

The Historical Work of Burchard of Ursberg, III: The Historian and His Sources*)

Scholarly attention to the chronicle of the Premonstratensian provost of Ursberg, Burchard, has consistently focused on his use of source materials. B. von Simson's introduction to the second Monumentist edition of the Ursberg *Chronicon* (hereafter *UC*) reflected a consensus that the provost used three major groups of written sources: those available to him at the neighboring Swabian monasteries of Zwiefalten and Weingarten, and Italian sources encountered on excursions to Rome¹⁾. Like his predecessors O. Abel and W. von Giesebrecht²⁾, Simson was more interested in Burchard's attention to earlier historical accounts for the genealogy of his presentation, that is for the origin of the factual notices which he conveyed, than for the provost's technique as a writer of history. His emphasis was therefore historical rather than historiographical, growing from the desire to assess the accuracy of Burchard's annals and biographies rather than from interests in the medieval author's working methods or his objectives.

A later article in this series will point out the use of one Premonstratensian source, the *Dialogi* of Anselm bishop of Havelberg, which even the recent study by N. Backmund failed to identify³⁾.

*) This is the third in a series of articles beginning in the first 1982 fascicle of this journal.

¹⁾ Simson, intro. to Burchard of Ursberg, *Chronicon*, ed. O. Holder-Egger and Simson, 2nd ed., *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usus Scholarum* (Hanover, 1916), pp. xi-xxv.

²⁾ Abel, «Die Ursperger Chronik», *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 11 (1858), 93-103; Giesebrecht, «Kritische Bemerkungen zur Ursperger Chronik», *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, der philosophisch-, philologischen und historischen Klasse* (1881), I, 229-238.

³⁾ For discussion of Burchard's sources, see also T. Lindner, «Zum chronicon Urspergense», *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 16 (1891), 117-134; R. Holtzmann, «Das Carmen de Frederico I. imperatore aus Bergamo und die Anfänge einer staufischen Hofhistoriographie», *NA* 44 (1922), 297-313; E. Ottmar, «Das Carmen de Friderico I. imperatore aus Bergamo und seine Beziehungen zu Otto-Rahewins Gesta Friderici, Gunthers Ligurinus, und Burchard von Ursbergs Chronik», *NA* 46 (1926), 473-489; F. Güterbock, «Über Otto von St. Blasien, Burchard von Ursberg, und eine unbekannte Welfenquelle mit Ausblick auf die Chiavennafrage», in *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Robert Holtzmann*, Historische Studien 238 (Berlin, 1933), pp. 192 ff.; N. Backmund, *Die mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreiber des*

It is of special importance to Burchard's vision of history. This source, however, is neither historical nor historiographical but theological, and its influence on *UC* will be considered later. Simson's summary probably represents as much as can be done to identify where Burchard learned of those events to which he was not witness; the chronicler surely had more sources which cannot now be identified because they have disappeared. Here an attempt will be made not to explore further Burchard's sources of information, but to analyse the editorial and critical faculties with which he treated those which have already been identified⁴). Some preliminary mention of the sources known to the Ursberg provost is, however, necessary to investigation of how he drew from and evaluated them.

Burchard used the universal chronicle of Frutolf of Michelsberg and Ekkehard of Aura for his history to A.D. 1125. He borrowed a single short passage from the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor to elucidate the foundation of the first kingdoms. For imperial activities of the twelfth century, he drew upon Otto of Freising's *Chronica*, the annals of Zwiefalten, the B life of St. Norbert, and the lost annals of Tivoli. He drew from *Excerptum de Gallica historia* concerning Augsburg's local history. About the Third Crusade, he borrowed the contemporary *Historia brevis de occupatione et amissione Terre Sancte*. For those times from the reign of Henry VI on, he mingled his own recollections and the eyewitness accounts of others with documentary evidence. Burchard copied a few minor works known from other sources into the autograph codex of his chronicle; they were intended to be supportive of the central historical text and, like sources used in *UC* proper, pertain to discussion of the provost's manipulation of written materials⁵).

Some of the sources employed by Burchard have, however, disappeared. While they are likewise significant for understanding his treatment of prior historical work, their relationship to the author's independent text is less clear. Burchard mentions, for instance, the lost history of John of Cremona as a source for Barbarossa's reign; he cites a

Prämonstratenserordens, Bibliotheca Analectorum Praemonstratensium 10 (Averbode, 1972), pp. 14-21.

⁴) Cf. R. D. Ray's methodological suggestion, «Medieval Historiography through the Twelfth Century: Problems and Progress of Research», *Viator* 5 (1974), p. 55: «The use of sources, which has always met with attention from other points of view, deserves comparison with the methodological statements of medieval historians in their prefaces. Tampering, interpolation: these activities too point to the historian's objectives».

⁵) Bibliographical and descriptive information on each of these sources will be provided below.

record, again missing, of the Crusader disaster at Damietta. His debt to these works can only be assessed by analogy to his use of surviving histories. Burchard's reference to still more extant written sources is in doubt. Whether he used the chronicle of his earlier south German contemporary Otto of St. Blasien or the older *Gesta Friderici* of Otto of Freising has been much disputed⁶). In the absence of any clear verbal correspondence between *UC* and these important histories and in view of the strong community of interest among Burchard and both Ottos which might have encouraged him to borrow freely if he knew their works, it seems that he did not⁷). The appearance in *UC* of a complex of sources associated with the Benedictine abbey of Weingarten has been treated in the preceding article in this study; *Historia Welforum* and related texts will therefore be set aside from the present discussion⁸). The annals of Zwiefalten and Tivoli will likewise be omitted because their entries in both original versions and Burchard's reproduction are too spare and too bereft of contextual framework and interpretive content to contribute to an understanding of the provost's working habits⁹).

BURCHARD'S ZWIEFALTEN HISTORY BOOK

The work of Frutolf and Ekkehard, the foundation on which Burchard constructed discussions of historiographical theory and added his own compilations and compositions on the history of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, was without question the Premonstratensian's

⁶) Cf. Abel, p. 96; Giesebrecht, p. 232; Lindner, p. 128; H. Bloch, *Die elsässischen Annalen der Stauferzeit*, in *Regesten der Bischöfe von Strassburg*, I, pt. 1 (Innsbruck, 1908), p. 129, n. 7; A. Hofmeister, in Otto of St. Blasien, *Chronica*, ed. Hofmeister, SSRG (Hanover, 1912), pp. xvi-xvii; Ottmar, pp. 473, 485, n. 2; Güterbock, pp. 192-198; Backmund, p. 17.

⁷) Burchard's possible unfamiliarity with Otto of Freising, except where his work appears in the Zwiefalten Frutolf-Ekkehard codex (see below) is the more surprising in view of the bishop's fame in the Danube region, especially among houses of the reform orders. The Ursberg necrology, e.g., lists his death: *Necrologium Ursbergense*, ed. F. L. Baumann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Necrologia Germaniae 1 (Berlin, 1886), p. 131.

⁸) Ernal's life of St. Bernard, which the prior article in this series has shown to be intertwined with *UC*'s use of *Historia Welforum*, will likewise be set aside here, as will the dubious possibilities that *UC* is related to the work of Eike of Repgow and the Hogenburg-Neuburg chronicle. Cf. Bloch, pp. 130-137; Simson, pp. xv-xvi.

⁹) See *Annales Zwifaltenses*, ed. O. Abel, MGH Scriptorum 10 (Hanover, 1852), pp. 51-64; on Burchard's use see Simson's summary, p. xiii. See also *Cronica pontificum et imperatorum Tiburtina*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS 31 (Hanover, 1902), pp. 226-265; for Burchard's use, see Giesebrecht, pp. 235-238; Lindner, pp. 130-133; O. Holder-Egger, «Einiges zur Quellenkritik der Chronik Sicards», *NA* 26 (1901), 487-490; Simson, p. xxiv.

most important historical source as well as his most important historiographical model. Frutolf, prior of the abbey of Michelsberg at Bamberg, had compiled a universal chronicle from Creation to A.D. 1099; his work was continued by Ekkehard, later abbot of Aura, in a series of redactions with contemporary additions up to the death of Henry V in 1125¹⁰). The Frutolf-Ekkehard manuscript which Burchard used belonged to the black monks at Zwiefalten, an abbey which, like Weingarten, had passed from Welf into Stauffer advocacy with the inheritance agreement of A.D. 1176 between Barbarossa and his uncle¹¹). The Zwiefalten history codex, copied in the twelfth century and surviving as Stuttgart cod. hist. fol. 411, was a rich source-book for the Premonstratensian provost; not only did he use its principal text, the universal chronicle, but also its notices on the local history of Augsburg, its sibylline prophecies, and its quotations from the chronicle of Otto of Freising¹²).

Evidence for the Ursberg historian's use of the Zwiefalten manuscript, beyond his work's stemmatic affinity to the Benedictine library's Frutolf-Ekkehard, is compelling. As Abel first noted, errors in the dates of death of Salian emperors rehearsed by Burchard are reflected exactly in a marginal addition to the manuscript now at Stuttgart¹³). Burchard wrote in *UC* that he had seen the Salian tombs at Speyer and noted their inscriptions; comparison of his recollection with the chronology in his source chronicle led him to discount the latter's accuracy:

Quia vero prefati IIII imperatores in ecclesia Spirensi usque in presens evidentem habent sepulturam et tumulos de marmore fabricatos et politos, sicut eosdem oculis notris perspeximus, primum superscriptiones eorundem mausoleorum, sicut meminimus nos ab eisdem descripsisse, annotabimus; videbitur enim paulisper forte discrepare ab his, que prenotata sunt¹⁴).

¹⁰) See F.-J. Schmale's introduction, pp. 1-39: Frutolf of Michelsberg and Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronica necnon anonymi chronica imperatorum*, ed. and trans. Schmale and I. Schmale-Ott, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* 15 (Darmstadt, 1972).

¹¹) W. Setzler, «Zwiefalten», in *Die Benediktinerklöster in Baden-Württemberg*, ed. F. Quarthal (Ottobeuren, 1975), *Germania Benedictina* 5, pp. 682-683, 691.

¹²) As Schmale has pointed out, the Stuttgart Frutolf-Ekkehard belongs to a group of manuscripts representing Ekkehard's fourth and final recension: p. 37. For a description of the manuscript, see W. von Heyd, *Die historischen Handschriften der königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Stuttgart*, I: *Handschriften in Folio* (Stuttgart, 1889-1890), pp. 185-186; K. Löffler, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Zwiefalten* (Linz a. D., 1931), p. 60.

¹³) Abel, p. 95.

¹⁴) *UC*, p. 4.

Frutolf-Ekkehard had in fact offered the correct dates; Burchard corrected incorrectly. His wrong alternative dates are represented in addenda by a later hand than the main text's in the Zwiefalten codex:

Obitus quatuor imperatorum sicut in monasterio Spirensi super supelchra eorum sunt annotati. Cuonradus II. imperator Roman. anno dominice incarnat. 1039 Non. Junii obiit. Huius filius Hainricus III. qui dictus est Niger Romanor. imperator anno dom. incarnat. 1056 Non. Octob. obiit. Huius quoque filius Heinricus IV. dictus senior Romanor. imperator anno dom. incarn. 1106 septimo Idus Jun. obiit. Filius eiusdem Heinricus V. dictus iunior Rom. imperator a. dom. incarn. 1125 decimo Kal. Augus. obiit¹⁵).

These notices in the Zwiefalten Frutolf-Ekkehard text are almost certainly in the hand of Burchard of Ursberg¹⁶).

Why the provost should have included such an erroneous notice is curious, especially since his justification for its inclusion in *UC* refers to his desire for exactitude. H. Grauert made the plausible suggestion that he had lost his notes on Speyer by the time he used the Zwiefalten material for his own chronicle. His 'sicut meminimus' implies that he may have been relying on memory alone¹⁷). The most significant feature of Burchard's Salian burial notice is, however, not its obvious error but the critical position which it indicated toward his work's most valuable

¹⁵) Stuttgart cod. hist. fol. 411, fol 207 r. Transcription here follows H. Grauert, «Die Kaisergräber im Dome zu Speyer: Bericht über ihre Oeffnung im August 1900», *SB bayer. Akad.* (1900), pp. 595-596. As Grauert points out, Burchard was in every case wrong on either the day or the month: p. 594. Conrad died on II Non. Jun. (June 4), Henry III on III Non. Oct. (October 5), Henry IV on VII Id. Aug. (August 7), and Henry V on X Kal. Jun. (May 23). The dates of the royal deaths are recoverable from many sources, but the correct tomb inscriptions only from the *Lehenbuch* of the Speyer bishop Matthias: F.J. Mone, *Quellensammlung der badischen Landesgeschichte*, I (Karlsruhe, 1848), 189-190.

¹⁶) Cf. Abel, p. 95; Grauert, pp. 596-605; Simson, pp. XII-XIII; Backmund, pp. 14-15. Lindner thought rather that Burchard had incorporated the error from the note, which had already been added to the Zwiefalten book before he used it; this argument assumes awkwardly that Burchard could not remember whether or not he had recorded the Speyer inscriptions: p. 127.

¹⁷) Cf. Grauert, pp. 594-595. Abel's suggestion that Burchard had visited Speyer long before the chronicle's composition, before Frederick II's reinterment of Philip's body — which Burchard mentions only later in his *UC* text (p. 91) — next to his Salian ancestors, renders his error more understandable: p. 95. The Ursberg history's incompleteness and generally hasty aspect, though, suggest that its present form was not produced over a long period. Grauert's alternative suggestion that Philip's, his mother's, and his sister Agnes' graves were not yet decorated when Burchard saw the Speyer tombs is likewise plausible: p. 612. It nevertheless seems likeliest that the provost had no desire to say anything about Philip here, since the Salian dynasty, not its Hohenstaufen successors, was at issue.

source. The provost advertises his awareness of the model chronicle's defects: «paulisper forte discipare»; he intends to repair the presumed mistake with independent epigraphical tools. And, indeed, this instance of responsiveness between the Premonstratensian and his century-old source is typical of the provost's work. The strong interest in epigraphical evidence suggested by Burchard's Salian notice is repeated in other contexts in *UC*¹⁸). Perhaps his inclusion of inscriptions in both new and borrowed sections of his work was inspired by epigraphical notes to the local history text, *Excerptum ex Gallica historia*, likewise copied into the Zwiefalten history codex and borrowed by him verbatim, but for the omission of the first sentence, under his rubric «Interpositio de civitate Augusta»¹⁹).

Most further additions by Burchard to his Frutolf-Ekkehard text are uninteresting²⁰). For instance, at Frutolf-Ekkehard's entry for A.D. 1119, the provost's text reflects a marginal addition to the Zwiefalten sourcebook which, like the notice on the burials at Speyer, he probably made himself:

Huic concilio interfuit Norbertus postea Praemonstratensis ordinis institutor, tunc autem noviter conversus in peregrino habitu, ibique ab omnibus in multis accusabatur, de quibus se prudenter excusabat. Unde et scriptum legitur de eo, quia: *Manus horum omnium contra eum et ipse contra hos omnes*²¹).

Here the Premonstratensian chronicler revealed some interest, vestigial elsewhere in his work, in emphasizing his own order's importance.

¹⁸) Ekkehard, *Chronica*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 6 (Hanover, 1844), p. 36. This edition will subsequently be cited as Frutolf-Ekkehard.

¹⁹) Cf. *UC*, pp. 50-52; *Excerptum ex Gallica historia*, ed. O. Abel and L. Weiland, MGH SS 23 (Hanover, 1874), pp. 385-390. *Excerptum* was written by the mid-eleventh century, and is found in many copies from the Alemannic-Austrian cultural circle: pp. 386-388.

²⁰) Comparison of the *UC editio princeps*, represented in Frutolf-Ekkehard by the siglum 13, with its Zwiefalten basis, represented by 12, confirms quickly how limited Burchard's changes to his own source manuscript were. Backmund's remark on Burchard's criticism of Ekkehard's work perhaps refers narrowly to his Salian recapitulation: p. 14: «Warum Burchard hier oft eigene Wege geht, sagt er selbst».

²¹) Stuttgart cod. hist. fol. 411, fol. 201 r; Frutolf-Ekkehard, p. 254. Transcription here follows the edition. G. H. Pertz interpreted this note to show as conclusively as the Salian grave-inscriptions that Burchard used this manuscript or an immediate copy: «Bemerkungen ueber einzelne Handschriften und Urkunden», *Archiv* 7 (1839), 499; cf. Simson, pp. XII-XIII.

Burchard's redaction of Frutolf-Ekkehard is thus little more than a copy of the Zwiefalten manuscript. Moreover, the only passages which he borrows from Otto of Freising's *Chronica* are found in the same codex as Frutolf-Ekkehard²²). The provost was well aware of who Otto had been. Introducing a first quotation from the Cistercian's *Chronica* on the relationship of the Salians to Merovingians and Carolingians, he noted that his source author was of the same family: «Otto Frisingensis episcopus, qui de eadem generatione descendit»; while Burchard was thus aware of Otto of Freising's special authority, he did not hesitate to refute the bishop's argument on the uniqueness of Henry IV's excommunication: «Licet prefatus Otto hec scribat. ...:²³) Burchard again offered a specific notice of the bishop of Freising's historical accomplishment in his discussion of Leopold III of Austria, Otto's father:

Genuit quoque Cuonradum, qui postmodum fuit archiepiscopus Iuvavie, quam vocant Salzburg, et Ottonem qui fuit episcopus Frisingensis, qui et cronicam conscripsit et usque ad tempora huius Friderici perfecit²⁴).

The overall extent of the Ursberg historian's familiarity with Otto's work is, however, unclear. *Cronica*, Schmale has asserted, was more properly the title of the bishop's account of Barbarossa's reign than was *Gesta Friderici*²⁵). But it is immediately apparent that Burchard refers rather to the universal chronicle also called *Historia de duabus civitatibus* than to the biographical work, since he says that Otto's *cronica* continued to Frederick I's reign, not that it was devoted particularly to the author's nephew. The bishop of Freising's history of the heavenly and earthly cities in fact reached past Barbarossa's time; its eighth and final book reached even past Burchard's time in the sense that it was concerned with future cosmic events. The Zwiefalten Frutolf-Ekkehard codex contained excerpts from the twelfth-century chronicle only up to the seventh book, on the other hand, and Burchard reflects knowledge of just those passages. His choice of historical as opposed to metahistorical material from Otto's work was perhaps conditioned by availability, but

²²) Cf. Stuttgart cod. hist. fol. 411, fols. 209-221; Simson's summary of Burchard's use of Otto's work, pp. XII-XIII.

²³) *UC*, p. 5.

²⁴) *UC*, p. 24. See the prior article in this series for discussion of a marginal note in the sole complete *UC* manuscript describing Otto as a Premonstratensian: *UC*, p. 21.

²⁵) Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici seu rectius chronica*, ed. F.-J. Schmale, trans. A. Schmidt, AQ 17 (Berlin, 1965), pp. 75-76.

this is not to say that it may not also have been the Premonstratensian's conscious preference²⁶).

Burchard responded no more critically to the information offered in his chronicle's excerpts from Otto than he did in his redaction of Frutolf-Ekkehard. It seems that since his intent was to use all of the material in the big Zwiefalten history book which he saw as relevant to his own work, he approached it as authoritative except in the few instances where he explicitly contradicted it. Even where its contents were not suitable, as he judged, for incorporation into *UC*, he used them in association with it. So he copied *verbatim* into the front of his own manuscript the apocalyptic *Verba sibille* which he found in the same volume as Frutolf-Ekkehard²⁷). These prophecies, attributed to Bede, were actually late tenth- or early eleventh-century predictions based on an earlier Greek texts concerning the last world empire and the advent of Antichrist. Neither the Zwiefalten nor the Ursberg text showed any further reference to them²⁸, yet Burchard considered them worth his while. He was similarly interested in the Zwiefalten codex's life of Alexander the Great, although it was not part of the Frutolf-Ekkehard chronicle²⁹). Burchard intended to include it later in his own manuscript. He wrote in his text at the appropriate date, «Historia Alexandri magni alibi scribetur»³⁰); if he finally did copy the Alexander text into his chronicle autograph, it was omitted later in the *UC* tradition.

From the sources which Burchard then derived from a single history codex at a neighboring monastery, a pattern emerges for his incorporation of earlier written history. With a few salient exceptions, the historical material of source work is assumed without emendation into the Ursberg text; where the historian does deviate, he advertises his

²⁶) Giesebrecht thought that Burchard may have had access to the Zwiefalten copy of Otto's complete *Chronica*, from which excerpts in the Frutolf-Ekkehard codex were made: p. 232.

²⁷) Stuttgart cod. hist. fol. 411, fols. 1-5. Cf. description of the arrangement of the *UC* manuscript, Clm 4351, in the first article in this series.

²⁸) The *Patrologia Latina* text is close to that of Burchard and the manuscript now at Stuttgart, although it concludes with a poem which they both omit: *Verba sibille*, PL, ed. J. P. Migne, 90 (Paris 1850), cols. 1181-1186. For the development of the text of the Tiburtine sibyl and variant versions, see E. Sackur, *Sybillinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle, 1898), pp. 117-187; P. J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek: The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 10 (Washington, 1967), esp. pp. 48-66, pp. 136-137; B. McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979), pp. 43-50.

²⁹) Stuttgart cod. hist. fol. 411, fols. 223-239, 248-254.

³⁰) Clm 4351, fol. 210 v.

disagreement. On the other hand Burchard shows strong interest in the identity of his sources. Where he can, as in the case of Otto of Freising, he describes them, emphasizing their credibility; he claims that Otto, as a Salian himself, was in an especially good position to assess the relationship of the dynasty to its imperial predecessors. Burchard is not as well-informed concerning other source authors represented in the Zwiefalten codex, but he still makes his indebtedness plain. The universal chronicle manuscript which he copied had not named either Frutolf or Ekkehard, but was entitled «Epithome Eusebii. ...»³¹ The provost's first introduction thus mentions Eusebius as the author of the chronology reproduced in his extended text: «Hec ideo dictus Eusebius sic disponit. ...»³²) And at the end of his redaction of the work of Frutolf-Ekkehard, Burchard similarly adverts to the derivative nature of the text: «Hucusque scriptoris cronica extenditur. Incipit pars reliqua»³³).

Burchard refers directly to the anonymous authorship of the Augsburg *Excerptum* used in his digression on the episcopal city: «Sicut ex scriptis veterum colligitur. ...»³⁴) Where he borrows from Otto under the same rubric, he does not mention the Cistercian historian, but apparently he fails to do so only because here Otto too depended on acknowledged sources; the provost repeats the bishop of Freising's «tradunt Augustenses»³⁵). Burchard's reference to other sources available north of the Alps is similar. For the sentences which he borrows from *Historia scholastica*, he does not name Peter Comestor; the Ursberg provost was, however, well aware that the biblical history of the twelfth-century Paris master was itself a compilation. He acknowledges his source's source: «Narrat Philo in libro questionum super Genesim. ...»³⁶). Where Burchard draws in a few lines of a life of St. Norbert — again without emendation — he is unaware of the hagiographer's identity but he still names «quidam scriptor»³⁷). The Premonstratensian chronicler everywhere gives credit to his historiographical predecessors.

³¹) Stuttgart cod. hist. fol. 411, fol. 6r. G. Waitz's dissertation proved that Ekkehard brought the chronicle to A. D. 1125 despite the general absence of his name from medieval copies: *Commentationis de chronici Urspergensis prima parte, eius auctore, fontibus et apud posteros auctoritate specimen*, Diss. Berlin 1836.

³²) UC, p. 2.

³³) UC, p. 3.

³⁴) UC, p. 50.

³⁵) UC, p. 51; cf. Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Hofmeister, trans. A. Schmidt, AQ 16 (Berlin, 1960), 3.3.

³⁶) UC, p. 2; cf. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, PL 198 (Paris, 1855), col. 1088.

³⁷) UC, p. 15; cf. *Vita Norberti archiepiscopi Magdeburgensis*, ed. R. Wilmans, MGH SS 12 (Hanover, 1856), p. 701.

CRUSADER SOURCES

Burchard thus used only a few German sources for imperial history and they were all available at the Benedictine abbey of Zwiefalten. He made similar use of two associated Crusader texts composed around A.D. 1200, possibly by an Italian author: *Historia brevis* and *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane*³⁸). He employed the former in his chronicle proper³⁹) and the latter among the short works appended to it in his autograph codex⁴⁰). The provost based his account of the Third Crusade on *Historia brevis*, the historical member of the pair of texts. Burchard did not know who, precisely, the author was; he referred to the work only as «cuiusdam»⁴¹). He mentions in an excerpt from *Historia brevis*, however, that he had included its companion-piece in the first quire of his omnibus volume: «De dispositione vero Terre Sancte et situ civitatis Iherosolimitane ... require supra in primo quaterno libri»⁴²).

Deviation in *Historia brevis*, as represented within *UC*'s annals, from independent manuscripts of this text is insignificant. Burchard repeats the first-person and deprecatory notices of the Crusader-author, even the latter's remarks concluding the list of German princes who went home on the news of Henry VI's death: «... et plures alii, quos memorare non curo. Nulla est enim ambitio memorandi, quos constat plurimos fuisse et nullos. Nil valet affectus nisi subsequatur effectus»⁴³). With *Tractatus*

³⁸) *Brevis historia occupationis et amissionis terrae sanctae*, in *Corpus historicum medii aevi*, ed. J. G. Eckhart, II (Leipzig, 1723), cols. 1349-1354; *Tractatus de locis et statu terre ierosolimitane*, ed. G. M. Thomas, in «Miscellen aus den Handschriften der Münchener Hof- und Staats-Bibliothek II: Ein Tractat über das heilige Land und den dritten Kreuzzug», *SB bayer. Akad.* (1865), II, 141-171.

³⁹) *UC*, pp. 73-74.

⁴⁰) Clm 4351, fols. 203 r-206 r. See the first article in this series for discussion of the order of materials in Clm 4351, the complete *UC* manuscript, and their probable relationship to the order of the *UC* original. If usage in surrounding passages were insufficient to prove Burchard's own inclusion of *Historia brevis*, the presence of the associated *Tractatus* between *Verba sibille* and the *UC* introduction in Clm 4351 would. Thomas made use of Clm 4351 for the *Tractatus* text but, although his discussion is valuable, he failed to note that *Historia brevis* (his *De excidio*) was incorporated into the main body of *UC*: see esp. p. 143; Simson, p. xvii, n. 9. As Simson noted, the *Tractatus* text represented in Clm 4351 is more similar to James of Vitry's later *Historia orientalis* than to any manuscript closer to the original *Tractatus* version: p. xviii.

⁴¹) *UC*, p. 59.

⁴²) *UC*, p. 64.

⁴³) *UC*, p. 74; cf. *Brevis historia*, col. 1354, which omits the last sentence; *Tractatus*, p. 170.

and *Historia brevis*, Burchard's text shows the same manner of incorporation as it generally does for the works in the Zwiefalten history codex. The provost did not omit from the text material which he found to his purpose; he did not regularly challenge its factual or interpretive content. He did, on the other hand, take pains to distinguish derivative material from his independent work.

No other Crusader text borrowed by Burchard survives. He nevertheless certainly had other written sources for events in the Holy Land. On the Crusading incident of most interest to him, the capture and loss of Damietta, the provost seems to have treated his source materials more critically than he did *Historia brevis*, in part because of their relative abundance. Breaking into a general narrative of Western developments surrounding the decision to attempt to trade Damietta for Jerusalem, an account which rings of hearsay knowledge commingled with written report, Burchard makes his habitual acknowledgement of a written source's author: «Referam unum, quod legi in scriptis cuiusdam eas pugnas prolixius describentis»⁴⁴). The ensuing account of heroic Christians willingly sinking their ship in order to take down with themselves the Saracens who had boarded it is, according to Burchard's own statement, narrowly drawn from a single source. The provost's reference to the derivation of one anecdote, however, implies that his broader account of Damietta was much more his own assembly and interpretation of facts. Several contemporary accounts of the debacle at Damietta do survive, and comparison of them with *UC* reveals that Burchard's account is highly distinctive. Some community of sources is apparent, but nowhere does it emerge that he used only one among extant parallel records, much less that he used it in the narrowly imitative sense in which he used *Historia brevis* or in which he claims to have used the record of the sunken vessel of knights.

Simson believed that Burchard's major source for the Damietta disaster was the *Historia Damiatina* of the Cologne schoolmaster Oliver, later bishop of Paderborn⁴⁵). The connection is attractive since the Westphalian Oliver was intensely involved in Premonstratensian affairs

⁴⁴) *UC*, p. 117.

⁴⁵) Simson, p. xxv. H. Hoogeweg discussed *Tractatus'* relationship to contemporary Crusader texts: «Ein neue Schrift des Kölner Domscholasters Oliver», *NA* 16 (1891), 186-192. Cf. the comments in his subsequent edition of Oliver's works: *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters*, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 202 (Tübingen, 1894), p. LIII.

as an intimate and supporter of the historian Emo, abbot-historian of the Frisian house of Wittewierum⁴⁶). But there is no strong verbal correspondence between his text and Oliver's; *Historia Damiatina*'s account is longer and more colorful⁴⁷). Nor does the rest of the story of the capture and loss of Damietta as told by Burchard closely follow Oliver's history either in content or in tone. The Ursberg author says of the Christian slaughter of Saracen women and children within the city, «... ita ut esset miserabile spectaculum etiam ipsis christianis rectis corde et flexis humana compassione»⁴⁸). The Cologne master's text instead offers ringing acclamation of victory:

... hac vice tertia *Rex regum* et *Dominus dominantium* servis suis eam tradidit, Jhesus Christus, qui vincit et regnat et imperat. ... Tali duce Christi milites Damiatam ingressi plateas eius invenerunt stratas cadaveribus mortuorum pestilentia et fame deficientium, aurum et argentum multum nimis. ...⁴⁹).

Here the hortatory and sermonizing attitude of Oliver, who preached the Crusade and then participated, differs emphatically from Burchard's lament for the perversion of Christian moral standards.

UC shows similarity but, again, no verbal correspondence to two further sources for the siege of Damietta, *Liber duelli Christiani in obsidione Damiate exacti* and *Historia expeditionum in terram sanctam*, both contemporary accounts like the Cologne master's⁵⁰). Burchard's description of the physical situation of the city and of the dramatic sinking of the Christian boat is sufficiently close to *Historia expeditionis* that a common written model seems possible⁵¹). *Liber duelli* includes some factual detail which Burchard does not, asserting for instance that the unfortunate boat was filled with Templars. Since its account of the incident is very little longer than *UC*'s Burchard would hardly have described it as *prolixius*⁵²). The author of *Liber duelli* was even more cold-blooded than Oliver concerning the deaths of the Moslem townspeople:

⁴⁶) Hoogeweg, in Oliver, *Schriften*, pp. XIX, XL ff.

⁴⁷) Cf. *UC*, pp. 117-118 and *Historia Damiatina*, in Oliver, *Schriften*, pp. 179-186.

⁴⁸) *UC*, p. 119.

⁴⁹) Oliver, *Historia Damiatina*, p. 227.

⁵⁰) *Liber duelli christiani in obsidione Damiate exacti*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS 31 (Hanover, 1903), pp. 669-705; *Historia expeditionum in terram sanctam*, in *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. G. Waitz, SSRG (Hanover, 1880), pp. 339-348.

⁵¹) Cf. *UC*, pp. 116-118; *Historia expeditionum*, pp. 346-348.

⁵²) Cf. *UC*, pp. 117-118; *Liber duelli*, p. 677.

... et tot fuerunt cadavera, quod nullus poterat sufficere ad proiciendum in flumen; et quicumque volebat tria corpora proicere in flumen extra civitatem, dabatur ei bysancium unum⁵³).

In the context of the typically propagandizing, pro-Christian posture of circulating Crusade literature, Burchard's condemnation of Crusader excesses and the strongly moral focus maintained by him throughout the Damietta account are extraordinary. It seems likely that the critical stance apparent in *UC* reflects his independent handling of material. Regarding Damietta, then, Burchard seems to have intervened to qualify derivative materials, just as he did in his challenge to Frutolf-Ekkehard's royal obituaries and contradiction of Otto of Freising's judgment on Henry IV's excommunication. Thus while he adopted one Crusade account, *Historia brevis*, without emendation, he substantially altered one or — probably, since he fails to mention a single central source except for the incident of the Christians sinking their own ship — more concerning the later attempt to trade Damietta for Jerusalem. This inconsistency in source manipulation is explained by Burchard's special interest in the latter case; it was still a live issue at his writing.

JOHN OF CREMONA AND HOHENSTAUFEN COURT HISTORIOGRAPHY

Burchard's «*Hystoria Friderici*» presents a problem in the definition of source usage similar to that of his record of the defeat at Damietta. The most important and thorniest question concerning the handling of earlier histories in *UC*, in turn crucial for analysis of the Premonstratensian's historiographical technique, is the extent of his use for the career of Barbarossa of the lost work of John of Cremona. The Ursberg author refers twice to a Cremonese authority likewise mentioned in other extant sources as an historian of Barbarossa's Lombard wars⁵⁴):

Eo tempore conspiratio facta est contra imperatorem, ut asserit quidam scriptor Cremonensis, de cuius editione hec, qui narramus, excerptimus⁵⁵).

⁵³) *Liber duelli*, p. 700.

⁵⁴) Simson, pp. xx-xxi.

⁵⁵) *UC*, p. 36.

Refert supra dictus scriptor Cremonensis, videlicet Iohannes sacerdos, quod supra dictis testimoniis bonorum virorum didicerit, qui interfuerunt. ...⁵⁶⁾

The stylistic unity and wealth of detail in Burchard's description of the emperor's early Italian adventures has convinced many critics that he derived a large part of «Hystoria Friderici» from the Cremonese account. The frequent appearance of Cremona and its citizens in his text lends some credibility to their argument, though it is likewise explicable simply by the historical significance of Cremona as Barbarossa's most important counterweight to anti-imperial Milan. Circumstantial evidence in support of Burchard's heavy use of John's history is the abruptness with which he drops his narrative of Italian events and turns to Frederick's annals, offering a limp explanation under the rubric «Transitus»: «Hec de bellis imperatoris plenius descripsisse sufficiat. ...»⁵⁷⁾ The *UC* author has indeed described the emperor's generalship and recorded the events of ten years at unaccustomed length and with exceptional literary polish before this sudden change of direction, and it has been argued that he stopped here because his written source did, not because he grew weary of the task.

Much scholarship has addressed the question of Burchard's incorporation of the history of John of Cremona⁵⁸⁾. Most importantly, R. Holtzmann explored the relationship of John's account to other historical and literary works treating Barbarossa's Italian campaigns, proposing that several contemporary biographical prose and hexameter works all descended from one imperial chancery source. Holtzmann further contended that Rainald of Dassel, Frederick's chancellor and the archbishop of Cologne, prepared an outline eulogy of the emperor's successes which he then distributed to poets and historians for their embellishment⁵⁹⁾. His interpretation of the relationships among the texts which Rainald supposedly commissioned and their immediate descendants was criticized by E. Ottmar, upon whose schematic representation of Holtzmann's thesis this diagram is based⁶⁰⁾:

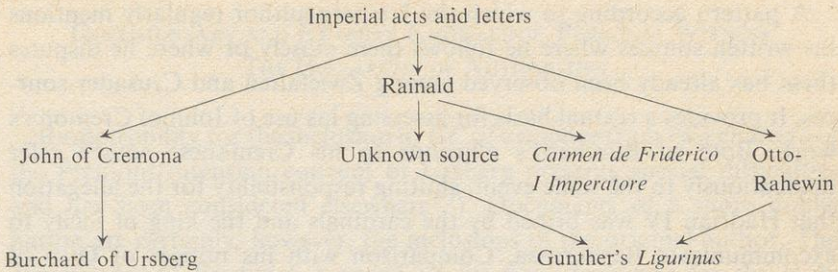
⁵⁶⁾ *UC*, p. 39.

⁵⁷⁾ *UC*, p. 44.

⁵⁸⁾ Abel, p. 101. See also Backmund's survey of scholarly opinion, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁹⁾ Holtzmann, esp. pp. 307-313.

⁶⁰⁾ Ottmar, *passim*; diagram from p. 431, n. 3.



P. Munz's biography of Barbarossa dismissed as insignificant Ottmar's minute dissection of Holtzmann's arguments and attention to differences among sources which Holtzmann believed to be closely related⁶¹). Rainald's role as arch-historiographer is an attractive corollary to Munz's description of the chancellor as the fanatical proponent of his master's imperial vision, but it is nevertheless unsubstantiated.

Frederick's personal attention to the writing of history is attested by his correspondence with Otto of Freising⁶²); the early termination of numerous contemporary biographies before his final Lombard settlement requires some explanation. The agency of Rainald, who died along with many other German princes in the Roman summer of 1167, presents a possible cause for both the emperor's interest and the sudden gap in historiographical production. But attempts to describe or attribute a source-ancestor from observation of its remote descendants quickly become nonsensical when intermediate parents are lost and verbal echoes are unconvincing. The only indisputable links among Holtzmann's parallel texts proceed from the community of events which they describe and the relative poverty of Latin expressions for the military situations to which they must continually recur. The extent of *UC*'s incorporation of the history of John of Cremona has never been studied by analogy to its use of important surviving sources. To postulate the connections of John's or Burchard's text to even more poorly known sources seems fruitless in the absence of a better understanding of their relationship to each other.

⁶¹) Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa: A Study in Medieval Politics* (Ithaca, 1969), p. 135-136, n. 3.

⁶²) See C.C. Mierow's annotated translation in Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, Columbia Records of Civilization 49 (New York, 1953), pp. 17-20.

A pattern according to which the Ursberg author regularly mentions his written sources where he follows them closely or where he disputes them has already been observed among Zwiefalten and Crusader sources. It provides a textual basis for assessing his use of John of Cremona's work. Both of Burchard's allusions to his Cremonese source refer tendentiously to the same event, shifting responsibility for the allegation that Hadrian IV was bribed by the cardinals and the king of Sicily to excommunicate Barbarossa. Comparison with his notices of Otto of Freising and the work «cuiusdam scriptoris» from which he drew the story of a Crusader boat sinking outside Damietta suggests that his direct indebtedness to John — in this case apparent agreement rather than disagreement over a disputed point — was confined to that topic. The citation of written sources always had the function among medieval authors of enhancing authority, but here Burchard seems to have indicated source authors to differentiate his own synthesis from theirs, not only to persuade the reader of his accuracy.

John of Cremona was probably only one among several of the many contemporary historical and poetical treatments of the reign of Barbarossa⁶³) known to Burchard of Ursberg and consulted by him for the composition of «Hystoria Friderici». Many of them broke off well before the conclusion of the reign and the premature transition to annals evidenced in *UC* may reflect a poverty of written record for the period after 1162, although the ample detail of Burchard's later «Anni Friderici» suggests that this poverty was not acute. In the case of John of Cremona as in the case of various possible sources for *UC*'s story of the Christian failure at Damietta, it seems that an essentially novel interpretation obscures the presentation of lost and surviving sources; while a few of their verbal and structural characteristics remain distinguishable, for the most part all but the common structure of historical fact has been submerged in the Premonstratensian's reconstructive effort except where he explicitly acknowledges the indebtedness of his presentation. The degree of Burchard's alteration of extant sources necessitates that the relationship of his work to the complex of records emerging from the Staufer tradition of court historiography remain problematic⁶⁴); on the other hand it enhances the independent interest of his historical method.

⁶³) See Holtzmann's summary: pp. 307-308.

⁶⁴) Cf. O. Vehse, *Die amtliche Propaganda in der Staatskunst Kaiser Friedrichs II.*, *Forschungen zu mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte* 1 (Munich, 1929), p. 201; *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter vom Tode Kaiser Heinrichs V. bis zum Ende*

DOCUMENTARY AND HEARSAY KNOWLEDGE, PERSONAL WITNESS:
THE HIERARCHY OF AUTHORITIES

Responsibility for the inclusion in *UC* of evidence from two charters of the Premonstratensian convent of Ursberg presents special difficulties and has been considered elsewhere⁶⁵). Documents of a more public nature are certainly, however, the inclusions of the original author. The *Landfrieden* of Frederick I issued on his final departure for the Holy Land⁶⁶), Frederick II's encyclical on his first excommunication⁶⁷), and a series of letters of Innocent III⁶⁸) are all either directly cited, quoted, or transcribed in full⁶⁹). Burchard was probably familiar with still other documentary sources for the contemporary events which he describes, but his use of them is not so blatantly apparent in the *UC* text.

How the provost came to use imperial and papal documents is evident in his own presentation. He knew the content and organization of Peter of Benevento's compilation of Innocentian decretals:

Extat adhuc epistola prefati Innocentii directa ad Bertholdum ducem Zaringie, in qua contra Philippum multa absurda et quedam falsa describuntur, quam fecit interseri in compilatione decretalium suarum, quas magister Petrus Beneventanus, subdiaconus ipsius, postmodum in uno volumine compegit, distinguens eas sub certis titulis et librorum differentiis secundum convenientes sententias⁷⁰).

He certainly read in this collection the letter which he cites here as fomenting rebellion against Philip, as well as a subsequent letter in which the pope attempted to force his own candidate into the archiepiscopal see of Mainz:

Nam dominus papa multis volens uti rationibus cassata electione omnium de Liupoldo facta electionem, que nullo iure subsistere

des Interregnum, ed. W. Wattenbach, rev. F.-J. Schmale *et al.*, I (Darmstadt, 1976), pp. 77, 117-118.

⁶⁵) *UC*, pp. 91-94, 121-122. See «Burchard I», pp. 124-129.

⁶⁶) *UC*, pp. 65-69; cf. *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Legum Sectio IV*, 1 (Hanover, 1893), pp. 449-452.

⁶⁷) *UC*, pp. 122-124; cf. *MGH Const.* 2 (Hanover, 1896), pp. 148-156.

⁶⁸) *UC*, pp. 77-78, 85, 101-105, 105-107; cf., respectively, Innocent III, *Epistolae*, PL 214-217 (Paris, 1855): III, col. 1045; I, cols. 964-969; III, cols. 817-822; III, cols. 823-827.

⁶⁹) Cf. Simson's discussion: pp. xxv-xxvi. No attention is given here to Burchard's use of the protocol report of the Fourth Lateran Council, since it offers only a list of those present and indicates no special proximity to the papal chancery: *UC*, pp. 111-112 and n. 3.

⁷⁰) *UC*, p. 77.

poterat, confirmavit, sicut exprimit in sua decretali, que sic incipit: 'Bone memorie' ubi quoque exprimitur, qualiter pro isto negotio et aliis Prenestinus episcopus venit Coloniam⁷¹⁾.

As T. Lindner and Simson⁷²⁾ have asserted, the bulls *Quia major* and *Vineam domini Sabaoth*, in which Innocent summoned Europe to Crusade and to the Fourth Lateran Council, derive in their *UC* forms from copies acquired by Burchard from the papal chancery itself, since they include details for the particularization of address to European spiritual and temporal leadership:

Idem archiepiscopis, episcopis et dilectis filiis abbatibus et prioribus, decanis et archidiaconis per Teutonicas provincias constitutis⁷³⁾.

Eodem modo fere scribetur regibus et principibus usque «fluctus», postea ponitur hec clausula Hec ultima clausula: «Quia quantum» etc. apponitur domino meo regi Arragoniae, et regi Francorum⁷⁴⁾.

H. Bresslau, completing Simson's *UC* commentary after the editor's death, exhausted the possibilities for discussion of the precise nature of Burchard's Roman chancery source; it seems not to have been the papal register itself⁷⁵⁾. How the provost acquired his wider legal knowledge is likewise doubtful. The possibility that he studied in the Bolognese law schools is raised by his attention to canon and civil law sources, as by his notice in «Gesta Lotharii» on the leading legal authorities of the twelfth century and their works:

Huius temporibus magister Gratianus canones et decreta, que variis libris erant dispersa, in unum opus compilavit adiungensque eis interdum auctoritates sanctorum patrum secundum convenientes sententias opus suum satis rationabiliter distinxit. Eisdem quoque temporibus dominus Wernerius libros legum, qui dudum neglecti fuerant, nec quisquam in eis studuerat, ad petitionem Mathilde comitisse renovavit et, secundum quod olim a dive recordationis imperatore Iustiniano compilati fuerant, paucis forte verbis alicubi interpositis eos distinxit⁷⁶⁾.

⁷¹⁾ *UC*, p. 85.

⁷²⁾ Lindner, p. 118; Simson, pp. xxv-xxvii.

⁷³⁾ *UC*, p. 105.

⁷⁴⁾ *UC*, pp. 106-107.

⁷⁵⁾ Bresslau, in *UC*, pp. xxv-xxvii, n. 10.

⁷⁶⁾ *UC*, pp. 15-16.

Burchard's description suggests that he was versed in both ecclesiastical and secular laws but, while he may have been at Bologna, he may too have acquired practical canon law expertise at Rome, where he himself states that he sojourned on more than one occasion and had dealings with the curia⁷⁷).

That Burchard was similarly connected to the imperial chancery is unlikely. He describes the *Landfrieden* of Barbarossa as if he used one of the many copies issued among the Germans: «... et in litteras redigi iussit, quas litteras Alamanni usque in presens 'fridebrief' ... vocant nec aliis legibus utuntur»⁷⁸). He gives no indication in his justification for its inclusion that he had access here to a chancery model for actual sealed letters: «Quarum tenorem huic operi duximus inserendum....»⁷⁹) His proferral of a second imperial document, Frederick II's self-defense against excommunication, is substantially trimmed: «Huius epistole seriem longum esset ponere....»⁸⁰) Ironically, Burchard was hostile to the long, litigious arm of the Roman curia but he seems to have been intimate with it; he looked favorably on the widening sphere of influence of secular government and civil law but he seems to have been isolated from it. As O. Vehse has pointed out, only a few other thirteenth-century authors — Albert of Stade, Herman of Altaich — actually used encyclicals of Frederick II in their histories⁸¹). Burchard's acknowledgment and support, direct in the case of *Encyclica de excommunicatione* and elsewhere more subtle, of Staufer propaganda apparently proceeds from an effort to draw in pro-imperial documents as historical evidence rather than from proximity to a chancery source. In this isolation from the propaganda center, Burchard is unique among the principal figures of pro-Staufer historiography. Otto of Freising, Rahewin, the Cologne annalists all were close to the emperor's immediate circle.

Contemporary evidence in the form of reports from those with firsthand knowledge was likewise available to Burchard for his account of recent times. His own wide experience traveling in Italy and administering Premonstrantensian houses in Germany brought him into

⁷⁷) Cf. Simson, p. XXIX.

⁷⁸) *UC*, p. 65.

⁷⁹) *UC*, p. 65.

⁸⁰) *UC*, p. 122. Giesebrecht found it extraordinary that the encyclical should have been so abbreviated in *UC*, and labeled the entire passage derivative: p. 226. G. Gronau showed it to be original: *Die Ursperger Chronik und ihr Verfasser*, Diss. Berlin 1890, pp. 12-14.

⁸¹) Vehse, p. 202.

contact with important individuals and, occasionally, events⁸²). From the reign of Henry VI on, his chronicle contains frequent reference to hearsay evidence: «ut dictum est», «multi asserebant». A few instances of citation of oral evidence are especially interesting. Burchard adverts to rumors surrounding the death of the emperor Henry:

Multi asserebant eum interisse veneno procurante uxore sua, pro eo quod nepotes ipsius suppliciis interfecerat. Quod tamen non est verisimile, et qui cum ipso eo tempore erant familiarissimi, hoc inficiabantur. Audivi ego id ipsum a domno Cuonrado, qui postmodum fuit abbas Premonstratensis et tunc in seculari habitu constitutus in camera imperatoris extitit familiarissimus⁸³).

The provost used the same phrase, «[m]ulti asserebant», to introduce similar rumors that Henry's brother Conrad had been murdered in the previous year, but without controverting them. Here, though, he emphasizes his personal access to information and the veracity of his source in order to discredit widely accepted explanation.

On the disputed issue of what Innocent III did to weaken Philip and why he did so, Burchard similarly inserts his own knowledge — both direct and hearsay — into the discussion:

Ego quoque, in minori etate et seculari vita constitutus adhuc, eo tempore constitutus Rome vidi eosdem [i.e. the Sicilian hostages blinded by Henry VI].... Audivi etiam eo tempore, quod tamen difficile est relatu et vix credendum, quia dixerit idem papa, quoniam ablaturus esset Philippo diadema regium, aut ipse sibi pape insigne apostolicum. Ceterum, quamvis non sit credendum, quod voluntatem suam divine voluntati pretulerit, constat tamen, quia omni tempore adversabatur eidem⁸⁴).

Again, to describe the breach between Otto IV and Innocent III, the provost mentions his own familiarity with the testimony of an important ecclesiastic involved in the pope's last conciliatory attempt:

Eo tempore, cum venissemus ad curiam Romanam, vidimus ibidem virum religiosum, abbatem de Morimunt, qui a festo sancti Michaelis, sicut ipse asserebat, usque ad quadragesimam quinque vicibus transierat a Roma usque Capuam iussu domini pape, quatinus pacem reformaret inter papam et imperatorem⁸⁵).

⁸²) A later article in this series will treat Burchard's life.

⁸³) *UC*, p. 75.

⁸⁴) *UC*, p. 78.

⁸⁵) *UC*, p. 100.

Burchard advances his own experience concerning the origins of the mendicants. Here his account is inexact but insightful. He begins «Vidimus ...», emphasizing that he was aware of the personalities involved⁸⁶). He had no direct knowledge of the battle of Bouvines, as he did of papal approval of the friars, but for this major event too he referred to contact with eyewitnesses. The provost seems to have heard from traveling monks the report, detracting from Philip Augustus' military expertise, of a conversation between French knights and their king before the fighting began: «... sicut quorundam religiosorum virorum relatione didicimus»⁸⁷).

The Ursberg historian's treatment of oral sources and eyewitness accounts indicates, then, that for him contemporary report offered special credibility. He provides such information wherever he can, evaluating the veracity of the witness himself and weighing his testimony critically, sometimes casting out one piece of evidence in favor of another. His use of oral material is less varied than his treatment of historical and documentary records. As Lindner aptly observed, sometimes the Premonstratensian copied written sources slavishly, sometimes he embellished or summarized them, and sometimes he so thoroughly blended them into *Quellenmosaik* that it is virtually impossible to outline his indebtedness⁸⁸). His principal source was a German book — the *Zwiefalten Frutolf-Ekkehard* — and he found it in Germany, but much of his historical and documentary source material, like imperial activity during the principal reigns which he describes and the apparent weight of his personal experience up to 1215, was focused on the other side of the Alps.

M. Schulz, describing the hierarchy of sources among medieval authors, emphasized the importance placed on oral report, especially the accounts of trustworthy individuals, and on eyewitness knowledge⁸⁹). In Burchard's work, such a hierarchy is never explicit. Indeed, it is rarely implicit, since written and oral sources are rarely seen to overlap. Still,

⁸⁶) UC, p. 107.

⁸⁷) UC, p. 110.

⁸⁸) Lindner's was more sensitive to the possibility of Burchard's wide interference in derivative material than any other early discussion of his method of source incorporation: see esp. pp. 126, 133-134; cf. Bloch, p. 130; Backmund, pp. 13-14. Holtzmann emphasized instances in which Burchard obviously conflated two sources: p. 297.

⁸⁹) Schulz, *Die Lehre von der historischen Methode bei den Geschichtsschreibern des Mittelalters (VI.-XIII. Jahrhundert)*, Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte 13 (Berlin, 1909), pp. 15 ff.

where evidence is conflicting, the historian frequently adverts to personal or hearsay knowledge, whether for distant events such as the deaths of the Salian kings or recent events such as the death of their descendant Henry VI.

How Burchard manipulated and responded to sources will be seen to be of further interest for his historical method in general and for his political attitudes. It is already evident that he attempted to place some distance between his own and borrowed works by mentioning their authors and, on disputed points or issues of contemporary relevance, to assert his own critical judgment either by independent evaluation or obvious preference for one or another borrowed opinion. In this context it is of interest which available sources Burchard did not use. *UC*, despite some reference to divine intervention as a historically causative force, is virtually without miracles. Since the work's independent sections are concerned with contemporary events and — at the furthest remove — the events of a few immediately preceding reigns, this avoidance of the miraculous is not as extraordinary as it might be if Burchard had written of ancient times. Even Ekkehard had, however, reported a gruesome portent of his own day and speculated on its meaning:

In episcopio vero Spirensi sanguis ex panibus fluere visus, necnon et in lenticularum edulio prodigiose repertus, civile immo intestinum bellum portendere, secundum antiquam hystoriae Romanae similitudinem coniciebatur⁹⁰).

While this and similar accounts were copied by Burchard and available for his emulation, he reports no closely analogous occurrences, and his use of hagiographical material is for purely historical information. The Premonstratensian borrows only sparingly from the life of his own order's founder⁹¹). In the passage which Burchard adopts, the hagiographer's points had been that Norbert persuaded Lothar not to demand rights of investiture back from Innocent II, and that Innocent's response was conditioned by his piety and his respect for Norbert. Conspicuously, Burchard leaves Norbert completely out and praises the Saxon emperor⁹²).

On only two occasions does Burchard present accounts of supernatural or at least extraordinary events. Both appear in «Anni Ottonis»,

⁹⁰) Frutolf-Ekkehard, p. 226.

⁹¹) *UC*, p. 15; cf. *Vita Norberti*, p. 702.

⁹²) *UC*, p. 16.

a section of *UC* which comparison with more polished divisions of the work reveals is unrevised and probably incomplete. Both, further, are included in this single annalistic entry for A.D. 1217. The first regards the pope. Honorius III, Burchard says, preached the Crusade by relating his encounter some thirty years before with a distinguished old man who prophesied to him that Jerusalem would be freed during his future pontificate⁹³). Burchard reveals the popular interpretation encouraged by Honorius: «Estimabatur a multis, quod vir ille fuisset beatus Petrus ...». The provost does not assert that he credited this interpretation himself, merely that many people did. He then goes on to explain why he has included the story: «Quo rumore plurimi Romanorum excitati cruce sunt signati. Fama quoque huius rumoris per Alamanniam divulgata multos ad sumendam crucem animavit»⁹⁴). Whether or not Burchard actually believed that the apostle Peter had appeared to Honorius, he mentions it only because of the wide-reaching currency and historical impact of the story. Burchard's immediately following report of the appearance of a comet during the autumn of 1217 is similarly oblique. He calls it a «signum mirabile», and carefully describes its position in the constellation Ariadne, «sicut nos ipsi annotavimus». He concludes, though, by avoiding direct statement of his own interpretation of the phenomenon's significance: «Predicatores quoque his temporibus multa alia asserebant contigisse signa in celo et in terra, que longum esset enumerare et huic brevitati annectere»⁹⁵).

How much Burchard means to indicate diffidence concerning this portent, as in reference to Honorius' encounter with Peter, is not immediately clear. Surely he would not have included notices of either extraordinary event if he did not find them in some way significant. Still, the provost-historian, in his adoption of oral as well as written sources, avoids facile explanations of secular events in terms of the miraculous. Indeed, his references to John of Cremona present as exact an explanation of his evaluative and editorial attitude as anything in his work. Burchard respected John's work, and his description of the Lombard's account represents his conception of the most unshakable sort of evidence. John, the Premonstratensian says, heard what he related «a viris probatissimis et veracissimis et valde religiosis»⁹⁶). Decent, truth-

⁹³) *UC*, pp. 112-113.

⁹⁴) *UC*, p. 113.

⁹⁵) *UC*, pp. 113-114.

⁹⁶) *UC*, pp. 36-37.

ful, and pious witnesses, or — failing their direct report — a written account of it: from such materials Burchard sought to fashion a reliable account. His choice of sources makes clear that he wished to focus his work on the political and secular involvements of the same men, not the spiritual life of the Christian community to which they belonged.

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