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Hybrid Histories and Imperial Prophecies: A Study of the 1519

True History of Frederick Barbarossa

Thesis submitted to the Department of Historical Studies,
Central European University Private University, Vienna, in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

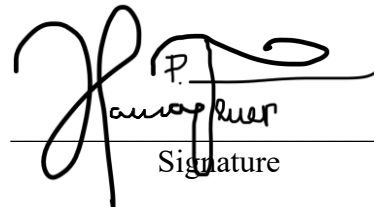
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June, 2025

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Abstract

A largely forgotten book from 1519 identifies itself as, "Ein warhafftige history von dem Kayser Friderich der erft seines namens / mit ainem langen rotten Bart," or "A true history of the Emperor Frederick the first of his name, with a long red beard." Yet, despite its grand claims, the little book veers far from sources contemporary to the late emperor's reign (r.1155-90). Rather, this source reinterprets and builds upon centuries of historiographical development, while incorporating entirely new aspects of its own. It is comprised of a combination of revised local historical legend and Venetian historical narrative traditions, and fuses details of narratives tied to both Frederick I and Frederick II into a mythologized representation of Frederick Barbarossa. This fusion also includes mythological elements typically tied to Frederick II, but previously never attached to textual narratives of Barbarossa. The *True History of Frederick Barbarossa* is the oldest known surviving text to refer to Barbarossa in place of his grandson, as the emperor sleeping in the mountains, prophecized to return one day to punish the clergy. However, beyond this detail alone, this rich source has been largely overlooked by academic circles.

This MA thesis grounds the narrative in its origins in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries and traces the development of the historiographical transformations which led up to the production of this text. I approach this highly ambiguous text itself through the practice of new historicism, reading it against the socio-political backdrop of the end of Emperor Maximilian's reign, calls for religious reform leading up to the Protestant Reformation, and social unrest. I argue that this source can be viewed as a reaction to papal Rome, widespread rebellion, a thirst for patriotism, and a looming uncertainty of the future of the Empire. And I assert that the Barbarossa presented by the *True History* proves to be a complex individual who may have reflected the dissonance of praise and criticism attached to Maximilian I by the conclusion of his reign.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my advisors Professor Daniel Ziemann and Professor Éloïse Adde for your support and patience during the process of writing this thesis throughout its many transformations and breakthroughs. I am incredibly grateful for all of your feedback, helpful suggestions pushed me to view my studies from new angles and guided me in right direction. Prof. Daniel, your calm positivity and academic enthusiasm is infectious, and managed to both relieve and motivate me to keep going at some of the most stressful points in the semester! I am also grateful for your assistance and feedback with any translations, in addition to all of your thoughtful insights, and your openness to new ideas. Prof. Éloïse, I cannot count how many times I left your classrooms excited to continue engaging with concepts or question that come up. If it had not been for you, I would never have found myself interning last summer at the Czech National Library in Prague under the guidance of the wonderful Renata Modráková, where I was able to engage daily with medieval manuscripts of my dreams and learned so much! I am happy I could always count on you for your genuine opinions and feedback. The combination of both of your supervision provided the perfect balance of constructive criticism and encouragement.

I would also like to thank Prof. Cristian Gaspar for strengthening my excitement for medieval and early modern literature. I have always appreciated your lectures as well as your advice even prior to officially joining CEU! A big thank you also goes out to Prof. Dora Ivanišević, for always going above and beyond, and pushing myself and our class to absorb as much Latin learning as possible during these critical two years! I am grateful to Ondřej Fúsik of Charles University for many one-on-one sessions last summer, providing substantial support and feedback as I worked on my own English translation of the *True History*. I am appreciative of the entire CEU medieval and historical

studies cohort for being such a wonderful group of people that I am lucky to have met! I am especially thankful to my boyfriend Ahmet. I can always count on you academically and emotionally for support in good times and bad times, more than anyone else. I am so happy to have met you, and I truly don't know where I would be without you. Lastly I would like to thank both my friends and family for always supporting me, whether close or afar, I owe so much to you!

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1 INTRODUCTION

The peasants and practitioners of the dark arts say that he is still living in a hollow mountain, that he shall return once again and punish the clergy; his shield still hangs upon the dry tree, a tree which all sultans still guard as they have guarded and will continue to guard. Which emperor shall hang his shield there, God only knows.¹

In 1519 a small and mysterious book appeared, claiming to recall the "true history" of the renowned Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Across the span of a mere five chapters and eight folios, a narrative quickly unravels that blends history with myth, legend, and prophecy. The historical figure of Frederick Barbarossa (r.1155-1190) may have been the first holy roman emperor to go on crusade, but he never even made it to the Holy Land before he suddenly died. Here, the red-bearded ruler is triumphant. His army liberates the city of Jerusalem with a makeshift flag constructed from a lance and a shoe. Barbarossa's reported death by drowning in the Saleph River is presented as a grand misunderstanding; he was simply captured by the sultan thanks to the malicious schemes of a jealous Pope Alexander III. As the story draws towards its end, the emperor has returned to power and nearly fulfilled the prophecy of the Last World Emperor as he pursues the pope (now disguised as a cook) to Venice. Barbarossa's oaths of vengeance are cut short when peace is established by the pope stepping on his neck. However, the closing prophecy, shown above, provides some consolation the Barbarossa will return to punish the clergy, or at least *an* emperor.

¹ "vnd ist zůletzt verlorn worden das niemandt waist wo er hin ist komē /noch begraben /Die pawrn vnd schwartzen kunstner sagen /er sey noch lebendig in ainem holen Perg /foll noch herwider komen / vnd die Gaysthlichen straffen/ vñ fein schillt noch an den düren paum hengken / welchs paumß all Soldan noch fleißig hüttē lassen / das ist war das des paumß gehüt wirt /vnd fein hütter darzu gestift / Wölcher Kayser aber seinem schillt fol daran hencken das wayß Got." *Ein warhafftige history von dem Kayser Friedrich...* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.8r.1-8, hereafter referred to as the "*True History*"

To the first-time reader, it would seem that the text's anonymous author must have had a wild imagination. However, upon closer study, it becomes evident that this narrative is largely the product of numerous historiographical transformations which occurred across several centuries. This is not to say that the text did not come with its own creative additions and alterations, most notably the framework of the Last World Emperor. Rather, through a combination of 'history' that may have already been familiar to the learned German imperial reader, and the introduction of entirely new elements in this little book, the narrative could communicate a set of values and concerns contemporary to the early sixteenth century.

My thesis will center around this little book, which I will refer to as the *True History of Frederick Barbarossa* (1519) for the duration of this study. This thesis will argue that the *True History* promotes an imperial structure which is united across all social strata, with the emperor as its figurehead; that it vilifies the papacy as the imperial community's greatest threat.² I propose that the *True History* responded to a general feeling of uncertainty towards the future at the conclusion of Maximilian I's reign, wake of peasant uprisings, and calls for religious reform.

On the one hand, its 'true' narrative of the past glorifies various forms of honor and loyalty through a series of episodes which are processed within a prophetic framework. Through Dietmar *Anhanger's* noble display of loyalty to his duke on the battlefield, despite his low birth, the narrative reflects not only an ideal model of behavior, but the importance of cooperation between both lord and subject. By romanticizing the old symbiosis between lord and subject, the *True History* may have even diverted attention away from the ruling elite's own role in contributing to widespread unrest and upheaval. Barbarossa, a fearless intelligent leader marked by exemplary

² I also believe that the *True History* vilifies the Italian (*welschen*) forces, namely the Venetians. However, while I may touch upon this topic, I was ultimately unable to significantly expand upon this due to constraints of time and space.

Christian behavior, is relentless in his quest for justice. His legendary character and commendable victories in Jerusalem and Venice, feeds into pride in the historical legacy of the Holy Roman Empire as a formidable force, especially amidst contemporary calls to crusade, backlash to Italian and papal influence, and the Italian Wars. Meanwhile the the *True History* underscores to the untrustworthiness of the papacy, high ranking Church officials, and papal loyalists such as the *welschen*, as corrupted and self-serving forces.

On the other hand, just as the prophecy of the Last World Emperor appears to be almost fulfilled, it is left inconclusive, and the cycle begins again. Barbarossa's mysterious disappearance and word amongst peasants and practitioners of black magic of his prophecized return to punish the clergy carries an ambiguous charm. The conclusion of the *True History* mirrors the contemporary dissatisfaction with the Church and its clergy within the Holy Roman Empire, and another imperial reign which promised but failed to fulfill the prophecy of the Last World Emperor. I argue that the *True History* ends on a note that walks a fine line between praise and subtle hints at criticism towards the emperor in addition to the Church.

In addition to bringing greater scholarly attention to the *True History of Frederick Barbarossa*, one of the aims of this thesis is to be able explore how meaning is created and transformed within the *True History* through a mutual dialogue between the text and historical accounts, cultural practices and perceptions, as well as the *True History's* positioning *between* other texts. That is to say, my approach will pull from the academic practice of New Historicism (also commonly known as "cultural poetics"³) in tandem with the study of intertextuality in a postructuralist light. In doing so, I intend to present a case study in which a particular patriotic

³ Stephen Greenblatt, who coined the term New Historicism, later generally switched to using this term instead in the following decades. See Geoffrey Galt Harpham, "Foucault and New Historicism," *American Literary History* 3, no. 2 (1991): 363.

stance is promoted through a mythology, specifically, one that is manufactured through an entanglement or hybridization of localized and imported legends, along with the text's own distinctive texture and voice.

I would also like to address the relevance of the phrase "imperial prophecies," which I use to refer to the prophecization in relation to the contemporary and future condition of the Holy Roman Empire. I would like to point out that the role of prophecy, specifically the notion of the Last World Emperor, within the *True History* simply cannot be overlooked, due to its far-reaching presence within contemporary sixteenth-century central and western European society. The presence of prophecy could be found within the discourse of imperial legitimization, rebellion, and perhaps most importantly reform. Prophecy could function as a way to create a link between historical legend, contemporary circumstances, and projections into the future. I would like to touch upon how the *True History*'s inclusion of prophecy ultimately held the potential to transform how the collection of legends as a complete mythology were understood. Through the prophecy of the Last World Emperor, time could be reconceptualized through the lens of a history of salvation.

1.1 Questions

I am especially curious, as to how the meanings of these legends were transformed through their appropriation into the *True History*. I will explore the ways in which geographical context of the text's circulation, and contemporary developments with regards to politics, religion and culture may have framed the reader's perception of the narrative. Some of the other questions this thesis poses include: how do the legends interact with one another within the anthology, and to what extent does this interaction culminate in a collective meaning for narrative of the text as a whole? One of the features that has stood out within the course of this study is the great degree to which

chronotope, the intersection of time and space, within the narrative of Frederick Barbarossa is drastically reconfigured when compared to the collection of legends that the text pulls from. This leads me to the question as to how the restructuring of narrative chronology has an impact upon the light in which the actions of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III, are viewed?⁴ How does the original cultural context of the myth's origin translate into the new text? How does the way the prophetic framework of the Last World Emperor is integrated into the historical narrative of Frederick Barbarossa impact how history is understood and remembered? How did the reign of Emperor Maximilian (r. 1508-1519) play a role in the use and understanding of history and prophecy in the early sixteenth century? How might the *True History* be understood within the context of the aftermath of Maximilian's reign?

1.2 Relevance and Contributions of the Study

This thesis will be the first study to offer a meaningful, in depth analysis of the *True History* in the English language, and one of the only to be written in general. In doing so, I will contribute to other underappreciated areas of study with great potential of fruitful discussion, including the literary presence of Frederick I Barbarossa during the sixteenth century. As a study of the first

⁴ To give an example, nearly all 'historical' accounts referring to Barbarossa's supposed prostration at the Peace of Venice (1177), and Pope Alexander III's act of stepping upon the neck of Barbarossa, present it as having occurred prior to Frederick Barbarossa's participation in the Third Crusade. Meanwhile surviving legends of Pope Alexander III's conspiracy to imprison and assassinate Barbarossa, by means of sending a letter with the emperor's portrait to Saladdin are attributed to a fear of Barbarossa's potential victories within the Holy Land. In the narrative of the *True History*, Barbarossa goes on the Third Crusade, and Pope Alexander III sends the letter to Saladin as a reaction to his anger at the emperor's victory. After being imprisoned for an entire year, Barbarossa's advances on Venice (where the Pope fled) hold legitimacy. When the emperor prostrates himself before the pope, it is now far more evident to the reader that the pope's decision to step on the emperor's neck is not justified. For although the *True History* acknowledges the emperor's excommunication, and installment of three consecutive anti-popes, following the election of Alexander as pope at the beginning of the narrative, the pope's decision to assassinate the emperor on account of his liberation of Jerusalem is not only unchristian, but also a betrayal to the entire christian community of the Holy Roman Empire. The appropriation of the Bavarian legend of the Bundschuh within the timeline of the Third Crusade further reinforces this latter point, as it shows that the victory was made possible through the entire hierarchical order of society, under the emperor.

literary example of the Last World Emperor prophecy in reference to Frederick Barbarossa (as opposed to Frederick II), this thesis has the potential to open new avenues for future comparative studies on the prophecy of Barbarossa's return and its links to German-imperial patriotism, which peaked in popularity during the nineteenth century. I also hope that this thesis will shed light on the literary and historical value of works which have been categorized under the label of 'historia' and 'volksbuch' or 'chapbook', and have received insufficient scholarly attention, at least beyond the most renowned texts.

1.3 Methodology

Each chapter of this thesis incorporate short passages from texts or mythological traditions which likely influenced or can be considered as the myth's textual origin. I will analyze these passages to the best of my ability. I will then examine the comparable passages of the *True History* by contrast, acknowledging what about the legends have shifted. My approach will pull from the academic practice of New Historicism (also commonly known as "cultural poetics"⁵) in tandem with the study of intertextuality in a poststructuralist light, as well as Peter Burke's cultural hybridity. New Historicism centers around the intersection between literary text and historical account, as well as cultural practices (and perhaps also conventions).⁶ Literary and nonliterary texts are read as participants of historical discourse in terms of mutual influence, in the sense that they may contribute to, reinforce, counter, reshape, or reinterpret an existing narrative, while also creating

⁵ Stephen Greenblatt, who coined the term New Historicism, later generally switched to using this term instead in the following decades. See Geoffrey Galt Harpham, "Foucault and New Historicism," *American Literary History* 3, no. 2 (1991): 363.

⁶ David Mikics, *A New Handbook for Literary Terms*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007) 205.

its very own discourse.⁷ Rejecting both determinism⁸ and essentialism, new historicism can be considered as a "history of possibilities."⁹ In their book *Practicing New Historicism* Greenblatt and Gallagher underscore that new historicism questions the common assumptions about the original creators and readers of a work, which, in combination with technology, have often defined the boundaries (or perceived boundaries) of a work.¹⁰

The way in which I intend to practice new historicism deeply intertwines with the notions of intertextuality and cultural hybridity.¹¹ Drawing on the writing of Burke, namely his essay *Cultural Hybridity*, which analyzes the phenomena of cultural exchanges and cultural hybridity,

⁷ The new historicist approach to study, according to Gallagher, involves "reading literary and nonliterary texts as constituents of historical discourses that are both inside and outside of texts," David Mikics, *A New Handbook for Literary Terms*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007) 205.

New historicism seeks to account for both the collective and the individual voice; how literature can be understood as a product of a particular historical culture, while also maintaining a degree of independence, see: Catherine Gallagher & Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 2000), 38.

⁸ Mikics, *A New Handbook for Literary Terms*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007) 205.

As noted by Gallagher, it proposes "no fixed hierarchy of cause and effect as they trace the connections among texts, discourses, power, and the constitution of subjectivity." This reflects the influence of Foucault

⁹ Catherine Gallagher & Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 2000), 38.

¹⁰ Greenblatt and Gallagher write in their book *Practicing New Historicism* that:

"we almost always receive works whose boundaries have already been defined by the technology and generic assumptions of the original makers and readers. But new historicism undertakes to call these assumptions into question and treat them as part of the history that needs to be interpreted" Catherine Gallagher & Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 2000), 36.

If I am to apply these statements within the context of the *True History*, the subject my study, I would take this to mean that the boundaries that may be easily assumed about the worked based upon the literary tradition from which it sprung should be questioned. Moreover, even if Albrecht Classen is correct in his assertion that societal and economic problems are rarely present in texts traditionally categorized under the label of *Volksbücher*, and that when they do appear it is subdued, I would question any generic assumption that commentary on societal problems was not or could not be nevertheless conveyed to the reader (see Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch*, 3) Instead I ask, what cultural and literary forces might contribute to this apparent lack of representation? Are there any existing features of the text could actually contradict these assumptions? To take one example, I would argue that in fact, cases such as the representation of Dietmar *Anhenger* and the *Bundschuh*, and the inclusion of Pope Alexander III stepping on the neck of Frederick Barbarossa might have been difficult to read in 1519 without invoking a strong awareness of contemporary political and social concerns at the forefront of the minds of many who resided within the Holy Roman Empire.

¹¹ Burke defines the term culture as including "attitudes, mentalities, and values, and their expression, embodiment, or symbolization in artefacts, practices, and representations." See: Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 5.

the *True History* will be regarded as a 'hybrid artefact'¹², but more specifically, as a hybrid text, which employs hybrid images, and exists within a hybrid genre. I would consider the *True History* to be a hybrid text because it is formed through a combination of legends, alleged histories, and stories with cross-cultural origins. Meanwhile, my understanding of the hybrid image is very tied to the nature of the text itself. Burke reinforces the assertions made by art historians and psychologists before him¹³ that "stereotypes or schemata are necessary to the process of structuring perception and so interpreting the world."¹⁴ Further, Burke notes that stereotypes or schemata primarily derive from particular cultural repertoires, and that "eye, brain and culture work together."¹⁵ In the instance of the *True History*, it appears that when a legend is removed from the literary tradition or culture from which it sprung, and then appropriated into a new literary and cultural context, the key images of the legend become enmeshed with the world/framework of the new text and the schemata of the reader. This change may also be furthered by the introduction of 'new' images which interact with the 'old' ones. Moreover I use the phrase "hybrid histories" in my thesis title to refer to this.

Evidence indicates that a number of the myths present within the text were first conceived in independent environments, with an audience, culture of reception, and literary formula that noticeably differed from that of the 1519 *True History*. Yet given an analysis of the historical (political, social, economic, and religious) developments most contemporary to the production of the text, and their culture of reception, it becomes evident that certain elements present within

¹² Based on my reading of Burke it seems that a 'hybrid artefact' can be defined as an artifact that is created through the interaction of different traditions and cultures. See Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 13-14.

¹³ This includes art historians, including Aby Warburg and Ernst Gombrich, and psychologists, such as Richard Gregory

¹⁴ Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, 16.

¹⁵ Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, 16.

some of the myths (ex. the Bundschuh) had acquired a novel symbolic currency in both literary and non-literary discourse by the time they were absorbed into the *True History*.

1.4 Structure and Framework of Thesis

In my first chapter, I will provide some general information about the source material, including its dating, audience, reception, printers, genre, structure, and plot. My second chapter, "The Bundschuh Flag as a Conduit of Power & Reversal of Rebellion?" will explore how the legend of Duke Eckhart, Dietmar *Anhanger* ('the Follower') and the Bundschuh emerge within the context of the *True History*.¹⁶ I will argue that in contrast to the myth's origin text, the *Scheyerer Fürstentafel* (Scheyern Princes' Panel), which celebrated the heroism of Count Eckhart's leadership under the red-banded Bundschuh¹⁷, the *True History* shifts its focus to the heroism of Dietmar *Anhanger's* loyalty to the Christian community, the empire, and to Duke Eckhart, which is performed by recycling his "peasantly" Bundschuh¹⁸ into a new flag, which he then gives to Duke Eckhart of Bavaria. My third chapter "The Conflict of Frederick Barbarossa and Alexander III as an Intertextual and Hybrid Narrative," will trace the origins and some key transformations of the historical narrative which serves as the framework of the *True History*, and concerns the conflict and eventual peace between Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III. I reveal that order for the *True History* to have been able to become the text that it is, the historical narrative had to

¹⁶ This legend roots back to the fourteenth-century *Fürstentafel*, which identifies the Wittelbach dynasty's link to the historical use of the red-banded Bundschuh as a coat of arms through the story of Count Eckhart of Scheyern's victory over Jerusalem by making his Bundschuh into a flag to unite King Henry III's army.

¹⁷ In contrast to the typical Bundschuh, commonly worn by peasants, the red-banded Bundschuh has appeared in medieval texts as a symbol of political rank. Moreover, the symbolism of the red-laced Bundschuh found in the original text was completely separate from that of the peasant's Bundschuh which was employed centuries later in the name of rebellion.

¹⁸ Rather than reinforcing the separation of the Bundschuh of the rebellious peasant and that of the ruling Wittelsbach family, who put down the peasant rebellions, the *True History* transformed the legend to fuse the Wittelsbach and the peasant's shoe.

undergo a number of alterations, initially made for propagandistic aims (many of which running contrary to the themes present within the *True History* itself), but eventually accepted as the standard within historiographical tradition. My fourth chapter "Maximilian I as the Last World Emperor and the Next Frederick Barbarossa," shall briefly introduce the origins of the Last World Emperor prophecy, particularly centering around the return of Frederick II, Barbarossa's grandson, and its various uses and advantages to the imperial elite throughout the Middle Ages. As a steppingstone to the chapter which follows, I will offer an overview of how both the legacy of Barbarossa and the Last World Emperor were utilized as political tools by Emperor Maximilian (r. 1508-1519) during his reign. My fifth and final chapter will focus on how historical papal-imperial conflict are deeply intertwined within the narrative of the *True History*. I will explore how, through a combination of the text's creative application of prophecy and historical narration, the treatment/memory of Frederick Barbarossa differentiates itself from previous representations within historiography, as well as its potential implications within the context of the end of Maximilian's reign.

1.5 State of the Field

In the past couple centuries, the *True History* has attained a limited degree of notoriety as the oldest surviving text to refer Frederick I Barbarossa as the Last World Emperor in the form of a prophecy. The term *Volksbüchlein von kaiser Friedrich* appears to have been somewhat officially termed by Franz Pfeiffer (1845), when he published a transcription of the Augsburg edition of the text. However, as Pfeiffer himself acknowledges, he took it upon himself to "correct the often wild orthography here and there," which meant altering the spelling of the early new high German, and

the removal of archaic accents and punctuation.¹⁹ This may have been useful to modern readers, however, I have since transcribed the Augsburg edition in its original punctuation and orthography to capture the original spirit of the text.

Several decades following Pfeiffer's publication, the *True History* also became a topic of discussion amongst historians such as Georg Voigt, who in his article "Die Deutsche Kaisersage," (1871).²⁰ During this period the text was evaluated primarily by its impact on the historical development of the Last World Emperor prophecy into the version of the legend that was most familiar to nineteenth-century Germans. These scholars were doomed to discover that after the *True History*'s release, the prophetic tradition continued to be associated with Frederick II rather than Frederick I for many years before referring again to Barbarossa.²¹ However, this approach appears to have limited the evaluation of the text. Voigt noted that while the text centers the core narrative around Frederick I, his story notably intersects with the historical and prophetic reception of Frederick II.²² Voigt regarded the *True History* as having been untouched by the spirit of the Reformation, although (to my knowledge) he never offered an explanation as to how this is evident.²³ He recognized the significance of the fusion of the two Fredericks, as it was the first time in which Frederick I took the place of Frederick II in the prophecy.²⁴ However, he reduced

¹⁹ "am texte selbst ist nichts geändert, dagegen schien es nöthig die oft wilde orthographie hi und da etwas zu regeln." Franz Pfeiffer, "Volksbüchlein vom kaiser Friedrich," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, 5 (1845): 251.

²⁰ See: Georg Voigt, "Die Deutsche Kaisersage." *Historische Zeitschrift* 26, no. 1 (1871): 131–87.

²¹ Voigt was among these scholars, and asserted that following the *True History*'s release, the Kaisersage prophecy continued to revolve around Frederick II for a considerable time, before it was later transferred over once more to Frederick I Barbarossa, "by a completely different route." Moreover, Voigt maintained that the 1519 *True History* had no detectable influence on the prophetic legend of the emperor's return or the Last World Emperor, until Pfeiffer revived it in 1845. See: Voigt, "Die Deutsche Kaisersage," 166.

It appears that, at least to my knowledge they also overlooked the fact that a source from 1545 points to a prophetic following of Barbarossa amongst peasants in the form of oral tradition, following the Battle of Frankenhausen.

²² For example, the text's mention of a 'false-Frederick' posing as Barbarossa is a clear appropriation from the history imposters claiming to be the lost Emperor Frederick II, as there was no prior record in history or legend of false Frederick I, Voigt "Die Deutsche Kaisersage," 163.

²³ Georg Voigt, "Die Deutsch Kaisersage." *Historische Zeitschrift* 26, no.1 (1871), 163.

²⁴ See: Voigt, "Die Deutsch Kaisersage," 135.

their fusion to either a confusion between the two or the writer's generally arbitrary treatment of his source material.²⁵ I will argue that this was probably a highly intentional decision.

Scholarship of the late twentieth-century proved to be limited and thinly spread, but no longer narrowed its approach to the *True History* to its position and influence within the later developments of the legend of Frederick's return. Klaus Schreiner's chapter "Friedrich Barbarossa -Herr der Welt," rightfully identifies the text as a "counter-fiction" to the one told in the Venetian chronicles, probably written with "patriotic considerations."²⁶ Schreiner argues that Barbarossa's representation in the text corresponded to the "values of the nation," and its antipathy towards the *Welschen*, and offers an overview of the reception of Barbarossa in the sixteenth century.²⁷ Meanwhile, Gesa Bonath's very brief entry on the *True History* provides offers only a basic overview of recorded scholarship on the text; the text's parallels to the prophetic legends of Frederick II, and a few statements provided by previous scholars that are not supported with any further information.²⁸ Bonath's unique contribution is a suggestion regarding the dating of the written text, however, I also dispute this in my upcoming chapter.

Kurt Stadtwald's article hardly offers any text-based analysis on the *True History* itself, but it does however, offer some significant contributions with regards to placing it within its literary-political context. Most notably offers insight into the humanist production of anti-papal texts concerning the ceremony of the kissing the pope's foot, and the legend of the pope trampling the emperor, during and after the reign of Maximilian. Stadtwald also makes a notable connection

²⁵ Voigt, "Die Deutsch Kaisersage." *Historische Zeitschrift* 26, no.1 (1871), 165.

²⁶ Klaus Schreiner, "Friedrich Barbarossa -Herr der Welt, Zeuge der Wahrheit, die Verkörperung nationaler Macht und Herrlichkeit," in *Die Zeit der Staufer. Band V Supplement: Vorträge und Forschungen*, (Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart, 1979) 530.

²⁷ Schreiner, "Friedrich Barbarossa -Herr der Welt," 530.

²⁸ Bonath, Gesa. "Friedrich Barbarossa." *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon* 2, (1980): 933-935.

between the reception of the historical conflict in light of the Italian Wars, which I intend to bring up in final chapter.

With regards to scholarship of the twenty-first century, Andrea Schindler's *Wege in die Geschichte durch Erzählen von Vergangenheit in der Frühen Neuzeit* stands out by far as one the only works to devote meaningful attention analysis to the *True History*, particularly with respect with its historical roots. Schindler's work sets out to analyze whether there had been any interest in actually moving away from the past during the early modern period, specifically in the sixteenth-century.²⁹ Schindler's traces the myths of the *True History* back to their origins and their links with numerous historical figures. Schindler identifies the narrative as being centered around regional history, as well as its ties to the contemporary Bundschuh Uprisings, anti-papal and reformation spirit, and inclusion of Sibylline and Last World Emperor prophetic traditions.³⁰

A significant portion of this chapter is devoted to her section on the history of the Bundschuh's reception throughout the Middle Ages, and the historical origins of the Bundschuh legend, which has often been overlooked in scholarly discussions of the text. Schindler notably underscores that the Bundschuh's associations with rebellion had been established by the beginning of the 16th century, and that the word Bundschuh, "particularly when used as a flag, couldn't have been received without this background." Schindler provides some quite relevant information, especially with respect to how the Bundschuh might be understood within the context of the original legend, which prove to be invaluable to my second chapter in particular. Meanwhile,

²⁹ Her work covers not only the *True History*, but also the *Barbarossa-Vita* of Johannes Adelphus Muling (1520) and Georg Thym's poem *Thedel von Wallmoden* (1558), and she ultimately argues that the High Middle Ages (12th century in particular) was viewed as a golden age.

³⁰ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 113.

Schindler also explores the literary origins of the text's closing passage which concerns Barbarossa's prophesized return.

CHAPTER I

2 The *True History of Frederick Barbarossa*: An Introduction to the Source

The author(s) behind the *True History* remains anonymous, however all of its publishers have been named. There are three known editions of the *True History of Frederick Barbarossa*. The first is the *Augsburg, 1519, [VD16 W314] Edition* (Ein warhafftige historÿ von dem Kayser Friderich der erst seines namens / mit ainem langen rotten Bart / den die Walhen nenten Barbarossa / derselb gewan Jerusalem/Vnnd durch den Babst Alexander den dritten verkuntschafft ward dem Soldanischen König / der in gefencklich hielt etlich zeyt / Vñ wie der Pundtschüch auff ist khomen in Bairn̄.) This edition was printed by Johann Schönsperger the Elder (1455-c. 1521), follows quarto (4°) format, and measures to ca. 13,9 x 19,4 centimeters.³¹ It has a total of eight folios (sixteen pages, fifteen pages of printed text). It includes one woodcut illustration found on the title page which, according to Franz Pfeiffer, depicts Frederick and his chaplain held in captivity, brought before Saladin (See fig.1).³² Exemplars of this edition can be found at the following institutions: Bamberg Staatsbibliothek (Bg.pr.q.12), Harvard Library (Houghton *GC5 A100 519wc) in Cambridge, Leipzig Universitätsbibliothek (Dt.Gesch.7170); British Library (General Reference Collection 10705.bb.21.) in London, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek (Rar. Predigerseminar (EKU 54) in Munich, Österreichische National Bibliothek (75461-B) in Vienna, Wittenberg Evangelisches Predigerseminar (EKU 54), and Wittenberg Lutherhalle (ss 16).³³ Thus, there appears to be at least eight known exemplars of this edition.

³¹ Andrea Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte durch Erzählen von Vergangenheit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Imagines Medii Aevi: Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Mittelalterforschung. (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2020), 25.

³² Franz Pfeiffer, "Volksbüchlein von Kaiser Friedrich," in Moritz Haupt, *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum*, 5th ed. (Leipzig: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1845), 251.

³³ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 25.

The second edition is the *Landshut, 1519, [VD16 W315] Edition* (Ein warhafftige history von dem Kayser Friderich der erst seines Namens / mit ainem langen rotten Bart / den die Walhen nennten Barbarossa / derselb gewan Jerusalem/ Vnd durch den Babst Alexander den dritten verkuntschafft ward dem Soldanischen Kōnig / der in gefenglich hielt etliche zeyt / Vnnd wie der Pundtschūch auff ist khomen in Bairn̄.) The Landshut edition of the *True History* was printed by Johann Weyssenburger.³⁴ This edition is also in quarto (4°) format, and measures to ca. 14 x 18 centimeters in size.³⁵ It has a total of ten folios (twenty pages, eighteen with printed text). This edition includes a total of six woodcut illustrations (the second and last are identical), if one includes that found on the title page. The title page bears a strikingly close resemblance to the Augsburg edition produced by Johann Schönsperger the Elder to such an extent that it may imply that the woodcut illustrators employed by Weyssenburger and Schönsperger either worked from the same source material, or that one artist used the preceding edition as a model for their own woodcut. There are at least six known surviving exemplars of this edition. These exemplars may be found at the Augsburg Staats-und Stadtbibliothek (4 Bio 503); Cambridge Harvard Library (Houghton Typ 19.874); Freiburg/Breisgau Universitätsbibliothek (G 2916, pb); London British Library (General Reference Collection C.190.a.12.); Wien Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (20.T.322); Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek (A: 123.4 Quod. (20)).³⁶

The third is the *Cologne, 1520 [VD 16 W 316]:* (Ein schone warhafftige history von Kayser Friderich dem ersten Den die Walhen nenten Barbarossa / wie er Jherusalem vnd das heylig landtgewunen hat Vñ wie der frum Kayser so Erbarmlych durch den Babst Alexander dem drytten yn den todt verratē wardt dem Soldanischen Konyg /der yn gefenglich hielt etliche zeyt Vnnd

³⁴ It should be noted that Johann Weyssenburger is also often referred to as Johann Weissenberger in literature.

³⁵ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 25.

³⁶ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 25.

wie der Puntschuch auff yst komen in Bairn.) This edition identifies itself as having been printed in Cologne “by Saint Lupus”, a reference to the Lupuspresse. The Herzog August Bibliothek has identified the text as having been published in 1520 by Arnd von Aich, who ran the Lupuspresse at the time. However, historian Andrea Schindler has noted the dating of VD 16 W 316 as uncertain, thus listing the publisher and printer of this edition as Arnd von Aich / Johann von Aich, his son and successor.³⁷ This edition like the others is in quarto (4°) format, and measures to ca. 12,6 x 17,7 cm.³⁸ Based on the information provided by Andrea Schindler, there are currently three known surviving exemplar of VD 16 W 316, and can be found at the following institutions: Cambridge Harvard Library (Houghton *GC5 A100 519wb); Stuttgart Württembergische Landesbibliothek (HBF 1267); Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek (A: 118.4 Quod. (21)).³⁹ It has a total of ten folios (twenty pages, eighteen pages of printed text). It includes one woodcut illustration on the title page, which also has an even closer resemblance to the title woodcut of Johann Weyssenburger than Johann Schönsperger. However, Arnd von Aich's woodcut print comes with a few alterations from Weyssenburger's copy. It appears von Aich's artist may have attempted to introducing some orientalizing features to the figures surrounding Barbarossa and his chaplain.⁴⁰ Curiously, the text of Arnd von Aich's edition also contrasts to that of Weyssenburger and Schönsperger through the removal of orientalizing elements in the closing prophecy of the Last World Emperor. In the editions produced by Schönsperger and Weyssenburger the text notes that the tree where the emperor hung his shield before disappearing into a hollow mountain is guarded by all of the sultans, in Arnd von Aich's text this element is removed from the prophecy.

³⁷ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 25.

³⁸ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 25.

³⁹ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 25.

⁴⁰ This is primarily visible in the figure standing to the left of the emperor's chaplain, who has gone from a wavy and fair haired, clean-shaven man to a straight and dark-haired man with a thick mustache and a pointed hat.

These editions make up a total of at least fifteen extant exemplars. The surviving exemplars are primarily preserved in modern day Germany, but can also be found in Austria, England and the United States. This thesis will primarily rely upon Johann Schönsperger's edition of the *True History* as its reference, which I have also transcribed. The *True History* can be best understood as a narrative constructed from an anthology of historical narratives, a number of which have differing textual, geographic, and historical origins. As noted by Gesa Bonath, considering the origins of the legend of the Bundschuh, this work was probably created somewhere within the region of Lower Bavaria.⁴¹ However, based on the section of my thesis devoted to the historiographical transformations of the narrative concerning Frederick Barbarossa, I think it is safe to conclude that the *True History* also has distant Italian roots.

As previously noted, the first two printed edition were produced by Johannes Schönsperger and Johann Weyssenburger in the same year. While I may have initially thought otherwise, I am now inclined to believe that Weyssenburger's edition was probably printed first. This is because, while Weyssenburger's print includes numerous woodcut prints, Schönsperger does not have any beyond its opening title page. Yet, when the text notes that a coat of arms, featuring a branch with three leaves, was granted to the character Dietmar by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, it indicates that this image is depicted in a forthcoming figure, though the figure is nowhere to be found.⁴² Meanwhile, the figure to which Schönsperger's print refers, is also referenced in Weyssenburger's, only in this case, the figure does in fact appear as indicated (see figure 2).⁴³ Moreover, it is possible

⁴¹ Bonath, "Friedrich Barbarossa" 933.

⁴² The passage appears as the following: "Aber hertzog Eckhart begabet den Dietmar anhänger reichlich / der kayfer gab im ain wappē wie hernach die figur anzaigt / Einen alt /drey Laub," *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol. 3v.32-35.

⁴³ The coat of arms featuring a branch with three leaves appears in the fourth woodcut of Weyssenburger's edition, see fol. 5r. *True History*, (Landshut: Weyssenburger, 1519), fig. 2.

that Weyssenburger's print had served as a model for Schönsperger, and despite shifts in spellings to adhere to the local dialects, this detail was never accounted for.

Bonath has suggested that despite the dating of *True History* 's publication, the text was likely written between 1493 and 1516 on account of its reference to "Emperor Maximilian" and "Duke Charles" continue to make annual payments to a foundation of a duke of Burgundy which funds the Franciscan Order.⁴⁴ Bonath reasons that therefore the text was written between the start of Maximilian's reign in 1493 and Charles' succession to the Spanish throne in 1516.⁴⁵

If the written text is to be dated with Bonath's text-based reasoning, I would like to also point out that Charles was not even born until 1500, and although Charles (Maximilian's grandson) is mentioned as Maximilian's "son", Maximilian's actual son, Philip the Handsome, is nowhere to be found.⁴⁶ Then it would be reasonable that the text was not written until Philip had already died (1506). Meanwhile, Maximilian did not even begin his reign as Holy Roman Emperor until 1508; the date given by Bonath for his reign, 1493, marks the beginning of his rule as Archduke of Austria. Before then, Maximilian had already ruled as King of the Romans and King of the Germans since 1486. However, the *True History* makes a clear distinction between the titles of king and emperor by referring to Barbarossa's predecessor Conrad as "künig" rather than "kayser." Furthermore, it seems highly unlikely that the *True History* was written prior to 1508, unless this remark about Maximilian and Charles was made as an after thought briefly before being printed.

I would also like to add that although Bonath makes a very good point by pointing out that Charles is referred to as a duke rather than a king in the *True History*, one might consider the

⁴⁴ Gesa Bonath, "Friedrich Barbarossa" *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon*, Bd.2, (1980), 933. See: *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519), fol. 3v.

⁴⁵ Bonath, "Friedrich Barbarossa" 933.

⁴⁶ See: *True History*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519), fol.3.v

possibility that, had the text been written after 1516, it may have been more appealing to emphasize Charles' more local allegiances to Burgundy rather than to cause confusion over his German identity prior to taking his seat upon the imperial throne. Arnd von Aich's print [VD16 W316], published after the death of Maximilian, altered the text slightly to recognize Charles as the current emperor. Meanwhile, the *True History* is believed to have been first printed in 1519, three years after Charles became King of Spain, and neither Schönsperger nor Weyssenburger were compelled to alter the text. Moreover, I think it is also entirely possible that the text could have been written after 1516. Georg Voigt suggested that the novella was probably written either in 1518 or at the beginning of 1519, accounting for the mention of him being alive within the text, and his death in January of 1519.⁴⁷

2.1 The Labels of "True History," and "Volksbüchlein,": the Question of Titles and the Issue of Genre

As noted in the opening of this chapter, I will refer to this text as the *True History of Frederick Barbarossa*, or the *True History* for short. This can be regarded, to a certain degree as a synthetic given title, as no title, at least in the modern sense of the word, is provided by this text. On the opening page, where one might typically find a title of a book today, there lies a brief description that indicates a summary of the contents of the text, as well as a clear indicator of how the text intended to present itself:

Ein warhafftige history von dem Kayser Friderich der erft seines namens / mit ainem langen rotten Bart / den die Walhen nenten Barbaroffa / derfelb gewan Jerufalem/Vnnd durch den Babft Alexander den dritten verkuntfchafft ward dem Soldanifchen König / der in gefencklich hielt etlich zeyt / Vñ wie der Pundtfchûch auff ist khomen in Bairn.⁴⁸

A true history of the Emperor Frederick, the first of his name, with a long red beard, whom the Italians called Barbarossa ['red beard'], who won Jerusalem, and through the Pope

⁴⁷ Georg Voigt, "Die Deutsche Kaisersage." *Historische Zeitschrift* 26, no. 1, 163.

⁴⁸ *True History*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519), Fol.1r.1-10.

Alexander the third was captured by the Sultan King, and held in captivity for some time, and how the Bundschuh came to Bavaria.⁴⁹

This description is at once erroneous and precise. The details provided align with the contents of the text. In this story, Barbarossa does indeed go to the Holy Land. His army recaptures Jerusalem, only for the pope to betray him to Saladin, who holds him in captivity for a year. The text also provides an explanation as of how the Bundschuh (a common practical shoe, once linked to the ancestors of the Wittelsbach dynasty of Bavaria, but overwhelmingly associated with peasant rebellion by the early sixteenth century) at least as a symbol, came to Bavaria.

The text also proclaims itself to be "ein warhafftige history," a truthful account of Barbarossa's history. Yet, while several surviving accounts offer varying explanations of the exact details of the emperor's sudden death, all appear to have linked him to ultimately falling victim to the Saleph (today Göksu) River.⁵⁰ No known accounts prior to the *True History* suggest that Barbarossa even ever made it to Jerusalem, not to mention triumph over it. Likewise, none of his contemporaries ever reported of him being held in captivity by Saladin. Meanwhile the story which is told of the Bundschuh's arrival in Bavaria in association with ancestral past of the Wittelsbach family differs significantly from the one that appears prior to the *True History*, both in terms of its content and its timeline. Many of the details which are not mentioned in the opening description, but featured in the plot are also far from factual. Moreover, my given title as the *True History of Frederick Barbarossa*, though closely aligned with its own self-advertisement within the sixteenth century, is also somewhat misleading to a twenty-first century reader, as it should not actually be

⁴⁹ *True History*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519), trans. Hanna Feuer, Fol.1r.1-10. Note: All translations are mine unless stated otherwise.

⁵⁰ For further reading see: John B Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa: The prince and the myth*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 511-513, William L. North, trans. "Anonymous, Letter on the Death of the Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa," (Carleton College, Medieval and Renaissance Studies--Translated Texts and Studies, 2008).

regarded by historians as an accurate account of what actually happened to Frederick Barbarossa during his own lifetime.

Does this mean that this True History, should be categorized into a genre of a 'fictional narrative' as opposed to 'historical narrative'? One should first take into account what "ein warhafftige history," meant to a sixteenth century writer and reader. When it comes to defining the boundaries of history as a literary category, or literary texts labeled as "true" within the Holy Roman Empire during the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Era, boundary lines very quickly become blurred.

It is evident that this source was not purely a product of the anonymous author(s)' imagination. Much of what the source recounts as historical truth, although not all, can be traced back to texts written prior to 1519.⁵¹ Certain components of the *True History* whose falsehood may seem immediately evident today, were already deeply rooted in centuries of historiographical tradition by the sixteenth century. One word which might be used to categorize this source is the medieval Latin term *historia*. Knappe has described *historia* as a narratological term, defined as the "narration of events."⁵² Stephan Füssel defines *historia* specifically as "novelistic narratives with a core of historical factuality, a genre that combined the presumed truthful content of popular historiography with a didactic intention."⁵³ In terms of the *True History*'s literary makeup, it can be categorized in the aforementioned definitions, despite being overwhelmed by many historical inaccuracies and its didactic intentions are often left unclear due to its high degree of ambiguity.

⁵¹ This is either in association with Frederick I (Barbarossa), his grandson Frederick II, or even other historical figures.

⁵² Joachim Knappe, "Melanchthon und die Historien," *Archive for Reformation History* 91 (2000): 111, See also: Joachim Knappe, "*Historie*" in *Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit. Begriffs- und gattungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen im interdisziplinären Kontext*, (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1984).

⁵³ Stephan Füssel, "Early Modern German Printing," *Early Modern German Literature 1350-1700*, (Rochester: Camden House, 2007), 230.

Historia was not necessarily only considered as something comparable to a literary genre, but also, in the words of Bert Roest the "object of cognition itself."⁵⁴ Isidore of Seville asserted "Nam historiae sunt res verae quae factae sunt," that is, "Histories are true deeds that have happened."⁵⁵ At first blush this definition of the word *historia* seems to align closely to some modern perceptions of history. Indeed, as pointed out by Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, the emphasis on 'truth' as a characteristic of writing history, as found in the works of Isidore, among other accepted authorities such as Bede and Cicero, influenced most medieval historians' understanding of history, or *historia*.⁵⁶ However, there was not a consensus of what historical 'truth' actually meant.⁵⁷

As Joachim Knappe has noted, essentially all works of historiography are built upon interpreting "traces of the past which have already been interpreted culturally."⁵⁸ However, in the Middle Ages, it appears that historians took far greater liberties in interpreting the past when writing history when compared to modern practices. By the sixteenth century, history as an academic discipline still had no methodical place in the education system of the arts and sciences within the Holy Roman Empire.⁵⁹ It was common for educated historians to build off of earlier historiographical works, while also altering certain details of the past in order to enforce a particular interpretation that favored their own aims. As I will discuss in my third chapter, "The Conflict of Frederick Barbarossa and Alexander III as an Intertextual and Hybrid Narrative," over

⁵⁴ Bert Roest, "Medieval Historiography: About generic constraints and scholarly constructions," *Aspects of Genre and Type in Pre-Modern Literary Cultures*, ed. Bert Roest and Herman Vanstiphout (Groningen: STYX Publications, 1999), 51.

⁵⁵ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 1.44, trans. Barney et al., 67, cited in Jamie Wood, "Isidore of Seville as an Historian," *A Companion to Isidore of Seville*, eds. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood, (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2020), 157.

⁵⁶ Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, "Introduction," *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, (Brill: Leiden-Boston, 2003), 4.

⁵⁷ Deliyannis, "Introduction," 5.

⁵⁸ Knappe, "Historiography as Rhetoric," *The Medieval Chronicle* 2 (2002): 117-118.

⁵⁹ Joachim Knappe, "Melanchthon und die Historien," *Archive for Reformation History* 91 (2000): 112.

time, what initially began as one historian's metaphorical representation of an ambiguous event, exaggerated embellishment, or pure invention, became encoded into traditions of recorded history and sometimes ingrained in memory as factual. As a result of this process, fabrications and embellishments came to be accepted as 'true' by later historians, including those whose views no longer aligned with the writers responsible for introducing them into the historical inventory. Rather than rewriting history altogether, historians continued to build off of the works of their predecessors, but once again took any steps they saw necessary to enforce their own interpretation of the past.⁶⁰

Numerous understandings of 'truth' might have appeared within a single narrative. The written content, or at least portions of the text, might have been received as a factual account in a very literal sense. At the same time, I would argue that it was also utilized as a legitimizing factor towards a belief or idea that is symbolically expressed in the form of a narrative. In this sense, whether or not the event actually happened as it is described, or if it even happened at all is not very crucial to truth when compared to how effectively the narrative's representation of the past communicates a perceived ideological truth to its audience. Furthermore, if one is to disregard twenty first century notions of truth and history, opting to instead understand the self declaration of the source at hand as "ein warhafftige history," on the terms of its early sixteenth century contemporaries, the title of *True History* is informative with respect to how it was intended to be understood.

⁶⁰ The *True History* also distinguishes itself from a number of contemporary chronicles (both Italian and German) that covered the events of Frederick Barbarossa's reign, with its inclusion of events that were limited to oral history and travel reports, and the extent to which it fused and blurred various historical figures and events together. That being said, scholars have attempted to delineate between the medieval use of the terms *historia* and *chronicon*, but have found that their distinction has more to do with their literary structure and organization (*historia* indicates a continuous narrative, whereas the *chronicon* is identified as writing organized by years), as opposed to any differentiation in their attitudes towards historical accuracy. See: Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, "Introduction," *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, (Brill: Leiden-Boston, 2003) 5.

In any case, the label *True History* is far more authentic to the age and style of this source when compared to the title that it was initially granted by the Swiss germanist and philologist Franz Pfeiffer in 1845: the *Volksbüchlein vom Kaiser Friedrich*. Prior to this, the text had no proper title comparable to modern standards. Pfeiffer's use of the word *Volksbüchlein* links the text to the 'genre' known as the *Volksbuch*. Meanwhile Pfeiffer's diminutive formation of the word with the ending "lein," might point to the small nature of the book as it spans over no more than eight folios. *Volksbuch* is a word that only became popular in the early nineteenth century, first coined through the writings of journalist and scholar Joseph Görres, to refer to a wide variety of literary works from the latter half of the fifteenth century until the early seventeenth century.⁶¹ The context in which the uses, understandings, and approaches to the idea of *Volksbuch* emerged was highly reflective of the spirit of romanticism.⁶² In English, *Volksbuch* translates to 'folksbook' or 'peoples' book', and insinuated that the literature belonged to the *Volk*, the people.

Görres understood *Volk* as a term that could be used to refer to both specifically the lower classes of society, as well as all classes of society.⁶³ Aside from Görres' own understanding, the term *Volksbuch* is misleading because it has come to insinuate the existence of a popular culture across social classes which including the lower and middle classes. This is not to say that the upper

⁶¹ Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1978) 3, Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch: A Critical History of Late-Medieval Genre*, (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 88.

⁶² In his book *The German Volksbuch: A Critical History of Late-Medieval Genre* (1995), Albrecht Classen asserts that if one were to define Görres' understanding of *Volksbuch* as a descriptive formula (while remaining consistent with its vast range of ideas about texts) it can only refer to fictional prose texts from that period. See: Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch: A Critical History of Late-Medieval Genre*, (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 88-89.

⁶³ Hans Joachim Kreuzer, *Der Mythos Vom Volksbuch: Studien zur Wirkungsgeschichte des frühen deutschen Romans seit der Romantik*. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977), 29.

Hans Joachim Kreuzer underscores that Görres never argued that the *Volksbuch* originated from the lower classes, but indicated that the literature transcended from the closed circles of the upper classes into that of the lower classes where it became integrated. However, he also believed in a collective spirit that pervaded all classes, which also united them together as a *Volk*. See: Kreuzer, *Der Mythos Vom Volksbuch*, 29-30.

classes were not influenced by the lower classes, and the lower by the upper, however, widespread popular culture still did not exist in the way it is understood today in the early sixteenth century.

As Albrecht Classen has noted, Görres' conceptualization of the Volksbuch doesn't even provide any particular information about content, format, ideals, sources and audience.⁶⁴ Despite a growing agreement amongst scholars that Görres' and other earlier scholars' notion of Volksbuch (especially as a genre) has become outdated, academia has not yet come to an overwhelming consensus of how to move forward. Perhaps it never will. Walter Spengler argues that due to its variety, it is nearly impossible to define Volksbuch as a genre in specific terms.⁶⁵ And yet the term has become such a mainstay within scholarly discourse, the standardization or monopoly of a new, more accurate term in its place seems unlikely. Some scholars on the one hand, have sought to redefine the term Volksbuch from a new and particular angle, on the other hand, some have opted to define the word simply in a very broad manner.⁶⁶ For the duration of this thesis, at times I refer to Volksbücher as a very broad generic label that encompasses widely distributed early printed works that go beyond only those falling within the genre of historia, primarily in the form of prose novels.

⁶⁴ Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch: A Critical History of Late-Medieval Genre*, (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 89.

⁶⁵ Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch: A Critical History of Late-Medieval Genre*, (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 130-31.

⁶⁶ Both avenues arguably hold some value, particularly in the former, when the intention is to explore a particular pattern or element pertaining to literature from the historical context that would traditionally fall under the category of "Volksbuch." For example, Rikard Wingård offers a definition for the concept of Volksbuch in terms of historical reception, as "a corpus of (literary) works, largely consisting of fictive stories, which are incorporated in a specific tradition of reception, primarily of a critical kind." However, when used as a universal remedy to the way we define Volksbuch, such definitions come with limitations. They might overlook the bigger picture, exclude texts that would previously be considered Volksbücher, but are inconsistent with the reformed definition, thus leading to further questions of how these outliers should be categorized. This also goes for very generalized understandings of "Volksbuch."

See: Rikard Wingård, "Argumentum as Oral Substitute and the Transformations of *Volksbuch* Peritexts," Oral Tradition and Book Culture, eds. Pertti Anttonen, Cecilia af Forselles and Kirsti Salmi-Niklander, (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2018): 32-33.

While a number of scholars have continued to refer to the central source of study for this thesis as the *Volksbuch von Friedrich Barbarossa*,⁶⁷ refrain from granting a title altogether,⁶⁸ my decision to refer to this text follows the footsteps of a more recent scholars such as Andrea Schindler and Kurt Stadtwald, who have opted for other ways of referring to the source. In both cases the titles are far more authentic to the opening page of the text. Schindler uses the title *Historia von Friedrich Barbarossa*, thus utilizing terminology which more accurately describes the genre of the text as opposed to *Volksbuch*. Meanwhile, Stadtwald, like myself, simply translates the beginning of the opening page into English.

I find both cases useful and valid. That being said, I personally find the label of 'true' in particular is useful to the title. Although by twenty-first century standards, the contents of the source are far from our current conceptualizations of truth, this label is highly reflective of the mentality towards literature and history during the early sixteenth century, as well as the Middle Ages. It thus invites further discussion and understanding into the pre-modern and early-modern approaches to history and the concept of truth. In nearly all instances, I typically prefer to refer to the title of a work in its original language. Yet, due to how often I mention this work continually throughout this thesis and aesthetic purposes I have chosen to refer to this text by its English translation for the sake of this study, as *True History* reads nearly twice as fast as *Warhafftige History*, despite having the same meaning.

2.2 Audience and Reception

⁶⁷ See: Karina, Kellermann, "'Kaiser Friedrich ist komen!' Der Wiederkehrmythos." In *Gründungsmythen Europas im Mittelalter*, ed. by Michael Bernsen, Matthias Becher, Elke Brüggem. (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2013).

⁶⁸ Hannes Möhring for example, refers to the text simply as "erstmal gedruckten Volksbuches über Friedrich Barbarossa," (the first printed Volksbuch about Barbarossa). See: Hannes Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung*. (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000. *Mittelalter-Forschungen*), 226.

I suggest that the *True History* was likely written with a Bavarian upper class or ruling elite audience in mind. According to Albrecht Classen, despite the greater affordability and accessibility of Volksbücher when compared to the handwritten manuscript, up until 1550 they were primarily only affordable to the wealthier classes of society, such as aristocrats and upper-class bourgeoisie.⁶⁹ This assertion is based on the evidence that up until 1550, quarto was the overwhelmingly dominant format, as opposed to the affordable octave format.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the upper classes made up the initial and primary readers of the Volksbücher during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁷¹ Meanwhile, a number of themes present within the *True History* might be considered generally appealing to an aristocratic reader. Through the use of historical narrative, the *True History* presents different models of behavior, varying according to position within the social hierarchy of the empire, as well as moral lessons. Despite the major conflict between the Holy Roman Empire and the papacy that is presented in the text, the Middle Ages is illustrated as a golden age in terms of its perceived political structure and feudal social hierarchy within the Empire. This approach could potentially indicate that the text was written with an audience in mind who wished to retain the old hierarchical orders.

I also believe that there is evidence to suggest that the legend of Pope Alexander III stepping upon the neck of Frederick Barbarossa had become relatively widespread within the German-speaking regions of the Holy Roman Empire by the early sixteenth-century. For example, in 1520, Martin Luther and Andreas von Karlstadt made references to the legend with little to no context of the historical narrative itself.⁷² The fact that two of the leading figures of the Protestant

⁶⁹ Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch: A Critical History of Late-Medieval Genre*, (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 52.

⁷⁰ Classen, *The German Volksbuch*, 52.

⁷¹ Classen, *The German Volksbuch*, 18.

⁷² See: Andreas von Karlstadt, *Von Bepstlicher Heylichkeit* (Wittenberg: Melchoir Lotter, 1520), fol.14r-16r.

Movement both felt that they could integrate these references so seamlessly into their discourse could be indicative that the image of the pope trampling the emperor had become popularized and already resonated with many.

2.3 The *True History* Printers

The printers of the three varying editions, Johann Schönsperger the Elder (1455-c.1521), Johann Weyssenburger (1465-1535), and Arnd von Aich had flourishing careers. Some overlap as well as significant divergences can be detected between these printers in terms of their printing careers and published content. It seems that generally what was most important to their careers was printing what would experience commercial success or paid well. Although the content that these three printers produced may have sometimes aligned with their beliefs, this was not always the case.

For example, all three printed Catholic Christian materials during their careers. It was probably of little surprise that Johann Weyssenburger, who was also a Catholic priest, was also responsible for publishing three hundred copies of Pope Leo X's papal bull against Martin Luther (threatening excommunication) under the order of Bishop Philipp of Freising.⁷³ On the other hand, Arnd von Aich, who printed standard Catholic materials through his enterprising Saint Lupus Press, was also a secret supporter of the Protestant Reformation.⁷⁴ In fact, von Aich was responsible for writing and publishing one of the oldest surviving Protestant treatises written by a lay person with a lay audience in mind, *Des Evangelischen Burgers Handbüchlein* (ca. 1527),

Martin Luther, *An den christlichen Adel Deutscher Nation, Von des christlichen Standes Besserung*, (Leipzig: Schumann, 1520), fol.2v.

⁷³ Falk Eisermann, "Fifty Thousand Veronicas.: Print Runs of Broadsheets in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," in *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print*, ed. Andrew Pettegree, (Leiden: Brill, 2017) 107.

⁷⁴ John R. Tyson, "A Protestant City Handbook from the Mid-Sixteenth Century." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 24, no. 1 (1993): 6.

which was printed in secret (refraining from using the self-identifying label of Saint Lupus).⁷⁵ Therefore, it should not be assumed that attitudes expressed within the *True History* can necessarily be determined solely based upon the lives of the people who printed it. At the same time, the fact that von Aich felt confident enough to close his edition with the statement, "Printed in Cologne by Saint Lupus," might suggest that, if the text exemplified any pro-Protestant ideas, they were ambiguous enough to not offend Catholics and make it past censorship.⁷⁶

Meanwhile both Johann Schönsperger and Johann Weyssenburger worked in the service of high-ranking clientele at certain points in their careers. In 1508, following the firm's fruitful success, Schönsperger the Elder was appointed as Emperor Maximilian I's imperial printer.⁷⁷ This led Schönsperger to some more luxurious jobs, such as when he was commissioned by the emperor to publish ten copies of the *Gebetbuch* of Maximilian on vellum as a limited edition, which were colorfully decorated by none other than the illustrious painter Albrecht Dürer.⁷⁸ The emperor also ordered Schönsperger to publish numerous editions of *Theuerdank*, authored by Melchior Pfintzing, and printed by Hieronymus Hoczel.⁷⁹ In 1514, Landshut, Weyssenburger printed 400

⁷⁵ Tyson, "A Protestant City Handbook from the Mid-Sixteenth Century," 3.

⁷⁶ *Ein schone warhafftige history von Kayser Fryderich dem ersten...* (Cologne: Sant Lupus Press, Arnd von Aich, 1520), fol.10.r.

Note: It seems that Johannes Schönsperger's most notable Catholic materials were pre-protestant, such as his *Schönsperger-Bibel*, produced in 1487 and 1490, a Bible printed in German which predated that of Martin Luther.

See: Thomas Renz, "Reading and Running: Notes on the History of Translating the Final Clause of Hab 2:2," *Vetus Testamentum* 69, no. 3 (2019): 439.

⁷⁷ Howard. W. Winger, "The Cover Design," *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy* 51, 312.

⁷⁸ As noted by Winger, these editions were ordered by Maximilian for the Order of St. George, which had been founded by his father Frederick III. Winger, "The Cover Design," 312.

⁷⁹ Winger, "The Cover Design," 312.

Theuerdank was a book that was intended to glorify Maximilian and mirror his romance with his wife Mary of Burgundy. Schönsperger first published *Theuerdank* in Nuremberg in 1517 for a limited audience, but then also published a commercial edition of in 1519 in Augsbourg under an imperial privilege, allowing the pro-imperial piece to find a sizeable readership. This imperial privilege on Maximilian's behalf granted Schönsperger exclusive and unlimited rights to print *Theuerdank*. Despite the preventative measures taken up by the imperial entourage, the imperial privilege failed to keep new reprints of *Theuerdank* out of the hands of other printers and their eager customers.

decrees (*Mandaten*) as well as 55 cover letters for officials on behalf of Dukes Wilhelm IV and Ludwig X of Bavaria-Landshut. Furthermore, it seems that it would have been in the printers' best interest to steer away from printing anything blatantly anti-imperial or particularly against the interests of their overlords. At the same time, I believe that the degree of ambiguity within the text could suggest that room still may have been left for critical interpretation.

2.4 Structure

All three known extant editions of the *True History* are divided into five 'chapters'. Although there is some variation in spelling, and at times words are removed and phrases are slightly altered, the texts of the three editions are for the most part the same in essence.⁸⁰

1

How Emperor Frederick the First assembled with armed forces for Jerusalem and the King of France called Philip together with King Richard of England, also a Duke of Bavaria called Eckhart came to the aid of the Emperor.⁸¹

Wie sich Kayser Friderich der erst legeret mit hōres krafft für Jerusalem / vñ der Künig von Franckreich Philippus genāt / mit sambt Künig Richardo vō Engellandt / Auch ain hertzog auß Bairn Eckhart genant zuhilff khomen dem Kayser.⁸²

2

How the Duke Eckhart came upon the wall with the emperor's flag, and the same was lost, and how the one named Dietmar took off his shoe and pierced it through a lance [making it] into a sign so that the Christians had one to find refuge, when they had a banner no more.

See: Elaine C. Tennant, "Productive Reception: Theuerdank in the Sixteenth Century," *Maximilians Ruhmeswerk: Künste und Wissenschaften im Umkreis Kaiser Maximilians I*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller, Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2015) 340.

⁸⁰ Johann Weyssenburger's chapters are marked by the paragraph symbol, there is no variation in size or text style between chapter title and passages. Johann Schönsperger's chapters are distinguished by larger and more decorated text in the first line of the chapter title. Schönsperger's edition also uses the paragraph symbol but to indicate the paragraph following the chapter title.

⁸¹ All English translations of the *True History* are mine unless otherwise noted.

⁸² Schönsperger, fol. 2r.

Weyssenburger: "Wie sich Khayser Friderich der erst legeret mit hōres krafft für Jerusalem / vñd der Kōnig von Franckreich Philippus genant / mitsambt Kōnig Richardo von Engellandt / Auch ein hertzog auß Bairn Eckhart genant zūhilff khomen dem Kayser." fol. 3r.

Von Aich: "wie sich Kayser Friderieg der erste legeret mit hōres krafft für Jherusalem / vñder Kōnig von Franckreich Philippus genāt / mit sampt Richardo dem Kōnig vō Engellandt / auch ein hertzog auß Bairn Eckhart genant dem Kayser zūhilff komen." fol. 3r.

Wie der Hertzog Eckhart auff die mauren kam mit des kaysers fan /vnd derselb im abtrungen ward /Vnd wie ainer hieß Dietmar derselb zoch ab seinen schuch vnd stieß in an ainen spieß zû ainem zaychen das die Christē ain zûflucht hetten /dann sie hetten kain fanen mer.⁸³

3

How Duke Eckhart gifted Dietmar the [Follower, Devoted, etc.] with a coat of arms, and how the March Ried was firstly built:

Wie hertzog Eckhart den Dietmar anhenger begabt mit ainem wappen/vñ wie der Margk Ried erstlich erpawen ward:⁸⁴

4

How Emperor Frederick and his Chaplain went to the water to cool off and together with his Chaplain were captured by the soldiers of the sultan, and brought to the King Sultan who held them in imprisonment [or captivity] for an entire year:

Wie Kayser Friderich mit seinem Capellan gieng in ain wasser sich zuerkûlen/vnnd er mitsambt seinem Caplan von den soldanischen gefangen ward/ vñ gebracht dem König Soldan/der in ain gantz Jar gefencklich hielt:⁸⁵

5

How Emperor Frederick marched for Rome with many people and swore by his honor that he would exact vengeance on Pope Alexander who betrayed him to the Sultan King. On the date he was captured by the Sultan, the Pope also fled to Venice, which he pursued with all his might

Wie Kayser Friderich für Rom zoch mit vil volcks /vnd schwûr bey seinen Ern er wolt sich rechnen an dem Babst Alexander / der in gegē dem König Soldan verraten het / darumb er

⁸³ Schönsperger, fol. 3r.

Weyssenburger: "Wie der hertzog Eckhart auff die mawrē kam mit des kaysers fan /vnd derselb im abtrungen ward /Vñ wie einer hieß Dietmar derselb zoch ab seinen schüch vnnd stieß in an einen spieß zu einem zaychen das die Christen ein zuflucht hetten /dann sie hetten khain fan mer." fol. 4r.

Von Aich: "wie der herzog Eckhart auff die mawr kam myt des Kaysers fan /vñ der selb ym abtrungen ward /Vnd wie eyner der hieß Diet/mar derselb zoch ab seynen pundtschuch vñ styē yn an eynen Spieß zû eynem zaichen das die Christen eyn zûflucht hetten /dan sie hetten kain fan mer." fol.4r.

⁸⁴ Schönsperger, fol. 4r.

Weyssenburger: "Wie hertzog Eckhart den Dietmar anhenger begabt mit einem wappen/vnd wie der Margk Ried erstlich erpawen ward." fol. 5r.

Von Aich: "wie hertzog Eckhart den Dietmar anhenger begabt myt eynem Wappen/vnd wie die Margk Reyd erstlich erpawen ward." fol. 5r.

⁸⁵ Schönsperger, fol. 4v.

Weyssenburger: "Wie Kayser Friderich mit seinem Capellan gieng in ein wasser sich zûerkûlen/vñ er mitsambt seinē Caplan von den soldanischen gefangen ward/ vñ gebracht dem könig Soldan/der ein ganz Jar gefencklich hielt." fol. 5v.

Von Aich: "wie kayser Fryderich mit seinem Caplan gieng in eÿ wasser sich zûerkuelē vñ von den Soldanischen gefangen ward," fol.5v.

dañ gefangen ward von dem Soldan/Also floch der Babst gen Venedig / dem er nach volgt
mit hōres krafft:⁸⁶

2.5 A Brief Summary of the *True History*

Folios 1-2 (recto) introduces the storyline, providing context to the characters, specifically Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III, their motives and conflict, and how the emperor, his princes and other Christians ended up going on crusade. Folios 2 (recto) - 4 (recto) comprises of the first three chapters of the *True History*. This covers the story of the battles, difficulties, and ultimate victories of the emperor's Christian army in Jerusalem and the Holy Land. More specifically it focuses heavily on the story of the peasant Dietmar Anhenger, the Bundschuh, and Duke Eckhart, and how it culminates in the establishment of Ried as a march of the Empire. Folios 4 (verso) - 6 (verso) comprises of the fourth chapter. This tells of how Pope Alexander III betrays Barbarossa and his chaplain to the sultan, Saladin, and are thus captured by the sultan's men and held in imprisonment for an entire year. The two eventually win the heart and respect of the sultan through their acts of genuine piety and the emperor's clear possession of honorable and chivalric values which are conveyed when speaking to the sultan. This portion of the *True History* also describes how the Empire meanwhile experiences a political crisis in the absence of the emperor, presumed to have drowned in the river along with his chaplain. Folios 6 (verso) - folio 7 (verso) covers the fifth and final chapter of the *True History*. It tells of Barbarossa's return to the Reich, where he gathers an army and advances for Venice, where the pope has fled. The conflict

⁸⁶ Schönsperger, fols. 6v – 7r.

Weyssenburger: "Wie Kayser Friderich für Rom zoch mit vil volcks /vnd schwur bey seinen Ern er wolt sich rechnen an dē Babst Alexander / der in gegen dem Kōnig Soldan verraten het / darumb er dañ gefangen ward vō dem Soldan/Also floch der Babst gen Venedig / dem er nach volgt mit hōres krafft.zc." fol. 8v.

Von Aich: "wie Kayser Fryderich vor Rom zoch vñ schwur bey seynen Ern er wolt sich rechnen an dem Babst Alexander / der y dem konig Soldan verraten het / darumb er dan gefangen ward von dem Soldan/Also floch der Babst gen Venedig / dem er nach volgt myt hōres krafft." fol.9r.

climaxes when Barbarossa ultimately prostrates himself before Pope Alexander, who steps on his neck. Their conflict is resolved when Barbarossa challenges Alexander's authority and use of the scripture, stating that he is not obedient to the pope, but to Peter. Folio 7 (verso) - folio 8 provides an epilogue, further information on the emperor's life, and conveys the prophecy of Barbarossa's awakening, and future return to punish the clergy.

CHAPTER II

3 The Bundschuh Flag as a Conduit of Power and Reversal of Rebellion

The Bundschuh was a common type of leather shoe that was tied with straps.⁸⁷ Andreas Willy has described it as the sturdy shoe of the common man in contrast to the knight's spurred boot.⁸⁸ In terms of function and visual presentation, perhaps this is true, but for much of their existence Bundschuhe were worn across a wide range of social strata in addition to rural laborers. Like any article of clothing, it could range in style and quality depending on one's rank in society. However, by the dusk of the Middle Ages, it became an inseparable symbol to the Bundschuh Uprisings and became synonymous with peasant resistance against the upper classes. By 1519, this powerful association was already well established and social unrest tied to the movement was yet to cease.

Yet it was in this same year that the character of Dietmar *Anhanger* ('the Follower'), the son of a miller, made his debut in the *True History of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa*, wielding the Bundschuh flag in service of the very force of society that the Bundschuh Movement sought to diminish: the lord. In fact, he immediately hands his flag, made from his own shoe, directly to his superior, Duke Eckhart. Dietmar's behavior is rewarded with some of the very things that those who rebelled would have dreamed of achieving, power and autonomy, land and a legacy. Was this sudden reversal simply sheer coincidence, and given the context of the uprisings, would that even deter readers from drawing comparisons between the rebels and the legend? How is the meaning

⁸⁷ Hans Georg Wackernagel, "Einige Hinweise auf die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des 'Bundschuhs'" *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 54 (1958): 150.

⁸⁸ Andreas Willy, *Die Bauernverschwörungen am Oberrhein*, (Karlsruhe: Braun 1953) 8.

of the Bundschuh flag transformed through its divergences from its textual origins and contemporary politics? These are just a few of the questions I seek to answer in this chapter.

This chapter begins by tracing the legend of Dietmar *Anhanger* and the Bundschuh, known today in Ried as the Dietmarsage, back to its surviving textual origins: the *Tabula Perantiqua Schirensis* ('Ancient Panels of Scheyern'), also known as the *Scheyerer Fürstentafel* ('Scheyern Princes' Panel') (ca. 1393-1395). I will offer a brief overview of the text, place it within the original context it was produced, and touch upon the meaning and significance of the Bundschuh flag within the legend expressed by the *Fürstentafel*. I shall then transition towards the adaptation of the legend which can be found in the *True History*. I shall introduce a plethora of new elements that are found in the text that distinguish it from the *Fürstentafel*. Amongst these numerous elements which I shall touch upon, I highlight the inclusion of Dietmar Anhanger as a new secondary protagonist, and a drastic shift concerning the appearance and context in which the Bundschuh flag is presented.

As I break down the sequence of events that unfold during the course of the Christian army's siege of Jerusalem, including its arrival, greatest crisis, and resolution, I also establish how the Bundschuh is presented as a means of recognizing Duke Eckhart's leadership and authority, as a symbol of the army's unity and cause, and as a reflection of the symbiotic relationship between lord and subject. Ultimately, both the imperial flag (a new addition on behalf of the *True History*) and the Bundschuh flag, serve as symbolic conduits of power and authority as much as they are beacons of unity. As I will further elaborate within this chapter, Duke Eckhart only comes into possession of the flags through the willful dispensation by those hierarchically above *and* below him in society. Eckhart's loss of the imperial flag in a moment of crisis is devastating to the entire army. This exposes the necessity of someone in Eckhart's position of authority to greater good of

the army, while also accentuating the importance of Dietmar's consensual allegiance and obedience to him. Furthermore, I assert that the introduction of Dietmar Anhanger, and his particular identity, proves to be integral to the transformation of the Bundschuh.

While also acknowledging the original motivations behind the legend's textual roots in the *Fürstentafel* pre-date any association between the word "Bundschuh" and rebellion, and the potential role of local Bavarian history in the invention of Dietmar Anhanger, in my final portion of this chapter I will explore how this particular legend could have been received by an early sixteenth-century audience against the backdrop of contemporary Bundschuh Rebellions. I will highlight the significance of the Bundschuh's stylization as being clearly tied to peasantry, and its spotlight on the relationship between a duke and his subject, while the emperor remains largely absent for the entirety of the segment after handing the imperial flag to Eckhart. I will also provide some commentary regarding how the placement of this legend within the context of the *True History's* positioning of Barbarossa towards the fulfillment of the Last World Emperor Prophecy might reassure its literate elite audience of its own self-importance, especially considering that at least some peasants appeared to embrace the prophecy while wielding it against their local nobles and lords.

3.1 Textual Origins

The legend of the Bundschuh and its role in winning the Holy Sepulchre can be traced back to a single textual origin, the *Tabula Perantiqua Schirensis*, also known as the *Scheyerer Fürstentafel*.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ The oldest surviving manuscript is likely the Fürstentafel copy (in clm.7021) dating back to the 14th century, whereas the majority of the manuscripts date to the 15th century. See: Siegmund & Genzinger, "Zur Scheyerer Tabula Perantiqua," 151.

The text originated in the form of wooden textual panels written in German that were hung in the *Fürstenkappelle* ('Princes' Chapel') in Scheyern.⁹⁰ These complimented a series of frescoes within the chapel produced under the commission of Duke Frederick of Bavaria-Landshut (r. 1375-1392) between about 1393 and 1395. The cycle of frescoes illustrated the history of the Wittelsbach and their often mythological origins, in connection with the history of the Scheyern monastery, ranging from the tenth to mid-thirteenth century.⁹¹ Scheyern had been the original seat of power of the Wittelsbach dukes, and the Scheyern monastery had been the burial place of the counts of Scheyern up until the first half of the thirteenth century.⁹² The story of Eckhart I of Scheyern and the legend of the Bundschuh appeared within the *Fürstentafel* as the sixth story in a sequence of ten.⁹³ The passage devoted to the legend of the Bundschuh is relatively brief, Eckhart first wears his Bundschuh as a way for others to recognize and gather around him, before King Henry III tells him to turn it into a flag:

Count Eckhart of Scheyern waged war over the Duchy of Bavaria and the Hungarians marched with him for three hours against/towards* the *Reich*. It was agreed that the duchy would be restored to him and that he would march with King Henry III and all of his men for the Holy Sepulchre. Count Eckhart led them with distinction, and the king's entire army reached Constantinople, where they agreed to travel by foot and gave up their horses. No wonder. To recount Count Eckhart's journey would take too long. He wore his two *Bundschuh*; so that everyone recognized him/[when he took them off at night] more people lied down next to him. The king told him to make the *Bundschuh* into a flag. He did this; the army most of all followed him under the *Bundschuh*. The Holy Sepulchre was stormed

⁹⁰ Birgit Städt, "Scheyrer Fürstentafel" ("Tabula Perantiqua Schirensis"), 656. Sonderdrucke aus der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Originalbeitrag erschienen in: Wolfgang Stämmler (Hrsg.): Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon. 2. Aufl. Berlin: de Gruyter. Bd 8 (1992), 656-659.

The original text panels survived until the end of the eighteenth century, John T. McQuillen notes that they likely disappeared at Dissolution. See McQuillen, 251.

⁹¹ Städt, "Scheyrer Fürstentafel," 656

⁹² Städt, "Scheyrer Fürstentafel," 656, John T. McQuillen, *In Manuscript and Print: The Fifteenth-Century Library of Scheyern Abbey*, (PhD, University of Toronto 2012), 252.

⁹³ McQuillen, *In Manuscript and Print*, 250-251, This includes "how Carloman got the Dukedom of Bavaria from Tassilo III; the descent from Carloman to Arnulf and Wernher; a brief comparison between the kings of Rome, France, Greece (i.e. Byzantium), and Hungary with Scheyern; the lives of Arnulf and Wernher; how Wernher inherited the Dukedom of Bavaria; Eckhard I of Scheyern and the "Bundschuh" legend; the descent of the Dukes of Scheyern, Dachau, Grub, and Valley; how the Dukes of Scheyern inherited the Dachau and Wittelsbach possessions; the family history from Pfalzgraf Otto I to the assassination of Ludwig I at Kelheim in 1231; the life of Otto II up to the division of Bavaria."

and won under the *Bundschuh*. He was called none other than "Duke Bundschuh," to commemorate, that Jerusalem was won on foot, should he and his descendants bare the *Bundschuh*.

[in red writing] Help those who ask for your help.⁹⁴

As pointed out by Andrea Schindler, the rationale behind Eckhart's connection to the Bundschuh is not actually ever explained.⁹⁵ In accompaniment to providing the excerpts from the *Fürstentafel* manuscripts, as translated above, Genzinger also provided a supplementary paraphrased version of the passage, which indicated that Eckhart's shoes were specifically red strapped/banded. This is significant because, although for centuries the Bundschuh had been one of the most common of all shoes, the *red* strapped Bundschuhe had been represented within medieval texts as a privileged article of clothing. As noted by Schindler, the red strapped Bundschuh of Count Eckhart are comparable to the those of the Duke of Carinthia, which are described as red in the *Steirischen Reimchronik* or 'red bound' in the *Schwabenspiegel*.⁹⁶ Moreover, it appears that Eckhart's red strapped Bundschuhe are linked to his political rank, and thus the act of wearing them (or removing them and raising them for others to see) enables the entire army to recognize him as an individual. After Jerusalem is stormed and won under the Bundschuh, the symbol is presented as being particular to Eckhart and his descendants.

⁹⁴ Graf Ekhart von Scheiren krieget umb das herzogtum zu Bairen und die Ungern fürn drey stund mit Im auf das Reich und wart getadingt, daß Im daz herzogtum wider wart und daß er mit Chunig Hainreichen dem dritten solt varen zu dem heiligen grab mit allen den seinen. Graff Ekhart für do die gar herleich und alles her des kunigen chom gen Constantinopel und würden sy da uberain, sy wolten ze füz ziehen und gaben dy pferd hin. Wez wüunders. Graff Ekhart auf dem Weg er zuget, daz wär gar zu lang. Er het zwen püntschüch auf; da legt sich dann mer volks zu dem. Der kunik hiez Im den püntschüch in ain panier machen. Daz tet er; da zoch daz her allermeist dem püntschüch nach. Auch ward das heilig grab gestürmt und gewonnen under dem püntschüch. Man hiez In auch anders nicht dann Herzog Püntschüch; also zu ainem gedachtnis, daz Jerusalem zu fuzzen gewuñen wär, solt er und dy seinen furen den Püntschüch.

hilt den dy Deiner hilt begeren [in roter Schrift]

Tabula Perantiqua Schirensis, fol.3v transcribed by Franz Genzinger, in Albert Siegmund OSB and Franz Genzinger, "Zur Scheyerer Tabula Perantiqua," *Die Zeit der frühen Herzöge: Von Otto I. zu Ludwig dem Bayern*, (Hirmer Verlag München GmbH, R. Piper & Co. Verlag, Munich-Zürich, 1980), 156.

⁹⁵ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 92.

⁹⁶ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 92.

The title "Herzog Puntschüch" (Duke Bundschuh) is given "zum gedachtnis", in other words, to commemorate, to remember the victory over Jerusalem on foot, under the Bundschuh and that he and his descendants should lead under/carry the Bundschuh. The commemoration tied to the symbol, may have also served as a source of regional pride and legitimization of the Wittelsbach family. Perhaps the focus of the legend is primarily limited to Eckhart as an individual in order to maintain the primary goal of the *Fürstentafel*, which is to emphasize the Wittelsbach family and the relevance of Scheyern. The closing phrase "help those who need your help," can be considered as up for interpretation. It seems evident that the example of Eckhart fulfills the statement and serves as a moral model to others. The shift could also signal a soft command or subtle reminder to the reader that he/she should essentially 'return the favor' if required in the future.

The Duke or Count Eckhart mentioned in the text is difficult to locate in history as one figure in particular. There were three different counts of Scheyern by the name of Eckhart.⁹⁷ King Henry III of the Germans (r. 1028-1056) who also was crowned Holy Roman Emperor (r.1046-1056) ruled prior to the First Crusade (1096-1099). In 1843, Rupert Leiß claimed that Eckhart I (r. ca. 1072-1092) was the one who had been called 'Bundschuh', and that he had distinguished himself on a military campaign in Jerusalem in 1064, and that in his elder years went on another military campaign to Jerusalem but never returned.⁹⁸ However, 1064 predates the First Crusade (this could suggest false dating or information), and Leiß does not provide or cite any documentation. The dates which have been suggested for the duration of Eckhart I's rule would

⁹⁷ Andrea Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte durch Erzählen von Vergangenheit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, (Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden, 2020) 91., See: Günther Flohrschütz

⁹⁸ Rupert Leiß, *Das Scheyrer-Kreuz oder gründlich Belehrung über den seit: beiläufig 700 Jahren zu Kloster Scheyern in Oberbayern aufbewahrten Theil des wahren Kreuzes Christi* (Augsburg, 1843) 66.

also place him close to the time of the First Crusade to suggest that he could have participated at the end of his life if there was a slight miscalculation regarding the dates.⁹⁹ Schindler indicates that an Eckhart von Scheyern participated in the First Crusade, but presumes that this would have been Eckhart II (1116/17-1135/40).¹⁰⁰ This seems to be a sensible conclusion too, and further, the conquest of Jerusalem during the First Crusade aligns with the *Fürstentafel* and the *True History*.¹⁰¹

Over a century after the *True History*'s release, a new set of paintings of the cycle dated to around 1623 were hung in the same monastery.¹⁰² Schindler points out that in the surviving painting of Count Eckhart from this cycle is clearly associated with Conrad III (r.1138-1152) and the Second Crusade (1147-1149).¹⁰³ Moreover, this depiction most closely aligns with Eckhart III von Scheyern (1145-47-1180/82) in terms of chronology, once again blurring the lines as to which Eckhart von Scheyern is the 'true' Duke Bundschuh.¹⁰⁴ To perhaps make matters more confusing, I would also like to add that the *True History* also attributes crusading victories over the Holy Land to Conrad III prior to those it attributes to Barbarossa, despite the fact that today there is a general consensus that the Second Crusade was largely unsuccessful.¹⁰⁵ Considering that this detail does relatively little for the story narratively speaking, it begs the question of whether or not any details

⁹⁹ Info about years of his life from Andrea Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte durch Erzählen von Vergangenheit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, (Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden, 2020) 91., See: Günther Flohrschütz

¹⁰⁰ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 91, 93.

¹⁰¹ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 93.

¹⁰² Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 92.

¹⁰³ Schindler observes that in the background of the painting, three red ribbons are visible, which were associated with the Second Crusade. Meanwhile the description indicates that Eckhart was given 'this badge' by Conrad III for his bravery. Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 93.

¹⁰⁴ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 91.

¹⁰⁵ "Nachuolgend abermal als er für Al kheyro zoch /het er sich mit gelt stillen lassen /vñ zoch ab vñ starb / mit dysem ward Jerufalem wider vom Soldan eingenomen /dz folt der kayser zu herzn nemē / auch das seines vatters brüß künig Conrad das haylig Landt fo mit großer müe arbit vñ plütuer giessen erobert het,"*True History*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519), fol.1v.31-36.

concerning Conrad's reign regarding the crusade had previously been rewritten. However, the answer to this question is beyond the scope of this research.

Albert Siegmund and Franz Genzinger have suggested the survival of at least 27 copies of the *Fürstentafel*, and the fact that its stories were also absorbed into some of the late medieval Bavarian historiography, including Veit Arnpeck, Andreas von Regensburg, and Ulrich Fiertrir, is an indication of the greater text's popularity and importance in prior centuries.¹⁰⁶ However, there is little to no evidence that I am aware of to support that the legend of the Bundschuh had circulated or gained popularity independently of the complete historical sequence of the *Fürstentafel*. If the legend of the Bundschuh underwent any major transformations between the origin text and the *True History* it had been through oral transmission or a text(s) that has been lost to time. one should not overlook that a number of the details mentioned within the *True History* also probably drew from local history (particularly pertaining to Ried), separate from just the narrative tradition associated with the *Fürstentafel*. It is also reasonable to suggest that many of the alterations to the legend found in the *True History* could just as easily be attributed to the creative license of the author of *True History* himself.

3.2 The Bundschuh Legend of the *True History*

The writer of the *True History* likely either knew of the legend by word of mouth, had access to manuscripts or even the hanging panels within the *Fürstenskappelle*, given that it was relatively local to where the first prints of the *True History* appeared. The Scheyern monastery was nestled almost exactly equidistant from both Augsburg and Landshut. This makes it particularly interesting

¹⁰⁶ Albert Siegmund and Franz Genzinger, "Zur Scheyerer Tabula Perantiqua," *Die Zeit der frühen Herzöge: Von Otto I. zu Ludwig dem Bayern*, (Hirmer Verlag München GmbH, R. Piper & Co. Verlag, Munich-Zürich, 1980), 151.

then that the *True History*, though retaining many features, very noticeably departs from the *Fürstentafel* in terms of plot, structure, characterization, themes, and symbolism.

In terms of structure, the legend of the Bundschuh is told within a narrative of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's conflict with Pope Alexander III. Rather than having King Henry return the Duchy to Count Eckhart following a war between them, in the *True History* Barbarossa appoints Duke Eckhart¹⁰⁷ of Bavaria, the Palatine counts of Wittelsbach and Count of Scheyern, as well as landgraves of Hesse, Thuringia, while also elevating Duke Otten¹⁰⁸ of Saxony and Duke of Bohemia to king (and with him raises Bohemia to a kingdom), and Margrave Diepold¹⁰⁹ of Austria to a duchy, as he urges them to join him on crusade.¹¹⁰ Thus, this detail, as is also the case with the other elevated titles listed, diverges from historical record. While there was never a Duke Eckhart of Bavaria (at least at the time of Barbarossa's reign) Barbarossa was responsible for appointing Otto VI von Scheyern-Wittelsbach to the duchy of Bavaria in 1180 after deposing Duke

¹⁰⁷ Schindler has suggested that this Eckhart may refer to Eckhart II Count of Scheyern, but that the text above is false in its indification of him as Duke of Bavaria, Count Palatine of Wittelsbach. See: Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte durch Erzählen von Vergangenheit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, (Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden, 2020) 67.

¹⁰⁸ In 1192, Ottokar I, Duke of Bohemia was raised to the title of King of Bohemia by King Philip (of the Germans and the Romans), the title was again granted to him in 1203 by Emperor Otto IV, and once more in 1212 (with hereditary rights) from Emperor Frederick II. Hence this detail appears to be tied to Barbarossa's grandson, "the other" Frederick. As noted by Schindler, no records of a 'Duke Otto of Saxony' have been identified. However, I would also like to add that the period of Barbarossa's reign did bring about division of Saxony; from one part of the divided duchy of Saxony emerged the duchy of Westphalia, which was given to the Cologne, while the eastern region of Saxony was granted to Bernhard von Anhalt, the son of Albrecht the Bear. See: Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte durch Erzählen von Vergangenheit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, (Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden, 2020) 68., Knut Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa: Der erste Stauferkaiser*, (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2022), 91.

¹⁰⁹ The march of Austria was indeed elevated to a duchy by Frederick Barbarossa in 1156 through the *Privilegium Minus*, but it was Margrave Henry II Jasomirgott of Austria who had been the recipient of this elevation. As observed by Schindler there is no record of a Margrave Diepold of Austria. However, Henry II's predecessor as Margrave of Austria had been Leopold IV and his successor as Duke of Austria was Leopold V, which sounds at least somewhat similar to Diepold.

See: Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte durch Erzählen von Vergangenheit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, (Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden, 2020) 67.

¹¹⁰ "hat der Kayser ermant die Christenlichen fürsten / den Hertzog Otten von Sachsen vñ den Hertzogen zů Beham/ denfelben hertzogen machet er zů ainem Künig vñ daz Behamerlandt zu einē Kunigreich /auch den Marggraff Diebolden von Osterreich zu ainem Hertzogen / vñ die March Osterriich zu ainem Hertzogthumb Auch berufft er Hertzog Eckharten von Bairn / Pfaltzgrauen zu Wittelsbach vnd Graue zu Scheyrn / Auch die Land grauen von heffen / Thüringen," *True History*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.2r.11-18.

Henry the Lion. Thus, Barbarossa proved to be an integral figure to the history of the Wittelsbach and as a byproduct, Bavaria. In addition to the narrative of Barbarossa, the legend as a consequence is brought into an even grander narrative of the Last World Emperor, if one accounts for the closing prophecy. Under this interpretative lens, the prophecy could entail implications for the legend of the Bundschuh within the history of salvation. This might also explain the far greater emphasis that is placed on divine will and significance of Christendom within the legend .

The symbolism behind the Bundschuh flag is far more expansive compared to its appearance within the *Fürstentafel*, as it is now also tied to the symbolism of the Holy Roman flag, which was entirely absent in the original legend. Rather than serving as a completely new device (where in the *Fürstentafel* a flag used to lead the army is a complete novelty), the Bundschuh is presented as the temporary replacement of the banner of the Holy Roman Empire. This narrative presents the flag as a shared symbol that unites the army and is representational of the Holy Roman Empire, and the 'Christian cause'. This symbolism would have been arguably quite striking to a contemporary reader, given the Bundschuh's well established associations with rebellion by the early sixteenth century. This may have left the reader with further questions, without a conclusive answer or at least one that would have been open to a degree of interpretation.

The *True History* highlights the centrality of hierarchical relations in establishing order amongst the army. This is exemplified by the relationship between Barbarossa and Duke Eckhart, and more importantly, Duke Eckhart and Dietmar Anhanger. With the exception of Barbarossa, Eckhart, and Dietmar, essentially none of the members of the army are individualized. The army retains a group identity, characterized by its Christian faith and cause ('army' and 'Christians' are sometimes referred to interchangeably) and its direction under the leadership of the Holy Roman Empire. The identities of Eckhart and Dietmar are clearly distinguished from one another by their

social class and political standing, but they are also both members of the army. Both Dietmar and Eckhart are directly impacted by the moments of unity and crisis experienced across the army. In contrast to the *Fürstentafel*, which primarily focuses on the *actions* of Eckhart within the legend, the *True History* presents Eckhart as a figure of leadership who also endures essentially the same experiences of crisis and hopelessness as the rest of the army. Rather than presenting Eckhart as the singular heroic figure, he, and all Christians present during the storming of Jerusalem, are ultimately shown to be dependent upon the soldier Dietmar *Anhanger*, 'the follower,' an entirely new character. Dietmar, who is none other than a lowly peasant, saves the day by creating the Bundschuh flag out of necessity and giving it to Eckhart. As I will argue, this act can be understood as equally obedient as it is bold, and pious as it is brave. Going forward, I will also explore how the characterization of Dietmar is especially noteworthy, as it challenged the leading image of peasants in late medieval and early modern literature, especially in light of the Bundschuh Uprisings.

The narrative presents a peasant who achieves one of the many perceived aims of the Bundschuh Uprisings, upward socioeconomic mobility, but through means contrary to rebellion; as recognition and a reward to Dietmar's contributions towards the victory over Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre he is granted the market town of Ried, and a coat of arms featuring the Bundschuh. Furthermore, the incorporation of this cooperative symbiotic relationship between Dietmar and Eckhart completely expands the greater meaning of the legend. The ending citation of the *Fürstentafel*, (double check) "help those in need," is a moral that arguably carries over into the *True History*. However, the roles are now reversed; the subject now aids the leader in need. By contradicting the most typical portrayals of peasants, Dietmar appears as an exceptional and outlier of his social class, a model to aspire to, as opposed to representation of a typical member.

3.2.1 The Flag as a Symbol of Unity

From the moment of their descent upon Jerusalem, the imperial-Christian army is unified through a common flag. Through its function and (visual and metaphorical) symbolic representation, the flag becomes an object of unity and honor. The narrator clearly identifies the flag as having an eagle on one side (a definitive reference to the Roman Empire), and the Christian Cross on the other side representing the “Christenlich streyt,” or ‘Christian cause.’¹¹¹ In other words, it expresses the fact that is the Holy Roman Empire who is to represent the Christian cause by liberating Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. In this way the flag could bring glory and honor to the empire.

The narrator states that the flag is placed directly into the hand of flag bearer, Duke Eckhart of Bavaria, by none other than the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa himself, and adds that it was “entrusted to all Christian soldiers who retained it according to their ability.”¹¹² This might signify the flag’s direct ties to the emperor, and hence the empire and Christian cause’s link to the emperor. It also displays the hierarchical relationship of power and authority between duke and emperor, exemplifying to the reader how the duke’s authority is actualized through the recognition and allocation of power from the emperor who is the physical embodiment of the empire. By entrusting the flag to the protection of all Christian soldiers, the narrator shows that, even if they are directed by a figure of authority, all members of the community (in this instance all Christian soldiers) are responsible for the protection and attainment of honor, and thus also share in its benefits.

¹¹¹ *True History*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.2v.19.

¹¹² “wölher chriftenlich streyt vō dem herzog Eckhart von Bairn zūhandthaben in fein handt vom kayfer vñ allen chriftenlichen hōr beuolhen was /8 in nach seinem vermügē bewaret.” *True History*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.2v.19-21.

3.2.2 Crisis

The *True History* provides an account of the shared physical difficulties faced by the army.¹¹³ However these difficulties reach an all-time high, when in the face of many obstacles, Duke Eckhart makes the difficult decision to abandon the imperial Christian flag in order to continue fighting in the battle. Eckhart's decision is justifiable. However, it also jeopardizes the Christian cause, and thus imperial cause, not to mention the livelihoods of the entire army. It seems that almost all hope is lost when the army reaches a point in which they are nearly vanquished. Even as reinforcements arrive, the army finds themselves without a flag, cornered and unable to retreat. The army therefore calls upon God, desiring to die chivalrously as pious Christians, set against the unbelievers.

3.2.3 Resolution

The greatest distinction that sets the *True History* apart from the original manuscripts of the *Fürstentafel*, is the introduction of the entirely new character of Dietmar, a member of Barbarossa's army, into the legend. Akin to Eckhart in the version of the legend found in the *Fürstentafel*, Dietmar resolves the crisis by creating a new flag to unite the army through the Bundschuh. However, his function within the narrative is quite different. This distinction can be attributed to Dietmar's identifiable status as someone of "schlechten gepurt" (low birth) and simultaneously characterization as pious, clever and loyal or faithful.¹¹⁴ Dietmar shows that he is able to be incredibly bold and brave yet willingly obedient in action in a way that would have

¹¹³ For example, When the army arrives they find themselves depleted of any access to water, that Jerusalem is situated on top of a mountain, surrounded by more mountains. The storming of Jerusalem lasts continuously for ten days, in which many men are "stabbed, discarded, and also killed."

¹¹⁴ *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519), fol.3r.16.

likely subverted expectations. The narrator explains that Dietmar journeyed with Duke Eckhart, and explicitly states that Dietmar was a “guter Crist,” a “good Christain,”¹¹⁵ and that:

...although he was of low birth, he was always loyal. Furthermore, his baptismal name was thereafter re-christened to be called Dietmar the Follower. His father had been a miller, who resided in Ried in the Hausruck [Forest] by the river called the Achen.¹¹⁶

It is worth noting that the word translated here as loyal, *anhängen*, can also refer to adhering in the context of religion. In other words, the passage above may also be referring to Dietmar as always being a faithful Christian. This meaning certainly would make sense, given the description of Dietmar as a good Christian, and that Anhangen was included in his baptismal name. The double meaning of the word as either referring to his religious or political allegiance could play into the idea that these two spheres were in some way interconnected.

The pairing of Dietmar's status of 'bad' or 'low' birth with his status as the son of a miller is perhaps deserving of some attention. Millers had a very unusual position within society. Carl Lindahl has described position of the miller as being liminal, somewhere between peasant and ruling class.¹¹⁷ On the one hand it was a highly privileged position throughout the Middle Ages, as they were among the few occupations to be freeholders on most estates.¹¹⁸ As noted by Lindahl, their business was mostly conducted with the lord of the estate, and they also maintained some control over the lower classes of society.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, the position of the millers also caused them to be unpopular amongst the peasant masses, who likely did not consider the miller

¹¹⁵ *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519), fol.3r.14.

¹¹⁶ "vnd ime wiewol er ainer schlechten gepurdt gewesen stetz angehangen ist /darüber auch nach dem er Dietmar mit seinem tauffnam hieß nachmaln Dietmar anhenger genant warde / vñ fein vatter ist gewesen ain Mülner /gefellen zu Ried am Haußrugkh am wasser / genent die Achen," *True History*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.3r.15-20.

¹¹⁷ Carl Lindahl, *Earnest Games: Folkloric Patterns in the Canterbury Tales*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989) 111.

¹¹⁸ Lindahl, *Earnest Games: Folkloric Patterns in the Canterbury Tales*, 111.

¹¹⁹ Lindahl, *Earnest Games: Folkloric Patterns in the Canterbury Tales*, 111.

as simply one of their own. Long before the sixteenth century, millers had gained a reputation for their alleged dishonesty, thieving and cheating.¹²⁰

According to George Fenwick Jones, this stereotype had originally emerged from the fact that the lord of the land had the power to require his peasant subjects to grind their grain at his mill.¹²¹ As an employee of the lord, this situation was very advantageous for the miller, as it gave him a monopoly.¹²² When people came to the mill to grind what they had, the miller would request exactions on behalf of his lord and himself, however, they were often entirely blamed on the millers, and both their "clients and employers" accused them of stealing.¹²³ Jones notes that burghers also deemed millers to be "dishonorable people" (*unehrliche Leute*) along with rural laborers, priests' children, bath attendants, barbers, linen weavers, skimmers, and executioners.¹²⁴ This distinction had less to do with an economic disparity between burghers and millers, and more to do with identity. While Dietmar is not described as a miller, but the *son* of a miller, this would still have been considered noteworthy, as according to Jones, their families and descendants were also "scorned and ostracized" during the late Middle Ages.¹²⁵ By this point in time, patricians also attempted to distinguish themselves from simple burghers, as burghers sought to separate themselves from other social groups considered inferior (such as peasants) and taboo (such as millers), and all the while, the nobility made no social distinction between burghers and peasants.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ George Fenwick Jones, "The Origins of Bourgeois Honor," *Honor in German Literature*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959) 133., Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 119.

¹²¹ Jones, "The Origins of Bourgeois Honor," 133.

¹²² Jones, "The Origins of Bourgeois Honor," 133.

¹²³ Jones, "The Origins of Bourgeois Honor," 133.

¹²⁴ Jones, "The Origins of Bourgeois Honor," 129.

¹²⁵ Jones, "The Origins of Bourgeois Honor," 129.

¹²⁶ Jones, "The Origins of Bourgeois Honor," 123.

The dishonest or mischievous miller became deeply ingrained in medieval and early modern European literature as a popular trope.¹²⁷ However, the primary audience of this literature was not necessarily the laboring peasants who believed that their local miller might be exploiting them. As mentioned in my previous chapter, for the first half of the sixteenth century, early print prose novels (or "Volksbuch") were only affordable to the upper classes of society and generally made up their primary audience.¹²⁸ Moreover, while nobles may have lumped burghers and peasants together, it seems that the stereotype of the miller was recognized across all strata of society.

Given the background of the probable audience of the text (societal elites and nobility), and negative stereotypes relating to millers, his "schlechten gepurdt" might imply low socio-economic and innately less honorable (by birth) status within the literary framework of the *True History*. Dietmar's characterization as someone who was always loyal is only accentuated by the contrast drawn early on to his "schlechten gepurdt," and miller descent as it comes also as a surprise to the reader. Thus, the exceptional nature of his character is amplified, in a way that would not have been possible in the instance of the Duke Eckhart (as explored in my discussion of the *Fürstentafel*), who maintains a noble and thus honorable status by birth.

Dietmar's expression of devotion is shown through his motivation to help the Christians, but achieved through his conscious subordination to Duke Eckhart. This is perhaps also exemplified by the naming of him as "Dietmar Anhanger" or "Dietmar the Follower." Had the writer wished, he could have been praised as "Dietmar Triuwe," as the concept of *triuwe* was

¹²⁷ Jones, "The Origins of Bourgeois Honor," 133.

¹²⁸ Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch: A Critical History of Late-Medieval Genre*, (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 18, 52.

generally associated with fealty, oath-keeping, or allegiance.¹²⁹ However, *triuwe* is a virtue that could be mutually expressed between lord and vassal (as exemplified in the epic of the *Nibelungenlied*), whereas a subject should follow his lord, and a lord should lead his subject; these roles cannot be interchanged. In other words, *Anhanger* underscores Dietmar's faithfulness, but also has the possibility to express the one-sided subservience of Dietmar to Eckhart, even if it is celebrated.

Although the moniker of *Anhanger* could have been certainly read and received in this way, especially given Dietmar's actions and characterization, one also shouldn't overlook that a Bavarian noble family by the name of "von Anhang," had actually lived east of the Hausruck.¹³⁰ Andrea Schindler notes that the von Anhang lineage can be traced back to 1250 and died out around 1500, meaning that its chronology cannot be linked to the time of Count Eckhart or Frederick Barbarossa.¹³¹ Schindler also shrewdly observes that the woodcut of Weyssenburger's edition features a very small coat of arms featuring a branch with three leaves, on the entry way to the market town of Ried, which is in the process of being built (as I will later discuss, Dietmar is later designated in this narrative as the founder of Ried), hanging parallel to a shield with a Bundschuh.¹³² Both of these coat of arms match the description of those which are described as later being granted to Dietmar, and as pointed out by Schindler, this image of the branch with three leaves featured on the shield closely resembles the actual von Anhang family coat of arms.¹³³

¹²⁹ See: George Fenwick Jones, *Honor in German Literature* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 25.

¹³⁰ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte durch Erzählen von Vergangenheit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, (Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden, 2020) 99.

¹³¹ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 99.

¹³² Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 99.

¹³³ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 99.

The von Anhang family, or at least the symbols associated with their coat of arms also appears to have been relevant to the history of Ried itself. Several years after the *True History's* release, in 1538, Duke William IV allowed the *Anhanger* coat of arms to be reattached to Ried's Rathaus alongside the Bundschuh coat of arms, despite not having been granted permission.¹³⁴ Unfortunately, it remains difficult to decipher how much the history of the noble family or potential legends surrounding them could have actually influenced the divergences of the narrative of the *True History* when compared to the *Fürstentafel*.

Some attempt has already been made to locate any record of any figure by the name of "Dietmar von Anhang," such as by Konrad Meindl, but to no avail.¹³⁵ I would also like to speculate at the possibility that Dietmar could have been the product of narratives entirely separate from that of the origin of the von Anhang family or the Bundschuh, but rather in closer proximity to those related to Barbarossa himself. For example, the *Historia de Expeditione Friderici Imperatoris* ('The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick'), completed no later than about 1200, mentions the name Dietmar appears in association with Barbarossa's son, Duke Frederick VI of Swabia, as the duke's marshal, and potentially as the duke's standard-bearer, or the banner carrier, at the capture of Dimotika (1189).¹³⁶ Anton Chroust, though also recognizing that a standard-bearer is mentioned earlier within the *Historia de Expeditione* as Count Berthold of Neuenburg,

¹³⁴ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 101.

¹³⁵ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 99. See: Konrad Meindl, *Geschichte der Stadt Ried in Oberösterreich*. Bd. I. (Munich: 1899; facsimile edition Ried: 1997) 143, Meindl claims to have searched through the charter book of the region above the Enns, which had also documented the names of the von Anhanger family.

¹³⁶ "Quem signifer ducis itemque marschallus Diemarum nomine ceterique milites porta civitatis viriliter effracta insecuti urbem potenter expugnaverunt,"

Loud: "The duke's standard-bearer and [his] marshal Dietmar, with some other knights, manfully broke through the city gate and followed him into the town."

"Historia de Expeditione Friderici." in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, ed. Anton Chroust. MGH, SRG, n.s. V, (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung: 1928), 54., "The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick," in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. G.A. Loud, (Ashgate: 2010; Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 147. Citations refer to the Routledge edition.

stood by his belief that text actually implied that here in this context, the standard-bearer and marshal were both a singular person, Dietmar.¹³⁷ Moreover, regardless of how exactly the original author intended to refer to Dietmar, it is not difficult to see how these two offices could have been viewed by the reader as a singular figure.¹³⁸ However, not much more seems to be known at the time of the Dietmar mentioned in the *Historia de Expeditione*, and more research would be required to determine the likelihood of there being any connection to the Dietmar found this variation of the Bundschuh legend. Furthermore, I would like to underscore that my reading is only one of many other possible readings. The original von Anhang family or a historically based crusader by the name of Dietmar, continue to stand as possible influences in shaping the narrative of this particular narrative, yet their reach and validity continue to remain a mystery for the time being. Unfortunately such research is beyond the scope of this study, although it remains worthy of attention.

Aside from his description as being someone of "schlechten gepurdt," a loyal follower, and the son of a miller, Dietmar is described as having Bundschuh that were "made in the peasantry fashion, high until the knee, with three large straps," and little to no armor.¹³⁹ In Weyssenburger's edition (also printed in 1519) the description of Dietmar's appearance would be contrasted by the imagery of a wood-cut print featuring the entire army on horseback, who all appear to be wearing the fluted style armor which had become vogue within the Holy Roman Empire during the reign

¹³⁷ Anton Chroust, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, 54.

G.A. Loud, on the other hand, has suggested that the use of the word *itqemque* could infer that the marshal and standard-bearer were two different people. G.A. Loud, 259.

¹³⁸ There is also a second instance in which the name Dietmar appears in this text, referred to as "freeman Dietmar" in association with Duke Leopold of Austria at the port of Acre, and stands out as the only figure listed in this cohort listed without a political title or byname, or as a "freeman." However, in this instance it is implied that this Dietmar along with the duke's other mentioned companions do not ever survive to return home. See: "Historia de Expeditione Friderici.", ed. Chroust., G.A. Loud, "The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick," trans. Loud, 209.

¹³⁹ "auff die pewriſch art gemacht wz/ hoch biß an das knye / mit dreyen groſſen ringken." *True History*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519), fol.3r.23-24.

of Maximilian.¹⁴⁰ Once again, keeping in mind that the primary audience of a printed book at this point in time was made up of the most privileged elite of society, it was not out of the question that the background of Dietmar (which in reality would have been generally well off, especially when compared to the rest of the agrarian community) would be illustrated as a member of the lower class. Dietmar is never actually described as being a peasant, however, he is by no means presented as being superior to or differentiated from the peasant class.

In fact, Dietmar actually aligns with the attributes associated with many of the positive depictions of peasants within literature. I would like to nevertheless underscore that depictions of positive peasant tropes were still largely outnumbered by the negative ones during the late Middle Ages. The leading image of the peasant found in literature was one of stupidity and ignorance.¹⁴¹ Meanwhile, Dietmar is characterized by a combination of what Paul H. Freedman has referred to as the 'clever peasant' and 'virtuous peasant' tropes.¹⁴² On the one hand he is characterized by putting his practical, worldly knowledge to use in a clever way. However, as a *virtuous* subject, Dietmar only puts his ingenuity to use when placed in a desperate situation in which it is necessary.¹⁴³

The virtuous peasant trope often appeared when members of the ruling class found themselves in a position of unusual distress and sought the aid of one of their subjects as an act of desperation.¹⁴⁴ Here Duke Eckhart is in a moment of desperation, along with the rest of the

¹⁴⁰ *True History*, (Landshut: Weyssenburger, 1519) fol.3r.

¹⁴¹ Paul H. Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999) 205.

¹⁴² Certain aspects of Dietmar's cleverness are comparable to that Markolf, a German literary peasant character who became popular in the thirteenth century but peaked at the end of the Middle Ages. Unlike Markolf, who is a prankster and "interlocutor of King Solomon," Dietmar never counters the social hierarchy, however he arguably shares Markolf's "practical folk knowledge of the real world," that is "somewhat distant wisdom of the king."

See: Paul H. Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999) 208.

¹⁴³ Paul H. Freedman underscores that in unusual moments of distress "the members of the ruling dynasty seek the aid of their erstwhile subjects," reflecting either desperation or an individual's status as an outcast, see: Paul H. Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999) 208.

¹⁴⁴ Paul H. Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999) 208.

Christian army, after Eckhart is forced to abandon the imperial flag. When Dietmar witnesses the crisis of the Christian army, he is motivated to help restore order: "he saw that without a flag, the Christians were unable to have any knowledge of order, nor could they distinguish between friend or foe."¹⁴⁵ Thus, in a moment of free-thinking ingenuity, Dietmar cleverly removes his Bundschuh, pierces it with a lance, and raises it in the air, now functioning as a replacement of the Holy Roman Imperial flag.¹⁴⁶ However, rather than using the flag to then lead the army himself, Dietmar immediately gives it directly to Eckhart.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, here the act of creating the Bundschuh flag is also an act of obedience, which functions to unite and protect the community against a common enemy, the unbelievers. Considering that the imperial-Christian flag was also introduced into the legend as a new addition, the Bundschuh in the *True History* becomes tied to the *Reich*, or Empire, through its function as the flag's replacement. As a result, the Bundschuh flag is not only transformed into an object to lead and unite the army, but it very clearly represents the "Christenlich streyt," and the community of the Holy Roman Empire.

The act of Dietmar *Anhanger* giving Duke Eckhart the Bundschuh flag also parallels the earlier scene in which Duke Eckhart of Bavaria had been given the imperial flag by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Just as I interpreted this earlier scene as a representation of a transfer and recognition of power from the emperor to the duke (lord to subject), I would also argue that the act of Dietmar handing Duke Eckhart the Bundschuh could be easily interpreted as a transfer and recognition of power from subject to lord. In other words, Duke Eckhart's position of leadership

¹⁴⁵ "er sach das die Cristen on ainen Fan kain gewillte Ordnung halten mochten/nit gar wol wesslen wer freünd oder veindt." *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger), fol.3r.21-22.

¹⁴⁶ *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger), fol. 3r.

¹⁴⁷ *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger), fol. 3r.

on the battleground is shown as being equally dependent on the recognition of his authority from those above and below him within the social hierarchical order.

The loss and recreation of a flag that is used to unite and identify the Christian army also proves how important a recognizable leader is to guide the members of this community. Certainly, Duke Eckhart's title never actually changes in the moments in which he is given a flag, the recognition of Eckhart as the leader of the army in the context of the battle is tied to him carrying the flag. The security of his position within the hierarchy is also illustrated as having a direct impact on the state of the army, as his ability to continue to effectively lead the army is entirely dependent on his possession over this object. Thus, when Eckhart loses the imperial flag, the entire Christian army is thrown into a state of crisis.

This theme of the trickle down effects of the state of the leader or ruler to the common good of the rest of the community is even later paralleled within the narrative; when Barbarossa suddenly vanishes (captured by Saladin through the betrayal of Pope Alexander III) the Empire is thrown into a year of crisis without a proper emperor.¹⁴⁸ This later episode also answers the question as to what might happen in a scenario where Dietmar had not given the flag to Eckhart, but attempt to lead the army himself. During the period in which Barbarossa has vanished from the Empire, a 'false-Frederick' appears.¹⁴⁹ At first, he successfully tricks the common people into believing his claims of being the lost emperor. However, his falsehood is soon discovered, and he is embarrassingly questioned and punished.¹⁵⁰ Of course, our loyal Dietmar does no such thing. Even after giving the flag to Eckhart, Dietmar remains at the duke's side. The text does not actually (to my knowledge) state that Dietmar partakes in fighting, however it might be inferred that he is

¹⁴⁸ See: *True History*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519), fol.4v.

¹⁴⁹ *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger), fol. 4v.

¹⁵⁰ *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger), fol. 5r.

willing to, to the extent of protecting the flag. Moreover, at the very least, Dietmar expresses the attributes of bravery:

... and Dietmar the Follower remained next to Duke Eckhart and loyally helped protect the Bundschuh, even though he had no armor, alone the left Bundschuh on his foot, and hardly any armor. His helmet was a wreath of leaves. Thus the Almighty God gave Duke Eckhart under the sign of the Bundschuh and the Christians the victory.¹⁵¹

The detail that Dietmar's only armor was a wreath of leaves is also noteworthy, and yet ambiguous enough that its symbolism is open to various interpretations. During Antiquity the laurel had been a marker of military triumph.¹⁵² Dietmar's donning of the wreath of leaves is presented in a moment of military victory. The fact that Dietmar has little to no armor can perhaps be considered as a testament to his bravery and commitment to the Holy Roman Empire and the Christian cause. Here Dietmar's bravery and fighting ability also directly serve to protect the lord and army that he serves. As previously mentioned, Dietmar is also later granted a coat of arms that features the branch with three leaves, which may be presented as being tied back to his laurel worn on the battlefield.

While Dietmar positively exceeds expectations of the peasant or someone of the lower class (especially within the context of medieval literature), it should be noted that he does so without overstepping the socio-political boundaries of medieval society. In this particular scenario, Eckhart is still in a position of authority, but as the narrative reveals, he is simultaneously entirely reliant upon the support and protection from his subject, Dietmar. It is only through this symbiotic relationship that God grants the army a victory. I would like to propose that here lies one of the key takeaways from this chapter within the narrative, which differs from the *Fürstentafel*.

¹⁵¹ "vñ Dietmar der anhangher hielt sich neben herzog Eckharten wol halff trewlich bewaren den pundtschûh / wiewol er kain hofen / allain den linckhen pundtschûch anhetten/ vnnd lützel harnasch /fein haubtharnasch was ain krantz von laub / Also gab der Almechtig got/ hertzog Eckharten vnder dem pundtschûch vñ den Criften den fyg." *True History*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.3v.3-8.

¹⁵² Caspar Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism, An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) 131.

3.3 Peasant Power and the Reversal of Rebellion?

I have not properly addressed the elephant in the room: that is, the portrayal of the Bundschuh as a peasant's shoe and the positioning of this legend within context of the contemporary Bundschuh Uprisings, and for good measure. Thus far, it has been important to establish that within the framework of the *True History* the imperial flag and the Bundschuh flag have functioned as: a) a means of recognizing Duke Eckhart's position of authority, b) a symbol of communal unity and cause c) a reflection of the symbiotic relationship between lord and subject. These points will serve as a base as I delve deeper into my analysis of how the figure of Dietmar *Anhanger* and the particularity of the Bundschuh would be received against the backdrop of the Bundschuh Rebellions. Here, I aim to show how the legend of Dietmar *Anhanger* and the Bundschuh could have been interpreted as a reversal of rebellion, that is to say, the notion of the Bundschuh carrying peasant, typically set against his local lord, is completely reimagined as his most loyal subject.

As previously mentioned, the Bundschuh encompassed a spectrum of meanings which varied over time.¹⁵³ However, by the early sixteenth century the Bundschuh came to also serve primarily as a representative symbol of the peasant class and their resistance, claimed as a uniting symbol during and a series of localized peasant rebellions across the German principalities of the *Reich*, during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (aprox. 1493-1517) known as the Bundschuh Uprisings.¹⁵⁴ As has been also noted by Andrea Schindler, the appearance of the word "Bundschuh", especially its use in the form of a flag in the *True History*, could not have been

¹⁵³ For example, Hans Georg Wackernagel has pointed to evidence that the *knabenschaftlichen* and related associations adopted Bundschuh heraldry as a field sign in feudal and carnivalistic undertakings, characterized by elements of the nobility. See: Hans Georg Wackernagel, "Einige Hinweise auf die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des 'Bundschuhs'" *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, Band 54 (Basel: 1958), 155.

¹⁵⁴ Peter Blickle, "The Criminalization of Peasant Resistance in the Holy Roman Empire: Toward a History of the Emergence of High Treason in Germany," *The Journal of Modern History* 58 (1986): 88, Adolf Laube, "Precursors of the Peasant War: 'Bundschuh' and 'Armer Konrad' –Popular Movements at the Eve of the Reformation," in *The German Peasant War of 1525*, ed. Janos Bak, (Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1976), 49.

received without an awareness of preexisting notions of the Bundschuh as a symbol of rebellion.¹⁵⁵

Had the author of the *True History* wished to distance the Bundschuh of the legend from any associations with the ongoing upheaval, they could have easily retained the main elements of the legend found within the *Fürstentafel*, specifically that the flag is created by a nobleman, and the Bundschuh are red banded, distinguishing them from those used by the peasants in the Bundschuh Uprisings. However, in contrast to the red-strapped shoes of Eckhart, Dietmar's are described as being "made in the peasantry fashion, high until the knee, with three large straps."¹⁵⁶ Thus the Bundschuh is illustrated as a signifier of the status of the common Christian people rather than a high political or noble rank. I would argue that this detail may have only caused readers to give greater consideration to the current state of affairs outside of the text.

The case of Dietmar *Anhanger* and his Bundschuh flag is a striking piece of literature when compared to the literary representations of Bundschuh-wielding peasants in the years leading up to the *True History*, as well as the attitudes of the actual peasants of the Bundschuh Movement. The Bundschuh Uprisings spurred the production of numerous reactionary printed pamphlets and passages that portrayed supporters of the Bundschuh cause in a very negative and often unsympathetic light, such as Thomas Murner's *Narrenbeschwerung* ('Exorcism of Fools', 1512; 1518),¹⁵⁷ Johannes Adelphus' *Narrenschiff vom buntschuch* ('Ship of Fools of the Bundschuh', 1514),¹⁵⁸ and Pamphilus Gengenbach's *Der Bundtschu* (1514).¹⁵⁹ These texts criticized, mocked,

¹⁵⁵ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 91.

¹⁵⁶ "auff die pewrifch art gemacht wz/ hoch biß an das knye / mit dreyen groffen ringken." *True History*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519), fol.3r.23-24.

¹⁵⁷ Thomas Murner, *Doctor murners narrē bschwerūg*, (Strasbourg: Matthiam Hupfuff, 1512), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.; Thomas Murner, *Doctor thomas Murners Narrenbeschweurung*, (Strasbourg: Knoblauch, 1518), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

¹⁵⁸ Johannes Adelphus, *Narrenschiff vom buntschuch*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1514), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

¹⁵⁹ Pamphilus Gengenbach, *Der Bundtschu* (Augsburg: Oeglin, 1514), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

and antagonized Bundschuh rebels and peasant supporters, and were supplemented by woodcuts featuring angry peasants holding their Bundschuh banners. Rebel 'peasants' were accused of being guided by evil, of being ungrateful, greedy, foolish and disobedient.

For example, both Murner and Adelphus portrayed the Bundschuh rebels as fools (see figures 3 and 4).¹⁶⁰ Adelphus' opening page illustrates the Bundschuh rebels dressed in a fool's cowls adorned with two Bundschuhe in the place of horns, contributing to the comical nature of their appearance (figure 3). Yet, the jestful illustration is accompanied by serious accusations against the Bundschuh movement, such as its aims being forbidden by God, and that it operates under the influence of the devil.¹⁶¹ One rebel carries a makeshift Bundschuh flag, where the Bundschuh is pierced, or placed upside down upon a lance, another carries a fictional flag with a picture of a scorpion. Adelphus later explains that it would be more appropriate for the Bundschuh banner, which often featured a crucifix as seen in Gengenbach's *Bundtschu*, to have a picture of a black scorpion due to its association with rotten or corrupted things.¹⁶²

Murner's *Narrenbeschwerung* presentation of the Bundschuh rebel is somewhat more subtle. A singular figure stands wearing the clothing of a peasant (including a set of Bundschuhe), layered with armor (a breastplate, and possibly fluted armor if not the bottom half of his tunic), clutches his sword in one hand and carries a flag with a picture of a single Bundschuh in the other (see figure 4). Along with all other depictions of fools within this text, the rebel wears a signifier of his folly, here his fool's hood is removed from his head but visibly blows in the wind.

¹⁶⁰ This was of little coincidence, as fool's literature had become a popular genre of literary satire by the sixteenth-century used as a humorous way to convey criticism.

¹⁶¹ Johannes Adelphus, *Narrenschiff vom buntschuch*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1514), fol.3v.

¹⁶² "Das fenlin folt doch fein gestalt Wie irs dauornen sehen gmalt Mit ainem schwartzen scorpion, Darinn kain crucifix foll ston, Dann fo fy mit den faulen sachen Umgangen feind die vnfrid machen." Adelphus, *Narrenschiff vom buntschuch*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1514), fol.7r.

The writing of such authors gave off the impression that the rebellion was considered as a major threat to the old societal order which, left unchecked, would lead to total anarchy. Overall, it seems that it was these voices, rather than those of the rebels, which dominated literary culture. Meanwhile, as exemplified in the previous section, Dietmar is characterized by virtues that run directly opposite to these ones.

When placed in the historical context of the Bundschuh Movement itself, Dietmar's familial background would have been particularly complementary occupational demographic. Carlo Ginzburg underscores that the mill was a meeting place where ideas were exchanged, comparable to an inn or a shop, and typically located on the outskirts of settlements.¹⁶³ Ginzburg concludes that therefore, millers was an occupational group that tended to be more "receptive to new ideas and inclined to propagate them," and mills were ideal for secret gatherings.¹⁶⁴ As pointed out by Ginzburg this kind of stereotyping, at least in extreme forms, could easily align with charges of heresy.

Bundschuh rebellions were generally limited to regional upsurges. However, common aims and the shared symbol of the Bundschuh flag bound the rebels together, at least the eyes of nobles and lords. The resistance of the Bundschuh was not taken lightly by authorities, most of all Emperor Maximilian I (r.1508-1519).¹⁶⁵ In 1502, he issued a mandate that applied to the entirety

¹⁶³ Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 119-20.

¹⁶⁴ Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, 120.

¹⁶⁵ Laube, "Precursors of the Peasant War: 'Bundschuh' and 'Armer Konrad,'" 51, Blickle, "The Criminalization of Peasant Resistance in the Holy Roman Empire," 90.

The severity of the emperor's response may be rationalized by the fact that, as noted by Georges Bischoff, between 1493 and 1517, the rebellions were a very legitimate and constant concern for authorities. Sebastian Brant reported concerns of the Bundschuh movement in his *Annals*, not only in 1502, 1513, 1517, but also 1519. Brant's account of the threats posed by the formation of a Bundschuh in Dankoltzheim (today's Dangolsheim) in 1519, which he attributes in part to the passing of Emperor Maximilian, is a testament to the fact that the Bundschuh movement did not simply cease by 1517.

See: Georges Bischoff, "Sebastianus Brant, civis Argentinensis - Sebastian Brant, Bürger von Straßburg," in *Sebastian Brant (1457-1521): Europäisches Wissen in der Hand eines Intellektuellen der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Peter Andersen &

of the Holy Roman Empire which decreed that anyone affiliated to the Bundschuh (whether by sworn oaths, recruitment, or a leadership position within it) faced the punishment of being drawn and quartered, confiscation of property, and banishment of their children from the land.¹⁶⁶ As frightening as Maximilian's orders were, there is reason to believe that those affiliated with the Bundschuh did not actually see themselves as being at odds with Holy Roman Emperor. Bundschuh members primarily took their issues up with local authorities such as landowners and court lords whose rule had a direct impact on the peasants.¹⁶⁷ They also acknowledged the authority of both the emperor and the pope, at least by 1513.¹⁶⁸

Had the figure of Duke Eckhart been removed altogether and replaced by Barbarossa, the legend might no longer contradict the ideology associated with the Bundschuh. Aside from the generally positive attitudes of Bundschuh members to the distant emperor, there is also speculation that Joß Fritz a farmer from Untergrombach, serf of the Bishop of Speyer, and arguably the most central leader to the movement, drew inspiration from the *Reformatio Sigismundi* (ca. 1439).¹⁶⁹ The *Reformatio Sigismundi* was a revolutionary vernacular reform treatise associated with the Council of Basel, which emerged at the close of the Hussite wars in Bohemia, and circulated throughout the late fifteenth century and well into the sixteenth century as a popular text.¹⁷⁰ The

Nikolaus Henkel, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2023) 13. For Brant's accounts see: Sebastian Brant, "VI. Annales de Sébastien Brant," in *Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für Erhaltung der Geschichtlichen Denkmäler im Elsass* 15 (Strassburg: R. Schultz & Co., 1892): 209-280.

¹⁶⁶ Blickle, "The Criminalization of Peasant Resistance in the Holy Roman Empire," 90.

¹⁶⁷ Ulrich Steinmann, "Die Bundschuh-Fahnen des Joß Fritz," *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, 6 (1960): 248.

¹⁶⁸ Steinmann, "Die Bundschuh-Fahnen des Joß Fritz," 248.

¹⁶⁹ Peter Blickle, "Untergrombach 1502, das unruhige Reich und die Revolutionierbarkeit Europas," in *Bundschuh: Untergrombach 1502, das unruhige Reich und die Revolutionierbarkeit Europas*, eds. Peter Blickle and Thomas Adam, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag) 11., Steinmann, "Die Bundschuh-Fahnen des Joß Fritz," 243.

See: *Reformation Kaiser Siegmunds*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Staatsschriften des späteren Mittelalters (Staatsschriften), ed. Heinrich Koller. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1964.

¹⁷⁰ Frances Courtney Kneupper, *The Empire at the End of Time: Identity and Reform in Late Medieval German Prophecy*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 106., H.G. Koenigsberger, George L. Mosse, G.Q. Bowler, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, 2nd ed., ed. Denys Hay, (New York: Longman, 1989), 139.

Reformatio demanded a total Reformation.¹⁷¹ In addition to its criticisms of the abuses of both Church and Empire, the *Reformatio* provided a lengthy set of reform proposals across both secular political and ecclesiastical spheres.¹⁷²

Conjectures of the text's alleged influence on the movement have been formed on account of the *Reformatio*'s popular circulation (it was printed in Augsburg four times between 1476 and 1497) and the noticeable overlap between the text and some of the Bundschuh's demands and justifications.¹⁷³ According Abbot Johannes Trithemius' *Hirsau Annals*, which allegedly evaluated the now lost statements of imprisoned Bundschuh members after a Bundschuh conspiracy was detected in the Diocese of Speyer in 1502, the rebels called for things such as the abolition of serfdom and state authority, exemption from all taxes, the distribution of ecclesiastical property, and common ownership of sources of water, pasture and forest.¹⁷⁴ Meanwhile, the *Reformatio* also called for the abolition of serfdom, as well as the confiscation of ecclesiastical goods, and the common use of borderlands. While the Bundschuh members claimed that "göttlichen Gerechtigkeit" ("divine justice") validated their demands, the *Reformatio* justified its proposals with "göttliche Recht" ("divine law").¹⁷⁵ However, another element of the *Reformatio Sigismundi* was its prophecy of a emperor by the name of Friedrich von Lantnau who was expected to bring about a 'total reformation.'¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ Koenigsberger, Mosse, Bowler, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, 139.

¹⁷² Kneupper, *The Empire at the End of Time*, 106, Marco Giardini, "Esse redimendum sepulchrum dominicum per Fridricum imperatorem," Use and Reuse of the 'Last World Emperor' Prophecy in Germany between Late Middle Ages and Lutheran Reformation," *Journal for Early Modern Christianity* (2016) 3(2): 149.

¹⁷³ Steinmann, "Die Bundschuh-Fahnen des Joß Fritz,"

¹⁷⁴ Steinmann, "Die Bundschuh-Fahnen des Joß Fritz," 243.

¹⁷⁵ Steinmann, "Die Bundschuh-Fahnen des Joß Fritz," 243.

¹⁷⁶ H.G. Koenigsberger, George L. Mosse, G.Q. Bowler, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, 2nd ed., ed. Denys Hay, (New York: Longman, 1989), 139.

While the extent to which the Frederick prophecies were integrated into the spirit of this movement is beyond the scope of this research, there is some evidence to suggest that the prophecies of Emperor Frederick's return may have been integrated into the oral tradition of these peasant rebellion movements of the early sixteenth century. In a rare preserved interrogation record, a captured poacher from Weiler (Rhön) stated the peasants were to gather on Good Friday at the Kyffhäuser Mountain in the vicinity of Frankenhäusen, "where Emperor Frederick would rise up again and the innocent blood shed during the battle."¹⁷⁷ As noted by Hans Eberhardt, this appears to be a clear allusion to the Battle of Frankenhäusen (1525), a peasants' revolt which had been brutally crushed, and of course, the prophecy of the emperor's return.¹⁷⁸

According to Eberhardt, based on this evidence, it is clear that the peasantry's believed that the emperor's return would bring about a new social order (although this was typically portrayed as 'reform': the return to the ways of the past) that would protect them against the princes and lords.¹⁷⁹ In the pseudo historical narrative of the *True History*, Dietmar, the lowly son of a miller actually makes a contribution towards his own Emperor Frederick's (Barbarossa) fulfillment of the Last World Emperor prophecy, by aiding Duke Eckhart and the Christian army in the siege of Jerusalem. However, God with all his 'divine justice' grants the victory to Duke Eckhart, not Dietmar, under the sign of the Bundschuh and the Christians.¹⁸⁰ The *True History* celebrates and

¹⁷⁷ "daß auf den karfreitagk ein versammlung der bauern auf dem berge Kieffhausenn bei Frangkenhausenn gescheen soll, da den keiser Friedrich wiederumb aufferstehen unnd das hiebeur unschuldige vergossene blut zu rechenn" cited in Hans Eberhardt, "Die Kyffhäuserburgen in Geschichte und Sage," *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte: Neue Folge des Korrespondenzblattes* 96, (Postdam, 1960) 97.

¹⁷⁸ Eberhardt, "Die Kyffhäuserburgen in Geschichte und Sage," 97., Peter Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa: A Study in Medieval Politics*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 10. According to Munz, during the revolt the peasants had also gathered at the base of the Kyffhäuser mountains, and that by that time it had already been well established that this was the resting place of Emperor Frederick.

¹⁷⁹ Eberhardt, "Die Kyffhäuserburgen in Geschichte und Sage," 97.,

¹⁸⁰ "vñ Dietmar der anhangher hielt sich neben hertzog Eckharten wol halff trewlich bewaren den pundtschûh / wiewol er kain hofen / allain den linckhen pundtschûch anhetten / vnnd lützel harnasch / fein haubtharnasch was ain krantz von laub / Also gab der Almechtig got / hertzog Eckharten vnder dem pundtschûch vñ den Criften den fyg." *True History*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.3v.3-8.

fantasizes of a truly medieval social order rather than a new one. Just as the original *Fürstentafel*, Duke Eckhart remains central to the victory, but here Dietmar's obedience to him is equally important.

By presenting the version of the legend within the grander narrative of the emperor's prophecy the *True History* manages to bridge the vast gap in leadership within the hierarchical order that often to come across in the Last World Emperor prophecy. While such prophecies often emphasized the golden age of Emperor Frederick's reign and his central role in bringing about reform, it seems that the relevance and authority of the German princes and lords in administering justice and order in this foretold golden era, as opposed to simply supporting their great emperor, was overlooked. Considering the threat of peasant rebellions amongst the German nobles and lords of the Holy Roman Empire, this legend could have offered them a sense of reassurance of their own importance and reflected their need for obedience from their subjects.

In the *Fürstentafel* the Bundschuh is tied to Eckhart and his descendants (ie the Counts of Scheyern and perhaps as a byproduct the Wittelsbach Dukes) on account of his exemplary military leadership, and it simply states that "he was called none other than 'Duke Bundschuh,'" and never specifies who exactly called him this name. This gives off an impression that it was simply something that naturally caught on, either from those supporting him in the army or those who heard of his great deeds on the battlefield.¹⁸¹ The fact that it is red-strapped reinforces his given noble rank. In the *True History*, Duke Eckhart is given the Bundschuh flag (made in the peasantly style) from his subject as an act of loyalty, allegiance, fealty and obedience.

¹⁸¹ "Man hiez In auch anders nicht dann Herzog Puntschüch; also zu ainem gedachtnis, daz Jerusalem zu fuzzen gewuñen wär, solt er und dy seinen furen den Puntschüch." *Tabula Perantiqua Schirensis*, fol. 3v transcribed by Franz Genzinger, in Albert Siegmund OSB and Franz Genzinger, "Zur Scheyerer Tabula Perantiqua," 156.

Following the victory over the Holy Sepulchre, both Eckhart and Dietmar are granted coats of arms that feature a Bundschuh and land. Eckhart is granted a coat of arms by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and territories in Holland as a reward for his good deeds. Then Dietmar is granted the privilege of a coat of arms that features a branch with three leaves, as well as a coat of arms with a black Bundschuh on a yellow field, along with a plot of land covered in wilderness (where he would build and establish the market town of Ried) by Duke Eckhart as a reward for his honorable demonstration of loyalty on the battlefield.¹⁸²

The *True History* states that Dietmar's coat of arms (which also became the coat of arms of Ried) disappeared when Dietmar died, but that it was reintroduced under 'Duke Frederick'.¹⁸³ According to surviving records, it was actually Duke Henry XVI (r. 1393-1450) as opposed to his father, Duke Frederick (r. 1375-1392), who granted the town of Ried with a coat of arms in 1435 featuring the Bundschuh.¹⁸⁴ The document which established the coat of arms is quite provides is somewhat comparable to the one that is found in the *True History*. It describes its coat of arms as being split into two fields. The upper half of the coat of arms is described as being white with blue rhombuses, which was typically representative of the duchy of Bavaria.¹⁸⁵ Meanwhile, the bottom half is yellow with a black Bundschuh like Dietmar's, however it has three red straps, comparable to the Bundschuh described in the *Fürstentafel* (and again, would not be immediately characterized as being made in the peasant fashion).¹⁸⁶ As noted by Schindler, this aforementioned document

¹⁸² "Darumb vñ in willen ain Stat auffzûrichtē /wañ es vor alles wäld vnd holtz wildnus was erlanget den fleckh Ried /den er erweitert ain statlich wappē /ainē schwartzē pundfchûch in einem gelben veldt," *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.4r.5-8.

¹⁸³ "Als aber er starb erlaßch das wappen der von Ried / aber hertzog Friderich als er dē Stifft Saltzburg krieget/ hat in das wappen den pundfchûh wider beftett." *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.4r.8-10.

¹⁸⁴ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 100.

¹⁸⁵ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 100.

As Schindler also notes this also recognizes Ried as belonging to the Duchy of Bavaria. See: Schindler, 101.

¹⁸⁶ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 100-101.

from 1435 offers no description of the Bundschuh's origins as a coat of arms of Ried.¹⁸⁷ The final three lines of the *True History*'s title establish that this legend tells the origin story of "how the Bundschuh came to Bavaria."¹⁸⁸

At first glance, it is not difficult to see why the legend of Dietmar *Anhanger* is said to have become popular amongst the townspeople/peasants of Ried, particularly in the following century. While Dietmar is the son of a miller (and therefore perhaps not a typical peasant) he is presented as being a member of the lower classes of society. The legend not only presents him as an honorable hero on the battlefield, but also someone who receives proper recognition for his contribution, achieves drastic social mobility, and is presented as the founder of the town. However, the scenario would have perhaps been unrealistic to most peasants or people of similar social standing of Dietmar. Further, when approached within the context of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the legend almost comes across as a counter-narrative to the rise of the peasant's Bundschuh amidst their rebellions. By establishing this given legend as the origin of how *the* Bundschuh (and specifically the peasantly kind) came to Bavaria, the text indirectly asserts that long before the peasantly Bundschuh was ever used as a flag in the name of peasants' resistance against their local lords, it was created by a 'peasant' or lowly subject to *help* his overlord re-establish his leadership over the Christian army. Further, the honorable Bundschuh banner now associated with the town of Ried was a privilege granted by the duke to Dietmar; it was not something created freely by peasants.

The reintroduction of the flag by the duke invokes pride in the old ways. Meanwhile, if one conversely, were to view the on and off local peasant uprisings through the lens of this legend,

¹⁸⁷ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 101.

¹⁸⁸ "Vñ wie der Pundtſchûch auff iſt khomen in Bairn." *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.1r.8-10.

one might have argued that the contemporary use of the Bundschuh by the peasant's was a corruption of its original purpose. Not to mention, both nobles and burghers alike had used thematically comparable stories to justify why those socially beneath them were excluded from being able to rise to their heights. Under the influence of the text itself as well as contemporary politics it seems that the Bundschuh flag is presented in this narrative as an object that represents the authority of the duke while also simultaneously the conscious and willful support of his subjects. It is presented as an object of unity, which would have paralleled its use as a uniting symbol amongst the rebelling classes of the Bundschuh Uprisings, but in the case of *True History* contradicted the aims of the rebellions and movement, as it reflects a unity not only across the Christian army, but specifically between a lord and his subject, and reinforces feudal hierarchical order. Considering that the audience of this text were likely the literate elite members of society, who were most likely non-members of the Bundschuh, this legend could have been considered quite appealing in the sense that it would reassure the importance of the upper and noble classes in maintaining order. Likewise, the legend's presentation of an idealized feudal relationship which is tied to the origins of the Bundschuh in Bavaria might also have further legitimized the upper classes dominance and control over the lower classes. Additionally, the placement of the legend of DietmarAnhanger and the Bundschuh within the grander narrative of the Last World Emperor Prophecy could also speak to a sense of regional Bavarian pride. This is because the inclusion of this legend into the prophecy emphasizes the significance of Bavarians, from the son of a miller to its ruling duke, to the history of salvation.

CHAPTER III

4 The Conflict of Frederick Barbarossa and Alexander III as an Intertextual and Hybrid Narrative

The narrative framework of the little *True History* was not conceived by a single creative mastermind overnight. The structure of the book's text is largely shaped by a historiographical narrative rooted in the Peace of Venice (1177), which supplemented by its inclusion of the legend of Dietmar *Anhanger* and the Bundschuh flag. But if one simply compares the twelfth-century accounts of the peace ceremony itself against the narrative presented in the *True History*, it seems that the tone and sequence of events that were initially reported by Barbarossa's contemporaries, have disappeared altogether without a trace. At first glance, the *True History* diverges so drastically from what can be ascertained as history (according to twelfth-century sources at least) its title page's claim to be a 'true history' almost seems comical. In truth, the *True History* is a product of countless retellings and centuries of historiographical transformation. Over time, the history was largely shaped by those who encountered it, took an interest, and sought to redirect the narrative towards their own goals.

Rather than returning to the drawing board altogether, it seems that people generally built from the most contemporary version of history and added or deleted elements to recontextualize sequence of events. In the case of Arnold von Harff, it even appears that events from entirely separate historical narratives could be integrated into that of Barbarossa and Alexander, so long as it met the narrator's interests. Thus, as a counter-narrative to a long lineage of counter-narratives, the *True History* as well as its antecedents appear as 'hybrid artifacts'. Moreover, while the *True History* can be read as a highly anti-papal text, it is also clearly built off the legacy of pro-papal, pro-Venetian, and pro-imperial historiographical objectives, even if all of these objectives are now reinterpreted. The concern of this chapter is to explore the series of key transformations the history

had to undergo before it could begin to resemble that of the *True History*. One of the points I hope to get across is how identity and the narration of history seem to be closely intertwined. I believe that it is important to understand this process in order to be able to better identify what features and stylizations of the *True History* indicate residual imprints of previous iterations of the histories (and their cultural contexts), and what is truly distinct to this particular narrative. In this chapter I shift between the earliest accounts of the Peace of Venice of 1177, Thomas of Pavia's *Gesta imperatorum et Pontificum* (1279-1285), a brief overview of late antique and medieval reception of Psalm 91:13, late medieval Venetian historiography (such as Obo of Ravenna), Arnold von Harff's travelogue of his pilgrimages between 1496 to 1499, prior to turning over to the *True History*.

4.1 The Peace of Venice of 1177 and the 'Humiliation' of Frederick Barbarossa

The historiographical transformation of the Peace of Venice (1177) and so-called humiliation of Frederick Barbarossa was integral to the formation of the narrative backbone of the *True History*. The *True History*'s adaptation evidently drew from late medieval sources which had approached the event from an entirely different contexts, aims, and perceptions than the twelfth century. It is of value to firstly approach the event within its original context, and treat it with an acute attention to nuance, so that the transformations that ensued thereafter can be better recognized. The Peace of Venice marked the end of a papal schism that had lasted nearly twenty years.¹⁸⁹ With regards

¹⁸⁹ Frederick Barbarossa's fifth and final Italian campaign (1174-1176) ended in devastation with the failed siege of Alessandria (1175) and notorious Battle of Legnano (1176). Subsequent attempts at peace negotiations, initiated by the consuls of Cremona, proved to be unfruitful. Following a failed attempt to convene a council in Pavia in 1176, Barbarossa sent imperial envoys, endowed with plenary power, to resume the negotiations (which had been aborted in the previous year) between the emperor and pope at Anagni. Thus, the preliminary Peace of Anagni took shape, serving as a basis for further negotiations and revisions in the coming year in Venice. To the emperor's chagrin, the pope had ensured that their peace was also dependent upon a peace between the emperor and the Lombard League, William II of Sicily. As a consequence, the Peace of Venice (1177) secured a fifteen-year peace with William II and a six-year truce with the Lombard League.

to the papal-imperial settlements, Frederick's negotiators managed to secure a number of revisions from the preliminary peace to the advantage of the emperor.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, considering the emperor's current predicament, the agreements were reflected upon as a diplomatic triumph.¹⁹¹ However, during the ceremony Frederick Barbarossa was required to publicly demonstrate his penitence before the pope in order to receive absolution.¹⁹² Years earlier it was said that Barbarossa did not wish to be forced to acknowledge any pope other than Peter himself and the popes in heaven.¹⁹³ Now he prostrated himself before the pope in front of Saint Mark's Basilica, and proceeded to kiss the pope's feet and knees.¹⁹⁴

According to Klaus Schreiner, the act of kissing the papal foot (*osculum pedis*, also 'the kiss of peace') was *not* performed as an expression of vassalic subordination.¹⁹⁵ Meanwhile, Knut Görich has stressed that the ceremony did *not* translate to a humiliation.¹⁹⁶ Firstly, the so-called 'kiss of peace' was a common ritual in medieval peacekeeping, commonly practiced by and between clerical and secular nobles, whose function was to communicate the peace (be it an alliance, reconciliation, or reinforcement of one's will and for peace) to the public.¹⁹⁷ Secondly, the act of foot-kissing (*osculum pedis*) had been an age-old custom in meetings between the holy

See: John B. Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa: The prince and the myth*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 382, 393, 407.

¹⁹⁰ Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, 404.

¹⁹¹ Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, 404.

¹⁹² Knut Görich, "Ereignis und Rezeption," *Unmögliche Geschichte(n)? - Kaiser Friedrich I. Barbarossa und die Reformation, Symposium im Residenzschloss Altenburg vom 15.-16. Dezember* (Barbarossa-Stiftung, 2019) 44.

¹⁹² Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, 409.

¹⁹³ Görich, "Ereignis und Rezeption," 39.

Following the death of antipope Paschal III, Barbarossa wished to secure his son and heir Henry's imperial succession, and offered that Henry would recognize Alexander as pope if he would agree to accept Henry as emperor. However, Barbarossa was still not willing to recognize Alexander, at the very least not in person, outside of the court setting, and via the typical customs /symbolic forms of recognition. See: Görich "Ereignis und Rezeption," 38-39.

¹⁹⁴ Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, 410.

¹⁹⁵ Schreiner, *Rituale, Zeichen, Bilder*, 112.

¹⁹⁶ Görich, "Ereignis und Rezeption," 41.

¹⁹⁷ Schreiner, *Rituale, Zeichen, Bilder*, 114.

In fact, in many of the examples produced by Schreiner, the kiss of peace was often performed between two secular nobles (sometimes they were of the same or different ranks)

roman emperor and the pope, and an act of respect and acknowledgement of the pope's spiritual authority.¹⁹⁸ Thirdly, Canon law laid out a very clear procedure, which necessitated any excommunicate to publicly lay himself before the Church and ask for forgiveness, if he was to receive absolution and be welcomed back into the Church.¹⁹⁹ Nearly, all that took place before Saint Mark's Basilica directly followed the standard protocol, and was thus necessary for the realization of the peace.²⁰⁰ Görich notes that the ritual public display of repentance (namely his prostration and *osculum pedis*) had conflicted with the "dignity of [the emperor's] office and honor of the empire."²⁰¹ Furthermore, certain features of the ceremony that diverged from tradition had been tweaked in order to work to the emperor's benefit and enabled him to save face.²⁰² Prior to the ceremony, even a consensus had been reached assuring that the ceremony would be done to honor Peter, rather than the Pope.²⁰³ Görich concludes that Barbarossa's recognition of Pope Alexander III did not mark the start of the emperor's "glorious decline" (as I would argue, his troubles began much earlier), nor should his stay in Venice be regarded as a "humiliation ceremony," nor did it have any negative impact on the empire's authority.²⁰⁴ Yet, it should also be

¹⁹⁸ Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, 410.

¹⁹⁹ The excommunicate was to go before the church, surrounded by the bishop who excommunicated him as well as 12 presbyters, and prostrate himself, asking for forgiveness and promising to amend his behavior. Thereafter, led by the bishop, the excommunicate would enter the church, be returned to Communion. As noted by Görich, absolution was a public event, which took place before the Church.

See: Görich, "Ereignis und Rezeption," 41.

²⁰⁰ Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, 410, Weinfurter, *Das Reich im Mittelalter*, 123, Klaus Schreiner, *Rituale, Zeichen, Bilder: Formen und Funktionen symbolischer Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, 2011), 112.

²⁰¹ Görich, "Ereignis und Rezeption," 44,

Görich clarifies that this predicament did not apply to the 'ordinary repentant sinner'

²⁰² In Barbarossa's case, Alexander did not personally release him from excommunication. Görich argues that this prevented the emperor from having to undergo the humiliation of a public reconciliation ritual. As a result, Barbarossa's public participation in customs/acts of piety, humility, and peacekeeping would all technically occur after having been released from excommunication. Therefore, his participation in the customs would not be forced, but out of free-will. See: Görich, "Ereignis und Rezeption," 43.

²⁰³ Görich, "Ereignis und Rezeption," 41.

(This perhaps even foreshadows to dialogue that would later be constructed between Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III).

²⁰⁴ Görich, "Ereignis und Rezeption," 43.

noted that there are no surviving eyewitness accounts of the event written from a pro-imperial participant, and as noted by John B. Freed, this is perhaps indicative that there was no particular desire from imperial ends to commemorate the event.²⁰⁵ Schreiner highlights that, although both ecclesiastical and imperial historians praised the restoration of harmony between Church and Empire, pro-imperial historians tended to omit mentions of the *osculum pedis* in their accounts, as they had considered the custom to have been detrimental to the emperor's dignity.²⁰⁶ On the other hand, ecclesiastical historians incorporated the symbolic ritual into their writings and utilized it in their stylization of the peace ceremony as a "victory celebration of the Church," interpreting the *osculum pedis* as a form of submission.²⁰⁷

4.2 Thomas of Pavia's *Gesta imperatorum et Pontificum*

The first drastic long-lasting changes to historiographical understanding of the Peace of Venice (1177) were made under the pro-papal penmanship of Franciscan historian Thomas of Pavia (†1280/84) in his *Gesta imperatorum et Pontificum* (1279-1285). Rather than highlighting the agreement of the peace and the harmony between the Church and the Empire, Thomas of Pavia both vilifies Frederick Barbarossa²⁰⁸ and, as noted by Schreiner, invokes a metaphorical

He also claims that it did not occur to 12th century contemporaries to "lament or celebrate the Peace of Venice as a weakening of the empire or the empire, let alone as an expression of the Pope's claim to supremacy."

²⁰⁵ Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, 409.

The extant witness accounts of the event itself include Cardinal Boso's *Life of Alexander III*, Romuald's *Annals*, a letter from Pope Alexander III (to Archbishop Roger of York and Bishop Hugh of Durham), Bernardo Maragone's *Pisan Annals*, and the account by an English monk who had been a bystander.

It is worth noting that Görich also gives some recognition to the general lack of imperial sources that detail the peace, See: Görich, "Ereignis und Rezeption," 43-44.

²⁰⁶ Schreiner, *Rituale, Zeichen, Bilder*, 112.

²⁰⁷ Schreiner, *Rituale, Zeichen, Bilder*, 112.

²⁰⁸ When recounting Frederick Barbarossa's rule, Thomas outrightly describes Barbarossa as *pessimus imperator* (the worst emperor) for having favored the three antipopes over Pope Alexander III. See: Thomae Tusci, *Gesta Imperatorum et Pontificum*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, vol. 22, (Hannover: Hahn, 1872), 505. Following the schismatic election, the emperor is described as having attempted to actively persecute the pope (though ultimately unsuccessful), thereafter causing great destruction through his subjugation of the Lombards, ultimately appearing as a tyrannical power. The account indicates that the emperor's humble request for peace between himself

demonstration of *ecclesia triumphans*.²⁰⁹ Thomas of Pavia does not include any specificities of negotiations or the final agreements of the Peace of Venice, but focuses on the ceremony itself. As mentioned in an earlier footnote, Alexander did not actually personally release Barbarossa from his excommunication in order to protect the emperor from losing face.²¹⁰ However, in the *Gesta imperatorum et Pontificum*, Alexander is about to release Frederick from his excommunication when he suddenly places his right foot upon the neck of the emperor, who lies in prostration upon the ground, and recites from Psalm 91:13: "You will trample the asp and the basilisk and you will trample the lion and the dragon," *Super aspidem et basiliscum amnulabis et conculabis leonem et draconem*.²¹¹ Frederick Barbarossa simply accepts his defeat following the act; he reconciles with the pope and takes up the cross for the Holy Land.²¹²

and Pope Alexander came about with the conclusion of the emperor's failed siege of Alessandria. Thomas' artful wording also implies that all of the violence and deaths which had ensued within Italy over the past two decades were solely a result of the schism, further centering the significance of the papacy in worldly matters.

Pavia/Tusci writes: *Videns igitur imperator, quod christianitas tota confundebatur hoc scismate, et quod tot iam scismaticis papis morte percussis solus viveret Alexander nec non timens astutiam Lombardorum et conspirationem de novo, quam fecerant, solempnes nuncios direxit ad papam, qui per mare Romam iam venerat, et reconciliationem ab eo et pacem humiliter postulavit*. See: Thomae Tusci, *Gesta Imperatorum et Pontificum*, 506.

The writer's decision to skip over the Barbarossa's equally humiliating defeat at the Battle of Legnano, may also be indicative of the text's intention to focus primarily on the papal superiority and imperial inferiority. I would like to propose that this may have been an intentional decision of Thomas of Pavia. If one of the aims of this text was to emphasize the superiority of papal power over imperial power, limiting the turning point in Barbarossa's career to his failure at Alessandria may have proved to be more thematically impactful. This is because, as Thomas of Pavia notes, Alessandria (or Alexandria) was built and named in honor of Pope Alexander III, in defiance of Frederick Barbarossa. Moreover, the city's triumph over the emperor may have been received as a signifier that the side of Alexander, the rightful pope, was divinely favored. However, this is simply my own interpretation and may require further study. See: Thomae Tusci, *Gesta Imperatorum et Pontificum*, MGH SS 22, 506.

²⁰⁹ Schreiner, *Rituale, Zeichen, Bilder*, 113.

²¹⁰ See: footnote 14, Görich, "Ereignis und Rezeption," 43.

²¹¹ Thomae Tusci, *Gesta imperatorum et pontificum*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio) XXII E. Ehrenfeuchter (ed.), Hannover, 1872, pg. 506.

In Psalm 91: 13, this line is delivered to Peter.

²¹² "Reconciliatus igitur imperator pro emendation malorum que fecerat ei papa crucem imposuit in subsidium terre sancte." Thomae Tusci, *Gesta imperatorum et pontificum*, 506.

Facta est autem pax, ut a quibusdam audiui, Venetiis anno Domini 1167. Ubi cum papa esset eum ab excommunicationis sententia soluturus, super collum prostrati regis ad terram et ad pedes pape iacentis posuit dextrum pedem, psalmographum illud dicens: *Super aspidem et basiliscum amnulabis et conculabis leonem et draconem*. Reconciliatus igitur imperator pro emendation malorum que fecerat ei papa crucem imposuit in subsidium terre sancte."

From late antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages, allusions to Psalm 91:13 experienced a long pictural and textual tradition, which either presented a mighty ruler (as the triumphant victor), stepping on his defeated opponent, often represented as a snake, dragon, or basilisk (if not a human), or the motif of *Christus Victor*, which presented Christ trampling the basilisk in a motif.²¹³ Some of the earliest political uses of *Christus Victor* communicated imperial might with the intention of reaching a wide audience.²¹⁴ Monarchs utilizing this motif overwhelmingly identified with Christ as victor and designated the image of the serpent to their enemies. In addition to emperors, popes also drew upon the motif throughout the Middle Ages, particularly when communicating with emperors, to conceptualize and articulate the role of the emperor as the defender of the Church, highlighting the emperor's military greatness through a particularly Christian lens.²¹⁵ It was through this particular duty of the emperor that he was able to be compared to Christ trampling over evil and unchristian forces.²¹⁶

The Church and papacy also used *Christus Victor* to affirm their own spiritual authority. Perhaps a precursor to Thomas of Pavia's *Gesta imperatorum et Pontificum*, Pope Calixtus II (r. 1119-1124) commissioned a series of frescoes at the Lateran palace (after 1122) which closely

²¹³ Klaus Schreiner, "Friedrich Barbarossa -Herr der Welt," 524, Gillian B. Elliot, "Victorious Trampling at Sts. Peter and Paul at Andlau and the Politics of Frederick Barbarossa," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 72 (2009), 145.

Many legendary rulers, such as Constantine, Charlemagne, and Frederick Barbarossa himself are said to have employed *Christus victor* during their reign with varying interpretations to meet their own political-religious demands. See: Brennan Breed, "Reception of the Psalms: The Example of Psalm 91," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms*, ed. William P. Brown (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 305-306, Gillian B. Elliot, "Victorious Trampling at Sts. Peter and Paul at Andlau and the Politics of Frederick Barbarossa," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 72 (2009).

²¹⁴ Gillian Born Elliot, "*Regnum et sacerdotium* in Alsatian Romanesque Sculpture: Hohenstaufen Politics in the Aftermath of the Investiture Controversy (1130-1235)," PhD diss., (University of Texas at Austin, 2005), 62, Elliot, "Victorious Trampling at St. Peter and Paul at Andlau," 153.

For example, Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* indicates that Constantine I (306-337), the very first Roman emperor to convert to Christianity, commissioned a painting of him and his sons trampling a dragon at the entrance of his imperial palace in Constantinople. See: Elliot, "Victorious Trampling at St. Peter and Paul at Andlau," 153.

²¹⁵ Elliot, "*Regnum et sacerdotium*," 63.

For example, both Pope Hadrian (771-775) and Pope Leo III (795-816) wrote to Charlemagne (r.800-814) invoked the imagery of the motif to position the emperor as the defender of the Church.

²¹⁶ Elliot, "*Regnum et sacerdotium*," 63.

mirrored the image of *Christus Victor*, but this time evoked a pro-papal and somewhat anti-imperial spirit. Surviving sixteenth-century sketches reveal that the now lost frescoes depicted six enthroned popes in the position of *Christus Victor*, each with a foot upon an antipope that lies prostrated on the ground before him, in place of the beast (see figures 5 and 6).²¹⁷ While recognizing that the antipopes are presented as the defeated enemy, Gillian Born Elliot underscores that the frescoes also functioned as a dig at the holy roman emperor. She argues that as the individual responsible for electing the antipopes, the holy roman emperor could also be interpreted as the defeated enemy.²¹⁸ Emperor Henry V (r. 1111-1125) is illustrated as standing at the side of Calixtus, holding the terms of the compromise of Concordat of Worms (1122), which Calixtus had interpreted as an ecclesiastical triumph in the closing years of the Investiture Controversy (see figure 6).²¹⁹

Furthermore, these Latern frescoes marked a shift in the ecclesiastical usage of the motif within the sphere of papal-imperial politics. However, it is an important distinction that Henry V is not presented in the position of being trampled. Its communication of triumph over the emperor remains somewhat subtle and indirect. Prior to Thomas of Pavia's *Gesta imperatorum et Pontificum*, it seems that this particular motif had not been wielded in such an open, explicit and personal fashion against emperor. To my current knowledge, there are no pictural or historiographical accounts of the pope trampling the emperor, commissioned by members of the

²¹⁷ Psalm 91:13 aside, Gillian B. Elliot links the imagery to Psalm 110:1 "Until I make thy enemies thy footstool." Elliot, "Victorious Trampling at St. Peter and Paul at Andlau," 158.

²¹⁸ Elliot, "Victorious Trampling at St. Peter and Paul at Andlau," 158.

²¹⁹ The Concordat of Worms (1122) marked a turning point towards ending the several years of conflict of the Investiture Controversy. The emperor agreed to give up the right to invest bishops with the ring and staff, while the pope agreed to the emperor's right to be present at the elections of German bishops and abbots and could bestow the elected bishop or abbot with the regalia.

Church prior to the *Gesta imperatorum et Pontificum*, and further, especially within a historiographical text.

It is reasonable to assume that many readers of the *Gesta imperatorum et Pontificum* would have been familiar with Psalm 91:13, and would have received the passage with some awareness of the political-spiritual implications that had been historically associated with its portrayal either in imagery or literature.²²⁰ Moreover, as underscored by Schreiner, where the custom of foot-kissing could express a plethora of meanings, such as reconciliation, honor, harmony, acknowledgement, reverence, obedience, or submission, and thus could be interpreted somewhat ambiguously, the image of the pope stepping on the emperor's neck, with its allusion to Psalm 91:13 presented a very clear vision of ecclesiastical triumph over the Empire and emperor.²²¹ I would also like to suggest that Thomas of Pavia's account appears to challenge the reigning conceptualization of the appropriate relationship between pope and emperor, at the very least until the reconciliation had been fully carried out; as the role of the pope was generally conceptualized as a loving father, and the emperor as his most loyal and Christian son. The aforementioned associations typically paired with Psalm may have suggest that the peace symbolized the pope's triumph, strength, and authority over his *opponent*, the subjugated emperor.

Görich proposes that the historiographical transformation was an outcome of the papal-imperial conflict which characterized the reign of Frederick II (r. 1220-1250), Barbarossa's grandson.²²² This conclusion is more than reasonable. Even from the time of both Fredericks' reigns, their papal rivals had referred to them at some point as one of the trampled beasts; while Pope Alexander III, citing from Peter 5:8, called Barbarossa a "ravening and roaring lion" (leo

²²⁰ Elliot, "Victorious Trampling at St. Peter and Paul at Andlau," 159.

²²¹ Görich, "Ereignis und Rezeption," 44,

²²² Görich, "Ereignis und Rezeption," 44.

rapiens et rugiens), Pope Gregory IX called Frederick II a "basilisk snake" (*serpens basiliscus*) and "dragon" (*draco*).²²³

4.3 The Emergence of Parallel Narratives

Thomas of Pavia's *Gesta imperatorum et Pontificum* was evidently well-received within Italian historiography, considering the tale of how Pope Alexander III stepped on Frederick Barbarossa's neck at the Peace of Venice was absorbed thereafter into countless other texts recounting the historical events. As noted by Görich, the legend of the pope stepping on Barbarossa's neck had already been regarded as a 'historical fact' that coincided with the Peace of Venice of 1177 for several centuries by the sixteenth-century.²²⁴ The general lack of surviving eye-witness testimonies paired with the relative silence and disinterest in commemorating the Peace of Venice from the imperial German standpoint made it possible for the inclusion of this fabricated episode in historiography to go unrivaled. It should also be noted that following the collapse of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, imperial chroniclers did not consider any inclusion of Barbarossa's history to be particularly advantageous to their own aims.²²⁵ Thus, Hohenstaufen history (particularly Barbarossa's) essentially faded into the background for a couple centuries within the Holy Roman Empire. On the other hand, especially in places like Venice, where the Peace was remembered fondly, the history revolving around the events of and leading up to the

²²³ Klaus Schreiner, "Vom geschichtlichen Ereignis zum historischen Exempel: Eine denkwürdige Begegnung zwischen Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa und Papst Alexander. in Venedig 1177 und ihre Folgen in Geschichtsschreibung, Literatur und Kunst*" in *Mittelalter-Rezeption. Ein Symposium*, ed. Peter Wapnewski (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1986), 150, Elliot, "Victorious Trampling at St. Peter and Paul at Andlau," 163. For further reading on the relationship between Frederick II and the papacy, see: Peter Herde, "Friedrich II. und das Papsttum: Politik und Rhetorik," in *Kaiser Friedrich II. (1194-1250). Welt und Kultur des Mittelmeerraums*, (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2008), eds. Mamoun Fansa and Karen Ernste, 52-65.

²²⁴ Knut Görich, "Ereignis und Rezeption: Friedrich Barbarossa demütigt sich vor Papst Alexander III. In Venedig 1177," *Unmögliche Geschichte(n)? – Kaiser Friedrich I. Barbarossa und die Reformation*, 37.

²²⁵ Klaus Schreiner, "Friedrich Barbarossa -Herr der Welt," in *Die Zeit der Staufer. Band V Supplement: Vorträge und Forschungen*, (Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart, 1979), 527.

Peace of Venice continued to flourish and undergo drastic transformations which suited contemporary local interests.

4.4 The Venetian Chronicle: Barbarossa in Pursuit of Alexander

One of the pseudo-historical narratives that later appeared in Venetian chronicles did *not* illustrate the Peace of Venice as a planned agreement, brought about through the humble request of the emperor. Here Barbarossa's supposed raging persecution of the pope leads Alexander to flee to Venice and go into hiding in disguise, with the emperor in pursuit. The narrative praised the importance of Venice as the primary mediator of the peace and ultimate protector of the pope. It also involved taking the emperor's son "Otto" as a hostage, as a means of finally convincing Barbarossa to settle a peace agreement with the pope in Venice, after the emperor had threatened the city of Venice with violence, in addition to the pope, if the Venetians did not give over the emperor. Already by the early fourteenth century Venetian chronicles had begun to incorporate an additional dialogue that would follow Barbarossa kissing the pope's foot.²²⁶ Now Barbarossa would tell the pope, "I do this not for you, but for Peter," to which Alexander would reply, "To me and Saint Peter, whose vicar I am."²²⁷ In the Venetian chronicles, Alexander also would come to trample the emperor and recite Psalm 91:13, while the dialogue that followed would pretty much stay the same.

The reception of the Peace of Venice (1177) is in need of further study within the context of Venetian chronicles,²²⁸ but as made evident in the early example of Obo of Ravenna's

²²⁶ Schreiner, "Vom geschichtlichen Ereignis zum historischen Exempel", 150, 152.

²²⁷ Schreiner, "Vom geschichtlichen Ereignis zum historischen Exempel", 152.

²²⁸ The rich history of the rise and politics of the medieval Venetian Chronicle has certainly been a subject of academic study. However, scholarship pertaining to the Peace of Venice of 1177 within the context of medieval Venetian chronicles appears to be minimal, and limited to the study of individual sources. Moreover, there has not been any comprehensive attempts to trace the process of historiographical transformation concerning reception of the *Pax Veneta* within the context of the Venetian Chronicle across the span of the Middle Ages, nor even limited to the

Fragmentum de historia pacis (ca. 1350-1420),²²⁹ iterations of this variation had already emerged at least a century prior to the *True History*. As noted by Giovanni Monticolo, it is clear that one of Obo's aims had been to highlight the merits of Venice.²³⁰ In order to achieve this, Obo did not simply exaggerate features of earlier sources, but often departed from the sources he had previously drawn from, evidently seizing a significant degree of creative license.²³¹ In Obo's narrative, Barbarossa and his army of Germans once again appear as a tyrannical force.²³² On the other hand, the Venetians are consistently proven to be a central power, vital to the protection of the supreme pontiff Alexander III and Italy itself, as well as the securing of peace between papal and imperial powers. In effect, this literary choice also translates into a more humanized and vulnerable Alexander, who is dependent on Venice. Klaus Schreiner, as I myself also have, comes to the conclusion that this was exactly the legacy of Venice and their doge, Sebastian Ziani, which Venetian chroniclers sought to steer the attention of contemporaries towards.²³³

fifteenth-century (when it flourished). Unfortunately this worthy undertaking is not feasible within the scope of this thesis.

²²⁹ The original manuscript of the *Fragmentum de historia pacis* only survives in five copies from the 15th to 17th centuries. According to Henry Simonsfeld, Obo played a very important role in older Venetian literature, however little is known about the author himself. Obo is said to have been first cited by Venetian historian Marcantonio Sabellico (1436-1506) with his historical work printed in 1487. See: Simonsfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und der historischen Classe* 146, 148.

²³⁰ "Ex Obone Ravennate historico," Giovanni Monticolo, ed. *Le Vite Dei Dogi di Marin Sanudo*, vol. 1, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores; raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento ordinata da L.A. Muratori, Nuova Edizione riveduta ampliata e corretta con la direzione di Giosue Carducci*, vol. 22, part 4, (Città di Castello Tipi dell' editore S. Lapi, 1900), 455.

²³¹ "Ex Obone Ravennate historico," Giovanni Monticolo, ed. *Le Vite Dei Dogi di Marin Sanudo*, vol. 1, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores; raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento ordinata da L.A. Muratori, Nuova Edizione riveduta ampliata e corretta con la direzione di Giosue Carducci*, vol. 22, part 4, (Città di Castello Tipi dell' editore S. Lapi, 1900), 455.

²³² To give just one example of Obo of Ravenna's description of the tyranny of the Germans, he states: "In sequentibus annis præter crudelem Friderici in populos ecclesiæ tyrannidem et varias Germanorum iniurias in eas civitates quas in Ethruria Romam usque præsidij retinebant.." "Ex Obone Ravennate historico," 461.

²³³ Schreiner also argues that the sequence of events surrounding the pope trampling the emperor in Venetian chronicles also served to express Venetians' "desire for freedom and the liberal fundamental constitution of their city." Schreiner, "Vom geschichtlichen Ereignis zum historischen Exempel", 153.

While he does not appear to significantly elaborate on this point, it does appear that the Venetian constitution is a topic worthy of further study but beyond the scope of this research. For further reading see: Frederic Chapin Lane, "18. Medieval Political Ideas and the Venetian Constitution," in *Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane*, 285-309, (Baltimore Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020) originally published in 1966.

This general narrative and perception of the history, and the Venetians central role within it, appears to have become accepted as a firmly grounded standard in Venice by no later than the mid-fifteenth century. As indicated by Marin Sanudo's *Laus urbis Venetae* (1493), this aforementioned general narrative, that I refer to as Barbarossa in pursuit of Alexander, or the 'Venetian narrative,' was even memorialized on the upper walls of the ducal palace in Venice.²³⁴ The Peace of Venice of 1177 had ultimately been of great historical significance to the Venetians because for them, it had culminated in the pope granting the Doge of Venice with numerous privileges.²³⁵

4.5 Further Transformation and Spread to the Empire: Travel Itineraries

While the core narrative of Barbarossa's pursuit of Alexander went relatively unchallenged in Venetian historiography throughout the fifteenth-century, it was not entirely immune to some degree of variation and expansion. One alteration that caught on concerns Alexander's disguise during his time in hiding at the monastery in Venice; the traveling foreigner Commodus now recognizes Alexander at the monastery, who has disguised himself as a monk working as the

²³⁴ "Praise of the City of Venice," Marin Sanudo, *Laus urbis Venetae*: BCV ms. Cicogna 969, ff.8v—19r (Sanudo ed. Fulin 1880, pp. 28-66; Sanudo ed. Aricò 1980, pp. 20-39), in *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450-1630*, ed. David Chambers & Brian Pullan, 17.

"On the upper part of its walls are paintings on canvas of the history of Alexander III, the Pope of Rome, and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa who persecuted him; how he came to this city in disguise and was recognized. This was in 1177, in the time of Doge Sebastiano Ziani, who, in order to help the Pope, set out with the fleet against Otto, son of the forenamed Emperor. He found him in Istria, with a larger and more powerful fleet than ours, and at the Cape of Salbua, near Pirano, he attacked it, broke it up and brought back Otto captive to Venice. The peace was proclaimed, and Frederick himself came to Venice to beg the Pope's forgiveness, and thus at one and the same time the Pope and Emperor were in Venice. And on this occasion the Pope bestowed upon the Prince and his successors certain ceremonial dignities, which will be listed below. He returned to his see of Rome, thanks to the help of the Venetians, who had for so long been waging war, but of others too as one reads in the chronicles."

²³⁵ One such privilege was said to be the "Marriage of the Sea" (sposalizio del mare). This was to be celebrated every year on Ascension Day, and it was supposed to be the city's reminder that Pope Alexander had gifted the Republic of Venice sovereignty over the Adriatic Sea. Schreiner, "Vom geschichtlichen Ereignis zum historischen Exempel", 153.

monastery's cook.²³⁶ This detail may have served to provide further entertainment and dramatic effect, as the lowly cook is suddenly revealed to be the pope. Furthermore, the historical narrative did not only hold patriotic and propagandistic value with respect to the Venetian's self-image, but also gained a degree of commercial success. Especially during the fifteenth-century, Venice had become a hotspot for pilgrims, many of whom were German, to stop over during their travels to the Holy Land.²³⁷ If not for the anti-German /anti-imperial elements, it would have been only natural for this narrative to have been sold to German audiences. After all, the Germans had a strong and lasting presence within Venice and were considered to be the most valuable foreigners within the Venetian economy.²³⁸

Upon his return home to Cologne, Arnold von Harff (1471-1505) a young German knight and second son of a nobleman, reported on the local histories and legends that he encountered during his travels as a pilgrim from 1496 to 1499. Sure enough, this included a (arguably prolonged) visit to Venice prior to his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1497.²³⁹ Von Harff recalls that during a visit to Saint Mark's Basilica and Square, "one of the gentlemen (who are the nobles of Venice)" informed him about the history of Barbarossa in Venice after von Harff inquired about the four

²³⁶ For examples see: William Wey, *The Itineraries of William Wey, Fello of Eton College. To Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462; and to Saint James of Compostella, A.D. 1456*, (London: J.B., Nichols and Sons) Cornell University Library, 1891.

This detail contrasts with the narrative of Obo of Ravenna's *Fragmentum*, where Commodus recognizes Alexander as he is about to perform the worship of a priest at a sacred altar

²³⁷ The travelogue of the English pilgrim William Wey, for example, incorporates the narrative (with the cook detail) from his visitation to Venice, and (unless I stand corrected) intended it for an English/non-Italian audience.

²³⁸ Patricia H. Labalme & Laura Sanguinetti White, eds., *Venice, Città Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, trans. Linda L. Carroll, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008) 332.

²³⁹ Marilyn Perry, "Saint Mark's Trophies: Legend, Superstition, and Archaeology in Renaissance Venice," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977): 30, Malcolm Letts, "Introduction," *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff, Knight from Cologne, through Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia, Nubia, Palestine, Turkey, France and Spain, which he accomplished in the years 1496 to 1499*, trans. Malcolm Letts, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1946) xiii. Von Harff stayed at the German trading house known locally as the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, under the hospitality and guidance of Anthony Paffendorp, who belonged to a family of Cologne merchants with a long established presence in Venice. See: Malcolm Letts, "Introduction," in Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, xxi., Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, trans. Letts, 50.

gilded horse statues that stood in front of the church.²⁴⁰ In many ways, the tale that von Harff relates in his travelogue closely aligns with the core plot of the aforementioned typical Venetian narrative of Barbarossa's pursuit of Alexander, Alexander is also described as having disguised himself as a cook-brother. However, von Harff's recitation of the history reverses roles of tyrant and victim with respect to the emperor and pope through the implementation of an additional feature to the plot, which entirely justifies Barbarossa's pursuit of Alexander. Meanwhile von Harff also avoids any mention the schismatic papal election which had been the original source of conflict between the emperor and pope.

In this version, Barbarossa plots to travel to the Holy Land in the disguise of a messenger so that he will be able to spy and determine how to conquer it. However, before doing so, the emperor travels to Rome to seek the counsel from Pope Alexander on this matter in confession. The news causes the pope to feel threatened by the effects of the potential victory over the Holy Land.²⁴¹ Alexander tries to prevent the emperor's plan to come to fruition by having a portrait made of the emperor, sending it to the sultan, Saladin, with a message of the emperor's imminent arrival, disguise, and intentions in the Holy Land.²⁴² Saladin thus captures the emperor, promptly revealing

²⁴⁰ Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff von Cöln durch Italien, Syrien, Aegypten, Arabien, Aethiopien, Nubien, Palästina, die Türkei, Frankreich, und Spanien, wie er sie in den Jahre 1496 bis 1499 vollendet, beschrieben und durch Zeichnungen erläutert hat*, ed. Eberhard von Groote, (Cologne: J.M. Heberle, H. Lempertz, 1860), 42., Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, trans. Letts, 52.

²⁴¹ Von Harff's travelogue states: "der pays dachte in sijnem sijnnen: wurde deser keyser dat heylige lant gewinnen so neme man nyet me oirloff van yeme in dat heylige lant zo trecken, man seulde ouch me halden van dem patriarchen zo Constantinopell dan van yeme, as der naerre bij Jherusalem sesafftich were. ouch weulde dan der keyser eyn here ouer dat mer sijn, so dat he dan nyet me sijn tribut van den kouffluden ader van den lumbartschen benken krijgen moecht." Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters*, ed. von Groote, 42-43

In English: "The Pope thought in his mind: if the Emperor should conquer the Holy Land, the people would cease to seek licence to go there. They would look more to the Patriarch of Constantinople than to the Pope, he being nearer to Jerusalem. Moreover the Emperor would be master of the seas, so that the Pope would cease to receive tribute from the merchants or from the Lombard bankers." Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage*, trans. Letts, 53.

²⁴² Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters*, 43, Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage*, trans. Letts, 53.

the pope's betrayal and shows him the picture.²⁴³ After a year and a day in captivity the emperor ransoms himself for 200,000 ducats, but the sultan gives half of the payment back to the emperor in support of Barbarossa enacting punishment upon the pope.

By the mid-thirteenth century, Saladin had gained a reputation as a honorable figure within western European historiography and literature.²⁴⁴ Preexisting literature and records may have inspired the aforementioned captivity narrative. For example, Guy of Lusignan, the king-consort of Jerusalem (r.1186-1192) was captured at the Battle of Hattin (1187), and held captive for a year prior to being released without a ransom.²⁴⁵ However, perhaps more noteworthy is how comparable the story of Saladin and the merchant Messer Torello found in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (ca. 1350) is to Barbarossa's captivity in the *Pilgrimage* (though brief) and even more so in the *True History of Frederick Barbarossa*.²⁴⁶ Like von Harff's *Pilgrimage*, the ninth story of Boccaccio's *Decameron* involves an attempt at spying on the opposition. Yet, in this case it is Saladin who attempts to spy on the military preparations in the west, where he comes into contact with Torello, who shows him his upmost hospitality.²⁴⁷ The two form a close friendship built upon

²⁴³ The sultan states: "syet ir valsche cristen, wye hayt dich dijn broeder dijnes glouuen verraiden!", Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters*, ed. von Groote, 43, in English "behold how false are the Christians; see how your brother of the same faith has betrayed you." Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage*, trans. Letts, 53.

²⁴⁴ Nicholas Coureas, "Settlement on Lusignan Cyprus after the Latin Conquest: The Accounts of Cypriot and other Chronicles and the Wider Context," *Perspectives on Culture* 2, no.33 (2021): 178.

²⁴⁵ Philipp Donvinito has suggested that Saladin's initial end-goal of Guy's captivity would be to exchange him for some of the coastal cities 'of the Latin kingdom', but that after the battle it did not take long for all of the desired cities, with the exception of Tyre, to surrender. Thus, after a year, it seems that Saladin had little use for holding onto Guy. I would also like to add that Guy of Lusignan clearly found his way into some German literature by at least the fifteenth-century, as he appears in Hartmann Schedel's widely popular *Weltchronik*, as "Gwido lusimanus," on some of the very same pages as Frederick Barbarossa. However, there appears to be no mention of his capture in Schedel's text; Filippo Donvito, "Hangman or gentleman?: Saladin's Christian hostages and prisoners," *Medieval Warfare* 4, no.1 (2014): 40.

²⁴⁶ See: Albrecht Classen, *Freedom, Imprisonment, and Slavery in the Pre-Modern World*, Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 25, ed. Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge, (Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2021), 160-166, 168-171., Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. Vittore Branca. Sixth rev. and corrected ed. (1980; Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1987), Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, trans. J.M. Rigg, (London: A.H. Bullen, 1903)

²⁴⁷ Classen, *Freedom, Imprisonment, and Slavery in the Pre-Modern World*, 169.

genuine respect. Later Torello is enslaved when the Christians are defeated during the crusade. When he is captured everyone, including his family, presumes him to be dead. This detail is never mentioned in von Harff's *Pilgrimage*, however in the *True History*, Barbarossa is also presumed to be dead by everyone when he is captured.

For the duration of his captivity, Torello conceals his true identity, something which Barbarossa initially attempts in the *True History* but immediately fails to accomplish. The *Decameron*, *Pilgrimage*, and *True History* all include a sequence in which the protagonist writes and sends a letter, only for it to go wrong. While Barbarossa's letter to Pope Alexander results in his capture through the pope's subsequent betrayal in the *Pilgrimage* and *True History*, Torello writes to his uncle as a plea for help amidst his enslavement, only for the ship carrying the letter to sink before reaching its destination.²⁴⁸ Saladin eventually frees Torello, and later realizes his true identity.²⁴⁹ Ultimately Torello returns home to his wife, but his powerful bond of friendship with Saladin prevails.²⁵⁰ Regardless of whether the *Pilgrimage* or the *True History* took direct inspiration from Boccaccio, the striking similarities between the works suggest that the captivity narrative in these later works built off of an existing literary framework, which was exchanged between Germans and Italians or Europeans in general.

Works such as Rudolf von Em's High Middle German *Der guote Gêrhart* (ca. 1220), hint at a more general interest in narratives involving Muslim-Christian friendship and captivity.²⁵¹ The trope of the heathen yet noble ruler and his encounters with a Christian protagonist, could be

²⁴⁸ Classen, *Freedom, Imprisonment, and Slavery in the Pre-Modern World*, 170.

²⁴⁹ Classen, *Freedom, Imprisonment, and Slavery in the Pre-Modern World*, 170.

²⁵⁰ Classen, *Freedom, Imprisonment, and Slavery in the Pre-Modern World*, 171.

²⁵¹ *Der guote Gêrhart* details the amicable relationship between a Muslim ruler (Stranmûr) and a German Christian merchant (Gerhart). See: Rudolf von Ems, *Der guote Gêrhart*, ed. John A. Asher. Altedeutsche Textbibliothek, 56. 3rd ed. (1971; Tübingen: Max Niemeyer 2013.), Rudolf von Ems: Albrecht Classen, trans., *An English Translation of Rudolf von Ems's Der guote Gêrhart*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2016).

effective in underscoring the complexities of honor and morality. When placed into the context of Pope Alexander's betrayal in von Harff's *Pilgrimage* (and later in the *True History*) Saladin's voice of reason is enhanced by his status as the oppositional outsider, as it forms a direct contrast to the characterization of Pope Alexander. In addition to revealing that honor can transcend religious differences, Saladin brings a division in honor to light within Barbarossa's own religious affiliation.

In von Harff's *Pilgrimage*, Barbarossa's papal pursuit is reshaped into a campaign for justice; he immediately sets out for Rome and conquers it, but Alexander flees in the disguise of a monk to Venice, where he works as monastic cook.²⁵² The core elements of the typical Venetian narrative thereafter remain the same; the Venetians refuse the emperor's request to hand over the pope and capture his fictional son Otto, and they are responsible for brokering the peace treaty, and the pope steps on the emperor's neck. However, von Harff's new additions and slightly probably impacted how German readers would have interpreted the interaction between the pope and the emperor.²⁵³ Now that von Harff has portrayed the pope as conniving, dishonest and unchristian, it simply seems unjust for the pope to trample the emperor.

It is also worth noting that here the act of the pope stepping on the emperor's neck is presented as a term of the peace agreement, and the pope's recitation of Psalm 91:13 is also

²⁵² Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters*, ed. von Groote, 43, Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage*, trans. Letts, 53.

²⁵³ When the Venetians refuse to give the pope over to Barbarossa, the emperor swears "by his red beard that he would destroy Venice and turn St. Mark's into a stable for his horses." ("ind swoyr bij sijnem roden baert he weulde Venedich also destruweiren dat hee weulde van sijn(t) Marx kirchen maichen eyne pertz stall.") Von Harff stresses that this oath sworn by the emperor on his red beard, "could never be undone," ("vmb des groysen swoirs wylle den he geschwoeren hadde bij sijnem roden barde der nye wendich was woirden,") and thus "out of respect for him and by reason of his oath, caused to be set up four gilded metal horses in front of St. Mark's church as an eternal witness of these things, a picture whereof, painted with great art, hangs in the Palace in the Council chamber." ("dar vmb ime zo eren ind des swoirs wylle liessen die Veneciaener vier oeuergulde myttaellen pert vur off sijnt Marx kirche setten zo ewycher gedechtenyss deser geschicht, as man dat gar suuerlich gemaylt suydt stayn in deme palatz off der raytz kameran.") Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters*, ed. von Groote 43,44. Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage*, trans. Letts, 54.

removed from the text.²⁵⁴ Moreover, von Harff's text utilizes the motif created by Thomas of Pavia of the pope trampling the emperor but strips it from its traditional biblical allegory. Thus, Thomas of Pavia's intended metaphor of ecclesiastical triumph is entirely irradiated. Barbarossa's reply to Alexander, "non tibi sed Petro, not to your honor, but St. Peter's," which by this point in time was also a common feature in Italian historiographical sources, is a detail that remains in von Harff's text.²⁵⁵ While other sources would generally follow up Barbarossa's statement with a reply from Alexander that would reaffirm his own authority alongside Peter, here Alexander seemingly falls silent. Furthermore, Barbarossa's voice comes across as the only figure of the two with a truly Christian conscience. His words almost carry an element of rebellion against the tyranny of the corrupt pope.

Von Harff's insertion of the origin four bronze horse statues in front of Saint Mark's into the narrative also arguably impacts the characterization of both the emperor and the Venetians. According to the origin myth presented in the itinerary, Barbarossa "had sworn by his red beard, which could never be undone, that he would make St. Mark's church into a stable for his horse."²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ "item doe der keyser dit vernam was he mystroschtich, moyst he eyn soyne mit inne an gayn wie sij wolden, waert aber die soyne gemaicht, dat he bynen Venedich komen suyde in sijnt Marx kirche kneende vur den pays in lassen den pays myt eynem voyss off sijnen hals treden, soe suylden sij ime sijnen son weder leueren." Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters*, 44.

English: "But he was forced to make terms with them and to give them what they demanded. The terms were that the Emperor should come to Venice and kneel down in St. Mark's church before the Pope, and suffer the Pope to put his foot on his neck. They would then deliver his son to him again." See: Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage*, trans. Letts, 54.

²⁵⁵ "der pays tradt dem keyser off sijne scholder. doe spraich der keyser: non tibi, sed Petro, nyet dir dan sijnt Peter zo eren." Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters*, ed. von Groote, 44.

English: "The Pope put his foot on the Emperor's shoulder, the Emperor saying non tibi sed Petro, not to your honour, but St. Peter's." Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage*, trans. Letts, 54.

²⁵⁶ Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage*, trans. Letts, 54., "vmb des groysen swoirs wylle den he geschwoeren hadde bij sijnem roden barde der nye wendich was woerden," Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters*, ed. von Groote, 44.

As noted by Marilyn Perry, it is unclear when the legend first appeared, but it may have been common/popular in Venetian oral tradition from the late Middle Ages. Perry even points to the fact that the myth only survives in writing of travellers of varied origins, but no Venetian locals as a testament to its probable popularity. See: Marilyn Perry, "Saint Mark's Trophies: Legend, Superstition, and Archaeology in Renaissance Venice," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977): 30.

Here the great oath is presented as something truly binding; in order for the emperor to maintain his honor he must fulfill it. Therefore, when the Venetians ensure that four gilded horses are built in front of St. Mark's, they are illustrated in a somewhat positive light as it is done willfully, "out of respect for him and by reason of his oath."²⁵⁷ The fulfillment of the emperor's oath, mentioned only after the trampling of the emperor, perhaps offers some consolation and a degree of triumph on behalf of the emperor. As I shall later elaborate in my fifth chapter, Arnold von Harff's presentation of the oath as a binding commitment likely inspired the writer behind the *True History*, however there it appears to be utilized in a different way, which reflect a more critical attitude towards the emperor, the Church as a whole, as well as the Venetians.

Numerous questions arise concerning Arnold von Harff's travelogue, including von Harff's reliability as a narrator, and the extent to which he may have drawn from other sources.²⁵⁸ Regardless of whether or not von Harff's narrative draws purely from his own experiences in Venice, it seems evident that this variation of the history must have occurred as a result of the

²⁵⁷ Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage*, trans. Letts, 54.

"dar vmb ime zo eren ind des swoirs wylle liessen die Veneciaener vier ouer gulde myttaellen pert vur off sijnt Marx kirche setzten zo ewycher gedechtenyss deser geschicht, as man dat gar suerlich gemaylt suydt stayn in deme palatz off der raytz kameren." Arnold von Harff, 44.

²⁵⁸ Eberhard von Groote suggested that for the portions of his itinerary devoted to Venice, Arnold von Harff drew from other sources; that perhaps von Harff did not actually stay in Venice for a prolonged period of time, but simply passed through the city on his pilgrimage route. Meanwhile, Malcom Letts rejected von Groote's hypothesis that von Harff did not actually stay in Venice for a prolonged period. Letts asserted that he knew of "no such record available to von Harff from which he could have compiled such a detailed description," and underscored the specificity of certain details, such as the mention of Anton Paffendorp, which could "scarcely be invented or borrowed." Even if Letts' conclusion proves to be correct, it is almost certain that von Harff is by no means a consistently reliable narrator. For example, in his travelogue, von Harff also claims to have climbed the Mountains of the Moon, and to have discovered the source of the Nile.

It is difficult to imagine that a Venetian nobleman narrated such an incredibly pro-imperial, anti-papal narrative with an arguably morally grey attitude towards the Venetians, as opposed to being an invention of a German, such as Paffendorp or Arnold von Harff himself, or an entirely other German source that has been now lost. That being noted, one could also argue that the emergence of the legend of the *cavalli* statues within Venice, rules out the assumption that an iteration of the history at least somewhat favorable to Barbarossa would be impossible as a Venetian conception. As previously mentioned, Germans were a vital part of Venetian economy. Therefore, though it is perhaps improbable, I propose that it is perhaps not completely out of the question that a Venetian could have altered the narrative to protect the ego of German consumers in other sources. However, no known case of this instance exists. See: Malcolm Letts, "Introduction," *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, xiii, xxi.

meeting of Germans who came into contact with local Venetians and a Venetian reading of the history of the Peace of Venice. Arnold von Harff's portrayal of the Venetians in his narrative may not present them as heroes, but it does acknowledge them as a powerful player in papal-imperial politics and illustrates them as having been respectful of the emperor's oaths. In a sense this A German audience evidently saw (political or commercial entertainment) value in the narrative, but only one that served to reinforce German pride and patriotism.

Arnold von Harff's travelogue is arguably the most comparable source to the *True History* which predates 1519, particularly due to the fact that it is the only other surviving text (that I know of) which describes the pope's betrayal of the emperor to the sultan, the emperor's captivity, as well as the origin myth of the four gilded horse statues in Saint Mark's Square. I believe it is highly probable that the writer(s) of the *True History* either drew from von Harff's passages about his trip to Venice or a mutual source.²⁵⁹ Therefore, in my fifth and final chapter I often refer to the travelogue in comparison in order to detect slight variances in text that may have been attributed to the *True History*'s own creative license.

This chapter has shown that the *True History*'s narrative structure was dependent upon a number of key transformations that occurred between the late twelfth and fifteenth centuries, including Thomas of Pavia's *Gesta imperatorum et Pontificum* (with pope stepping upon the emperor's neck), the rise of the 'Venetian narrative' (Barbarossa's pursuit of Alexander to Venice, Alexander's disguise as a friar cook, the capture of Otto, Venice's protection of the pope, and their role in brokering the peace), and lastly Arnold von Harff's *Pilgrimage* or directly related source (the integration of crusader literature and Venetian folklore; Alexander's betrayal of Barbarossa to

²⁵⁹ By 'mutual source' I mean a source that von Harff pulled from which included the aforementioned peculiar features within its narrative (the pope's betrayal, the emperor's captivity, the origin myth of the horse statues), or a source that had drawn from von Harff's travelogue.

Saladin in the Holy Land and Barbarossa's oath to make a stable out of Saint Mark's Basilica). The varying identities of narrators and their personal political aims seem to have played a major role in motivating these transformations.

CHAPTER IV

5 Maximilian I as the Last World Emperor and the Next Frederick Barbarossa

This chapter will introduce the premises, various political functions, and development of the prophecy of the Last World Emperor, especially with the rise in popularity of the prophesized return of an emperor by the name of Frederick, often associated with either the return of Frederick II (r. 1220-1250) himself, or a third Frederick. I will then show how, even after Frederick III's reign (1452-1493) had met great hopes with even greater disappointment in terms of the prophecy's fulfillment, his successor Maximilian I (r. 1508-1519) managed to bring about a new wave of prophetic literature in his favor. This was certainly aided by the early attempts by Frederick III's own astrologer Johann Lichtenberger to transition the prophecy of the Last World Emperor away from Frederick and towards Maximilian in the twilight of Frederick's reign. However, it seems that Maximilian's active role in the promotion of media projects through his extensive patronage proved integral to his effective utilization of prophecy as a tool for garnering support in his endeavors and asserting imperial authority amidst internal backlash from defiant German princes, the external stress of the Italian Wars (1494-1559), and variable clashes with the papacy.

In fact, it appears that prophecy proved to be so pervasive that it may have influenced a degree of Maximilian's own self-perception as emperor and political contemplations, especially with respect to the papacy. Meanwhile I would like to underscore that while Maximilian's encouragement of pro-imperial prophetic works may have served some of his own immediate interests, these texts also made numerous appealing promises, such as Church reform and the liberation of the Holy Land, that he never actually intended to fulfill. In this chapter, I will also turn to the terms of Frederick Barbarossa's historical revival which was significantly indorsed through Maximilian's patronage and promotion. I believe this is by no means a coincidence that

this coincided with Maximilian's involvement in the production of prophetic literature. It is clear that both prophecy and history were viewed as interrelated subjects. This is even exemplified by genres such as the world chronicle, which tied together the past, present, and future within a single history of salvation.

In this chapter I hope to show that the figure of Barbarossa and prophecy came to be utilized by Maximilian in some of the very same political topics. In my previous chapter, I argued that the narrative of the *True History* is the product of a series of earlier transformations, each building off the legacy of varying political objectives. Here, I would like to lay some further groundwork for my next chapter. Here I show how Maximilian's use of prophecy and history could have inspired hope, and the political context through which Maximilian may have envisioned his own parallels to Frederick Barbarossa (namely the Italian Wars and personal conflicts with the papacy). The *True History* as a text printed in the year of Maximilian's death was likely on the influenced by the tone set by the politics and production of literary media during Maximilian's reign (such as its imperial pride and anti-papal and anti-Italian sentiment), but as I will also argue in my next chapter, it may also be considered through the lens of a reaction to the end results of Maximilian's rule in a period of change and uncertainty.

5.1 Origins of the Last World Emperor

The *True History* is framed by the prophecy of the Last World Emperor. This prophecy originates back to the seventh century, with Pseudo-Methodius' *Revelationes*, which was written in response to early Islamic invasions.²⁶⁰ Pseudo-Methodius proclaimed that a Christian ruler,

²⁶⁰ Marco Giardini, "'Esse redimendum sepulchrum dominicum per Fridricum imperatorem,' Use and Reuse of the 'Last World Emperor' Prophecy in Germany between Late Middle Ages and Lutheran Reformation," *Journal for Early Modern Christianity* (2016) 3(2): 132-133.

thought to be dead and establish a world kingdom of peace and justice, and the unification of the Christian faith across the world.²⁶¹ This was to be achieved by rejecting the “Ismaelites”, liberating the Holy Sepulchre, and being coronated as *Rex Romanorum* in Jerusalem.²⁶² This golden era would end with the abdication of the Last World Emperor when he brings the emblems of his sovereignty before God.²⁶³ This would be followed by the age of the Antichrist. During the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era, the prophecy became widely popularized in Christian Europe, albeit with numerous alterations and reinterpretations. The popularity of this prophecy can be attested to the numerous functions it offered in a time where religious and political identity and concerns were deeply intertwined.

5.2 Politics and Development of the Prophecy

From the end of the thirteenth-century, up until the circulation of the *True History* the prophecy had centered around two primary figures; Charlemagne (r. 768-814) and Frederick II (r. 1220-1250).²⁶⁴ Like his grandfather Frederick Barbarossa, Frederick II’s afterlife was heavily shaped by his defiant attitude and tenuous relations with the papacy during his reign²⁶⁵, legendary persona, and mysterious death (all of which fed into the perception of him as a larger than life and fitting to the mold of prophecy). The name *Friedrich* (Frederick) conveniently lent itself to the word *Frieden* (peace) and thus the return of Frederick was increasingly linked to the promise of

²⁶¹ Giardini, “Esse redimendum sepulchrum dominicum per Fridricum imperatorem,” 132-133.

²⁶² Giardini, “Esse redimendum sepulchrum dominicum per Fridricum imperatorem,” 132.

²⁶³ Giardini, “Esse redimendum sepulchrum dominicum per Fridricum imperatorem,” 133.

²⁶⁴ The prophetic tradition that centered around Frederick II came with a few noticeable alterations from that of Pseudo-Methodius. In this variation, after appearing, and being named *Rex Romanorum*, but prior to defeating the “Ismaelites” and liberating the Holy Sepulchre, typically, the Last World Emperor would unify and reform the Church and the Christian World by establishing imperial authority across Europe and returning the Church to its old ways. See: Giardini, “Esse redimendum sepulchrum dominicum per Fridricum imperatorem,” 136.

²⁶⁵ Frederick II’s conflict with the pope and second excommunication during his lifetime also promoted the tendency to place him within an eschatological timeline that was yet to be completed, with either a positive (“messianic”) role or negative (“anti-messianic”) role attributed to him.

Giardini, “Esse redimendum sepulchrum dominicum per Fridricum imperatorem,” 138.

an era of peace upon his arrival.²⁶⁶ Numerous sources reported that Frederick II's sudden death was met with doubt, and the emperor-less period following his death contributed to initial beliefs that the emperor would still one day return.²⁶⁷ However, even as decades continued to pass there were still those who held onto this belief.²⁶⁸

With the appeal of peace, the prophecy was continuously actualized across the empire at points of social and political unrest, taking the form of individuals who proclaimed to be the lost emperor. The rise of "false Fredericks" claiming to be the lost emperor, in turn posed a political threat to those currently in power, even as the passage of time made it increasingly more difficult to rationalize the possibility of the emperor without supernatural intervention.²⁶⁹ The prophecy was also often interpreted as the return of Frederick as a reincarnation in the form of ideology through his descendants. This approach could be used to reinforce the sovereignty of the presiding ruler and was understandably thus the favored interpretation amongst imperial supporters. Especially by the late thirteenth-century, the Last World Emperor prophecy was also utilized as a

²⁶⁶ Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung*, (Stuttgart: Jan Thornbecke Verlag, 2000) 222.

²⁶⁷ Camilla G. Kaul, "Erfindung eines Mythos -Die Rezeption von Friedrich Barbarossa im Kyffhäuser im frühen 19. Jahrhundert und ihre national-politische Implikation," *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 151 (2008):116., Hannes Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung*, (Stuttgart: Jan Thornbecke Verlag, 2000) 221-22.

²⁶⁸ Hannes Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung*, (Stuttgart: Jan Thornbecke Verlag, 2000) 221-22.

²⁶⁹ Kellermann, "Kaiser Friderich ist kommen!" 187, For an example see: Johannes Rothe, *Düringische Chronik des Johann Rothe*, ed. Rochus von Liliencron (Thüringische Geschichtsquellen. 3), (Jena: Frommann, 1859), 426.

Simply the belief in the myth, even in the absence of an imposter, posed a political risk to any ruler because of the improbability for anyone who believes in and awaits the return of a former ruler to be fully loyal to the current ruler. Moreover, one can still sense the genuine concern for potential risks posed by the prophecy, when reading Johannes Rothe's *Thüringische Weltchronik* (1420-1440) written centuries after the last imposter emerged with any notable political power. Rothe recognizes that the prophecy still continues to be believed among many Christians, to then not only denounce the prophecy as a heresy (also referencing one of the past false Fredericks) but also emphasis that Frederick II should also be regarded as a heretic, because he was excommunicated during his lifetime.

See Kellermann, "Kaiser Friderich ist kommen!" 187, Johannes Rothe, *Düringische Chronik des Johann Rothe*, ed. Rochus von Liliencron (Thüringische Geschichtsquellen. 3), (Jena: Frommann, 1859), 426.

tool by both German and French powers in their competition for supremacy, particularly when it came to claims over the Holy Roman Empire.²⁷⁰

As noted by Marjorie Reeves, another important element to the prophecy of Frederick's return, or the "Third Frederick" is his continual depiction as chastiser and/or reformer of the Church and Christian World in the program of Last Things.²⁷¹ In fact, all three major variants²⁷² of the prophecy present the Last World Emperor as punishing both Rome and the clergy.²⁷³ This reflected a longstanding and growing concern for religious reform, and in many cases, imperial reform throughout the Late Middle Ages. The very nature of prophecy, as something predetermined by God, validated these concerns about the Church and imperial order.²⁷⁴ The element of *renovatio* within the prophecy may have also reflected the appeal of the power and authority associated with leading a great reform, not just to the emperor but also to members of the empire under his rule. As underscored by Dietrich Kurze, prophecy, when centered around the eschatological culmination of history (such as the Last World Emperor), had the ability to assign eschatological key functions to a certain group of people or a ruling family representing that group of people.²⁷⁵ From this angle, the Last World Emperor as a narrative had a great potential to

²⁷⁰ For example, the prophecy of the *Karolus redivivus* asserted that the Second Charlemagne would recover the imperial title for the French monarchs at the end of time, thus challenging the German claim to the Holy Roman Empire. See: Giardini, "Esse redimendum sepulchrum dominicum per Fridricum imperatorem," 135.

By the late thirteenth-century, three variant portrayals of the two figures had essentially emerged. Summed up neatly in the words of Marjorie Reeves, there was "a good Frederick, a bad Frederick, and a good Charles." Perhaps unsurprisingly, the prophecies centered around the emergence of a 'good Charles', or second Charlemagne, *Karolus redivivus*, were often was linked to pro-French and anti-German sentiment, as was the case of portrayals of a 'bad Frederick.' See: Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Late Middle Ages: a Study in Joachimism*, (Oxford University Press, 1969; 1993) 334.

²⁷¹ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 333.

²⁷² (the 'good Frederick', 'bad Frederick', and 'good Charlemagne')

²⁷³ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 334.

²⁷⁴ For example, the primary subject matter of the *Reformatio Sigismundi* (ca. 1439), was a very extensive set of radical reform proposals, while the framework of prophecy of a Last World Emperor serves to justify and authenticate the necessity of a 'total reformation' (encompassing both religious and imperial spheres).

²⁷⁵ Dietrich Kurze, "Nationale Regungen in der Spätmittelalterlichen Prophetie," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 202 (1966) 3.

mobilize support for a reigning emperor's cause, as it allocated a decisive role to his supporters within the history of salvation, while reaffirming the emperor's own authority.

5.3 The Failed Third Frederick and Emergence of Maximilian as the Next Last World Emperor

It comes as little surprise that the ascension of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (r. 1452-1493) stirred great expectations for the emperor, and implied direct implications on the “Third Frederick” branch of the prophetic tradition. The early years of Frederick's rule likely fostered hopeful prospects of fulfilling the prophecy through a number of intentional actions and self-fashioning.²⁷⁶ The proclamation of the *Reformatio Frederici* at an Imperial Diet in Frankfurt (1442) may have even given off the impression of being an early attempt at establishing a reform policy.²⁷⁷ However, the document itself did not actually offer any comprehensive reform and remained ineffective.²⁷⁸ By the end of his rule, Frederick's inability to carry out the duties of the Last World Emperor was considered as just one of his many failures. He had lost much of his Austrian lands to his brother Abrecht VI, Archduke of Austria, and failed to rescue or recover Constantinople when it fell to the Ottomans in 1453, and even lost Vienna to Mathias Corvinus in 1485.²⁷⁹

Johann Lichtenberger, Frederick III's astrologer, played a consequential role in the redirection of the prophecy away from Frederick III, through his best-selling work *Prognosticatio*

²⁷⁶ Some examples include his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, joined by the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre and the establishment of the Order of St George. Meanwhile, his motto AEIOU, "all the world is subject to Austria," (*Alles Erd Ist Österreich Untertan*) fed into the mentality of the Holy Roman Emperor as a World Emperor.

See: Robert J. Bast, "Prophecy and Policy: Maximilian I as Last World Emperor in Theory and Practice," in *Apocalyptic Cultures in Medieval and Renaissance Europe: Politics and Prophecy*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2024), 221.

²⁷⁷ Stefan Weinfurter, *Das Reich im Mittelalter: Kleine deutsche Geschichte von 500 bis 1500*, (Munich: C.H.Beck, 2008) 237.

²⁷⁸ Weinfurter, *Das Reich im Mittelalter*, 237.

²⁷⁹ Bast, "Prophecy and Policy," 221-222.

(1488), reflecting his, among many others, ultimate disillusionment towards the emperor.²⁸⁰ Maximilian and his heirs (Philip the Handsome, and later Charles V) are set apart from Frederick III in Lichtenberger's *Prognosticatio* as candidates for the Last World Emperor, particularly with the fulfillment of the Briggittine oracle of the Lily and the Eagle.²⁸¹ This oracle ends in the union of the Lily (France; here, Burgundy) to the Eagle (presumably the [German] Holy Roman Empire), with the implication that the Lily would submit to the Eagle.²⁸² This was accomplished through Maximilian's marriage to Mary of Burgundy (1477).²⁸³

5.4 Propaganda and Print

Maximilian turned to media as a means of garnering support in the face of resistance from the Electors and Estates of the Empire. Maximilian won the favor of many intellectuals during his rule as a great and often life-changing patron; in return they served the emperor by disseminating his agendas through opening speeches to Imperial Diets and printed works that were circulated.²⁸⁴ Maximilian's projects may have aimed to fulfill his own political desires, but it also appealed to other people's own pride and longings. The emperor's propaganda aided the rise of imperial German pride, patriotism and consciousness.²⁸⁵ This was especially welcomed by many humanists who already had an interest in highlighting the values of the German nation, largely as a reaction to a growing sense of Italian and papal antagonism.²⁸⁶ History and prophecy were both key to such

²⁸⁰ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 347.

²⁸¹ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 350.

²⁸² Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 339.

²⁸³ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 350.

It is perhaps also worth noting that Lichtenberger actually views Maximilian, or Philip his heir, as a Second Charlemagne. This is also perhaps indicative of the freshness of Frederick III's failure to fulfill the Third Frederick prophecy.

²⁸⁴ Bast, "Prophecy and Policy," 225.

²⁸⁵ Larry Silver, "Germanic patriotism in the age of Dürer," 38.

²⁸⁶ Hermann Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches*, (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1991) 321.

endeavors. With the aid of humanist scholar and poet Conrad Celtis (1459-1508) Maximilian founded the *Collegium Poetarum et Mathematicorum* (College of Poets and Mathematicians).²⁸⁷ Among other things, the *Collegium* promoted the study and application of astrology, as well as historical research favorable to the emperor.²⁸⁸ Much of Maximilian's imperial propaganda was set against the backdrop of internal conflict with the German princes, as well as the Italian Wars (1494-1559), which also fueled antagonism towards the papacy, Rome, and foreign influences.

As noted by Bast, one of the unique features of the prophetic literature produced under Maximilian's reign was its powerful, almost threatening calls to the princes and Electors to unite behind the emperor, as is the case in a reworking of Lichtenberger's *Prognosticatio* in 1501, shortly after he had experienced a significant loss of power.²⁸⁹ Meanwhile, intellectuals such as Sebastian Brant managed to disseminate the image of Maximilian as Christendom's final hope to even wider masses in his incredibly well received *Narrenschiff*, or *Ship of Fools* (1494).²⁹⁰ Brant also calls upon all lords, states and kings to "support the ship of state" to prevent it from sinking, by rallying

²⁸⁷ Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches*, 322.

²⁸⁸ Bast, "Prophecy and Policy," 225. Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches*, 322.

²⁸⁹ Bast, "Prophecy and Policy," 226.

This reworking of Lichtenberger's *Prognosticatio* (1501) accused all princes who contributed to the division of the Empire of being comparable to "heralds and emissaries of the Antichrist." It emphasized that the German princes who unanimously elected Maximilian as King in Frankfurt "knew, understood, and considered the Last Things," reaffirming Maximilian's link to the Last World Emperor. It also noted this power to elect the emperor was a right that was given, "taken from others," but that they had "acted worthily and were not ungrateful to King Maximilian." This may have insinuated that this right could be removed, but it could also suggest that privilege was linked to the superior judgement German princes for accounting for the Last Things in their decision to elect Maximilian, thus bolstering their ego.

Lichtenberger, *Practica*, fol. 108^{r-v}, cited and translated in Bast, "Prophecy and Policy," 226-227.

²⁹⁰ Maximilian appears in the the 99th chapter titled "Of the decline of the faith" (*vō abgang des gloubē*), Brant underscores the threat posed by the vast Ottoman expansion (here simply referred to as the Turks) into Europe and formerly Christian lands.

Sebastian Brant, " *vō abgang des gloubē*," in *Narrenschiff* (Basel: Johann Bergmann, 1494) 131r-134v., See: Larry Silver, "Germanic Patriotism in the Age of Dürer," in Dagmar Eichelberger and Charles Zika (eds.) *Dürer and his Culture* (Cambridge, 1998), 50-51.

behind Maximilian in his endeavors of a crusade against the "Turks" (referring to the Ottomans).²⁹¹ Brant was just one among numerous authors to prophesize of Maximilian's imminent victories over the Ottomans in a crusade, despite there being no real intention on the emperor's end to engage in warfare with them.²⁹² As noted by Bast, such texts provided a promising narrative to counteract opposition from the princes, and later retain relevancy by conveniently aligning with Alexander VI's call for Crusade (1500) and persuade the vote of the German Estates.²⁹³

Another particularly successful work that proudly foretells of Maximilian's prophecy is Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik* (1493), also known as the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. The chronicle encompasses a world history that begins with Creation and ends with prophecies leading up to the Last Day, in the Seventh Age.²⁹⁴ When reaching the point of the contemporary reign of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, Schedel not only includes the history of the emperor's reign thus far, but also continues on to narrate Maximilian's forthcoming triumphs over the Ottomans, reclamation of the Holy Land, and return to unite Europe under his rule.²⁹⁵ It is also somewhat intriguing that the history of Frederick Barbarossa, including his conflict with Alexander III, is also described in the *Weltchronik*, generally following the 'Venetian tradition' of the narrative discussed in my previous chapter, with little to no changes. This appeared alongside passages devoted to other major emperors, as well as other relevant figures (for example Pope Alexander

²⁹¹ Sebastian Brant, "vō abgang des gloubē," in *Narrenschiff* (Basel: Johann Bergmann, 1494) 131r-134v., translation provided by Larry Silver, in "Germanic Patriotism in the Age of Dürer," 50-51.

²⁹² The idea of the emperor leading a crusade still found some appeal by the late Middle Ages, especially amidst fears of Ottoman advancement. However, relations with the Ottoman Empire came to be quite cordial during Maximilian's rule.

²⁹³ Bast, "Prophecy and Policy," 243. As pointed out by Bast, the release of such materials, such as Brant's *History of Jerusalem* (1495), Grünpeck's wonder-pamphlet (1507), and Gengenbach's *Nollhart* (1518), all were closely coordinated with specific meetings of the German Estates. Here, the 1495 Diet of Worms, 1507 Diet of Constance, and 1518 Diet of Augsburg.

²⁹⁴ Johnathan Green, "Translating time: chronicle, prognostication, prophecy," *Renaissance Studies* 29, no. 1 (2015): 165.

²⁹⁵ Green, "Translating time: chronicle, prognostication, prophecy," 165.

III, Bishop Hartmann of Brixen, and Saladin). While there appears to be no mention of Barbarossa in direct connection to the prophecy of the Last World Emperor, the first known case is found in the *True History*, is easy to see how chronicles such as the *Weltchronik* which blurred the lines between historical account and the foretelling of prophecy could have provided inspiration to the *True History*.

5.5 The Italian Wars

Certain elements of prophecy and eschatological ideology may have also served as inspiration to Maximilian in his reactions towards the papacy. Throughout the Italian Wars, the papacy was seen as a fickle and self-serving entity. Maximilian saw Pope Julius II (r.1503-1513) as a "traitor" who prevented a victory over the Republic of Venice in 1509, along with the restoration of imperial rights, land allocations of Cambrai, during the War of the League of Cambrai (1508-1516).²⁹⁶ After Julius traded his alliances to join forces with Venice in 1510, it also did not take long for the League of Cambrai to collapse. According to Hermann Wiesflecker, Maximilian had often contemplated deposing popes such as Alexander VI and Julius II, who were both considered anti-imperial, under the guise of Church reform.²⁹⁷ This would also reinforce the prophecy of the anonymous *Oberrheinische Revolutionär*²⁹⁸ ('Upper Rhineland Revolutionary'), which asserted that Maximilian had the authority to both seat and depose popes, as part of his role as chastiser of the clergy and laity.²⁹⁹ When Julius II was believed to be on the brink of death in 1511, Maximilian promoted himself as a candidate for the next pope.³⁰⁰ Wiesflecker suggests the

²⁹⁶ Hermann Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I*, 166. Thomas A. Brady, *German Histories in the Age of Reformation*, 144.

²⁹⁷ Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I*, 287.

²⁹⁸ Bast infers to have been authored by an official of the Habsburg court (c. 1490-1510), and notes that it plainly identifies Maximilian as the Last World Emperor. See: Bast, "Prophecy and Policy," 220-221.

²⁹⁹ Bast, "Prophecy and Policy," 220-221. Robert Bast infers the author to have been an official of the Habsburg court (active c. 1490-1510)

³⁰⁰ Stadtwald, "Pope Alexander III's Humiliation of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa," 760.

concept of the priest-king, as promoted in the Last World Emperor prophecy in the *Reformatio Sigismundi* (ca. 1439).³⁰¹ Of course, this plan never came to fruition.

5.6 The Revival of Frederick Barbarossa in Maximilian's Anti-Papal, Anti-Italian Media Campaigns

The historical figure of Frederick Barbarossa had not maintained a strong and continuous literary presence within German imperial historiography in the centuries following his sudden death in 1190.³⁰² Klaus Schreiner argues that southwestern German chroniclers of the late Middle Ages had aimed to consolidate the small-scale ruling structures which had taken advantage of the downfall of the Staufer duchy, and thus it had not been in their interest to write about Barbarossa or the other Staufer rulers (check the wording again/translation of Schreiner.)³⁰³ Nevertheless, chroniclers contemporary to the reign of Barbarossa, such as Otto von Freising and Gottfried von Viterbo, had ensured the emperor's lasting legacy as one of the greatest rulers of the empire's history.³⁰⁴ The revival and rediscovery of imperial history, especially Hohenstaufen history, proved incredibly suitable to Maximilian's propaganda media.

With the establishment of the *Collegium Poetarum et Mathematicorum*, and his partnership with the emperor, Celtis recovered a manuscript of *Ligurinus*, which glorified Barbarossa's campaigns against Milan, from the monastery of Erbach.³⁰⁵ Meanwhile, Cuspin published Otto von Freising's *Gesta Friderici* (the Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa).³⁰⁶ The return to these sources would have undoubtedly offered rich material for patriotic or propagandistic intentions.

³⁰¹ Hermann Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches*, (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik Wien, 1991) 257.

³⁰² Klaus Schreiner, "Friedrich Barbarossa -Herr der Welt," in *Die Zeit der Staufer. Band V Supplement: Vorträge und Forschungen*, (Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart, 1979), 527.

³⁰³ Schreiner, "Friedrich Barbarossa -Herr der Welt," 527.

³⁰⁴ Schreiner, "Friedrich Barbarossa -Herr der Welt," 527.

³⁰⁵ Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.*, 322.

³⁰⁶ Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.*, 322.

Barbarossa was celebrated for his defiant relationship to the Pope and his successful expeditions into Italy, which included German militaristic domination over his Italian subjects. This image held great potential in the face of the Italian Wars. Maximilian took a particular interest in Frederick Barbarossa and attempted to emulate him and incorporate his legacy into political speeches to varying degrees of success.³⁰⁷

Comparable to his use of prophecy, Maximilian drew parallels between himself and Frederick Barbarossa and the red-bearded emperor's glorious imperial legacy as a means of mobilizing support. Maximilian often threatened to appear in Italy as the new Barbarossa.³⁰⁸ Little did he know that, like Barbarossa, his campaigns in Italy would eventually experience significant failures. Glorified allusions to the triumphant days of Frederick Barbarossa's Italian campaigns may have served Maximilian's effort to justify his actions and gain support in his military involvement in the wars abroad. In May 1507, Maximilian compared himself to Barbarossa in his famous speech in Constance, as he urged the Imperial estates to vote in favor of awarding him an army of 30,000 men. This army would serve as a means of overpowering the Venetians, enabling for advancements to Rome.³⁰⁹ The emperor proclaimed:

No king has ever done so much for the Empire as I have. Only Frederick Barbarossa can compare. There is a man, whom I shall not name, who until now hindered me from taking the road to Rome to regain Milan and to receive the Imperial crown. The French poisoned my son. Now it is the Empire's task to ward off the French attacks. I will not stint to earn the gratitude of the Empire and the German Nation for all time.³¹⁰

³⁰⁷ Hermann Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.*, 182.

³⁰⁸ Hermann Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.*, 182.

³⁰⁹ Thomas A. Brady Jr., *German Histories in the Age of Reformation: 1400-1650*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 122.

³¹⁰ Trans. Brady, *German Histories in the Age of Reformation*, 122., Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.*, 286.

In this case, Maximilian's speech won the Diet's vote to provide him his wish. Clearly, historical legacy could inspire emotional connection and a patriotic sense of purpose. However, this was not the only angle of the legendary emperor's legacy that Maximilian's media projects promoted.

The reconstructed memories of Barbarossa's conflicts with Pope Alexander III, like the prophecy of the Last World Emperor, could be repositioned to parallel Maximilian's aims in the face of his own problems with his papal contemporaries. As I discussed in my previous chapter, this narrative reflected a historiographical tradition shaped by ecclesiastical and Venetian hands in the previous centuries. The image of Barbarossa that this narrative typically cultivated throughout the fifteenth century was by no means pro-imperial. However, perhaps aligning with the sentiments of humanists such as Conrad Celtis or Heinrich Bebel, who saw value in reclaiming their history from the Italians, such as Tacitus' *Germania*, and shaping it in their own image, the tale of Barbarossa's encounter was reinterpreted in a pro-imperial light. The backdrop the papacy's perceived betrayal of the Empire during the Italian Wars paired with rising accusations concerning corruption of the Church and Rome may have provided enough context for such an interpretation to quite clear.

Stadtwald has proposed that during the reign of Maximilian, humanists either in support or under the patronage of the emperor interpreted the legend of Alexander III trampling Barbarossa at the Peace of Venice (1177) as a case of papal tyranny in light of the contemporary clashes between pope and the emperor.³¹¹ Stadtwald suggests that Johannes Nauclerus *Memorabiles Seculorum Omnium ac Gentium* (The Memorable Deeds of all the Ages, 1516), commissioned by Maximilian himself, was also interpreted within the context of the papal-imperial conflict

³¹¹ Kurt Stadtwald, "Pope Alexander III's Humiliation of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa as an Episode of Sixteenth-Century German History," *Sixteenth Century Journal XXIII*, no. 4 (1992): 755.

amidst the Italian Wars, especially considering that it was written in the aftermath of what was considered by Maximilian as Pope Julius II's betrayal.³¹² This particularly applies to its representation of the historiographical narrative concerning the conflict between Barbarossa and Alexander. The narrative may have spoken to not only Maximilian's but the Holy Roman Empire's sense of victimhood and sense of justice. Like the overwhelming majority of historical narratives of the conflict by this time which rooted back to Italian tradition, Alexander steps upon Barbarossa's neck, to which the emperor replies: “non tibi, inquit, sed Petro, cui successor es, pareo,” ([I am not obedient] to you, but Peter, whose successor you are). Naclerus thus presents Barbarossa as a non-complicit figure who actively speaks against the pope's assertion of dominance, a feature that is not present in the scene's original appearance in *Gesta imperatorum et Pontificum*. Alexander's subsequent response to Barbarossa, “et mihi & Petro,” on the one hand reinforces the impression of his corruption, but at the same time it also reflects his ability reassert his authority over the emperor; reconciliation and a return to ritualized traditions ensues. As noted by Stadtwald, *Seculorum Omnium ac Genitum* was in fact an extensive world chronicle written at the request of Maximilian. It was produced with the intention of presenting history in a pro-Habsburg, pro-imperial light. Nevertheless, the tale was ultimately one of humiliation and victimhood for Barbarossa despite his challenges to papal authority.

Overall, the spheres of history and prophecy often overlapped, and could both be tied directly back to the current emperor in power. On the one hand, the deeds of legendary figures of the past, such as Barbarossa, could legitimize Maximilian's political approaches through his continuation of their appealing legacy. On the other hand, prophecy validated these approaches through its promises and predetermination. While the rise of the Last World Emperor prophecy

³¹² Stadtwald, "Pope Alexander III's Humiliation of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa," 759-760.

had already begun centuries earlier, Maximilian's reign reflected the true potential of the printing press in revolutionizing printed prophecy. I would also speculate that the association which Maximilian sought to bring between him and the prophecy as well as the narrative of Barbarossa could have foreshadowed the merging of these two entities at the end of his reign in 1519.

CHAPTER V

6 “Which emperor shall hang his shield there?” Honor, Oaths, and the Unfinished Business of the Last World Emperor

The *True History* is the oldest known text to position Frederick I Barbarossa within the prophecy of the Last World Emperor. However, there is a possibility that at one point, long before the sixteenth-century, Barbarossa may have been considered as a potential candidate to become the Last World Emperor. In fact, the historical figure of Barbarossa was actually the first emperor to ever go on crusade.³¹³ Furthermore, Hannes Möhring suggests that the emperor's participation in the crusade likely evoked a far stronger emotional response to the prophecy of the Last World Emperor than the previous two crusades.³¹⁴ Möhring thus concludes that this would have also made Barbarossa's sudden death prior to even reaching the Holy Land particularly depressing for his contemporaries.³¹⁵ Based on the surviving records contemporary to the time of his death, there is nothing to suggest that his sudden disappearance led people to question if he would one day return. A key question in this chapter will be: how does the way the prophetic framework of the Last World Emperor is integrated into the historical narrative of Frederick Barbarossa impact how history is understood and remembered?

I will argue that through the integration of the prophetic framework into the narrative of Frederick Barbarossa the text subverts the traditionally accepted sequence of historical events in such a way that makes the prophecy inseparable from papal-imperial conflict. The placement of Barbarossa as a Last World Emperor figure validates a generally pro-imperial perspective of the conflict while antagonizing papal or ecclesiastical ones. By emulating qualities comparable to the

³¹³ Hannes Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung*, (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000), 173.

³¹⁴ Hannes Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit* 174.

³¹⁵ Hannes Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit* 174.

prophetic concept of the "priest-king", the text remembers Barbarossa as an equally pious and committed Christian as he is a honorable military leader, which in turn draws an incredibly stark contrast to Alexander who appears an almost Antichrist-like figure. This may have had the effect of further bolstering the legacy of Barbarossa and foster a degree of imperial pride as a divinely appointed power. Alterations to the traditional narrative structure of the history and inclusion of the prophecy appear to contribute to the merging of Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II, who had been the only Frederick up until this point to dominate the Last World Emperor prophecy.³¹⁶

However, perhaps even more importantly I would also like to argue that the text's positioning of Barbarossa as Last World Emperor does not completely save his legacy from being associated with a degree of disappointment and criticism. The actions of Barbarossa are built up in such a way that it likely conjured an expectation of him fulfilling the prophecy. By the second half of the narrative, the role of Last World Emperor as chastiser and reformer of the Church appears to be represented in his oath to take vengeance on the pope. This oath of vengeance is an entirely new element to the narrative and prophecy significantly alters the way in which the text can be interpreted, particularly when it comes to the *Fußtritt Legende*.

I will devote a subsection of this chapter to the discussion of how the interplay between Barbarossa's oath of vengeance and his level of agency reshape the implications of the *Fußtritt Legende*. Meanwhile this section shall also situate where the *True History's* adaptation of the legend fits amongst contemporary or near contemporary literature concerning the legend or similar themes, such as the ceremony of the emperor kissing the pope's foot. I shall assert that Barbarossa's

³¹⁶ For further reading see: Matthias Kaup, "Antichrist und Endkaiser: Friedrich II. in der eschatologischen Propaganda des 13. Jahrhunderts," in: *Apokalypse oder goldenes Zeitalter? Zeitenwenden aus historischer Sicht*, ed. by Walter Koller (Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1999), p. 105-124.

oath of vengeance is very clearly highlighted within this text, causing it to be quite evident when the emperor does not follow through. This oath, like nearly all aspects of the prophecy introduced into the narrative, is invented. The introduction of Barbarossa's oaths of vengeance recontextualizes the *Fußtritt Legende* as the obstruction that caused the prophecy to be left unfulfilled by the end of the narrative. It also reflects critically on Barbarossa's memory, as he was typically remembered for placing a great emphasis on honor, which in medieval society was also closely linked to oath-keeping. This ego wound to Barbarossa's memory seems to be at least partially remedied through the closing prophecy that he will one day return to punish the clergy. However, the narrator creates a distance between themselves and the prophecy in this moment by stating that it something foretold by the peasants and dark sorcerers.

I will also explore the aspects of the *True History's* adaptation of prophecy that make it unique from others, and assess whether or not this may have been intentional. This includes the text's combination of typically conflicting representations of the prophecy (including a portrayal of a true Last World Emperor and a false one); the failure of the emperor to complete the prophecy following his initial disappearance; the fact that the Last World Emperor disappears two times rather once; a duplication of the motif of the emperor's shield hung upon the dry tree which typically is found in the Sibyllen-Weissagung tradition of the Frederick prophecy, where here one shield is linked to Barbarossa and the other to another emperor who is only known to God; the presence of sultans continuously guarding the dry tree where the emperor's shield hangs.

I shall argue that these prophetic abnormalities were likely all intentional, and that most, if not all served some function within the narrative. Secondly, I argue that the *True History* may have wished to clarify that if the emperor was to return, as foretold by the prophecy, he would not return as Barbarossa himself, but as another unnamed emperor in the spirit of Barbarossa. I believe that

open-ended nature of the prophecy is ambiguous, that it gives an impression of being torn between hope and suspicion as to whether or not a future emperor will actually fulfill the prophecy any time soon. Lastly, I will devote a section of this chapter to understanding how Barbarossa and the prophecy might have been interpreted within the aftermath or tail end of Maximilian's reign. I would like to propose that when observed from this angle, Barbarossa could potentially be interpreted as an allegory to Maximilian himself.

6.1 Positioning of Barbarossa as Last World Emperor

From the beginning of the *True History*, prophecy and papal-imperial conflict are deeply intertwined. The *True History* does not shy away from introducing the conflict of the schismatic papal election from its first folio, in which Barbarossa is described as having supported the antipope as opposed to Alexander.³¹⁷ When Barbarossa advances with an army ready to invade Rome, Barbarossa's confessor Bishop Hartmann of Brixen persuades the emperor to go on crusade instead. At this point in the narrative, it already becomes clear that the narrative at hand diverts away from twelfth-century sources, but perhaps more importantly, the historiographical tradition(s) which provide the structural groundwork for the *True History*. As previously mentioned, the real Frederick Barbarossa went on crusade. However, his involvement in the crusade did not occur until over a decade his excommunication and conflicts with Alexander III had officially ended, and several years after Alexander's own death in 1181. Ecclesiastical historians, surely writing to their own interests, went as far as to claim that Barbarossa pledged to go on crusade in Venice (1177) as a form of atonement for his sins.³¹⁸ Such an assertion did not

³¹⁷ Interestingly, the text offers no justification for the emperor's support of the anti-pope against Alexander, and the only explanation for his outrage thereafter is the general lack of support he receives in his opposition to Alexander.

³¹⁸ Klaus Schreiner, *Rituale, Zeichen, Bilder: Formen und Funktionen symbolischer Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, 2011), 112.

reflect reality. Yet, as underscored by John B. Freed, he also did not participate in the Third Crusade because of a sense of duty to Christendom as the Holy Roman Emperor, but rather because he was one among many to have been summoned by the pope.³¹⁹

The *True History's* insertion of Barbarossa's participation in the crusade amidst his two-sided conflict with Alexander sets it apart from previous iterations of the historical narrative.³²⁰ By placing this event shortly after the schismatic election of Pope Alexander, the emperor is presented as making the *choice* to go on crusade, *instead* of invading Rome. While this decision is made under the guidance of Bishop Hartmann, there is nothing to suggest that the emperor did not have any agency in the decision. Furthermore, Barbarossa's Christian nature is quickly established by setting aside his anger towards the papacy and papal supporters, despite his own excommunication. Thus Frederick Barbarossa takes his first step towards becoming the Last World Emperor, and yet another, when the imperial army proves to be triumphant in liberating Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre.

The portrayal of Barbarossa's own crusade as victorious may have contributed to the merging of the two Fredericks, Frederick I (Barbarossa) and his grandson Frederick II (who dominated the Last World Emperor Prophecy by this time, alongside Charlemagne). This is because Frederick II had actually who followed his grandfather's footsteps by also going on crusade. Unlike Barbarossa, however, he succeeded in his conquest of Jerusalem, although this

³¹⁹ John B. Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa: the prince and the myth*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 517.

³²⁰ Arnold von Harff's travelogue (overview provided in third chapter) similarly diverges from the Venetian tradition by indicating that Barbarossa travels to the Holy Land, however he ignores Barbarossa's conflict with Alexander prior to his voyage, and indicates that Barbarossa intended spy undercover in order to plan for a future crusade. In von Harff's version he never even begins to lead the crusade before his captured at the pope's orders. Considering the great deal of similarities between this text and the travelogue, I believe there is a high possibility that the *True History* may have drawn inspiration from von Harff. Nevertheless, it very clear that the author(s) behind the *True History* also took a great deal of creative license and quite distinct in its own right.

was achieved through diplomacy as opposed to violence.³²¹ This merging of the two figures' histories is not found in a comparable source like von Harff's travelogue, and is dependent on the victory of the crusade.

Another key element to the Last World Emperor prophecy was that he would completely vanish, believed to be dead for many years, prior to his eventual return to rule. With the exception of von Harff's travelogue, there were no prior reports or narratives (that I am aware of) to suggest a Frederick Barbarossa vanished prolonged period of time. In the *True History*, the event of Barbarossa's alleged drowning is presented as a misunderstanding which occurs in the middle of the narrative. This drastic turn from his traditional historical representation may have also brought an air of mystique to Barbarossa's legacy and diminished the tragedy and disappointment associated with his sudden death. When the emperor and his chaplain are bathing in the river, they are captured by the sultan's men.³²² (This occurs after Pope Alexander betrays details about the emperor's whereabouts to Saladin upon hearing the news of the imperial victories in the Holy Land). The text explicitly indicates imperial army and then the entire Holy Roman Empire is led to believe that he drowned in a river.³²³ The text also establishes that the emperor has essentially vanished from the whole of Christendom throughout the year of his captivity: "Now Emperor

³²¹ Len Scales, "Religion and the Medieval Western Empire (CE 919-1519)", in *Empires and Gods: The Role of Religions in Imperial History*, ed. Jörg Rüpke, Michal Biran and Yuri Pines, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2024) 271.

I would like to add that while the liberation of Jerusalem in the *True History* is presented as a violent battle, Barbarossa's peace discussions with Saladin during his captivity could arguably also be seen as a parallel to the diplomacy of Frederick II in the crusade. For further reading see: Olaf. B. Rader, "Kaiser Friedrich II. und Jerusalem", in *Kaiser Friedrich II. (1194-1250). Welt und Kultur des Mittelmeerraums. Begleitband zur Sonderausstellung im Landesmuseum für Natur und Mensch, Oldenburg*, eds. Mamoun Fansa and Karen Ermente (Mainz: Von Zabern, 2008), 104-111.

³²² The inclusion of Barbarossa's chaplain in his captivity seems to be an entirely new feature, which is also not present in Arnold von Harff's travelogue.

³²³ This detail is not included, in for example Arnold von Harff's travelogue, nor (to my knowledge) any other text before the *True History*.

Frederick and his chaplain lay there hidden from all Christians, imprisoned by the king sultan in Babylon."³²⁴

A case can be made that signs of Barbarossa's potential to take on the role of a priest-king are exhibited during his time in Saladin's captivity alongside his chaplain. The concept of the priest-king is an element featured in some variations of the prophecy of the Last World Emperor, most notably the *Reformatio Sigismundi* (ca. 1439), which prophesized that a priest-king by the name of *Friedrich* (Frederick) would be the one to accomplish total reform across the Empire and the Church.³²⁵ I believe an argument can be made because throughout the passages devoted to the emperor and chaplain's captivity, the two perform proper worship, including the Reverend Sacrament, or Holy Communion, and praying daily and nightly "as though they were clerics."³²⁶ While Barbarossa is presented as being somewhat dependent on his chaplain to perform the Reverend Sacrament, the text's reference to both the chaplain and the emperor as taking on a likeness to clerics should not be overlooked. As Hermann Wiesflecker suggests, this concept of the priest-king may have been one of Emperor Maximilian's inspirations in 1511 to consider his own candidacy for pope.³²⁷

According to the *Reformatio*, the conversion of infidels would be accomplished peacefully through the model of "simple christians," who would also play an integral in the reformation of Christianity.³²⁸ It is the commitment of the emperor and his chaplain to daily prayer and religious practices, acts that reflect the genuine piety of the emperor and his chaplain, that catches the

³²⁴ "Nun lag kayfer Friderich vñ fein Caplan dort allen chriften verporgen gefangē/ bey dem künig Soldan zū Babiloni." *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.5r.2-4.

³²⁵ Marco Giardini, "Esse redimendum sepulchrum dominicum per Fridricum imperatorem," 150.

³²⁶ ""den kayfer vnd feinen Caplā haimlich het fand dz fie baid alltag ire Hores petteten/als werē fie religiosen." *Ein True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.5r.9-10.

³²⁷ Hermann Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches*, (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik Wien, 1991) 257.

³²⁸ Giardini, "Esse redimendum sepulchrum dominicum per Fridricum imperatorem," 150.

attention of Saladin and moves him to compassion. By describing Saladin as "ain verlaugneten Crist," an apostate Christian, the *True History* presents the sultan as a worthy judge of Christian character and is perhaps considered as more susceptible towards Christian influence.³²⁹ However, this detail might be more reflective of the positive reception of Saladin in Western literature.³³⁰

Barbarossa's show of piety is thus contrasted to the apparent irreligiosity of the pope who has betrayed the emperor to die. This does not cause the sultan and all 'infidels' to suddenly convert to Christianity, but it does win the respect of the sultan, and ultimately results in the emperor's release from captivity and a life long peace agreement between Barbarossa and Saladin.³³¹ Saladin even requests that while the chaplain remains in captivity until the emperor retrieves his ransom, the chaplain should continue to perform to the "hochwirdigen Sacrement," for the sake of upholding the peace.³³² Barbarossa's relationship with Saladin by the end of his captivity could be interpreted as functioning within the narrative of the Last World Emperor as it brings the world closer to becoming a kingdom of peace and justice. Upon his release from captivity, Barbarossa returns to *das Teutsch Land* (the German lands). Mirroring the prophecy of the Last World Emperor, the emperor reveals himself to be alive and unites his empire under his rulership after the *Reich* has undergone a period of chaos and disorder.

³²⁹ This could also have implications for the way in which the text views Muslims, that is, as Christians who lost their way from the faith.

³³⁰ See: Hannes Möhring, "Saladin, der edle Heide: Mythisierung und Realität," *Konfrontation der Kulturen? Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer*, ed. Heinz Gaube, Bernd Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2005) p. 160-175; Carole Hillenbrand, "10 The Evolution of the Saladin Legend in the West". *Islam and the Crusades: Collected Essays*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), 149-164.

³³¹ ""bey verpfendung der gnadē vnser götter/auch bey eren glimpf vñ trewen/das vnser kainer den anndern mit kainer kriegs übung anfertigen wolt / frid vnser baiden lebtag gegen ein ander für vns felbs vñ vnser vnderthanē getreulich haltñ." *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.5v.17-20.

³³² "wolt er Soldan/das der Capellā belib mitfāmbt der confecriertē Hostia /wañ er Soldan het oft haimlich gefehē die eer vnd wurde/die der kayser vnd fein Capellan dem hochwirdigen Sacrament gethon hetten/Demnach begeret er nit an8s/ doch das der Capellan in abwesen des Kayfers/ dem Sacramēt alle eer thet wie vor," *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.6r.20-25.

In brief, Barbarossa wins the Holy Sepulchre, vanishes from his Empire, establishes a life-long peace with sultan, returns and unites the Empire under his rule. The building action of the narrative appears to reinforce an expectation that Frederick Barbarossa shall fulfill the prophecy of the Last World Emperor. At this point in the prophecy, one of the upcoming steps would be to reform or chastise the Church. As it has been made quite evident, the framework of the prophecy very deeply integrated into the papal-imperial conflict within the *True History* narrative. Thus, Barbarossa's meditations and oaths aimed at rectifying the injustices of Pope Alexander (which is also an entirely new element to this historiographical tradition) may have come across as the *True History*'s interpretation of what this reform or chastisement implied.

6.2 Oaths and Vengeance

From the time of his captivity, Barbarossa begins to meditate on his will to enact his justice.³³³ When Barbarossa is finally released from his captivity, he first travels to Brixen, and thereafter travels to Nuremberg where he holds a very large *Reichstag*, or Imperial Diet. There he reveals everything, including Saladin's honorable character and actions and Pope Alexander's betrayal. Those present are understandably shocked:

Everyone was astonished, and felt a great disdain for Pope Alexander. They swore [an oath] and promised the Emperor to avenge such betrayal. They gathered themselves for Rome and no one who was summoned resisted their duties.³³⁴

³³³ "Nun lag kayfer Friderich vñ fein Caplan dort allen chriften verporgen gefangē/ bey dem künig Soldan zů Babiloni/hetten groß verlangē in teutscheland/ aber des gar kain hoffnung/gedachten offt wo in das glück zů Landt hulff wolt der kayfer sich an feinem verträter Babst Alexäder rechnen." *True History*, (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.5r.2-7.

In the Cologne print of the *True History* released in the following year by Arnd von Aich, the phrase "wo in das glück zů Landt hulff" is changed to "wo in got zů landt hulff," perhaps further highlighting the weight of divine will in the emperor's vengeance. See: *Ein schone warhafftige history von Kayser Fryderich...* (Cologne: Sant Lupus Press, 1520) fol.6v.

³³⁴ "verwundert sich menigklich/vñ hetten ainen großen vnluft uber den Babst Alexander/ schwüren vñ verhiessen dē Kayfer folche verräterey zůrechen/Also samlet vnnd berufft der kayser gen Trient ain groß hör / zoch durch Welsche lande das im nyemant widerstandt thet für Rom." *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.6v.31-35.

The passage reflects the unanimous sworn agreement to enact justice upon the Pope; the members of the Empire appear to be united by this cause. This is directly followed by a chapter entitled "How Emperor Frederick marched for Rome with many people and swore by his honor that he would exact vengeance on Pope Alexander who betrayed him to the Sultan King."³³⁵ This once again reinforces the expectation that Barbarossa will in fact take his vengeance on the pope. His pursuit of Alexander is not only justified but it is expected and necessary to fulfill his promise. The papal-imperial conflict and the emperor's vengeance is presented as more than just a personal matter, but one which directly linked to the *Reich*, as exemplified by outcomes of the pope's betrayal.

When the imperial army arrives in Venice, the swearing of oaths do not cease. When the narrative shifts to Venice, it initially follows along the typical pattern found in previous iterations produced in Venice as well as within the Holy Roman Empire: upon Barbarossa's arrival in Venice with his army and fictional son Otto, he returns to the Empire. When Barbarossa returns to Venice, he discovers that Otto has been tricked, captured, and held hostage by the Venetians. This causes Frederick Barbarossa to become so enraged that he once again swears an oath that he would "not leave Venice before he made a horse stable out of Saint Mark's Church, place his horses inside it, and ploughed Saint Mark's Square and sowed grain in it."³³⁶ This strange request is very clearly rooted in the Venetian legend passed down through oral tradition and later transcribed into the writings of numerous foreign pilgrims, including that of Arnold von Harff, to identify the origins

³³⁵ "Wie Kayser Friderich für Rom zoch mit vil volcks vnd schwür bey seinen Ern er wolt sich rechen an dem Babst Alexander der in gegē dem König Soldan verraten her," *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.6.v. - fol.7.r.

³³⁶ "Alfo rūet der kayser nit / kam felbs wider für Venedig / vil grymiger dañ vor/vnd ward fo feer erzürnet /das er schwür ainen ayde / das er von Venedig nit wolt abzyehen /er het dañ vor auß fant Marx kirchen ainen Roßftall gemacht vñ feine Roß darein gestellt / vnd fant Marx platz vmgeackert vnd korn darein gefat." *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.7r.27-32.

of the four gilded horse statues placed in front of Saint Mark's Basilica.³³⁷ It does not appear at all in works such as Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik* (1493), or Johannes Nauclerus' *Memorabiles Seculorum Omnium ac Gentium* (1516), nor does it appear in any known Venetian chronicles. Here, Barbarossa's oath to make a stable out of Saint Mark's Church is presented within an entirely new context, particularly when compared to the example Arnold von Harff.

Firstly, the placement of the oath in the *True History*'s narrative contrasts that of von Harff; in von Harff's travelogue the emperor swears the oath to make a stable out of St. Mark's for his horse after the Venetians refuse Barbarossa's initial demands for them to deliver the pope to him, whereas in the *True History*, Barbarossa swears this oath upon learning that Otto has been captured. I believe this distinction is actually quite significant because it speaks to a differentiation of agency which is granted to Barbarossa by the text at this point in the plot. Secondly, the introduction of other oaths into the narrative (those which concern enacting vengeance upon the Pope) might have completely reframed the way in which the oaths concerning the stables are seen. Furthermore, I would argue that now when Barbarossa's oath of the stable and horses is fulfilled, it has the effect of drawing more attention to Barbarossa's eventual failure to fulfill his other arguably more rational oath of vengeance against the pope. I shall further elaborate on these two points in the subsection below.

6.3 The Issue of Agency

Barbarossa in many ways exemplifies the ideal central ruler within the presented narrative. When he is betrayed by Alexander, he takes matters into his own hands by resuming advancing once again towards Rome in pursuit of the pope. In other iterations of the history, including those of

³³⁷ See: Marilyn Perry, "Saint Mark's Trophies: Legend, Superstition, and Archaeology in Renaissance Venice," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977): 27-49.

which were produced by imperial and German speaking chroniclers, this is the point in which Frederick Barbarossa resigns himself completely. He loses essentially all of his agency in negotiations with Venetians and his demands for them to hand over the Pope completely cease altogether. At this point peace agreements quickly ensue, but Barbarossa is at the mercy or command of either the Pope or the Venetians. This is certainly the case in Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik* and Arnold von Harff's travelogue. In Schedel's *Weltchronik* the emperor simply acts according to the pope's command:

But Sebastian the Venetian doge stood up against him and defeated him [Otto], taking him prisoner and leading him to Venice. Thus the peace was made between the pope and emperor: and the next day the same peace was accepted by the emperor under the terms that he would return all possessions belonging to the church. The pope commanded the emperor to appear humbly before the entrance of Saint Mark's church, that he should lie down on the ground and ask for an indulgence and for forgiveness. Then the pope stepped on the neck of the emperor and said, It is written: you shall walk upon the snake and the basilisk, and you shall tread upon the lion and dragon. Then spoke the emperor, I am not obedient to you but to Peter, whose descendant you are.³³⁸

Meanwhile in Arnold von Harff's travel itinerary, the capture of Otto enables the Venetians to dictate the terms of the negotiations of the peace. The text indicates that Barbarossa was mistrustful of the Venetians after their capture of Otto, but that:

he was forced to make terms with them and to give them what they demanded. The terms were that the Emperor should come to Venice and kneel down in St. Mark's church before the Pope, and suffer the Pope to put his foot on his neck. They would then deliver his son to him again. Item this happened. The Pope put his foot on the

³³⁸ "Aber Sebastian 8 venedisch hertzog stellet sich gegen ime zu weer vnd vberwunde ine gefangen gein Venedig fñerende. also wardt zwischen dem babst vnd kaiser ein frid gemacht: vñ derselb frid des andern tags darnach von dem kaiser also angenommen das er alles das der kirchen zugehñret ir volgen laßen solt. vnd der babst gepote dem kaiser of feinlich vnder sant Marxen kirchen thñr das er sich auff die erden strecken vnd ablas vnd vergebung bitten solt do trate der babst dem kaiser auff seinen hals vnd sprach. Es steet geschriben. Ob der schlangen vnd ob den basilisk wird stu wandern vnd treten den leoben vnd dracken. do sprach der kaiser. Ich bin nit dir sunder Petro des nachkomen du bist gehorsam." Hartmann Schedel, *Weltchronik*, (Nuremberg: Anthonien Koberger, 1493) 202v.

Emperor's shoulder, the Emperor saying *non tibi sed Petro*, not to your honour, but St. Peter's.³³⁹

Just as Schedel's *Weltchronik*, von Harff's version Barbarossa also has no agency over the peace negotiations between him and the Venetians or the pope. According to von Harff the Venetians built the four gilded horses in front of Saint Mark's, "out of respect for him and by reason of his oath," stating that the "great oath which the Emperor had sworn by his red beard," was something that "could never be undone."³⁴⁰ In other words, in von Harff's account, Barbarossa is tied to his oath for eternity, but it is only fulfilled because the Venetians wish to respect it. If oaths in the *True History* are treated with a similar mentality to that of von Harff's itinerary, or simply the chivalric culture for much of the Middle Ages, one might presume that none of the emperor's oaths can be undone. Thus, when Barbarossa swears an oath to make a stable out of Saint Mark's Church *after* hearing of his son's capture, this might be indicative of the power he still maintains over his actions. This is a subjective interpretation and can never be fully proven, but I would argue that this interpretation is supported by the actions which follow directly after the oath is sworn:

[he] attacked the Venetians with such severity, that they could find no respite. And so they were happy to make peace and were satisfied with money. But the emperor scorned all; he wished to uphold his oath. Thereafter the Pope and the Venetians committed themselves to both the Italian dukes and margraves and Bishop Hartmann, who negotiated with the lands for a long time. And because the emperor

³³⁹ "item doe der keyser dit vernam was he mystroschtich, moyst he eyn soyne mit inne an gayn wie sij wolden, waert aber die soyne gemaicht, dat he bynen Venedich komen suyld in sijnt Marx kirche kneende vur den pays in laissen den pays myt eynem voyss off sijnen hals treden, soe suylden sij ime sijnen son weder leueren. item dyt geschach. der pays tradt dem keyser off sijne scholder. doe spraich der keyser: non tibi, sed Petro, nyet dir dan sijnt Peter zo eren." Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff von Cöln durch Italien, Syrien, Aegypten, Arabien, Aethiopien, Nubien, Palästina, die Türkei, Frankreich, und Spanien, wie er sie in den Jahre 1496 bis 1499 vollendet, beschrieben und durch Zeichnungen erläutert hat*, ed. Eberhard von Groote, (Cologne: J.M. Heberle, H. Lempertz, 1860), 44. English translation: Letts, in Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage*, 54.

³⁴⁰ Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage*, trans. Letts, 54., "vmb des groysen swoirs wyll den he geschwoeren hadde bij sijnem roden barde der nye wendich was woerden," Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters*, ed. von Groote, 44.

wanted to uphold his oath, the Venetians consented that the emperor's oath should be realized.³⁴¹

Furthermore, the text is stylized in such a way that presents the Venetians as being almost at the mercy of Barbarossa. He is presented in a position to be able to scorn all and continue to make demands. They do not honor Barbarossa's oath because they respect him, but because he wills it so. The negotiations are carried out between the Pope, Venetians, Italian dukes, margraves, and Bishop Hartmann. This might signify that Barbarossa also holds some negotiating power, in contrast to works such as that of Schedel or von Harff, because as previously mentioned, Bishop Hartmann is presented as Barbarossa's confessor and a close ally whom the emperor can trust. For example, before setting out for the Holy Land, the emperor "took solace in Bishop Hartmann, who also knew how to persuade King Philip so that he would come to his aid with particularly great power."³⁴² Additionally, Bishop Hartmann is indicated as the first person the emperor stays with upon his return to the empire from his year long captivity, and it implied that he has been made aware of the pope's betrayal. However, Hartmann advises Barbarossa to go before the pope and ask for an indulgence for the "good of his soul" ("seiner seel zu gut").³⁴³ This of course, overlooks the fact that before he "swore by his honor that he would exact vengeance on Pope Alexander who betrayed him to the Sultan King."³⁴⁴ And as member of the clergy, Hartmann should be in no way

³⁴¹ ""vñ griff die Venediger mit folchem ernst an /das sie sich vor im nit zûfristen westen / also hetten sie gern frid gemacht vnd mit gelt gestillt / das aber der kayser alles verachtet / er woltye seinem schwûr halten/darnach ûbten sich der Babst vñ die Venediger/bey den Welfchen Hertzogen vnd Marggraffen vñ Bischoff Hartman/ die unterteydidten lang / Vnd dieweil ye der kayser in seinem schwûr wolt verharren / willigeten die Venediger / das des kayfers schwûr folt furgang haben." *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fols.7r.32-v.3

³⁴² " Auch so vtrôstet in Bischoff Hartman / er west König Phililippen auch zûbewegen / das er mit befunder hôres kraft im zuhilff zug," *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fols.1v.36.-2r.2

In the *True History*, Alexander takes refuge with King Philip of France following the schismatic papal election. It is also there that Alexander holds an assembly in which he excommunicates Barbarossa and the antipope. Philip is described as having been always favorable to Pope Alexander. See: *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.1.v.

³⁴³ *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.7v.22

³⁴⁴ "Wie Kayser Friderich für Rom zoch mit vil volcks vnd schwûr bey seinen Ern er wolt sich rechen an dem Babst Alexander der in gegē dem König Soldan verraten her," *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.6.v. - fol.7.r.

unfamiliar with the importance of oaths.³⁴⁵ It would seem almost counterintuitive, if it were not for a question of salvation, to firmly uphold one oath, and not the other, which has been sworn upon his own honor, and also sworn by many men. Barbarossa's decision to follow Hartmann's counsel causes him to contradict his values and past actions; by prostrating himself before Alexander and asking for an indulgence, Barbarossa foregoes the fulfillment of his oath of vengeance. To make matters worse, when Barbarossa lays before the Pope, he is not met with the welcoming arms of a father, but the swift and heavy foot of an oppressive overlord:

This emperor was persuaded by Saint Hartmann the Bishop of Brixen to seek an indulgence from the pope for the good of his soul. Thus the emperor humbled himself and laid himself beneath the foot of the pope. Then the pope stepped on the neck of the emperor and said, It is written: you shall walk upon the snake and upon the basilisk, and tread upon the lion and dragon. Then spoke the emperor, I am not obedient to you but to Peter, whose descendant you are.³⁴⁶

Given Alexander's previous betrayal of Barbarossa, the corruptive use of Alexander's recitation of Psalm 91:13 may have seemed particularly apparent to a reader. Certainly, it is evident that Pope Alexander is illustrated as a tyrannical force. But what of Barbarossa? Barbarossa's response, "I am not obedient to you but to Peter, whose descendant you are," (Ich bin nit dir sonder

³⁴⁵ The clergy like the medieval lay aristocracy were very conscious of the importance of oaths, although for them, oaths of obedience to their superiors within the Church hierarchy were more central to their lives.

James Titterton, *Deception in Medieval Warfare: Trickery and Cunning in the Central Middle Ages*, (Boydell & Brewer, Boydell Press, 2022) 279.

³⁴⁶ "Difer kayfer ward beredt von fant Hartman des Brixifchen Biſchoff/das er ablas von dem Babſt begeret feiner feel zů gůt /Alfo demütiget ſich der kayfer /vnd leget ſich vnter die füß des Babſts/do trat der Babſt dem kayſer auff ſeinem hals vñ ſprach /Es ſtet geſchriben / Ob der ſchlangen vnd ob dem Bafilifckhen wierft du wandern / vñ treten den Leon vnd Trakhen. Do ſprach der kayfer/Ich bin nit dir ſonder petro / des nachkhomen du biſt gehorſam." *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.7v.20-27.

This is the first time in which Hartmann is referred to as a saint within the *True History*, and I would suggest that there is some possibility that it could be read with an air of sarcasm, considering the outcome of the situation. This is not to say that Hartmann wouldn't have been considered as a saint, as his sainthood, as well as his mutually positive relations with both Frederick Barbarossa and Alexander III, aligns with historical figure of Bishop Hartmann of Brixen (r.1140-1164). However, I would contend that the praise of Hartmann as a saint is contrasted by the unfair results of his counsel.

See: John B. Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa: the prince and the myth*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 37.

petro / des nachkhomen du bist gehorsain) verbally challenges Alexander's proclaimed authority. However, considering his firmness with respect to upholding his other oaths, paired with the expectation that he will rectify the wrongs of the Pope (the only reason why he and his son were in Venice in the first place), this dramatic encounter could still seem somewhat anti-climatic. Perhaps the Emperor is not portrayed as obedient to the Pope, but he is easily persuaded by his Bishop. Nevertheless, it is still seemingly his own decision; Barbarossa has already shown in his reaction to the Venetians proposal of a monetary settlement that he is capable of rejection. As specified by Klaus Schreiner, Frederick Barbarossa only agrees to make peace with Alexander, kiss his feet, and allow the "immeasurably proud clergyman" to step on his neck for the salvation of his soul.³⁴⁷ It is almost as though Considering the outcome, it still begs the question as to whether or not the emperor was correct for making this decision. By the end of the *True History* there is no certain answer.

6.4 The Prophecy Continues...

At first blush, it appears that the *True History* enforces an impression that the momentous encounter between pope and emperor somehow really did abruptly end in a positive resolution; the text continues on to relate that, "the Pope returned to Rome for the third time and held a council where he ordered many things to the common benefit of the Church. He died in the twenty-first year of his papacy."³⁴⁸ However, it is not entirely evident whether or not the "common benefit of the Church" serves the common benefit of the Holy Roman Empire, or if it is truly meant as genuine praise. Considering that the pope passes away by the end of the *True History*, it would

³⁴⁷ Klaus Schreiner, "Friedrich Barbarossa -Herr der Welt," in *Die Zeit der Staufer. Band V Supplement: Vorträge und Forschungen*, (Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart, 1979), 530.

³⁴⁸ "vnd der Babſt kam zů dem dritten mal gen Rom /vnd hielt ain Concili /vnd ordnet vil zů gemainem nutz der kirchen /ftarb im ainundzwaintzigſten jar ſeines Babſthums." *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.7v.28-31.

also seem that the emperor's oath of vengeance no longer stands as a possibility. Prior to drawing the narrative to an official close, the *True History* shares sparse biographic details about the life of Frederick Barbarossa, including his marriage and divorce to the margravine of Doburg, his marriage to Beatrix of Burgundy, and his manner of living and ruling.³⁴⁹ Paralleling the closing sentence of Schedel's passage devoted to Barbarossa in his *Weltchronik*, the *True History* states that aside from being persecuted by the Church, Barbarossa was famous in many things, and that after Charlemagne, no one in history had done more.³⁵⁰ However, rather than eventually passing away, here the emperor vanishes:

The peasants and practitioners of the dark arts say that he is still living in a hollow mountain, that he shall return once again and punish the clergy; his shield still hangs upon the dry tree, a tree which all sultans still guard, as they have guarded and will continue to guard. Which emperor shall hang his shield there, God only knows.³⁵¹

Through this closing prophecy, seemingly affirms that the emperor's oaths have not been forgotten, now understood as simply a promise to punish the clergy. The final passage marks a break from the rest of the narrative in terms of the narrator's voice. The tense has suddenly shifted to the present, and the narrator no longer speaks of events as they are, but according to the words of peasants and sorcerers. This shift creates a space between the narrator and what is being stated.

³⁴⁹ "Der Kayser het zwû haußfrawen / die erst ain Marggreffin vō Doburg/des Marggraff Diebolds tochter/von der ließ er sich fypfchafft halben schayden /Nam ein andere Greffin Junckfrawē Beatrix/des Graffen vō Burgundi tochter/lebet seligklich/was großtättig /kūnmüttig/millt gestreng/vnd ain Redsprechig man," *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.7v.31-36

³⁵⁰ "lebet seligklich/was großtättig / kūnmüttig/millt gestreng/vnd ain Redsprechig man/vnd außerhalb der kirchen veruolung in vil fachen berūmt / das nach dem groffen kayser Karol in geschichten kainer mer gethon hat. *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.7v.35-8r.1

In Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik* it appears as: Diser kayser wz ein großtettig.kūnmüetig.mylt. gestreng vñ redgesprech man. vnd außerhalb der kirchen verfolgūg in vil dingen also hohberūmt das nach dem groffen kayser Karol in großtettigkeit der geschichten kawm ime ein gleicher gefunden wirdt." *Weltchronik* (1493), fol.203r.

³⁵¹ "vnd ist zuletst verlorn worden das niemandt waist wo er hin ist komē /noch begraben/Die pawrn vnd schwartzen künftner sagen /er sey noch lebendigin ainem holen Perg /foll noch herwider komen/vnd die Gayfthlichen straffen/vñ fein schillt noch an den düren paum hengken / welchs paumß all Soldan noch fleißig hüttē lassen / das ist war das des paumß gehüt wirt /vnd fein hütter darzu getiff / Wölcher Kayser aber seinem schillt sol daran hencken das wayß Got." *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.8r.1-8.

On the one hand, this could give off the impression that the prophecy is merely folklore, not something told by great prophets or astrologers. But then the narrator's voice shifts once again with the statement "Which emperor shall hang his shield there, God only knows." This statement comes across as ambiguous. The prophecy the narrator relates is comparable to the tradition of the *Sibyllen-Weissagung*, which had become widespread by the beginning of the sixteenth century, while also taking creative liberties of its own.³⁵²

The *Sibyllen-Weissagung* tradition refers to a combination of two related texts known as the *Sibyllenlied*, and *Sibyllenbuch*.³⁵³ Some of the key features of this tradition includes the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre and a dry tree (as seen in the closing prophecy of the *True History*), upon which the emperor hangs his shield.³⁵⁴ In the *Sibyllen-Weissagung*, the dry tree blooms and returns to its former green color when the emperor hangs his shield on the dry tree.³⁵⁵ In the *Sibyllenbuch*, the Sibyll announces the hopeful prophecy when questioned about her prophecy of a terrible time of hunger, and the time after its end.³⁵⁶

Both the *Sibyllenlied* and *Sibyllenbuch* generally describe the same thing (including the aforementioned key features above) with the *Sibyllenlied* only further underscoring its religious Christian elements.³⁵⁷ This includes the impending end of Judaism and the purging of the clergy.³⁵⁸ As noted by Schindler the punishing or purging of the clergy offers a connection to Barbarossa's conflict with the papacy in the *True History*.³⁵⁹ Schindler also astutely observes that this conflict

³⁵² Andrea Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte durch Erzählen von Vergangenheit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, (Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden, 2020) 106.

³⁵³ Marco Giardini, "Esse redimendum sepulchrum dominicum per Fridricum imperatorem," 140.

³⁵⁴ Giardini, "Esse redimendum sepulchrum dominicum per Fridricum imperatorem," 140.

³⁵⁵ Giardini, "Esse redimendum sepulchrum dominicum per Fridricum imperatorem," 140.

³⁵⁶ Andrea Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 107.

³⁵⁷ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 107.

³⁵⁸ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 108.

³⁵⁹ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 108.

is put to an end, both within the historical narrative and actual historical turn of events, through an official reconciliation. However, his destiny as the end-time emperor or Last World Emperor causes him to maintain this role as the punisher of the clergy.³⁶⁰ I would also like to direct attention to the binding aspect of sworn oaths. Aside from the conceptualization of prophecy as something predetermined, Barbarossa's oath sworn on his honor, can be considered as a contributing factor towards the prophecy.

Meanwhile, there is more literature which likely stems from the *Sibyllen-Weissagung*, which explicitly identifies the prophecy as emerging out of a conflict between the pope and the emperor. An anonymous fourteenth-century poet's song of a very similar prophecy opens with the "two heads of Christianity set against each other," ("umb daz zwei houbt der kristenheit, sich wider einander setzen") in a great conflict.³⁶¹ In this version Emperor Frederick appears to hang his shield on the dry tree twice. The first time occurs at the end of the first stanza, as a response to the war and discord across all the lands:

Ez næht der zît! grôz arebeit
 üebt sich durch alliu lant,
 umb daz zwei houbt der kristenheit
 sich wider einander setzen.
 sich hebet noch ein grôzer strît,
 daz muoter kint ez wol beweinen mac.
 Man unde wîp die habent leit
 umb roup, darzuo den brant,
 einz an dem andern gar verzeit,
 wie sî sich wellen letzen
 beid' an dem guot und an dem lîp,
 daz niemand mac belîben âne klag'.
 Sô wirt daz urlîuge alsô grôz, niemant kan ez gestillen.
 sô kumt sich keiser Vriderich der hêr' und ouch der milt',

³⁶⁰ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 108.

³⁶¹ "Ez naecht der zît" cited in Karina Kellermann, "'Kaiser Friedrich ist komen!' Der Wiederkehrmythos," in *Gründungsmythen Europas im Mittelalter*, ed. Michael Bernsen, Matthias Becher, Elke Brüggem, (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2013), 180.

er vert dorthen durch gotes willen,
an einen durren boum henkt er sîn schilt.³⁶²

The second time occurs at the end of the second stanza. Based on Karina Kellerman's interpretation of the text, this is after the emperor and everyone gathered around him, goes off "über mer," on Crusade, on pilgrimage, or the Holy Land, and the Holy Sepulchre is liberated by peaceful means.³⁶³ This time when the emperor places his shield on the dry tree the tree flourishes and bears fruit.³⁶⁴

Sô wirt diu vart hin über mer,
sô heben sî sich drât,
man unde wîp in vrechem muot,
so si mügen allerbeste.
si dringent durch einander hart;
darumb in got sîn rîch' dort geben wil.
Wîb unde man gênt âne wer
beide vruo unde spât.
sô wirt der vride alsô guot
in landen und ûf vesten,
einz grîft daz ander nindert an,
so gewint diu werlt dan vröuden alsô vil.
Er vert dort hin zem durren boum ân' allez widerhap,
daran sô henkt er sînen schilt: er grüonet unde birt.
sô wirt gewonnen daz heilic grap,
daz nimmer swert darumb gezogen wirt.³⁶⁵

Whether or not the *True History* took direct inspiration from this song, it is comparable in the sense that it mentions two occurrences of the emperor's shield upon the dry tree. While clearly this feature appears in other texts outside of the *True History* it appears to be nevertheless somewhat atypical. However, this feature comes across even more peculiar in the context of the

³⁶² "Ez naecht der zît" cited in Karina Kellermann, "'Kaiser Friedrich ist komen!' Der Wiederkehrmythos," in *Gründungsmythen Europas im Mittelalter*, ed. Michael Bernsen, Matthias Becher, Elke Brüggel, (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2013), 180.

³⁶³ Kellermann, "'Kaiser Friedrich ist komen!'" 181.

³⁶⁴ Kellermann, "'Kaiser Friedrich ist komen!'" 181.

³⁶⁵ "Ez naecht der zît" cited in Kellermann, "'Kaiser Friedrich ist komen!'", 180.

True History due to the particular fashion in which it appears. When Barbarossa's is hung on the dry tree, he has already vanished and returned, and liberated the Holy Sepulchre, and technically made peace with the pope, and even with Saladin. The dry tree is a widespread motif, and usually presented in relation to the green tree.³⁶⁶ The exact significance behind the transformation of the tree has varied to some degree. In the case of the *Sibyllenbuch*, the dry tree, which Schindler identifies as its 'dead' form, symbolizes the prophesized time of famine, and the reconquest of Jerusalem marks the end of the series of terrible years.³⁶⁷ Thus when the emperor will place his shield upon the tree it will turn completely green. However, here there is no mention of the dry tree bearing fruit or turning lush and green, as is typical once the Holy Sepulchre has been liberated and peace has been established.

The fact that the tree remains dry, and another emperor is yet to hang his shield upon the dry tree can be interpreted in a number of ways. It could symbolize that despite liberating the Holy Sepulchre, Barbarossa's official peace with Pope Alexander was not enough to usher in a golden age, but that it can only occur once he has punished the clergy. It is worth noting that from its origins, the tree's symbolism has been associated with resurrection through the power of divine will.³⁶⁸ However, because the passage indicates another emperor shall hang his own shield on the same tree, the text might be suggesting that Barbarossa will be resurrected, but only metaphorically in spirit, rather than as his flesh and blood.³⁶⁹ The *True History's* earlier mention of a false-

³⁶⁶ Esther Casier Quinn, *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 110.

³⁶⁷ Schindler, *Wege in die Geschichte*, 107.

³⁶⁸ See: Esther Casier Quinn, *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 111. "The dry tree and the green tree here symbolize the power of God to reverse the forces of nature, to destroy the flourishing and to resurrect the dead."

³⁶⁹ In the centuries preceeding the *True History*, the prophecy of Frederick's return had been interpreted in a number of ways. Although a number of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire sought to embody the image of the Last World Emperor, some members of the empire entertained a scenario in which the actual Frederik II would return to fulfill the prophecy. This resulted in a string of false-Fredericks over the centuries, who would appear (often in times of crisis) claiming to be Frederick II, returned from the dead.

Frederick, who tricked the common people but ultimately was revealed as a fraud, could likewise be regarded as an indicator of the narrative's attitude toward the matter or even a warning against such practices. The emphasis on Barbarossa's desire and insertion of his oath for vengeance, which is integrated into the narrative framework of the Last World Emperor, is one of the *True History's* major contributions that cause the text to stand out from other surviving contemporary historiographical texts on the Peace of Venice. The closing prophecy fills the narrative gap that is generated when the emperor's oath is not fulfilled when he is finally confronted by the pope. However, the final line remains ambiguous. Even if the emperor "which shall hang his shield there," can be presumed to be a future Holy Roman Emperor, the narrator refuses to acknowledge anyone but God as being capable of knowing who the emperor will be to hang his shield upon the dry tree. This is particularly noteworthy given that this was printed at a time of the *True History's* release.

6.5 Considerations of the *True History* in the Aftermath of Maximilian's Reign

The year of the *True History's* release, 1519, should also be accounted for. This text was also written after the reign of Frederick III, Maximilian's predecessor. When Maximilian came to power as King of the Germans and King of the Romans, and later Holy Roman Emperor, he steered the media to play into the prophecy far more effectively than his predecessor, Frederick III. Maximilian's reign accomplished many imperial reforms, such as the establishment of what has been retrospectively dubbed the *Ewiger Landfriede* (eternal public peace), *Reichskammergericht* (imperial chamber court), *Reichsregiment* (imperial council or governing body), and the *Reichskreise* (imperial circles).³⁷⁰ On the other hand, despite Maximilian's own heated conflicts

³⁷⁰ Duncan Hardy, "The Age of Imperial Reform c. 1486-1521," in *Associative Political Culture in the Holy Roman Empire: Upper Germany, 1346-1521* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 233.

with the papacy, and the production of hopeful prophecies into the latter years of his reign, such as Pamphilus Gengenbach's *Der Nollhart* (1517), no significant Church reform appears to have been accomplished under Maximilian's imperial oversight.³⁷¹ As underscored by Thomas A. Brady, Maximilian placed a far greater priority on his assertions of control in Imperial Italy and Rome for the majority of his office as emperor.³⁷²

Maximilian's attempts at self-fashioning as the Last World Emperor were undoubtedly more successful than his predecessor by many strides. This, however, did not prevent him from falling short of the prophecy. While the pro-imperial print production of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century gave the impression that Maximilian would lead a glorious crusade in the imminent future, that future never came. Maximilian's rule did not usher in the promised Golden Age of peace across Christendom, nor the Holy Roman Empire. Internal crisis was on the rise. This was the context in which the *True History* appeared.

According to the dating which has been provided by the libraries which currently hold editions of the first prints, the *True History* was published in 1519, although it is uncertain when exactly that year. The *True History* refers to Maximilian as the current emperor, and his "son" Charles as a duke (likely referring to his titles over Burgundy) in passing. However, we know that Maximilian died in January 1519. Therefore, it might be inferred that the *True History* was read either when Maximilian was drawing close to death's door or in the months following his passing, prior to the official ascension of Charles V to the imperial throne.

There is a likelihood that writer behind this work was not working under the patronage of Maximilian. Maximilian's participation in his last Imperial Diet in Augsburg (1518) reflected his

³⁷¹ Bast, "Prophecy and Policy," 234.

³⁷² Thomas A. Brady Jr., *German Histories in the Age of Reformation: 1400-1650*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 144.

concerns of Charles' succession to the throne.³⁷³ And evidently, previous court sponsored writers, such as Johann Lichtenberger, knew how to gracefully shift the prophecy with great clarity towards the upcoming heir. While the *True History* very briefly acknowledges Maximilian and Charles' annual donations to the Franciscan Order, the closing prophecy very clearly refrains from pointing to one emperor or another as the next Barbarossa as Last World Emperor. As stated by the text "Which emperor shall hang his shield there? God only knows."³⁷⁴ The *True History*'s uncertainty of the next Last World Emperor might be indicative of the uncertainty of the times.

After the great disappointment of Frederick III, Maximilian appears to have been at least partially successful in creating the literary illusion that he was on the brink of fulfilling the prophecy. Certainly, Maximilian had admirable qualities as a ruler, but he also made a lot of great promises that he didn't fulfill and still left his empire with many issues and ongoing crises. His reign brought many imperial reforms, although no Church reform, and his death likely left much to be desired. If the *True History* is viewed in light of the aftermath of Maximilian's reign, Barbarossa, a commendable ruler who almost fulfilled the prophecy, but ultimately let the church exploit him, can be interpreted as an allegory to Maximilian himself.

Whether or not the writer ever even intended this connection to be made (as previously mentioned Maximilian is referenced as being alive), it could have been a very natural association for readers who had engaged with imperial sponsored media during the late emperor's reign. Maximilian was known to have often drawn parallels between himself and Barbarossa, especially in the preparations leading up to his participation in the Italian Wars. Meanwhile, the

³⁷³ Thomas A. Brady Jr., *German Histories in the Age of Reformation: 1400-1650*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 145.

³⁷⁴ "Wölcher Kayfer aber feinem schillt fol daran hencken das wayß Got." *True History* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519) fol.8.r.7-8.

commissioning of Johannes Nauclerus' *Memorabiles Seculorum Omnium ac Gentium* coincided with the aftermath of what had been considered as Pope Julius II's betrayal of the Holy Roman Empire. The new additions in the *True History*'s variation would arguably only heighten the level of comparability between Maximilian and Barbarossa. The uncertainty of the text's final line could be indicative of the fact that now two emperors been introduced into power with the anticipation of fulfilling the Last World Emperor prophecy. Of course, it was expected that the next emperor might position himself as the next Last World Emperor, but who was really to know if he would follow through on his honorable oaths but God alone?

Like Barbarossa, Maximilian (at least through his media campaigns) managed to give off the impression that he would soon fulfill the prophecy, and he promised to return to Italy as a second Barbarossa. The rhetoric of prophetic literature of his age, and even his speech and political contemplations regarding the papacy, may have fooled some into actually believing his promises of uniting the lands and reclaiming the Holy Land, or that he might actualize his considerations to depose the pope and take his papal throne. However, at the very end of his life, not only did he cease to stand against the papacy but he highlighted the elevation of Albrecht of Mainz's elevation to Cardinal at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg (1518).³⁷⁵ This was noteworthy, because while Maximilian considered this to be a chance to gain influence in Rome, Albrecht had been tied to Pope Leo's campaign of indulgences which spark the protests of Martin Luther.³⁷⁶ Thus, thinking he had won, it seemed that Maximilian could have given off the impression of having fallen under the influence of the clergy, despite his past oppositional attitudes towards the papacy. Following the end of his reign, some of the topics Maximilian had once promoted amongst his humanists as

³⁷⁵ Bast, "Prophecy and Policy," 234.

³⁷⁶ Bast, "Prophecy and Policy," 234.

a means of criticizing the tyranny and decadence of papal Rome continued to remain popular narratives. However, as pointed out by Stadtwald, following the late emperor's death there appears to have been less of an effort to write specifically to the interests of the emperor.

In fact, while also viewing the emperor in a sympathetic light, a number of people also began to consider the emperor's own role into contributing his position of oppression by the pope. In the year following the death of Maximilian, Martin Luther brought up the incident of the pope trampling the emperor in his *An den christenlichen Adel Deutscher Nation* (1520). Luther refers to the event in passing as having occurred to both Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II (along with other unnamed German emperors):

'No king shall stand beyond the greatness of his power, and no army beyond the multitude of its might.' And for this reason, I fear, it happened in ancient times that the worthiest princes, Emperor Frederick the First and the Second, and many more German emperors, whom the world feared, were so miserably trampled underfoot and pushed down by the popes. Perhaps they relied on their power more than on God, and therefore they had to fall.³⁷⁷

Luther manages to acknowledge the greatness of the emperors while also criticizing them. He implies that they essentially enabled corrupt popes to metaphorically trample upon them because they concerned themselves with gaining more power, instead of giving much needed attention to God (and perhaps Church reform). Luther legitimizes his assertion through his reference to Psalm 32:16 (Vulgate) or Psalm 33:16 (AV) in the opening line of the aforementioned passage, which emphasizes the sovereignty of God over humanly strength in earthly and spiritual matters alike. The assertion that because of their errors, Barbarossa and the other great emperors,

³⁷⁷ "Es wirt kein kunig bestehē / durch feyne groſſe macht/ vnnd kein her durch die groſſe feiner ſterck. Uñ aufz dem grūdt forg ich fey es vortzeitē kummē / das dye theuren furſtē / keiſzer Fridrich der erſt vñ der ander vnd vyl mehr deutscher keiſzer / ſzo iemerlich feyn vō den Bepſten mit fuſſen treten vñ vordruckt / fur wilchen ſich doch die welt furchtet / Sie haben ſich villeycht vorlaſſenn auff yhre macht / mehr dan auff got / drumb habē ſie muſſen fallē." Martin Luther, *An den Chriſtlichen Adel deutscher Nation, von des Chriſtlichen ſtandes beſſerung*, (Leipzig: Schumann, 1520) fol.2v.

were "had to fall" is a powerful one, and a far cry from the propaganda campaigns of Maximilian. Soon after, a parallel is also drawn between this scenario, and the rise of the "bloodsucking" Pope Julius II, as he attributes it to the self-reliance of the French, Germans and Venice.³⁷⁸ This parallel also appears refer to the politics of the Italian Wars, as these were the primary powers involved, and Julius II was known form and later abandon numerous alliances solely dependent on his own political interests. It is significant that even after Maximilian's death, Luther refranes from directly singling out the rulers of the entities (the French, Germans, and Venice) that he blames, which would have included Maximilian.

I believe that the *True History* could have been interpreted with a similar but not identical approach to Luther. Just as Luther did in his *An den christenlichen Adel Deutscher Nation*, the *True History* illustrates Frederick Barbarossa as an incredibly worthy leader, even going further to display his many feats and qualities through pathway towards the status of Last World Emperor. However, the text also appears to hint that the pope's trampling of the emperor could have been avoided, and further, will be avenged. On the other hand, the emperor's role in his "fall" beneath the papal seems to be different than the one suggested. Furthermore, the *True History's* release collided with the early years of the Reformation in addition to the aftermath of Maximilian's reign, however it is unfortunately beyond the limits of this research.

In sum, the rich narrative of the *True History* clearly took inspiration from previous variations of the historical narrative of Frederick Barbarossa's conflict with Alexander III, and the prophetic tradition of the Sibyllen-Weissagung, while also clearly distinguishing itself, especially through the narrative's inclusion of vengeful oaths and subtle alterations within the traditional

³⁷⁸ "Uñ was hat zu vnfern zeiten / den blutseuffer Juliū secundū fzo hoch erhabē / dan das ich beforg / Fräckrech / deutschē vñ Uenedige habē auff sich felb bawet." Martin Luther, *An den Christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*, (Leipzig: Schumann, 1520), fol.2v.

sequence of events that point to a greater sense of agency on behalf of the emperor. Taking into account the discussions of my previous chapter, the entanglement between historical narrative and prophetic narrative can be understood as a reflection of their common political utility, especially as a means of bridging the past, present and future. The separate or combined use of prophecy and history often functioned as a tool of pride and legitimacy. While the integration of the structural framework of the Last World Emperor into this popular historical narrative of Barbarossa clearly offers a newfound sense of pride in Barbarossa's historical accomplishments and legacy, it comes with a subtle degree of disappointment with the emperor's second disappearance. Rather than immediately jumping to proclaim the next emperor as the one promised by prophecy, the *True History* takes a moment to pause and question, at what point will an emperor actually follow through as a leader of imperial and religious reform, and of unity and justice. The acknowledgement of Barbarossa, the last Last World Emperor's shortcomings is not loud and outspoken but can be read between the promised deeds that were left unspoken and undelivered.

7 CONCLUSION

This study examines the *True History of Frederick Barbarossa* (1519) an incredibly rich and complex narrative claiming to tell a truthful account of Frederick Barbarossa and how the Bundschuh came to Bavaria. Three major components classify its framework, the legend of Dietmar *Anhanger* and the Bundschuh flag, the conflict between Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III, and the prophecy of the Last World Emperor. Upon closer analysis, the *True History* can be best understood as an evolving dialogue in various ways.

Firstly, it can be understood as a dialogue between the past and present, as a means of affirming a certain set of beliefs or values; contemporary events and societal norms inform how the history and prophecy is read and rewritten. For example, during the early sixteenth century it would have been difficult to have read the legend of Dietmar and the Bundschuh flag without an awareness of the popular associations between the Bundschuh flag and peasant rebellion, the stigma surrounding millers, and the overwhelmingly oppositional stance of the Bundschuh rebels towards their overlords. As I explore in my second chapter, "The Bundschuh Flag as a Conduit of Power & Reversal of Rebellion," this awareness could have influenced the way reversals of these typical associations would have been read, even if some of the origins of the legend were based in local history that was completely removed from any implication of rebellion. Likewise, the episode sometimes referred to as the *Fußtritt Legende*, in which Pope Alexander III steps upon the neck of Frederick Barbarossa, would have been read as a clear illustration of ecclesiastical triumph by one of Thomas of Pavia's thirteenth century peers, given the prevalence of the motif of *Christus Victor* as a sign of power and authority, whereas members of the Holy Roman Empire of the early sixteenth century may have read the legend as a parallel to the treacherous betrayal by the papacy during the Italian Wars, Roman decadence, or papal tyranny.

Similarly, it is difficult to imagine that the time of the *True History*'s initial publication, either when Emperor Maximilian I was on the brink of death or had recently passed away, would not impact the way in which the prophecy and Barbarossa's relationship to the pope would have been interpreted. This would have been a time of transition, and perhaps a lack of certainty as individuals looked towards the future while reflecting upon mistakes of the past. The ambiguous nature of the *True History*, particularly at its closure, does not settle upon a definitive answer, but rather leaves space for interpretation and reflection. Especially because the idolized figures of *historia* were often presented as a mirror to the ideals or models of behavior of the present, any mistakes or blunders within the narrative may have been processed through an awareness of parallels to contemporary politics and society.

With the text's portrayal of Barbarossa's great deeds, steps towards the completion of the prophecy of the Last World Emperor, and display of the pope's treachery, it legitimizes the contemporary mistrust for papal Rome and validates the emperor's status, along with the rest of the Holy Roman Empire, as a victim of papal tyranny. Yet Barbarossa's limited follow through on his oaths when he finally comes face to face with Pope Alexander, though never directly addressed, is visible through the dissonance between his words and his actions. His final disappearance could be interpreted as more than just a promise, of the return of the golden age of his reign, but an insinuation of a deed left unfinished. Between his final encounter with the pope, and the prophecy's assertion that he will return to 'punish' the clergy, hints at the necessity of the emperor's leadership in bringing about reform in the Church in order to bring about a true golden age.

The print media renaissance largely associated with the reign of Emperor Maximilian I helped pave the way for the *True History*'s very particular integration and adaptation of the history of Barbarossa and the prophecy of the Last World Emperor. By 1519 these two spheres had already

overlapped in imperial-papal politics, and the revolutionary printing press enabled references to both Maximilian as the Last World Emperor and the renewal of Hohenstaufen history to be widely circulated. While Maximilian's media campaigns may have been successful in swaying public opinion in a certain way, he ultimately fell through on many of the promises made when he aligned himself with the image of the Last World Emperor. Given the dissonance between the image cultivated by print media of Emperor Maximilian, and Maximilian's actual actions (especially concerning the Church) by the end of his life, this nuanced representation of Frederick Barbarossa and prophecy may have challenged readers who were more familiar with Maximilian's politics to sit with conflicting feelings of pride and criticism.

Secondly, the *True History* can be understood as a dialogue between narratives. For example, the narrative of Barbarossa and Alexander found within the *True History* is primarily the result of a series of reinterpretations and counter narratives which took place over several centuries. As I assert in my third chapter, "The Conflict of Frederick Barbarossa and Alexander III as an Intertextual and Hybrid Narrative," rather than simply rewriting history from scratch, new variations formed as a self-serving reaction to those the narrator had previously encountered. The primary objective of the narrative presented by Venetian chronicles was not simply ecclesiastical triumph. Although the traces of this objective remain through its inclusion of the *Fußtritt Legende*, the all-powerful presence of Pope Alexander III is diminished through his complete reliance upon the Venetians for protection and the peacemaking, as it had been the goal of the Venetians to promote their city and doge's legacy of a formidable independent power, protector of the papacy and central to peacekeeping. Meanwhile, certain German narratives, such as Arnold von Harff and the *True History* itself built off of the basic features of the tradition found in the Venetian chronicles, despite their negative depictions of Barbarossa, by simply recontextualizing the

behavior of the pope and emperor. This recontextualization was achieved through the inclusion of new details and features in the text that were not otherwise there before.

Aligning with a German counter-narrative to Venetian traditions, visible in von Harff's *Pilgrimage*, Barbarossa's involvement in the crusade (as emperor) in the *True History* predates his final 'confrontation' with Alexander at the Peace of Venice. Similar to the *Pilgrimage*, this creates an opening for the conflict between the emperor and the pope to be recontextualized through the pope's betrayal of the emperor to Saladin. However, by delaying the pope's betrayal until after Barbarossa's army's victory in the Holy Land, the *True History* negates the disappointment typically associated with Barbarossa's involvement in the Third Crusade, which had only been reinforced with text's like the *Pilgrimage*.

Rather than focusing on the major crusader victories of the emperor's own life time, such as the Battle of Iconium, the *True History*'s inclusion of the army's triumph over Jerusalem is far more symbolic in the context of Christendom and the Holy Roman Empire's position of leadership in the grand history of salvation. The legend of Dietmar Anhanger, Duke Eckhart and the Bundschuh flag offer a context for this symbolic victory, legitimized by its roots in local tradition. This could quench a rising thirst amongst German readers for imperial and local histories worthy of pride and patriotism, and the ability to challenge those produced by the Italians. Additionally, the Bundschuh legend's integration into the narrative of Frederick Barbarossa and his prophecy undoubtedly had the potential to bolster the legacy of this particular origin story of the Bundschuh against the widespread associations of the Bundschuh with peasant rebellion. The legend underscores the importance of fealty or allegiance and unity across the sociopolitical hierarchy of the Holy Roman Empire, rather than just to a distant emperor alone. But at the same time, the victories of the army on the battlefield through Dietmar and Eckhart contribute to that of

Barbarossa, and in turn contribute towards the fulfillment of the prophecy within the grander scheme of history.

It is evident that the *True History*'s 'dialogue' with other German narratives such as Arnold von Harff's *Pilgrimage*, or Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik*, is not always straight forward. Through certain additions or changes found in the *True History*, such as the inclusion of the army's victory in Jerusalem, the legacy of Barbarossa and the Holy Roman Empire's past is glorified more so than previous comparable narratives. At the same time, this study also suggests that the representation of Barbarossa found in the *True History*, is arguably more complex than a number of earlier Late Medieval and Early Modern examples. After having gained a sense of some of the various iterations of the historical narrative of the conflict of Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III, and the context in which they were viewed in my third and fourth chapters, I was able to determine in my fifth chapter that even through slight alterations in the chronological structure of the *True History*, when compared to previous German iterations in particular, Barbarossa is granted a higher degree of agency.

This is especially visible in instances such as when Barbarossa convinces Saladin to free him from captivity, when he continues to push back against the Venetians after they have taken his son hostage rather than immediately agree to a compromise, or when later Barbarossa remains resolute in his desire to uphold one of his oaths even after the Venetians offer him a monetary settlement. However, it appears that Barbarossa's apparent sense of self-awareness and agency does not only serve to glorify him as ruler, but also humanizes and complicates him as a figure. His display of awareness and agency in moments where he was previously presented as a victim entirely at the mercy of other, also creates space for criticism when he 'allows' himself to fall into the role of the victim and ignore his past promises, when the audience has arguably been led to

expect otherwise. A most notable example of this is when Barbarossa agrees to ask for an indulgence and Pope Alexander III steps upon his neck. This illustration of the emperor is of particular interest because he is presented as an ideal hero and favored protagonist and yet he is imperfect. The redirection of the text towards the future then through the use of prophecy, as previously mentioned, would have been somewhat constructive in learning from the examples of the past.

In conclusion, this study has contributed to scholarship by providing further insight into how narratives of the *historia* genre well as prophecy could handle complex attitudes of both pride and criticism in this particular period of unrest and uncertainty. My hope is by having engaged in closer examination of the True History than has often been granted, that it has become evident that the narrative paints a far more nuanced and complex picture than might initially meet the eye. While one would not be wrong to argue that all literature or historical texts may be regarded as a dialogue between the past and the present, and between texts, it is this unique example of such dialogues that I believe is worthy of attention.

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Ein warhafftige history von dem Kayser Friderich der erst seines Namens / mit einem langen rotten Bart / den die Walhen nenten Barbarossa / derselb gewan Jerusalem /Vnd durch den Babst Alexander den dritten verkuntschafft ward dem Soldanischen König / der in gefencklich hielt etliche zeyt /Vnnd wie der Pundt/schüch auff ist khomen in Bairn̄. Book. Landshut: Johann Weyssenburger, 1519. VD 16, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. <https://onb.digital/result/1042FD2B>

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9 APPENDIX

9.1 Transcription of the Text

Fol.1r 1 Ein warhafftige history von dem Kayfer
2 Friderich der erft seines namens / mit ainem
3 langen rotten Bart / den die Walhen nen-
4 ten Barbaroffa / derfelb gewan Jerusa-
5 lem/Vnnd durch den Babft Alexan-
6 der den dritten verkuntſchafft ward
7 dem Soldaniſchen König / der in
8 gefencklich hielt etlich zeyt / Vñ
9 wie der Pundtſchûch auff iſt
10 khomen in Bairn.

Fol.1v 1 Von anfang der welt fünff tauſent
2 drewhundert vnd neunudfünfftzig Jar / Vnnd
3 nach der gepurt Chrifti vnnfers haylmachers / ain
4 tauſent / ain hundert/ vñ fechtzig iare. In diſer zeit
5 ward in 8 verwalltüg nach abſterben des Babſts
6 Adrianus/des Babſtums Alexander / der drit des
7 namens von Senis geboren / wölcher von zwölf
8 Cardinalen ordenlich erwelt ward / Aber er enpfandt vil wider
9 wertig anſtoß von ainem Cardinal der auch mit im erwölt was
10 allain von dreyen Cardineln /der ſelb was vorgehaiſſen Octauianus / vñ in der wal ward er Victor genent / derfelb Victor ſchlüg
11 ſich an den Römifchen Kayfer Friderich den erſten des namens
12 der auch diſer zeit regiert / ſo het Alexander ſein zûflucht zû König Philip ſen zu Frankreich / vnnd het ain verſamblung zu Claromonte / darinn verband er den Octavianum vnnd kayfer Friderichen / herwider machet kayfer Friderich drey Babſt wiß Alex

17 andrum nacheinander / aber die römischen Ratherrn die Confu/
 18 les warden dem Babst Alexander vaft günstig vnd hielten ime
 19 rugk / auch der König vō Franckreich / deßhalb ward der kayfer
 20 erzürnet/vnd verflamtet ain mechtig h/re/ vnd was im willen für
 21 Rom zūziehñ /Als er im zug gen Brixfen kam/ allda was Bisfh
 22 off der hailig Hartman der / dann des kayfers Beychtuatter was
 23 vñ der keyfer vil vertrauens in denselbē Bischoff setzet/ welcher
 24 Bischoff den kayfer vō seinem fürnemen und grymē abwendet
 25 vnd straffend er solt sich nit leichtlich wider den Babst / die kirchē
 26 vnd das Christenlich volckh bewegen lassen. Dieweil aber er die
 27 Teutchen fürsten vñ ander ime yetz so willig /in aller gehorfam
 28 gerüft vñ gewapnet het / so gebüret im / dz er das Creütz an sich
 29 nāme /vnd zug zu Rettung dem Königreich zū Jerufalem / wañ
 30 Almeritius der sechft König / het gelit vom Soldan empfangen
 31 vmb die Stat Alexandrium. Nachuolgend abermal als er für Al
 32 kheyro zoch /het er sich mit gelt stillen lassen /vñ zoch ab vñ starb/
 33 mit dysem ward Jerufalem wider vom Soldan eingenomen /dz
 34 solt der kayfer zu herzn nemē / auch das seines vatters brüß künig
 35 Conrad das haylig Landt so mit groffer müe arbeit vñ plütuer
 36 gießen erobert het/ Auch so vtröstet in Bischoff Hartman /

Fol.2r 1 er west König Phililippen auch zūbewegen / das er mit befunder
 2 hōres kraft im zuhilff zug / mit dem ermanē / bewegt er den kayfer
 3 uber Meer zūziehen / diser kayfer was von geburt ain Schwab /
 4 sein vatter hieß Hertzog Friderich / vnd der was genent der Kūn
 5 hertzog Friderich zū Schwaben / König Conrad was sein brü
 6 der /der Conrad regiert das Reich finfftzehen Jare / vñ erlanget
 7 nit die kayferlich kron / aber kayfer Friderich 8 vorgehent /regiert
 8 das römisch Kayserthumb Achtunddreyßig Jar/het ainen rotē
 9 langn bart/ deßhalben in die Walhen nenten Barbaroffa. Nach
 10 anweyfung des meer genenten Bischoffs Hartmās zū Brixfen/

11 hat der Kayfer ermant die Chriſtenlichen fürſten / den Hertzog
 12 Otten von Sachſen vñ den Hertzogen zů Beham/ denſelben her
 13 tzogen machet er zů ainem König vñ daz Behamerlandt zu einē
 14 Kunigreich /auch den Marggraſſ Diebolden von Oſterreich zu
 15 ainem Hertzogen / vñ die March Oſterrich zu ainem Hertzog-
 16 thumb Auch berufft er Hertzog Eckharten von Bairn / Pfaltz-
 17 grauen zu Wittelpſpach vnd Graue zu Scheyrn / Auch die Land
 18 grauen von heſſen /Türingen /Auch vil Biſchoff vnd Grauen
 19 die in aygner perſon zugen /mit ainer groſſen macht / Ailff wagñ
 20 purgen /durch Vngern /Suhary vnd Traciar gen Conſtantino
 21 pel / von dannen halff im Jſaac der Kriechiſch Kayfer gen Boß
 22 horn /wann er auff ſein Kayfer Friderichs hōre ſorg het/Alſo zoch
 23 er vnd gewan dem Türcken ab die Stett Philomeniam vñ Jco,
 24 num /vnd wüſtet alle gegent mit raub vñ prandt /rayſet darnach
 25 in das klain Armeniam allda pracht er alle ding in ſein gewallt /
 26 alſo das ſich Saladinus der Turckiſch kayfer gantzer außtilgüg
 27 beforget/ König Philips zu Frankreich zoch auff ainen anndern
 28 weg auch zuhilff durch Syriam / Auch Richardus der König
 29 vō Engellandt die gewuñen die mechtig Stat Ptholomaidam/
 30 vnd fürter auff Jeruſalem zu Kayfer Friderichen.
 31 Wie ſich Kayfer Friderich der erſt legeret
 32 mit hōres krafft für Jeruſalem / vñ der König von Franckreich
 33 Philippus genāt / mit ſambt König Richardo vō Engellandt /
 34 Auch ain Hertzog auß Bairn Eckhart genant zuhilff khomen
 35 dem Kayfer.

Fol.2v 1 ¶Als aber ſie ſich für Jeruſalem legerten / vñ funden dz Saladi-
 2 nus die Stat Jeruſalem gewunnen die Criften etlich ertōdt/ vñ
 3 nachmalñ als ſie gnad erlangt hetten / das er yeden fouil er tragñ
 4 mocht ziehen ließ /vrsach das er der Stat / wo ſie die nit hettñ auf
 5 geben gewinnen mögen / nach ſolcher erobrung die glogken abge

6 worffen / auß den hailigen stetten daran Criftus gelitten vñ auß
 7 den gotzheüfern stall gemacht / warden die chriften begirlich zûfe
 8 chten mit den vnglaubigen vñ lesterern gotes / als auch sie all mit
 9 groffen freuden vnnd andacht das hailig landt vnd befunder die
 10 Stat des hails mit innigkait grüßte / Als aber Jerusaleum auf ai-
 11 nem perg gelegen vnd noch mit höhern pergen vñgeben kainen
 12 prunnen/ allain Ciftern dariñen sich das regenwasser versamlet/
 13 vnd ainen klainen pach Siloe/ der ye soñmerzeiten gar kain wasser
 14 hat /der vom perg Syon durch das tal Jofaphat rinnet /Allda
 15 wardt rat geschlagen /die Stat allenthalben zû vñgeben vñ stet
 16 zûstürmen/den inwonern kain rû zulassen /vñ stürmetñ.x.tag vñ
 17 nacht/Als die Criften gegem tag auf die maur kamen vñ des kay
 18 sers Fan/ an der ainen feyten der Adler / an der andern feytnñ das
 19 creütz Cristi/ wölher christenlich streyt vñ dem herzog Eckhart
 20 von Bairn zûhandthaben in sein handt vom kayser vñ allen chri
 21 stenlichen hör beuolhen was /8 in nach seinem vermügē bewaret
 22 Als aber der nachtrugk der Criften am sturm schwach/ also das
 23 die vnglaubigen inwoner sich wider die Criften so auf die maur
 24 komen /wardēhefftigklich wider setzen / vñ vil derselben erstachñ
 25 vñ erwarffen / auch erschlûgē / das dē hertzog Eckharten so angft
 26 ward / das er den Streytfan müßt naygen /sich mit dem schwert
 27 enthalten / wañ er schier den merern tayl/ 8 so zû im auf die mawr
 28 warden vom Adel vñ gemainen Cristē komen ertödt / vñ wenig
 29 trofts het/ mocht auch nit mer zû ruck / wardñ so hart Bezwungē
 30 das der hertzog Eckhart müßt des rōmischen reychs Fan verlaß
 31 sen / das er gantz in der Vnglaubigen gewallt kham / Allda schier
 32 nach aller vnhoffnung/stürmeten die Chriften wider an demfel
 33 ben ort / und als sie nit widerstandt fanden / kamen sie on fundere
 34 Beschwerde auch auff die Maur / funden Hertzog Eckharten/
 35 auch den Hertzog von Lottingen mit sambt jren helffern /derwe
 36 nig warn/schier gar überwunden / Als die schier gar verzweyfetē

37 hilff empfanden /vnd ainen nachtrugk merckten / wiewol sie kain

Fol.3r 1 Panier noch Fan mer hetten/kamen sie von der maur mit gewal
 2 tiger werhaftiger handt in die Stat/vnd triben die inwoner zû
 3 rugk /auff ainen platz allda lieffen die vnglaubigen vō allen endē
 4 zûfamen/Als sie hortten das die Christen in der Stat Jerufalem
 5 waren vnd macheten ain ordnung/ vñ verliessen die meer auff der
 6 maur an vil enden / Als aber der Cristen noch vil zûwenig / moch
 7 ten auch nit wol ainer solhē menig besteen/ auch nit wol ordnūg
 8 zûmachen / waren auch mit kainen Fan verfehen/ mochten auch
 9 nit zûrugk wider auff die maur noch flucht haben / Allain das sie
 10 Got den allmechtigñ anrufften / vñ begerten all ritterlich als die
 11 frūnen Cristen zusterben / vñ richten sich wider der vnglaubigē
 12 ordnung mit in zûschlagen/also meret sich im sturmb ir hilff/das
 13 ye lenger ye mer über die maur der Cristen zû in kamen mit begir
 14 zûschlagen/ In dem was vndter in ain gûter Crift / der mit Her-
 15 tzog Eckhart auß Bairn über mōr gezogen / vnnd ime wiewol er
 16 ainer schlechten gepurdt gewesen stetz angehangen ist /darüber
 17 auch nach dem er Dietmar mit seinem tauffnam hieß nachmaln
 18 Dietmar anhenger genant warde / vñ sein vatter ist gewesen ain
 19 Mülner /gefessen zu Ried am Haußrugkh am wasser / genent die
 20 Achen/derfelb Dietmar was so aines freydigē dürfftigē gemüts
 21 do er sach das die Cristen on ainen Fan kain gewisse Ordnung
 22 halten mochten/nit gar wol wesseten wer freünd o8 veindt/zoch
 23 er ab seinen pundtschuch/der auff die pewrich art gemacht wz/
 24 hoch biß an das knye / mit dreyen grossen ringken:
 25 Wie der Hertzog Eckhart auff die mauren
 26 kam mit des kaysers Fan / vnd derfelb im abtrungen ward / Vnd
 27 wie ainer hieß Dietmar derfelb zoch ab seinen schuch vnd stieß in
 28 an ainen spieß zû ainem zaychen das die Christē ain zuflucht het
 29 ten/ dann sie hetten kain Fanen mer.

30 Dardurch stach er ainen langē rayßspieß /zû ainem zaichen aines
 31 Paniers / wañ er anders zaychñ an dem ort nit haben mocht/den
 32 selben spieß vñ durchstoichen pundtschûch gab er seinem Landß-
 33 fürsten hertzog Eckharten / der enpfieng in mit freüden /vnd er-
 34 manet das Christenlich volck zu dem zaychen des pundtschuchs

Fol.3v 1 Also het alles christenlich volck ain aufsehē auf den pundtschûch
 2 verfamelten sich darzû / hieltñ ordnung / stritten Ritterlich fünff
 3 stundt/ vñ Dietmar der anhangen hielt sich neben herzog Eck
 4 harten wol halff trewlich bewaren den pundtschûh / wiewol er
 5 kain hofen / allain den linckhen pundtschûch anhetzte/ vnnd lützel
 6 harnasch /sein haubtharnasch was ain krantz von laub / Also gab
 7 der Almechtig got/ hertzog Eckharten vnder dem pundtschûch
 8 vñ den Cristen den syg/ dz sie ob Vierundzwaintzig tausent Hay
 9 den Turcken Sarracen Arabier erschlügen / gewunnen auch die
 10 Stat Jerufalem vñ den perg Sion/vñ besetzten das haylig grab
 11 mit frumē andechtigen brüdern sant Franciscen ordens/vnd ein
 12 Hertzog von Burgundi hat yerlicher gilt Taufent gulden denfel
 13 ben brüdern von feinen erblichñ landen zûgeben verschafft/die in
 14 durch wechsel der Kaufleut noch auff disen tag geantwort wer -
 15 den/vñ diser römischer kayser Maximilian hat die yerlich / auch
 16 sein sun hertzog Karol auch yerlich den armen brüdern geraicht
 17 Nach solcher frölicher erobrung besetzt der kayser Friderich das
 18 haylig land mit Cristenlichem volck / vñ belonet ainen yedñ nach
 19 seinem verdienen/ vnd sonderlich Hertzog Eckharten vñ Bairn
 20 hat kayser Friderich gelyhen erblich zû belonung seiner gütthat/
 21 Hollandt/ das er hat ynnen gehabt /dahin geheyrat vñ gewont /
 22 vñ seiner nachkomen ligt ainer zû Straubing im Frawenprüder
 23 Closter beraben. Es habē auch etlich Stet gen Hollandt gehört
 24 die im erblich zûtaylt find/Es haben auch dieselben Hertzogen al-
 25 weg den pundtschûch gefürt/vñ ir wappñ ist also gewesen/aber

26 daffelb geschlecht hat nit lēger dañ zwayhundert iar vngeferlich
 27 gewert / find all gestorben / vnd zů Straubing ligt der letft begra-
 28 ben / Einer Hertzog Eckharts brüder der was so vngeraten / das
 29 er auff ain zeyt im zorn zu Scheyrn auf der pruck ain hädtſchůch
 30 in die lüfft warff vñ sprach / Nim hyn Teufelich gib mich dir vñ
 31 meinen tail am Baierlandt / Also füret in der teufel vnd den hand
 32 ſchůch zů Scheyrn in den See da iſt es noch vngehewr / Aber her-
 33 tzog Eckhart begabet den Dietmar anhāger reichlich / der kayſer
 34 gab im ain wappē wie hernach die figur anzaigt / Einen aſt /drey
 35 laub/vnd beſtettung etlicher maß ſeiner gůtter / die ym Hertzog
 36 Eckhart geben het/vñ der kayſer die Dietmar etliche zů Clōſtern
 37 gen Reicherſperg vñ vnderhalben geben hat/der iſt ain anfangk

Fol.4r 1 gewesen des Margks Ried vnd der gegent:
 2 Wie Herzog Eckhart den Dietmar an-
 3 henger begabt mit ainem wappen/vñ wieder Mark Ried erſt
 4 lich erpawen ward:
 5 ¶Darumb vñ in willen ain Stat auffzůrichtē /wañ es vor alles
 6 wāld vnd holtz wildnus was erlanget den fleckh Ried /den er er-
 7 weitert ain ſtatlich wappē /ainē ſchwartzē pundſchůch in einem
 8 gelben veldt/Als aber er ſtarb erlaſch das wappen der von Ried/
 9 aber hertzog Friderich als er dē Stifft Saltzburg krieget/ hat in
 10 das wappen den pundſchůh wider beſtett/ Als aber die Criſtē
 11 etlich zeyt in dem gelobten Landt vmbzugen mit freuden die hay-
 12 ligen Stet haymfuchten/ vnd verordnet der kayſer die wider auf
 13 zůrichtē/ ordnet der kayſer das chriſtenlich volck in etlich hauſſen
 14 vñ zugen vnderſchidlich wider anhaims/ aber nach glücklichem
 15 obſyg /entſtundt dem kayſer in ſeiner widerſart ain wunderliche
 16 anfechtung zů / das zündtet an Bapſt Alexander der dem Kayſer
 17 widerwertig was /des neyd was noch nit außgelofchen/Derſelb
 18 Babſt beſtellet ainē maler/der dem kayſer vngewarnet nachzoch

19 der malet den kayfer gůt vnd gerecht/ aber haymlich/dem kayfer
 20 vnwissent/dasselb bild schicket der Babſt dem kůnig Soldan/vñ
 21 pat in das er fleiß het wie er den kayfer mōcht fahen/vnnd achtet
 22 es wer im leichtlich zůthun/vñ ob ermfieng /das er in /wo er sich
 23 nit wolt Kayfer melden/nach dem bild erkennet/wañ der Babſt
 24 forcht den kayfer/het wol leyden mügen das 8 kayfer wer nit mer
 25 zůlandt komen /Als der Soldan das pild empfieng / vñ enpfieng
 26 des Babſts willen /ſtellet er mit guter kůtschaft dem kayfer nach
 27 in Armenia/vnd als er ains tags er hitzet/ritt er mit etlichen gar
 28 wenig feiner diener vom hōre/im willē in ainem fließenden waf
 29 ſer ſich zůerkůlen/wann er mit ſchwayß beladen was/Als er ſich
 30 dazůmal gantz wenig beforget /gieng er vñ ſein Caplan etwo ai
 31 nen klainen weg von ſeinen mitreyttern /ſich ſchickten abzůzie-
 32 hen/in dem khamen die Soldanischen die ir kundtschafft gerecht
 33 weſſten/vnd fürten den kayfer vnd ſeinen Caplan haimlich /den
 34 andern vnwiſſend gefangen hinweg für den Soldan:

Fol.4v 1 Wie Kayser Friderich mit ſeinem Capel -
 2 lan gieng in ain waffer ſich zuerkůlen/vnnd er mitſambt ſeinem
 3 Caplan von den ſoldanischen gefangen ward / vñ gebracht dem
 4 Kůnig Soldan/der in ain gantz Jar gefencklich hielt:
 5 ¶ Als aber über etlich tag 8 kayfer vñ ſein Capellan dem Soldan
 6 gebracht warden gefangen/verlaugnet der kayfer ſeines kayſerli-
 7 chen namens/nenet ſich er wer kayſer Friderichs thůrhůter über
 8 landt/Aber der Soldan der ſagt im er verhielt im die warhait / er
 9 wer ſelbs kayſer Friderich/vnd ſchickhet nach dem bild/vnd ließ
 10 des Babſt brieff leſen / da erſchrack der Kayſer/vnd fand /das in
 11 der Babſt in todt verraten het /vñ begeret gnad/alfo warden der
 12 kayſer vnd der Caplan gefencklich etlich tag gehalten / Nachuol-
 13 gend ließ in der Soldan ain Camin beraiten vnd wol bewaren/
 14 darinn waren ſie drew Monat / aber an eſſen vnd anderm khain

15 mangel sie hetten noch litten/dañ das der kayser sich het sterbens
 16 verwegen. Als aber die so mit kayser Friderich gerittē/den tag vñ
 17 über nacht des kayfers wartetten/vnd nach im ritten vñ fragten
 18 kunten vñ mochten nichts erfragen/alfo das nyemant weist wie
 19 ime vnd dem Caplan geschehen was/dañ als das geschray in das
 20 volck hör kam/ward menigklich vmb den frūnen Cristenlichen
 21 kayser trawrig /vñ als sie horten wie er des willens gewesen in dē
 22 schnellen pach/ der vō den höchstēn pergen in Armenia zutal lief
 23 zupaden/ertailten vnd maintēn gewilhch er wer vñ der Caplan
 24 ertrunckhen/vnd ainer wolt dem andern geholffen haben /vnnd
 25 weren baid ertruncken/Alfo ward ain gantz Monat nach im ge
 26 suchet aber nichts gefunden/Demnach verwagen sie sich /erwöltē
 27 vō newem haubtleut/zugen mit gewaltigen hör wider haim vñ
 28 sagten menigklich von dem verlornen kayser Friderich/vnd was
 29 ain groffe klag vmb in/Alfo wolten die Curfürsten/kainen rōmi
 30 schen König erwōlen/woltē ain iar still halten mit der wal/Der
 31 kayser het ainen sun Otto genāt/der wz noch zwaintzig jerig/zu
 32 8 walmer dañ zu iūg/ vñ ward also mit groffer begird auff in ain
 33 iar gewart/ wiewol sich in mitler weil ain trugner 8 auch ain rotē
 34 Bart het/ an der perfon khayser Friderichen vast gleich/sich auß
 35 thet er wer der verlorn kayser Friderich/betrog das gemain volck

Fol.5r 1 Aber er ward gefangen vnd peinlich gefragt /da veriach er seinen
 2 betrug/wardt deßhalben gestraft: Nun lag kayser Friderich vñ
 3 sein Caplan dort allen christen verporgen gefangē/ bey dem künig
 4 Soldan zū Babiloni/hetten groß verlangē in teutscheland/aber
 5 des gar kain hoffnung/gedachten offft wo in das glück zū Landt
 6 hulff wolt der kayser sich an seinem verträtter Babst Alexāder re
 7 chen. Als aber sie nun schier ain gantz iar gelegen vñ der Soldan
 8 8 ain Mamalugk ain verlaugneter Crift was/vil auffehens auf
 9 die zwen mañ/den kayser vnd seinen Caplā haimlich het fand dz

10 sie baid alltag ire Hores petteten/als werē sie religiosen/vñ 8 Ca
 11 plan het in seinē petpūch in ainem geschobē ledlein der pretter des
 12 petpuchs etliche vnconsecrierte Oblat/der er sich zūzeytēim veld
 13 vñ im hōre gepraucht het/der aines consecriert der Caplā/vor dē
 14 hochwirdigen sacrament als irem geschöpffer vñ trost bittē/die
 15 zwen teglich vñ nachtlich mit groffer innigkait paten vñ hilff/
 16 vnd ereten Got den Allmechtigen/das mercket der Soldan/hielt
 17 sie für bestendig frūm Christen/vnd ward zū barmhertzigkait be
 18 wegt/bedacht auch offft des Babsts vntrew vñ verraterey / Als
 19 das iar sein endt erraichet/nam im der Soldan für/den Kayser zū
 20 begnaden/lūd den kayser vñ Caplan zū seinem tisch/doch in güt
 21 ter verwarung/vñ redten vil vō allen sachen/aber die zwen hieltē
 22 sich demütig/begerten allain gnad/vnd als die das frūmal affen/
 23 begert vñ redet der Soldan zum kayser Friderich/ Jr seyt in ewr
 24 verwalltung anhaims ein großmechtiger kayser/wie wol ir nū in
 25 vnferm gewalt gefencklich gehalten werdt/wo aber wir bey euch
 26 wie ir bey vns/als vnser grōster veindt in folchem schein vns in
 27 ewrem gewalt het/ was wolt ir mit vns handln/tōdten oder lebē
 28 dig lassen. Nach ainem zimlichn schweygen gab der Kayser mit
 29 groffen sorgen antwort/Gebeiten 8 herz/wo ir in meinem gewalt
 30 gleich wie ich ytz alhie ewr gefangen bin gehalten/wert also/dz
 31 ich meines geuallens mit euch meinem veindt/ vnd besonder mit
 32 ainem vnglaubigē hādln möcht/ hab ich vormals gedacht eh ich
 33 ewr gefanngen worden/wo mir das glück hilff thet/das ich eūch
 34 möcht wie ir mich erobert/ was mir mit euch zethun wer/vñ bey
 35 mir selbs in rat funden vnd entlich beschloffen/das ich euch als ei
 36 nen großmechtigēherzn/nit anders dañ wie ir mich bißher auch
 37 gefencklich wolbewart gehalten haben/vñ mir wer layd gesche-

Fol.5v 1 hen das ir solt mangel gehabt/oder gelitten het/wiewol mir von
 2 euch in meiner gencknuß auch nichts begegnet /noch wißfarn

3 ift/das ich eüch wolt also wie ich mir felbs fürgenomen gehalten
 4 haben/hab ich die vrfach bedacht/das mir als ainem Römifchen
 5 kayfer ain groffe eer gewesen wer/vñ ewiger gedechtnus wol wir
 6 dig/das ich durch meinen haylmacher Crifto / fo weyt über mör
 7 gezogen mit hōres krafft/das haylig landt Jerufalem vñ das hai
 8 lig grab erobert/vñ den herren der vnter der soñen der möchtigt
 9 geacht wurt/gefencklich vnter meinem gewalt/vñ meines geual
 10 lens mit eüch wolhandln möchte / Ob ich euch dañ wol hielt/vñ
 11 ewrem standt nach erliche handlūg mittaylet/ was lob eer wurd
 12 ich erlangt haben/was wurd über vil jar von mir gefchriben vñ
 13 geflagt werden/wo ich aber gnũgsame bürgfchafft vñ verfchrey-
 14 bung oder gayfel von eüch angenommen/vñ het euch vmb ein ſum
 15 ma gelts oder golds auff ſchatzūg wiß vnuerfert wider zū ewrm
 16 Reich anheim laffen mit der verbindūg/dz ir dieweil ir lebt/auch
 17 ich dergleichen bey verpfendung der gnadē vnfer götter/auch bey
 18 eren glimpf vñ trewen/das vnfer kainer den anndern mit kainer
 19 kriegs übung anfertigen wolt / frid unfer baider lebtag gegen ein
 20 ander für vns felbs vñ vnfer vnderthanē getreulich haltñ/wo ich
 21 eüch/wañ ich euch wie ir mich fürgenomen gefangen het/mit di
 22 fer mainung außgeſchloffen vñ erlich fouerr ich zugebieten/euch
 23 des wegs anhaims verglayt vnd verſichert het/vnd auch bey an
 24 dern außwendigen künigen/die mir verwont/hilf Rat fürderūg
 25 vñ fürſchub gethon/on zweyfel es müſt ain vnuerſtendiger ſein/
 26 der mir vñ ſolche gütthat nit das peſt nach redet/ On zweyfel ir
 27 het auch mein die weil ir lebt wol gedacht/geſagt /Ich habe an kai
 28 ſer Friderichē nit ainen veindt/nit ainen Tirañ gehabt/dieweil er
 29 die oberhandt ob mir gehabt/ſonder ich hab ainē getreüen Wirt
 30 vnd gaſtgeben gehabt/der mir kain hertigkait noch untrew nye
 31 gethon hat/dieweil aber ſich das glück vmbgekert/vñ das/fo ich
 32 mir het wol bedechtlich fürgenomen/wider mich/vnnd nun mir
 33 auf dem nackh ligt/vnd bin nun in ewrem gewalt/ mügen mit er

34 barmung oder strenglich mit mir handln/darīn beuilch ich mich
 35 meinem schöpffer Christo/vñ ewrn gnaden. An diser red het der
 36 Soldan ain groß gefallen/merckhet das der kayser aines hohen ge
 37 übten verftandt/gutter gerechter fittē/warhaft/auch gotzförch

Fol.6r 1 tig wz/gedacht wol/das er wol billich mit feinen fittē ain Kayser
 2 thumb möcht regieren/vnd sprach zu dem kayser/Lieber herz ge-
 3 schech euch nach ewren wortten/ich will nit mer vō euch haben/
 4 dañ wie ir felbs geredt habt/vnd das so an mich wolt begert ha-
 5 ben/wañ ich ewr/wie ir yetz mein gefanger feyt/alfo thut demfel
 6 bēvolziehūg/so solt ir erlich wiß anheim komen/setzt pürgen vñ
 7 gayfeln/stelt die verschreibūg wie ir felbs geredt habt/mit der ver
 8 pfentung vñ verliefung der gnaden vnser gōtter/dañ zūschätzūg
 9 beger ich dreūmal hundert tausent Sigkl zu nemlichen zeitten zū
 10 bezalen/darzū redt der kayser/Es stündt im nit wol an/das er en-
 11 deret sein aigen vrtail/dieweil er aber het fundē des dancket
 12 er Christo/vnd erfrewet sich seines genedigen zūlagens/Aber er
 13 mocht weder gayfel noch purgſchafft nit gehabt/vnd fouil gol
 14 des der schatzung vrfach/das er nit anheim/vnd fouerrüber mōr
 15 nit bitten noch begern mocht pürgen vnd geltt aufzūbringen/ deß
 16 halb er muß sein lebtag gefangen sein/ Darzū redet der Soldan/
 17 Er bedacht in den Kayser im pesten/er wolt feinen tugendñ/eren
 18 vnd frombkaytten also vertrauen/das er die verschreybung auß-
 19 richtet/des frids halben/wie er felbs anzeigt het/dann der Bürg
 20 schafft halben/wolt er Soldan/das der Capellā belib mitſambt
 21 der confeciertē Hostia /wañ er Soldan het oft haimlich gefehē
 22 die eer vnd wurde/die der kayser vnd sein Capellan dem hochwir
 23 digen Sacrament gethon hetten/Demnach begeret er nit anß/
 24 doch das der Capellan in abwesen des Kayfers/ dem Sacramēt
 25 alle eer thet wie vor/vñ was er zu 8 eer gottes nottūfftig würd
 26 wöllet er im nit mangel laßen/dañ das der kayser genad enpfund

27 vnd feinen gūten willen mit erbarmung spūret/wolt er zuschatz
 28 ung nit mer von im haben/dañ hundert tausent Ducatē/des dan
 29 cket im der kayser mit wainenden augen folchs gnedigñ willens
 30 vnd den Kayser trawet nit anders dañ das er das haylig Sacra-
 31 ment vñ feinen getreuen Capellan solt hinter im zūpfandt lassen
 32 Also wurden di frid brieff vnd schatzungsbrieff auffgericht/vñ 8
 33 Kayser bat den Capellan/das er mit andacht wolt dem hayligñ
 34 Sacrament alle gebürliche eer thun/vnd ain klaine zeit gedult ha-
 35 ben/er wolt feinen kopff nit rñen lassen bißer seinen schopffer vñ
 36 erlöser/auch in/ als feinen getrewēdiener erlediget/mit gelt oder
 37 mit klainaten/Also ordnet der Soldan dem kayser alle notturfft

Fol.6v 1 an Kayfigen /verfach in m it zerūg/gab im ainen Trützelman o8
 2 Glaitzman zū/vnd besonder fürderung brieff/gab im auch selbs/
 3 nachdem von allen vnd yeden wainer vrlaub name/besonder von
 4 dem hochwirdigen Sacrament vnd seinem Capellan/das gelayt
 5 etwo verz/vñ schencket dem kayser vier Barbarisch roß vñ feltza
 6 me klainat vnnd leut die er solt mit im zūland Bringen/Also ward
 7 der kayser mit zwayunddreyßig pferden/vnd etlichen meülern/er-
 8 lich durch die landt des Soldans verglayt/vnnd wo fein vndter-
 9 than feinen des Soldans panier oder brieff fahen/knyetē sie ni8/
 10 Als sie aber das Teutsch Land erraichten/lag der Kayser still zū
 11 Brixen bey dem Bischoff Hartman/der sich fein vñ all teutsch
 12 Fürsten vnd menigklich erfrewten seiner zukunfft/vnd besonder
 13 der frembden geschicht/ also das ain groß zūreytten was von des
 14 Reichs Fürsten vnd großmechtigen/die begert den Kayser zū
 15 sehen/vnd fein beschwar so er erlitten zūhorn vnd ward von me-
 16 nigklich mit grossen freuden empfangen. Als aber die Soldani-
 17 schen Reüter fein mit geferten/den es reylich erpottñ ward/ wol
 18 auß rafftetet vörtiget sie der Kayser erlich ab mit fondern gabē/
 19 schicket auch fein glaitzleut widerub mit in/damit sie auch sicher

20 anheim kamen mit freuden brachten auch feltzam klainat mit in
 21 anheim mit schreiben so der kayfer schicket dein Soldan/daran er
 22 besonder groß gefallēhet/Nachdem zoch der kayfer gen Nürm-
 23 berg allda berufft er all stēdt des Reichs/het ainen groffen reichß
 24 tag/da beklaget er sich vor allem Reich/der vntrew vñ verretarey
 25 des Babst Alexanders/ zayget auch den brieff den der Babst het
 26 den Soldan geschickt/den der Soldā dem Kayfer/angesehen des
 27 Babsts vntrew/ het zūgestellet /also nach der klag des kayfers vñ
 28 seinem anzaigen/wie in der Soldan gehalten/vnd das hochwir-
 29 dig Sacramēt zū pfandt müssen lassen/auch mit entdeckung der
 30 verschreibung vñ schatzung/wie er auch so erlich zūlandt wer ver-
 31 glayt worden/ verwundert sich menigklich/vñ hetten ainen grof-
 32 sen vnluſt uber den Babst Alexander/ schwüren vñ verhiessen dē
 33 Kayfer solche verräterey zūrechen/Also samlet vnnd berufft der
 34 kayfer gen Trient ain groß hör/zoch durch Welsche lande das im
 35 nyemant widerstandt thet für Rom.
 36 Wie Kayfer Friderich für Rom zoch mit

Fol.7r 1 vil volcks vnd schwür bey seinen Ern er wolt sich rechnen an dem
 2 Babst Akexander der in gegē dem König Soldan verraten het/
 3 darumb er dan gefangen ward von dem Soldan /Also floch der
 4 Babst gen Venedig / dem er nach volgt mit hōres krafft:
 5 ¶ Da entran der Babst vñ etlich Cardinel in die alt Stat/zūletst
 6 in seines kochs klaidern aus Rom /und kam auff das mōr vñ gen
 7 Venedig/enthielt sich zū Venedig in ainem munch Closter/dem
 8 volgt der kayfer nach/legeret sich nahent zū Venedig auff das ge-
 9 statt/vñ thet in vil zwangs vñ abbruchs/ Als aber sich im Reich
 10 zwischen den Fursten vnwillen erhüb/zoch der kayfer in daz reich
 11 vnd damit er die Venediger vñ den Babst obfigen möcht / ließ er
 12 seinen sun Ottonem vor Venedig mit hōres kraftligen / vñ er stil-
 13 let der Fürsten widerwillē/bracht auch in der zeit die hailigē drey

14 künig nach erobrung der Stat Mayland von dannen durch Ra
 15 maldū Ertzbischoff zū Cōln in die Stat Cōln / da sie noch seind:
 16 Als aber des Kayfers sun mit den Venedigern ainen frid het ange
 17 stoffen mit verzygkten verschreibungen/ ließ sich des kayfers sun
 18 Otto ladē in die stat Venedig /dergleich thet auch Otto / die Cen
 19 teloni/ das find die Venedigischē Ratherren lūd sie heranß vnter
 20 seine gezellt in das hor / do erbotten sie sich so freuntlich/ thetñ im
 21 grosse eer / also das er sich vertrauet /dz der verzygkt frid außgieng
 22 gedacht nit an die falschen tückh / vñ ward also von in gefangen
 23 vermainten wo des kayfers sun gefangen wer / so wurd der krieg
 24 leichtlich gericht/ Also ward dem Kayser ain wissen gmacht des
 25 suns gefencknus /vnd mit was listigkayt sie warn umbgangen /
 26 Nichts minder lag das hōre still vor Venedig vnd warteten be-
 27 schaidt vom kayser /Also rüet der kayser nit / kam selbs wider für
 28 Venedig / vil grymiger dan vor/vnd ward so seer erzürnet /das er
 29 schwūr ainen ayde/das er von Venedig nit wolt abzyehen /er het
 30 dan vor auß fant Marx kirchen ainen Roßstall gemacht vñ seine
 31 Roß darein gestellt/ vnd fant Marx platz vmgeackert vnd korn
 32 darein gefat/ vñ griff die Venediger mit folchem ernst an /das sie
 33 sich vor im nit zūfristen werten / also hetten sie gern frid gemacht
 34 vnd mit gelt gestillt / das aber der kayser alles verachtet /erwoltye
 35 seinem schwūr halten/darnach übten sich der Babst vñ die Vene
 36 diger/bey den Welschen Hertzogen vnd Marggraffen vñ Bisch

Fol.7v 1 off Hartman/ die unterteydigten lang / Vnd dieweil ye der kayser
 2 in seinem schwūr wolt verharren / willigeten die Venediger / das
 3 des kayfers schwūr solt furgang haben / Also das der kayser seine
 4 Roß in fant Marx kirchñ stellet über nacht/vñ auch fant Marx
 5 platz lassen ackern und korn seen / das ward also verteydigt
 6 doch das die Venediger solten /wie die Roß gestellt wurden /die
 7 stendt der Roß/mit rotten unnd weissen stainen vnderfchidlich

8 pflastern /deßgleich die fürch so geackert wurden auff dem platz/
 9 vnd solten vier Erdene roß oder glockenspeysene roß gleich in der
 10 groß andere Roß /stellen auff das portal sant Marx kirchen / die
 11 zaichen des pflasters vnd die Roß sollen ewigklich steen / vnd zů
 12 gedechtnuß gehalten werden/ Vñ zů abtrag dem kayser dreümal
 13 hundert tausent Ducaten /difer frist wardt außgerufft / vnd des
 14 kayfers schwür wardt gehalten /die Roß gestelt vnd geackert /als
 15 das anheüt noch zů Venedig gesehen würd / Also prach der kayser
 16 mit seinem hör auff/ vñ zoch sambt seinem sun wider in dz Reich
 17 vnd schlüg vō gold ain müntz / auff die ain feytten des kayfers an
 18 gesicht/ vñ auff die andern feyttē ain Monstrantzē vñ ain Oftia
 19 darin /Mit difer müntz erlediget der kayser das hochwirdig Sa
 20 crament vnd seinen Caplan von dem Soldan/Difer kayser ward
 21 beredt von sant Hartman des Brixischen Bischoff/das er ablas
 22 von dem Babst begeret seiner feel zů gůt /Also demütiget sich der
 23 kayser /vnd leget sich vnter die füß des Babsts/do trat der Babst
 24 dem kayser auff seinem hals vñ sprach /Es stet geschriben / Ob der
 25 schlangen vnd ob dem Bafilisckhen wierst du wandern / vñ tret
 26 ten den Leon vnd Trakhen. Do sprach der kayser/Ich bin nit dir
 27 sonder petro / des nachkhomen du bist gehorsam. Also wardt die
 28 sache zwischen des Babsts vnd Kayfers gericht / vnd der Babst
 29 kam zů dem dritten mal gen Rom /vnd hielt ain Concili /vnd ord
 30 net vil zů gemainem nutz der kirchen /starb im ainundzwaintzig
 31 sten jar seines Babstthumbs. Der Kayser het zwů haußfrawen /
 32 die erst ain Marggreffin vō Doburg/des Marggraff Diebolds
 33 tochter/von der ließ er sich fypschaft halben schayden /Nam ein
 34 andere Greffin Junckfrawē Beatrix/des Graffen vō Burgun
 35 di tochter/lebet feligklich/was großtättig /kūnmüttig/millt ge
 36 streng/vnd ain Redsprechig man /vnd außerhalb der kirchen ver
 37 uolung in vil sachen berümbt / das nach dem groffen kayser Ka

Fol.8r 1 rol in geschichten kainer mer gethon hat /vnd ist zůletst verlorn
2 worden das niemandt waist wo er hin ist komē /noch begraben/
3 Die pawrn vnd schwartzen künftner sagen /er sey noch lebendig
4 in ainem holen Perg /foll noch herwider komen/vnd die Gaysthli-
5 chen straffen/vñ sein schillt noch an den dūren paum hengken /
6 welchs paumß all Soldan noch fleißig hüttē lassen / das ist war
7 das des paumß gehūt wirt /vnd sein hütter darzu gestift / Wöl-
8 cher Kayser aber seinem schillt sol daran hencken das wayß Got.
9 ¶ Gedruckt zů Augspurg.M.D.xix

9.2 Figures and Illustrations.



Figure 1: Barbarossa in Saladin's captivity.

True History, Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1519, fol.1r., Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

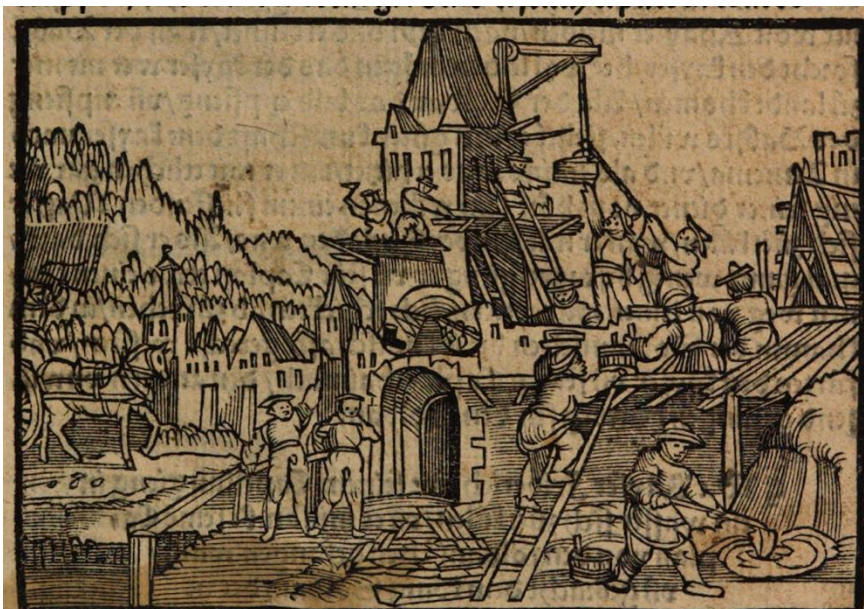


Figure 2: Dietmar's coat of arms.

True History, Landshut: Weyssenburger, 1519. fol.5r., Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.



Figure 3: Ship of Fools of the Bundschuh.

Adelphus, Johannes. *Narrenschiff vom buntschuch*. Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger, 1514, fol.1r. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.



Figure 4: Bundschuh rebel dressed in fool's clothes.

Murner, Thomas. *Narrenbeschwerung*, Strassburg: Knoblauch, 1518. fol. 137r.

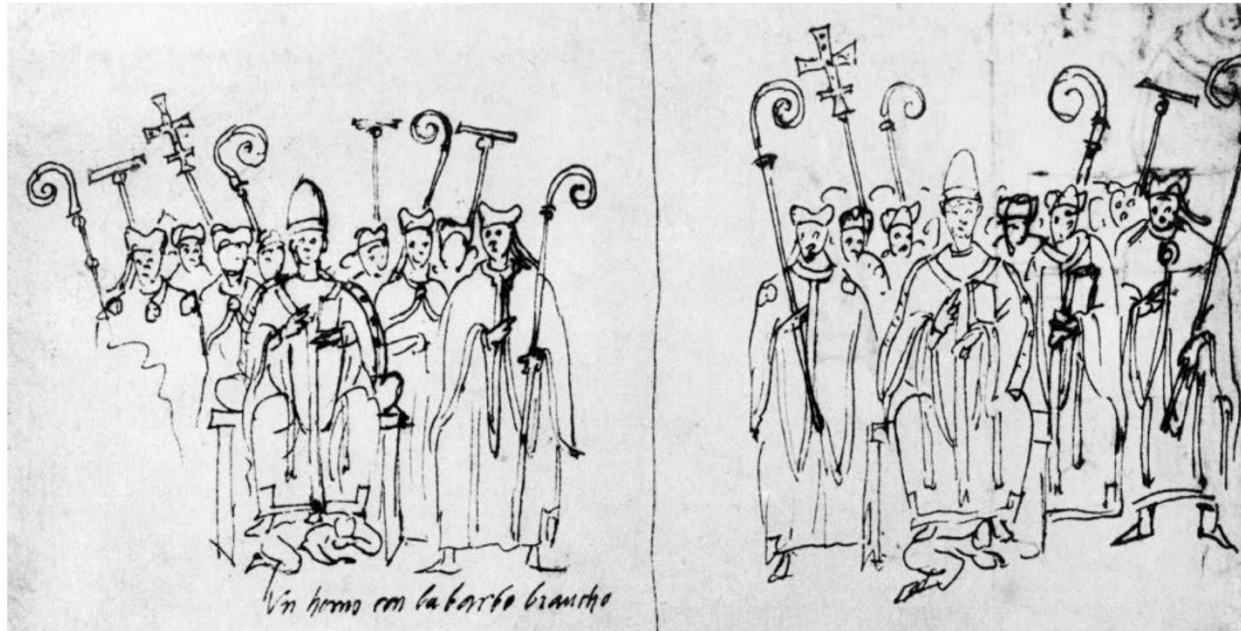


Figure 5: Popes trampling antipopes as *Christus Victor*.

Barb. lat. 2738, fol.105v., Gerhart B. Ladner: *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, Bd.1., Rome 1941., cited in Peter Cornelius Claussen, "S. Nicola in Palatio," *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter: 1050-1300.*, ed. Daniela Mondini, Carola Jäggi, and Peter Cornelius Claussen, Bd.4, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2020), 625.

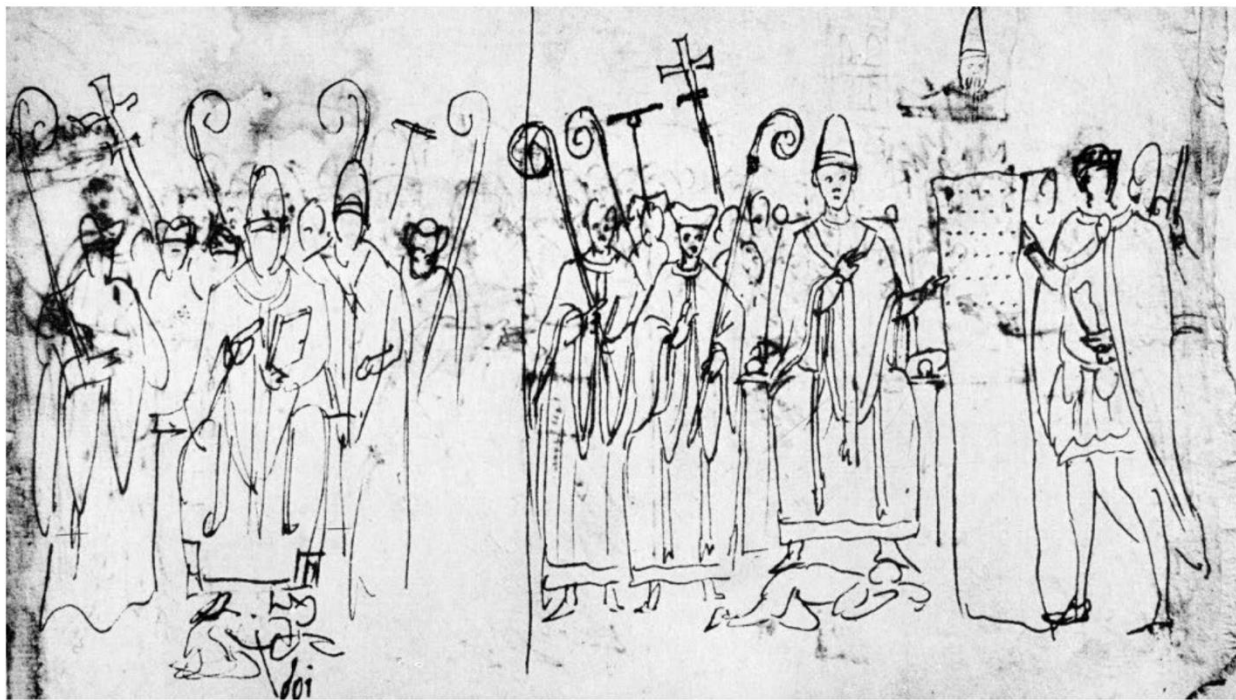


Figure 6: Henry V holds Concordat of Worms, beside Calixtus II, trampling an antipope.

Barb. lat. 2738, fol. 105v., G.B. Ladner: *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters* (1941), as cited in Claussen, "S. Nicola in Palatio," 626.