-1100.* MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 14. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2003.

- Ruotger. *Vita Brunonis (Ruotgers Lebensbeschreibung des Erzbischofs Bruno von Köln)*. MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, nova series 10. Ed. Irene Ott. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1951.
- Rupert of Deutz. *Vita Heriberti*. Ed. Peter Dinter. Cologne: Röhrscheid, 1976.
- Schütte, Bernd. *Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde (Vita Mathildis reginae antiquior – Vita Mathildis reginae posterior)* (MGH SS rer. Germ. 66). Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1994.
- Sickel, Theodor ed. *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I. und Otto I.* (MGH DD K I/ H I/ O I). Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1879-1884.
- Sickel, Theodor ed. *Die Urkunden Otto des II.* (MGH DD O II) Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1888.
- Sickel, Theodor ed. *Die Urkunden Otto des III.* (MGH DD O III) Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1893.
- Thietmar of Merseburg. *Chronicon (Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung)*. MGH SS rer. Germ. 9. Ed. Robert Holtzmann. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1935.
- Vita Annonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis*. MGH SS 11. Ed. Rudolf Köpke. Hannover: Hahn, 1854, 462-518.
- Vita s. Chuonradi episcopi*. MGH SS 4. Ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Hahn, 1841, 436-445.
- Vita Heinrici imperatoris IV*. MGH SS rer. Germ. 58. Ed. Wilhelm Bernhard. Hannover: Hahn, 1899.
- Von Gladiss, Dietrich and Alfred Gawlik, ed. *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV. Vols. 1-3.* (MGH DD H IV) Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1941; Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1959; Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1978.
- Widukind. *Rerum gestarum Saxoniarum (Die Sachsengeschichte des Widukind von Korvei)*. MGH SS rer. Germ. 60. Ed. Paul Hirsch and Hans-Eberhard Lohmann. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1935.
- Wipo of Burgundy. *Opera*. MGH SS rer. Germ. 61. Ed. Harry Bresslau. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1915, 1-62.

Secondary literature

Althoff, Gerd. "Rechtsgewohnheiten und Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter," *Gewohnheit, Gebot, Gesetz: Normativität in Geschichte und Gegenwart; eine Einführung*, ed. Nils Jansen and Peter Oestmann, 27-52. Tübingen: Mohr & Siebeck, 2011..

_____. *Heinrich IV.* Ostfilder: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2009.

_____. "Rituale als ordnungsstiftende Elemente." In *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – europäische Perspektiven*, ed. Walter Pohl, 391-398. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009.

_____. *Heinrich IV.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006.

_____. *Die Ottonen. Königsherrschaft ohne Staat.* Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005.

_____. *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter.* Darmstadt: Primus-Verlag, 2003.

_____. "The variability of rituals in the Middle Ages." In *Medieval concepts of the past. Rituals, memory, historiography.* Ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried and Patrick Joseph Geary, 71-87. Washington DC: German Historical Institute, 2003.

_____. *Inszenierte Herrschaft: Geschichtsschreibung und politisches Handeln im Mittelalter.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003.

_____. "Rituale – symbolische Kommunikation." *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 50 (1999), 140-151.

_____. "Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung. 'Emotionen' in der öffentlichen Kommunikation des Mittelalters," In *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter. Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde.* Ed. Gerd Althoff, 258-281. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997.

_____. "Der König weint: rituelle Tränen in öffentlicher Kommunikation," In *"Aufführung" und "Schrift" in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit.* Ed. Jan-Dirk Müller, 239-252. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996.

_____. *Otto III.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996.

_____. "Von Fakten zu Motiven. Johannes Frieds Beschreibung der Ursprünge Deutschlands." *Historische Zeitschrift* 260 (1995): 107-117.

_____. "Ritual und Demonstration in mittelalterlichem Verhalten." In *Personenbeziehungen in der mittelalterlichen Literatur.* Ed. Helmut Brall-Tuchel, Barbara Haupt und Urban Küsters, 457-476. Düsseldorf: Droste, 1994.

- _____. “Causa scribendi und Darstellungsabsicht: Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde und andere Beispiele.” In *Litterae Medii Aevi. Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth*. Ed. Michael Borgolte and Herrad Spilling, 117-126. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1988.
- _____. “Das Bett des Königs in Magdeburg: zu Thietmar II, 28,” In *Festschrift für Berent Schwineköper zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*. Ed. Hans-Martin Maurer and Hans Patze, 141-153. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1982.
- Althoff, Gerd and Hagen Keller. *Die Zeit der späten Karolinger und Ottonen: Krisen und Konsolidierungen, 888-1024*. Gebhardt Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte, 3. Stuttgart: Klett-Kotta, 2008.
- Althoff, Gerd and Ernst Schubert, ed. *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*. Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1998.
- Andrieu, Michel. *Les ordines romani du haut Moyen Âge*, vol. 1-5. Louvain: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 1931-1961.
- Bernhardt, John W. “Der Herrscher im Spiegel der Urkunden: Otto III. und Heinrich II. im Vergleich,” In *Otto III. – Heinrich II. Eine Wende?* Ed. Bernd Schneidmüller, 327-348. Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000.
- _____. *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany c. 936–1075*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Berschin, Walter. *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter. Bd. 4.: Ottonische Biographie: Das hohe Mittelalter: 920-1220 n. Chr.* Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1999.
- Helmut Beumann, “Zur Verfasserfrage der Vita Heinrici IV.” In *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, Ed. Lutz Fenske, Werner Rösener and Thomas Zotz, 305-319. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1984.
- _____. “Historiographische Konzeption und politische Ziele Widukinds von Corvey,” In *La storiografia altomedievale*, 857-894. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1970.
- _____. *Widukind von Korvei. Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung und Ideengeschichte des 10. Jahrhunderts*. Weimar: Böhlau, 1950.
- Bode, Tina. “Klöster und Bischofssitze als Kommunikationsknotenpunkte? – Nachrichtennetze in der ottonischen Reichskirche (936-1024),” In *Verwandtschaft, Freundschaft, Bruderschaft: soziale Lebens- und Kommunikationsformen im Mittelalter: Akten des 12. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes vom 19. bis 22. März 2007 in Trier*. Ed. Gerhard Krieger, 211-220. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2009.

- Bornscheuer, Lothar. *Miseriae regum. Untersuchungen zum Krisen- und Todesgedanken in den herrschaftstheologischen Vorstellungen der ottonisch-salischen Zeit*. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1968.
- Boshof, Egon. *Die Salier*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995.
- _____. *Königtum und Königsherrschaft im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*. Munich: Raoul Oldenburg Verlag, 1993.
- _____. *Heinrich IV. Herrscher an einer Zeitenwende*. Göttingen: Muster-Schmidt, 1990.
- _____. "Königtum und Reichskirche in der Zeit Ottos von Bamberg." In *Otto von Bamberg (1102-1139): Vorträge zum Jubiläumsjahr*. Ed. Egon Boshof, Klaus Guth, Franz Machilek and Heimo Ertl, 11-38. Nürnberg: Pirkheimer, 1989.
- _____. "Armenfürsorge im Frühmittelalter. Xenodochium, matricula, hospitale pauperum." *VSWG* 71 (1984): 153-174.
- _____. "Untersuchungen zur Armenfürsorge im fränkischen Reich des 9. Jahrhunderts." *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 58 (1976): 265-339.
- Bosl, Karl. *Armut Christi: Ideal der Mönche und Ketzer, Ideologie der aufsteigenden Gesellschaftsschichten vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*. Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981.
- _____. *Das Problem der Armut in der hochmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974.
- _____. *Die Grundlagen der modernen Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Eine deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. 1-2. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1972.
- Boye, Martin. "Quellenkatalog der Synoden Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens von 922-1059." *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 48 (1930): 45-96.
- _____. "Die Synoden Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens von 922-1059." *ZRG KA* 18 (1929): 131-284.
- Brundage, James Arthur. "Widukind of Corvey and the 'Non-Roman' Imperial Idea." *Mediaeval Studies* 22 (1960): 15-26.
- Brunhölzl, Franz. *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters. Bd. 2. Die Zwischenzeit vom Ausgang des karolingischen Zeitalters bis zur Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1992.
- Brühl, Carlrichard. *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitum regis. Studien zu den wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des Königtums im Frankenreich und in den fränkischen Nachfolgestaaten Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien vom 6. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1-2. Cologne: Böhlau, 1968.

- Burkhardt, Johannes. "Narrationes in ottonischen Königs- und Kaiserurkunden. Versuch einer Typologie." In *Arbeiten aus dem Marburger Hilfswissenschaftlichen Institut*. Ed. Erika Eisenlohr & Peter Worm, 133-177. Marburg an der Lahn: Universitätsbibliothek, 2000.
- Cantarella, Glauco Maria and Dorino Tuniz ed. *Il papa ed il sovrano: Gregorio VII ed Enrico IV nella lotta per le investiture*. Novara: Europa, 1998.
- Corbet, Patrick. *Les saints ottoniens. Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour de l'an mil*. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1986.
- Dinter, Peter. "Die Armenfürsorge in Bischofsviten des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts." In *Arbor amoena comis. Festschrift zum 25jährigen Bestehen des Mittellateinischen Seminars der Universität Bonn 1965-1990*. Ed. Ewald Könsgen, 133-142. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag (1990).
- Dirmeier, Artur. "Armenfürsorge, Totengedenken und Machtpolitik im mittelalterlichen Regensburg: Vom *hospitale pauperum* zum Almosenamt." In *Regensburg im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte vom frühen Mittelalter bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit*. Ed. Martin Angerer and Heinrich Wanderwitz, 217-236. Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 1995.
- Donnay-Rocmans, Claudine. *La collégiale Sainte-Gertrude de Nivelles*. Paris: Duculot, 1979.
- Dort, Katrin and Christian Reuther. "Armenfürsorge in den karolingischen Kapitularien," *Zwischen Ausschluss und Solidarität. Modi der Inklusion/Exklusion von Fremden und Armen in Europa seit der Spätantike*. Ed. Raphael Lutz and Herbert Uerlings, 133-164. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2008.
- Eichmann, Eduard. "Die Ordines der Kaiserkrönung." *ZRG KA 2* (1912): 1-44.
- Engels, Odilo, Franz-Josef Heyen, Franz Staab and Stefan Weinfurter, ed. *Die Salier und das Reich*, vol. 1. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1991.
- van Engen, John H. *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).
- Epperlein, Siegfried. "Zur weltlichen und kirchlichen Armenfürsorge im karolingischen Imperium. Ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftspolitik in Frankreich." *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (1963): 41-59.
- Erdmann, Carl. "Königs- und Kaiserkrönung im ottonischen Pontifikale." In *Forschungen zur politischen Ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters*. Ed. Carl Erdmann and Friedrich Baethgen, 51-92. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1951.
- von Euw, Anton and Peter Schreiner ed. *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin*. Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1991.
- Fleckenstein, Josef. "Problematik und Gestalt der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche." In *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit. Vorträge beim wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium aus*

- Anlaß des 80. Geburtstags von Gerd Tellenbach. Ed. Karl Schmid, 83-98. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1985.
- _____. "Zum Begriff der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche." In *Geschichte, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft. Festschrift für Clemens Bauer zum 75. Geburtstag*. Ed. Erich Hassinger (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1974), 61-71.
- _____. *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige. 2: Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1966.
- Folz, Robert. *Les saintes reines du Moyen Âge en Occident*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1992.
- Fraesdorff, David. *Der barbarische Norden. Vorstellungen und Fremdkategorien bei Rimbert, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2005.
- Fried, Johannes. "Gnesen – Aachen – Rom. Otto III. und der Kult des hl. Adalbert. Beobachtungen zum älteren Adalbertsleben," In *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren. Die Berliner Tagung über den „Akt von Gnesen.“* Ed. Michael Borgolte, 235-279. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2002.
- _____. *Der Weg in die Geschichte. Die Ursprünge Deutschlands bis 1024*. Propyläen Geschichte Deutschlands 1. Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1994.
- Glocker, Winfrid. *Die Verwandten der Ottonen und ihre Bedeutung in der Politik. Studien zur Familienpolitik und zur Genealogie des sächsischen Kaiserhauses*. Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1989.
- Haarländer, Stephanie. *Vitae episcoporum. Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2000.
- Haendler, Gert. *Von der Reichskirche Ottos I. zur Papstherrschaft Gregors VII.* Leipzig: Evangelische Verlags-Anstalt, 1994.
- Hartmann, Wilfried. *Kirche und Kirchenrecht um 900: Die Bedeutung der spätkarolingischen Zeit für Tradition und Innovation im kirchlichen Recht*. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2008.
- Helbling, Barbara, Magdalena Bless-Grabher and Ines Buhofer ed. *Bettelorden, Bruderschaften und Beginen in Zürich: Stadtkultur und Seelenheil im Mittelalter*. Zürich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung Buchverlag, 2002.
- Hellmann, Siegmund. "Die Vita Heinrici IV. und die Kaiserliche Kanzlei." *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 28 (1934): 273-334
- Hoffmann, Hartmut. *Mönchskönig und rex idiota. Studien zur Kirchenpolitik Heinrichs II. und Konrads II.* Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1993.

- Hoffmann, Konrad. *Taufsymbolik im mittelalterlichen Herrscherbild*. Düsseldorf: Rheinland-Verlag, 1968.
- Johnson, Edgar Nathaniel. *The secular activities of the German episcopate, 919-1024*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1932.
- Karwasińska, Jadwiga. "Studia krytyczne nad żywotami św. Wojciecha, biskupa praskiego [Critical studies on the lives of Saint Adalbert, bishop of Prague]." *Studia Źródłoznawcze. Commentationes* 2 (1958), 41-79.
- Keller, Hagen. "Über die Rolle des Königs bei der Einsetzung der Bischöfe im Reich der Ottonen und Salier." *FmSt* 44 (2010): 153-174.
- _____. "Die internationale Forschung zur Staatlichkeit der Ottonenzeit." In *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – europäische Perspektiven*. Ed. Walter Pohl and Veronika Wieser, 113-132. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009.
- _____. "Ritual, Symbolik und Visualisierung in der Kultur des ottonischen Reiches." *FmSt* 35 (2001): 23-59.
- Keller, Hagen and Gerd Althoff. *Heinrich I. und Otto der Grosse: Neubeginn auf karolingischem Erbe*. Göttingen: Muster-Schmidt, 1985.
- Klauser, Theodor. "Das altchristliche Totenmahl nach dem heutigen Stande der Forschung." In *Gesammelte Schriften zur Liturgiegeschichte, Kirchengeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*. Ed. Theodor Klauser, 114-120. Münster: Aschendorff'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1974.
- Köhler, Oskar. "Die ottonische Reichskirche. Ein Forschungsbericht." In *Adel und Kirche. Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern*. Ed. Josef Fleckenstein and Karl Schmid, 141-204. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1968.
- Kölzer, Theo. "Die ottonisch-salische Herrscherurkunde," In *Typologie der Königsurkunden. Kolloquium der Commission Internationale de Diplomatie in Olmütz, 30.8.-3.9. 1992*, ed. Jan Bistrický, 127-142. Olomouc, Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 1998.
- Köpke, Rudolf. "Die beiden Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde," *FDG* 6 (1866), 147-171.
- Kreutzer, Thomas. *Verblichener Glanz: Adel und Reform in der Abtei Reichenau im Spätmittelalter*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008.
- Krüger, Klaus. "Sterben, Bestattung, Nachleben und Armenfürsorge in ottonischer Zeit." In *Memleben. Königspfalz, Reichskloster, Propstei*. Ed. Helge Wittmann, 41-60. Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2001.
- Kuchenbuch, Ludolf, Stefan Hanemann, Sabine Teubner-Schoebel and Juliane Trede, *Grundherrschaft im früheren Mittelalter*. Idstein: Schulz-Kirchner, 1991.

- Kühberger, Christoph. *Aktuelle Tendenzen der historischen Armutsforschung*. Vienna: LIT-Verlag, 2005.
- Ladner, Gerhart Burian. *Theologie und Politik vor dem Investiturstreit: Abendmahlstreit, Kirchenreform, Cluni und Heinrich III.; mit einer Vorbemerkung zum Neudruck*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968.
- Lamma, Paolo. *Momenti di storiografia Cluniacense*. Rome: Istituto storico Italiano per il Medio evo, 1961.
- Laudage, Johannes. "Heinrich III. (1017-1056) – Ein Lebensbild." In *Das salische Kaiser-Evangeliar Codex Aureus Escorialensis, Kommentar Band 1*. Ed. Johannes Rathofer, 83-122. Madrid: Testimonio, 1999.
- Leyser, Karl Joseph. *Am Vorabend der ersten europäischen Revolution. Das 11. Jahrhundert als Umbruchszeit*. Munich: Stiftung Historisches Kolleg, 1994.
- Lippelt, Helmut. *Thietmar von Merseburg. Reichsbischof und Chronist*. Cologne: Böhlau, 1973.
- Lot, Ferdinand and Louis Halphen. *La régné de Charles de Chauve*. Paris: Champion, 1909.
- Manitius, Max. *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 2. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1923.
- Martimort, Aimé-Georges. *Les "ordines", les ordinaires et les cérémoniaux*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1991.
- McKitterick, Rosamond. "Some Carolingian law-books and their function." In *Authority and Power. Studies on Medieval Law and Government Presented to Walter Ullman on his Seventieth Birthday*. Ed. Brian Tierney and Peter A. Linehan, 13-27. Cambridge: CUP, 1980.
- Mollat du Jourdin, Michel. "Il concetto della povertà nel Medioevo: problematica." In *La concezione della povertà nel Medioevo. Antologia di scritti*, ed. Ovidio Capitani, 1-34. Bologna: Pàtron, 1983.
- _____. *Les pauvres au moyen âge. Etude sociale*. Paris: Hachette, 1978.
- _____. *Etudes sur l'histoire de la pauvreté*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, Université de Paris IV, 1974.
- _____. "Les moines et les pauvres." In *Il monachesimo e la riforma ecclesiastica 1049-1122. Atti della 4a Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 23-29 agosto 1968*, 193-227. Milano: Vita e pensiero, 1971.
- _____. "Le problème de la pauvreté au XIIe siècle." In *Vaudois languedociens et pauvres catholiques*. Ed. Marie-Humbert Vicaire, 23-47. Paris: Édouard Privat, 1967.

- _____. "La notion de pauvreté au moyen âge: position de problèmes." *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 52 (1966), 6-24.
- Mordek, Hubert. "Fränkische Kapitularien und Kapitulariensammlungen," *Studien zur fränkischen Herrschergesetzgebung: Aufsätze über Kapitularien und Kapitulariensammlungen ausgewählt zum 60. Geburtstag*. Ed. Hubert Mordek, 1-53. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2000.
- _____. "Zur Kirchenrechtsreform am Beispiel des Frankfurter Kapitulars." In *794 – Karl der Große in Frankfurt am Main. Ein König bei der Arbeit. Ausstellung zum 1200-Jahre-Jubiläum der Stadt Frankfurt am Main*. Ed. Johannes Fried, 134-136. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1994.
- Mottart, Alphonse. *La collégiale Sainte-Gertrude de Nivelles*. Nivelles: Les Archers, 1954.
- Möllenberg, Walter. "Der Liber privilegiorum s. Mauricii Magdeburgensis." In *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Robert Holtzmann zum 60. Geburtstag*. Ed. Walter Möllenberg and Martin Linzel, 93-102. Berlin: Ebering, 1933.
- Müller-Mertens, Eckhard. *Die Reichsstruktur im Spiegel der Herrschaftspraxis Ottos des Großen. Prolegomena zur Frage Feudalstaat auf deutschem Boden, seit wann deutscher Feudalstaat?* Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980.
- _____. *Karl der Grosse, Ludwig der Fromme und die Freien. Wer waren die liberi homines der karolingischen Kapitularien (742/743 - 832)? Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte und Sozialpolitik des Frankenreiches*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963.
- Müller-Mertens, Eckhard, and Wolfgang Huschner. *Reichsintegration im Spiegel der Herrschaftspraxis Kaiser Konrads II*. Weimar: Böhlau, 1992.
- Nelson, Janet Loughland. *Charles the Bald*. London: Longman, 1992.
- Oexle, Otto Gerhard. "Arbeit, Armut, "Stand" im Mittelalter." In *Geschichte und Zukunft der Arbeit*. Ed. Beate Redslob, Jürgen Kocka and Claus Offe, 67-79. Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 2000.
- _____. "Potens und Pauper im Frühmittelalter." In *Bildhafte Rede im Mittelalter und frühen Neuzeit. Probleme ihrer Legitimation und ihrer Funktion*. Ed. Wolfgang Harms and Klaus Speckenbach, 131-149. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992.
- _____. "Armut, Armutsbegriff und Armenfürsorge im Mittelalter." In *Soziale Sicherheit und soziale Disziplinierung: Beiträge zu einer historischen Theorie der Sozialpolitik*. Ed. Christoph Sachße, 73-101. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1986.
- _____. "Mahl und Spende im mittelalterlichen Totenkult." *FmSt* 18 (1984): 401-420.
- _____. "Armut und Armenfürsorge um 1200. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der freiwilligen Armut bei Elisabeth von Thüringen." In *Sankt Elisabeth. Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige. Aufsätze. Dokumentation. Katalog*, 78-100. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1981.

- Offergeld, Thilo. *Reges pueri. Das Königtum Minderjähriges im frühen Mittelalter*. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2001.
- von Padberg, Lutz E. "Geschichtsschreibung und kulturelles Gedächtnis: Formen der Vergangenheitswahrnehmung in der hochmittelalterlichen Historiographie am Beispiel von Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau." *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 105 (1994): 156-177.
- Päffgen, Bernd. "Magdeburg im 10. Jahrhundert: Überlegungen zur Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Kirchen." In *Der Magdeburger Domplatz: Archäologie und Geschichte 805-1209*. Ed. Heike Päppelmann, Matthias Puhle and Harald Meller, 127-165. Magdeburg: Magdeburger Museen, 2006.
- Patzold, Steffen. "'Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit': zum Herrscherbild im Aachener Otto-Evangeliar." *FmSt* 35 (2001): 243-272.
- Pauly, Michel. "Hospitäler im Grenzraum zwischen Germania und Romania," In *Quellen zur europäischen Spitalgeschichte in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: Sources for the History of Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Ed. Martin Scheutz, 133-164. Vienna: Böhlau, 2010.
- _____. "Hospitäler im Mittelalter: Wann und wo gehörte das Hospital zur Stadt." *Was machte im Mittelalter zur Stadt?: Selbstverständnis, Außensicht und Erscheinungsbilder mittelalterlicher Städte; Vorträge des gleichnamigen Symposiums vom 30. März bis 2. April 2006 in Heilbronn*. Ed. Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke and Christhard Schrenk, 245-269. Heilbronn: Stadtarchiv, 2007.
- _____. *Peregrinorum, pauperum ac aliorum transeuntium receptaculum: Hospitäler zwischen Maas und Rhein im Mittelalter*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007.
- Regenbogen, Otto. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites. 1: Bernold von Hochdorf. Seine Herkunft und Heimat, sein Amt und seine Beziehungen zu den Klöstern St. Blasien und Schaffhausen*. Friedrichshafen: Author's edition, 1935.
- Reindel, Kurt. "Die ottonisch-salische Reichskirche und der Investiturstreit," In *Handbuch der Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Bayern. Bd. 1.: Von den Anfängen des Christentums bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Ed. Gerhard Müller, Horst Weigelt and Wolfgang Zorn, 31-52. St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 2002.
- Reuter, Timothy. "The 'imperial church system' of the Ottonian and Salian rulers. A reconsideration." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33 (1982): 347-374.
- Robinson, Ian Stuart. *Henry IV of Germany 1056-1106*. Cambridge: CUP, 1999.
- _____. "The friendship circle of Bernold of Constance and the dissemination of Gregorian ideas in late eleventh-century Germany." In *Friendship in Medieval Europe*. Ed. Julian P. Haseldine, 185-198. Stroud: Sutton, 1999.
- _____. "Bernold von Konstanz und der gregorianische Reformkreis um Bischof Gerhard III." *DA* 46 (1990), 155-188.

- Rösener, Werner. ed., *Grundherrschaft und bäuerliche Gesellschaft im Hochmittelalter*. Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995.
- Santifaller, Leo. *Zur Geschichte des ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystems*. Graz: Böhlau, 1964.
- Schieffer, Rudolf. "Mönchsbischöfe in der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche." *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 113 (2002): 65-79.
- _____. *Der geschichtliche Ort der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchenpolitik*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1998.
- _____. "Karolingische und ottonische Kirchenpolitik." In *Mönchtum – Kirche – Herrschaft 750-1000: Josef Semmler zum 65. Geburtstag*. Ed. Dieter R. Bauer, 311-325. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998.
- _____. "Freiheit der Kirche. Vom 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert." In *Die Abendländische Freiheit vom 10. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert. Der Wirkungszusammenhang von Idee und Wirklichkeit im europäischen Vergleich*. Ed. Johannes Fried, 49-66. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991.
- Schluck, Manfred, ed. *Die Vita Heinrici IV. Imperatoris. Ihre zeitgenössischen Quellen und ihr besonderes Verhältnis zum Carmen de bello Saxonico*. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1979.
- Schmugge, Ludwig. "Zu den Anfängen des organisierten Pilgerverkehrs und zur Unterbringung und Verpflegung von Pilgern im Mittelalter." In *Gastfreundschaft, Taverne und Gasthaus im Mittelalter*. Ed. Hans Conrad Peyer, 37-60. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1983.
- Schneidmüller, Bernd and Stefan Weinfurter ed. *Salisches Kaisertum und neues Europa. Die Zeit Heinrichs IV. und Heinrichs V.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007.
- Schramm, Percy Ernst. "Die Krönung in Deutschland bis zum Beginn des Salischen Hauses." *ZRG KA* 24 (1935): 264-278.
- Schrimpf, Gangolf, ed. *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*. Frankfurt am Main: Knecht, 1996.
- Schulmeyer-Ahl, Kerstin. *Der Anfang vom Ende der Ottonen: Konstitutionsbedingungen historiographischer Nachrichten in der Chronik Thietmars von Merseburg*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.
- Schütte, Bernd. *Untersuchungen zu den Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde*. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1994.

- Scior, Volker. *Das Eigene und das Fremde. Identität und Fremdheit in den Chroniken Adams von Bremen, Helmolds von Bosau und Arnolds von Lübeck*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2002.
- Seydel, Walther. *Studien zur Kritik Wipos*. Wrocław: Trewendt, 1898.
- Skoda, Petra. "St. Blasien, Rudolf von Rheinfelden und die Zähringer." In *frumento et vino opima: Festschrift für Thomas Zotz zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*. Ed. Heinz Krieg and Alfons Zettler, 181-194. Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2004.
- Staub, Johannes: "Odilos Adelheid-Epitaph und seine Verse auf Otto den Großen." In *Latin culture in the eleventh century: proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies; Cambridge, September 9-12, 1998*, vol. 2. Ed. Michael W. Herren, Christopher James MacDonough and Arthur G. Ross, 400-409. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.
- Strelau, Ernst. *Leben und Werke des Mönches Bernold von St. Blasien*. Jena: Frommansche Buchdruckerei, 1889.
- Streng, Petra. "Wolfgang von Regensburg: Das Leben eines Heiligen und Reformers im Spiegel der Überlieferung." In *Herrscher, Helden, Heilige*. Ed. Ulrich Müller and Werner Wunderlich, 665-680. St. Gallen: UVK, Fachverlag für Wissenschaft und Studium, 1996.
- Struve, Tilman. *Salierzeit im Wandel: zur Geschichte Heinrichs IV. und des Investiturstreites*. Cologne: Böhlau, 2006.
- Suchan, Monika. *Königsherrschaft im Streit. Konfliktaustragung in der Regierungszeit Heinrichs IV. zwischen Gewalt, Gespräch und Schriftlichkeit*. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1997.
- Szabó, Thomas: "Xenodochia, Hospitäler und Herbergen. Kirchliche und kommerzielle Gastung im mittelalterlichen Italien 7. bis 14. Jahrhundert." In *Gastfreundschaft, Taverne und Gasthaus im Mittelalter*. Ed. Hans Conrad Peyer, 61-92. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1983.
- Vogel, Cyrille and Reinhard Elze ed. *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du 10^e siècle (Pontificale Romano-Germanicum saeculi decimi)*. Vol. 1. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963.
- Voigt, Heinrich Gisbert. *Brun von Querfurt, Mönch, Eremit, Erzbischof der Heiden und Märtyrer*. Stuttgart: Steinkopf, 1907.
- Vollrath, Hanna. "Geschichtswissenschaft und Geschichtsschreibung. Zur Diskussion um das Buch 'Der Weg un die Geschichte' von Johannes Fried." *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 43 (1995): 451-459.
- Walker, David: "Hospitium: a feudal service of hospitality." *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 76 (1957): 48-61.

Warner, David A. "Thietmar of Merseburg: the image of the Ottonian bishop." *The year 1000: religious and social response to the turning of the first millennium*. Ed. Michael Frassetto, 85-110. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002.

Weinfurter, Stefan. *Canossa: Die Entzauberung der Welt*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2006.

_____. *Herrschaft und Reich der Salier. Grundlinien einer Umbruchzeit*. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1991.

Weinfurter, Stefan and Hans Martin Siefarth, ed. *Die Salier und das Reich. 2: Die Reichskirche in der Salierzeit*. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1992.

Weisweiler, Heinrich. "Die päpstliche Gewalt in den Schriften Bernolds von St. Blasien." *Studi gregoriani* 4 (1952), 129-147.

Wendehorst, Alfred and Stefan Benz. *Die Säkularkanonikerstifte der Reichskirche*. Neustadt an der Aisch: Degener, 1997.

Wenskus, Reinhard. *Studien zur historisch-politischen Gedankenwelt Bruns von Querfurt*. Münster: Böhlau, 1956.

Wentz, Gottfried and Berent Schwineköper. *Das Domstift St. Moritz in Magdeburg*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972.

Wistuba, Marc-Robert. "Vom Moritzkloster zum Erzbistum Magdeburg." In *Auf den Spuren der Ottonen. Protokoll des Wissenschaftlichen Kolloquiums am 26. Mai 2000 in Wetzendorf/Memleben*, vol. 2. Ed. Gerlinde Schlenker, 44-54. Halle an der Saale: Landesheimatbund Sachsen-Anhalt, 2000.

Wollasch, Joachim. "Totengedenken im Reformmönchtum," In *Monastische Reformen im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*. Ed. Raymund Kottje and Helmut Maurer, 147-166. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989.