

# DID FREDERIC BARBEROUSSE HAVE A MEDITERRANEAN POLICY?

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## **ABSTRACT**

In the course of his thirty-eight year reign, between 1152 and 1190, Frederick Barbarossa made six expeditions to Italy, occupying him for fifteen years; he also headed a Crusade to recover Christ's Tomb from 1189 to 1190. Almost half of his reign was thus taken up by affairs concerning the Mediterranean regions, to such an extent that it is right to ask whether there was on his part a veritable Mediterranean policy, which centred above all around Italy. In an age where the peninsula continued to enjoy its position at the heart of the Mediterranean basin, as it had at the time of the Roman Empire, the question of the role played by this geographic area in the thoughts and actions of Frederick Barbarossa, who tried to restore the Empire to some of the splendour recreated in 962 by Otto I, has to be asked.

## **KEY WORDS**

Mediterranean, Sicily, Italy, Germany, Politics.

## **CAPITALIA VERBA**

Mare Nostrum, Sicilia, Italia, Germania, Politica.

At the time of Frederick Barbarossa<sup>1</sup>, Italy was shared out between three large dominant political authorities: the Kingdom of Italy in the North, in the centre, the Patrimony of St. Peter, to the South the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, to which we must add the republic of Venice, which freed itself from Byzantine sovereignty, and some Episcopal seigneuries in the North (Trento, l'Aquila)<sup>2</sup>. If the Normans with the Hauteville dynasty liquidated Byzantine possession of Southern Italy, the Byzantine Emperors, though weakened, were no less determined to regain a foothold in Italy by putting pressure on Ancona, a town on the Adriatic.<sup>3</sup> The Venetians established a leading commercial position for themselves in the Byzantine Empire, particularly in Constantinople itself, jealous, moreover, of their rival maritime city in the Kingdom of Italy, Pisa and Genoa.<sup>4</sup> The economic and political problems thus became intertwined with relations between the Byzantine Empire and the Italian peninsula.<sup>5</sup>

One town in Italy enjoyed enormous prestige from a political as well as a religious point of view; Rome, capital of Christianity, even if it seemed to have been deposed from the position it had held in the age of the Roman Empire.<sup>6</sup> It was still the city where Saint Peter, whom Christ had named as his successor at the head of the Christian assembly, the Church, had been martyred and where Saint Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles, who contributed to the expansion of Christianity outside the world he was born into, the Jewish world, was also martyred.<sup>7</sup> Since 1054, the Christian world was torn apart, Christ's humble tunic had been lacerated, and Constantinople was rising up against Rome, its patriarch and the Emperor called for

1. The reign of Frederick Barbarossa has given rise to a number of historiographic works. A report on his deeds was recently drawn up during two large conferences held on the anniversary of his death in 1990, one in Rome, the minutes of which were published by the *Bollettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medioevo*, (abbreviated from now on as B.I.S.I.M.E.), 96 in 1990 under the title "Federico Barbarossa e l'Italia nell'ottocentesimo centenario della sua morte", edited by Isa Lori Sanfilippo, the other in Reichenau, at the *Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte* in Constance, headed by Alfred Haverkamp, the minutes of which appear in n. 40 of the *Vorträge und Forschungen* collection entitled: *Friedrich Barbarossa, Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1992. The two works allow us to take stock of current knowledge on the reign of Frederick Barbarossa. On the history of the Empire between his birth in 962 and the reign of Frederick Barbarossa, see the work by Cuvillier, Jean Pierre. *L'Allemagne médiévale. Naissance d'un Etat (VIIIe-XIIIe siècles)*, 2 volumes. Paris: Payot, 1979: I, 127-327; Rapp, Francis. *Le Saint Empire romain germanique*. Paris: Tallandier, 2000: 41-160.

2. See the map in Galasso, Giuseppe, dir. *Storia d'Italia*. Turin: Utet, 1984: IV, 113, and the chapter by Manselli, Raoul. "L'Impero, il papato ed il regno di Sicilia. I Comuni", *Storia d'Italia...*: 93-115.

3. Ostrogorski, George. *Histoire de l'Etat byzantin*. Paris: Payot, 1971: chap. 5.

4. Gracco, Giorgio; Ortalli, Gherardo, dirs. *Storia di Venezia*. Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana "Giovanni Treccani", 1995: II.

5. The overlapping of economic and political problems, inevitable in relations between the West and the Orient in the Middle Ages, is obvious in the works of Chalandon, Ferdinand. *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie*, 2 volumes. Paris: Librairie A. Picard et fils, 1907. And above all Lamma, Paolo. *Commeni e Staufer. Ricerche sui rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente nel secolo XII*. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1955-1957: II (Studi storici, 14-18, 22-25).

6. Giardina, Andrea; Vauchez, André. *Rome, L'idée et le mythe. Du Moyen Age à nos jours*. Paris-Rome: Grand Livre du Mois, 2000.

7. On Saint Peter, see the article by Félix Christ in vol. 13 of the *Encyclopaedia Universalis*: Christ, Félix. "Saint Pierre". *Encyclopaedia Universalis France*. Paris: Encyclopaedia Universalis France, 1968: 50-51, and on Saint Paul Baslez, Marie-Françoise. *Saint Paul*. Paris: Fayard, 1991.



close cooperation at the very heart of religious questions, the basis of which is called Caesaropapalism.<sup>8</sup> In the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> Century, when Frederick Barbarossa took the throne of the Western Empire, was the rupture between the oriental and western Church definitive? In the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, when Frederick Barbarossa was stepping up to take the throne of the Western Empire, was it possible to find a middle ground for these divergent points of view, particularly on problems that weighed heavily on one world or the other?<sup>9</sup>

As sure as Rome was the capital of Christianity, it was also the site of the imperial coronation.<sup>10</sup> It was in Rome that Charlemagne was crowned in 800,<sup>11</sup> it was again in Rome that the coronation of reforming Emperor, Otto I took place in 962.<sup>12</sup> The reformed Empire was subject to election by the German Princes. The elected became King of the Romans, but accession to the throne could only be made after coronation by the Pope. The negotiations between the German Princes were often indispensable, as the rule of unanimity was provided so that the elected candidate was proclaimed, before the coronation ceremony could take place.<sup>13</sup> It is however certain that the Pope had a decisive role to play in agreeing or not agreeing to the pretender to the imperial throne. Between the Pope and the Emperor, since the Investiture Controversy, an ideological dispute that centred on the question of which one, of the spiritual authorities or the secular authorities, should play the leading role as head of the Christian Church.<sup>14</sup> Saint Bernard, in line with Gregorian reform, developed the theory of the swords, the sword of secular authorities in the service of the spiritual authorities, and the popes, above all the Cistercian Eugene III, made particular reference to it.<sup>15</sup> The popes, who had a significant interest in the

8. Dagron, Gilbert. *Empereur et prêtre. Etude sur le "césaropapisme" byzantin*. Paris: Gallimard, 1996.

9. The rupture of 1054 had taken place while the papacy and the Byzantine Empire were allied against the Normans who had embarked on the conquest of southern Italy. It had little impact in the West, all the more so as the channel between the two worlds was still a long way off being crossed. Pope Urban II had thought about coming to the rescue of the Byzantines, under attack by the *seldjûqides* Turks, around the time that he decided to call the West to Crusade: Carile, Antonio. "Le relazioni tra l'Oriente bizantino e l'Occidente cristiano", *Il concilio di Piacenza e la Crociate*. Piacenza: Tip. Le. Co. Editore, 1996: 19-39. A rift was emerging during the second and third Crusades, only to become definitive with the events of the fourth Crusade in 1204: Brand, Charles M. *Byzantium confronts the West (1180-1204)*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1968.

10. Dupré Theiseder, Eugenio. *L'idea imperiale di Roma nella tradizione del Medioevo*. Milan: Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale, 1942; Schramm, Percy Ernst. *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, 2 volumes. Leipzig: BG Teubner, 1929.

11. Folz, Robert. *Le couronnement impérial de Charlemagne (25 décembre 800)*. Paris: Folio Histoire, 1964.

12. Folz, Robert. *La naissance du Saint Empire*. Paris: Marabout, 1967 quoted on: 193 the text from the Annales de Flodoard: *The King Otto went peacefully to Rome; received courteously, he was elevated to the honour of the Empire (year 962)*.

13. Mitteis, Heinrich. *Die deutsche Königswahl*. Brno: 1943; Schmidt, Ulrich. *Königswahl und Thronfolge im 12. Jahrhundert*. Cologne-Vienna: H.Böhlau, 1987 (Beihefte zu J.F. Böhmers; Regesta imperii, 7).

14. See the events of the conflict in the textbooks by Haverkamp; Alfred. *Aufbruch und Gestaltung. Deutschland, 1056-1273*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1984 and by Keller, Hagen. *Zwischen regionaler Begrenzung und universalen Horizont. Deutschland in Imperium der Salier und Staufer, 1024 bis 1250*. Frankfurt: Propyläen, 1990.

15. The theory of the two-edged sword is described by Saint Bernard, particularly in his work *De consideratione*.



continuation of the elective system for accession to the Imperial throne, were those who in a way confirmed the election of the German Princes, at the same time as, from a secular point of view, they wanted them in their service.

Since the time of Charlemagne, the popes made constant reference to a text that came to justify their secular pretensions in the Italian peninsula, the Donation of Constantine.<sup>16</sup> They thus claimed the territories stretching from the Roman Campania to the ancient Byzantine Exarchate of Ravenna. They also made claim to the inheritance of Countess Mathilde de Canossa.<sup>17</sup> Without a direct heir, she had at first written a will in which she left her lands to the papacy, then subsequently to the empire, hence a dispute as to who should inherit her lands which were scattered over Lombardy and Tuscany, between fiefdoms and the free lands, in large part along the road which, from Brenner, headed towards Tuscany and Rome via Verona and Bologna. And this road, the *iter romanum*, was fundamental to those seeking the Imperial Crown in Rome.<sup>18</sup>

The *iter romanum* crossed the kingdom of Italy from north-east to south-west, while another great road, the *via francigena* from the Great Saint Bernard Pass to the valley of the Po through Aosta, Ivrea, Vercelli and Pavia led the western pilgrims to the crossing point of the river at Piacenza and from the Apennines to Monte Bardone (nowadays the Pass of Cisa) towards Tuscany and Rome.<sup>19</sup> So, the Kingdom of Italy, heir to the Kingdom of Lombardy and of the Carolingian *regnum Italiae*, presented a particular face compared to highly feudalised Western Europe.<sup>20</sup> Italy was a world of cities, which, through the setting up of city councils, had more or less liberated themselves from central authority.<sup>21</sup> When Frederick Barbarossa arrived in Italy for the first time, accompanied by his uncle, Otto, Bishop of Freising, the latter described his astonishment at the urban world, unheard of in German countries.<sup>22</sup> At a time when the Church managed to more or less to curb violence within Western Christianity by the Christianisation of the knighting ceremony,<sup>23</sup> the Bishop remarks his amazement at seeing the knight's *baudrier* or shoulder

16. On this subject, see the article by Guyotjeannin, Olivier. "Donation de Constantin". *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*, Philippe Levillain, dir. Paris: Fayard, 1994: 581-583.

17. Overmann, Alfred. *Gräfin Mathilde von Tuszien. Ihre Besitzungen. Geschichte Ihres Gutes von 1115-1230 und Ihre Regesten*. Innsbruck: Ver. Der Wagner'shen Universitäts-Buchlandlug, 1895. Italian translation: *La contessa Mathilde*. Rome: Vallecchi, 1990.

18. Schrod, Konrad. *Reichsstrassen und Reichsverwaltung im Königreich Italiens*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1931.

19. Stopani, Renato. *Le vie di pellegrinaggio del Medioevo. Gli itinerari per Roma, Gerusalemme, Compostela*. Florence: Le Lettere, 1991: 13-20 and 79-88, 97-108; Racine, Pierre, dir. *Piacenza ed i pellegrinaggi lungo la via francigena*. Piacenza: Tip.Le.Co, 1999.

20. Milza, Pierre. *Histoire de l'Italie. Des origines à nos jours*. Paris: Fayard, 2005: chap. V, VI.

21. Menant, François. *L'Italie des Communes (1100-1350)*. Paris: Belin DL, 2005: chap. 2.

22. Otton de Freising. "Gesta Friderici imperatoris", ed. Franze-Josef Schmale. (*Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, Freiherr von Stein Gedächtnisausgabe*, 17). Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1965: 306-313.

23. Duby, George. *Qu'est-ce que la société féodale?* Paris: Flammarion, 2002: 1071-1087.



strap given to commoners, and stigmatizes the consuls as being disobedient to their sovereign.<sup>24</sup>

The Kingdom of Italy therefore included a geographic region where an active commercial and industrial life was developing, where nobles from the surrounding countryside were establishing themselves in the towns and most often participated directly in economic activity by investing their revenues from the land in commercial companies.<sup>25</sup> The best-known example, apart from the maritime towns (Genoa, Pisa, Venice) is provided by Piacenza, where the cotton industry was booming (manufacture of fustians). This had established relations with the port of Genoa, where its merchants directly participated in Mediterranean trade, distributing and selling industrial products from their town.<sup>26</sup> The first merchant consuls from Piacenza in Genoa came from noble families who participated directly in the city council.<sup>27</sup> These city organisations were rich in capital, in revenue from the production and sale of industrial products and from the land that they owned. The Po valley was without a doubt the richest region and the most evolved from this point of view within the Kingdom of Italy, positioned as it was between the two great ports of Genoa and Venice, while Pisa, facing particular difficulties due to the rivalry between the two cities, tried hard to become the outlet for Tuscany.<sup>28</sup> The merchants of the Lucca province, for example, since the reign of Frederick Barbarossa preferred to go through Genoa rather than Pisa because of territorial disputes between the two cities, despite their proximity to each other.<sup>29</sup>

The territorial disputes between these cities regarding their dominance in the immediate surrounding area, their interests, were numerous and incessant.<sup>30</sup> The city councils intended to dominate the roads that criss-crossed the area assuring the

24. "And so that they are not lacking in forces to oppress their neighbours, they do not think it indignant to allow young men from lower classes, even some artisans who work in contemptible manual professions, to gird the knight's baudrier..." text by Otto of Freising (see note 23) translated and quoted by Menant, François. *L'Italie des Communes...*: 17.

25. López, Roberto Sabatino. *Naissance de l'Europe*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1962 talked about "gentlemen merchants" in northern Italian towns.

26. The first document concerning the presence, dated chronologically, of people from Piacenza in Genoa involves the repayment of a loan made by the town council of Piacenza to the Genovese in 1147, while at war in Spain against the Muslims in Almeria. The Genovese town council pays its debt of 8510 pounds 10 deniers in 1154 (without doubt including interest), in merchandise (cotton, spices, salt): *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, 3 volumes. Rome: C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, 1936 (F.S.I., 77-79-80): I, n. 254.

27. The two merchant consuls mentioned in the text discussed in the previous note are two *capitanei*, Guglielmo Siccamilica and Riccardo Surdo.

28. Pisa barely managed to capture any of the traffic linked to its neighbouring lands in Tuscany: Herlihy, David. *Pisa in the early Renaissance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968 (Italian trans. *Pisa nel Duecento*).

29. Del Punta, Ignazio. *Storia illustrata di Lucca*. Pisa: Pacini Editore, 2006: 74; Del Punta, Ignazio. *Mercanti e banchieri lucchesi nel Duecento*. Pisa: Edizioni Plus, 2004: 23-25.

30. Racine, Pierre. "Ville et contado dans l'Italie communale: l'exemple de Plaisance". *Nuova Rivista Storica*, LXI (1977): 273-290; Maire Vigueur, Jean Claude. "Les rapports ville-campagne dans l'Italie communale: pour une révision des problèmes", *La ville, la bourgeoisie et la genèse de l'Etat moderne*. Paris: CNRS, 1988: 21-34.



indispensable supply of fresh foodstuffs and industrial products to the inhabitants. Thus, Piacenza pitted itself against Pavia and Cremona, Bergamo against Brescia, Milan against Como, and Pavia against Cremona. Of these towns, the one that distinguished itself for its dynamism and industrial and commercial importance was Milan.<sup>31</sup> So, this large city, the most heavily populated of all of them, was severely restricted as it had no access to the sea, either river in the direction of Venice or overland to Genoa, due to Pavia's hostility. Thus, the Milanese sought to connect themselves through the Oglio, a tributary of the Po, but this went through Cremona, or by way of the river that crossed a canal connecting Olona, passing through the city, or the Lambro, another tributary of the Po,<sup>32</sup> but they met with hostility from the people of Lodi whose town they razed to the ground in 1111.<sup>33</sup> The inhabitants of Lodi rebuilt their town and did not hesitate to complain about the Milanese at the Diet of the King of Germany in Constance in 1153, at which time Frederick was preparing his expedition to receive the Imperial crown.<sup>34</sup> From then on, the Sovereign found himself embroiled in Italian affairs, which fell to him to sort out, and whose understanding of which, if anything, was very basic.

At the time of Frederick Barbarossa's coronation, when he was preparing to go to Rome to receive the Imperial crown, his attention was drawn by the problems in Italy. Otto of Freising's text says that most of his knowledge on Italian affairs was cursory to say the least.<sup>35</sup> The decline of the public authorities in Italy was certain at a time when the Emperors had great difficulty in making themselves heard in Germany as well as in Italy.<sup>36</sup> In Germany the Welfs-Staufen rivalry raged, above all since the Salerno dynasty had left an ally of the Welf family on the throne. Lothaire de Supplimbourg, who had succeeded Frederick Barbarossa's uncle, Conrad III,

31. Grillo, Paolo. *Milano nell'età comunale (1183-1276). Istituzioni, società, economia*. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2001.

32. This canal, called Vettabia, is mentioned by the chronicler Landolfo: M. G. H., SS; VIII, 61.

33. Da Ripalta, Pietro. *Chronica piacentina*, ed. Mario Fillià, Claudia Binelli. Piacenza: Tip.Le.Co, 1995: 67: *Anno Domini MCXVI* (undoubtedly an error by the chronicler) *de mense maii, civitas Laude capta fuit a Mediolanensibus*.

34. The chronicler of Lodi, Otto Morena started his chronicle at the Diet of Constance: *Das Geschichtswerk des Otto Morena und seine Fortsetzer über die Taten Friedrichs in der Lombardei*, ed. Ferdinand Güterbock. Berlin: Weidmann, 1930 (M. G. H., *Scriptores rerum germanicarum*, n.s. 7). On the Diet of Constance and the treaty which is concluded there between the Pope and Frederick, see Engels, Odilo. "Zum Konstanzer Vertrag von 1153", *Deus qui mutat tempora. Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittelalters. Festschrift A. Becker zu seinen fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag*. Sigmaringen: J.Thorbecke, 1987: 235-258. The text of treaty has been published: M. G. H. "Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae", *Die Urkunden Friedrich I*, ed. Heinrich Appelt. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1975: 1, n. 52. (Abbreviated to DF1 from now on).

35. See note 21.

36. On this subject, see the textbooks mentioned in footnote 15. The struggle between the Welfs and the Stauifen which erupted in Germany in 1125, on the extinction of the Salerno dynasty, on the one hand meant unrest in Germany and on the other, consequently the impossibility of the Emperors taking action in Italy.



who had become tangled up in German affairs and the Second Crusade and had not even been able to go to Rome to receive the Imperial Crown.<sup>37</sup>

It is not however the Pope's appeal that had been lacking. The coronation of Lothaire de Supplimbourg had taken place under humiliating circumstances for the Sovereign, obliged to pay homage to the Pope,<sup>38</sup> and the scene had been immortalised by a fresco in the church of Saint Jean de Latran where an Emperor was represented on his knees before the Pope. Another German sovereign humiliated before the Pope after the act of penitence in Canossa? Such a scene does not fail to touch people. But the Pope himself felt far from ease in the capital where a town council was in the process of forming,<sup>39</sup> where the heretical rhetoric of Arnold of Brescia flourished, denouncing the Church's riches.<sup>40</sup> Already Pope Eugene III had contacted Conrad III to ask him not only to come and be crowned Emperor but also to liberate the Roman Commune.<sup>41</sup> Alas for the Pope, Conrad III was unable to make the journey to Rome before his untimely death.

Following his election, Frederick found himself confronted by Italian affairs, and obliged to answer the growing insistency of the Pope's pleas to come and restore order to Rome.<sup>42</sup> It must also be observed that Frederick, in accordance with the doctrine of his uncle Otto of Freising, had to reconcile Church and Empire in such a way that the City of God dreamed of by Saint Augustine, could become a reality.<sup>43</sup> For Otto of Freising, the Emperor had to be the protector of the Church and came down to him to impose peace within Christianity. Pope Eugene III, on failing to summon Conrad III, could only hope that his nephew, Frederick Barbarossa, elected King of the Romans, would later receive the Imperial Crown in Rome.

So, this first voyage to Italy, which would expose the Emperor to the realities of his Kingdom, had to have heavily influenced the evolution of his reign. For Frederick, going to Italy first of all meant making a pact with the Pope who was in the grip of the Roman population, with the support of the King of Sicily and the Byzantine Emperor. This was the aim of the Peace of Constance in 1153, through which it was agreed that to secure the Imperial crown, Frederick would promise not to make any agreements with the people of Rome, no more than with the King of

37. Conrad III had definitely decided to go to Rome the day after his return from his Second Crusade, but died before he could.

38. Haverkamp, Alfred. *Aufbruch und Gestaltung: Deutschland, 1056-1273*. Munich: C.H Beck, 1984: 130.

39. Maire Vigueur, Jean Claude. "Il Comune romano", *Roma medievale*, André Vauchez, dir. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2001 (*Storia di Roma, dall'Antichità ad oggi*, t. 2): 117-158 shows that the revolt of the Romans in 1143 only made them continue the movements which led the Roman population to set up a town council in imitation of the town councils of northern Italy.

40. Frugoni, Arsenio. *Arnaud de Brescia dans les sources du XIIe siècle*. Paris: Les belles lettres, 1993 (French translation of the Italian book edited in 1955).

41. See note 38.

42. See note 35 for the agreement between the Pope and the Emperor during the Diet of Constance.

43. Hashagen, Justus. *Otto von Freising als Geschichtsphilosoph und Kirchenpolitiker*. Leipzig: Akademie Verlag, 1900; Hofmeister, Adolf. "Studien über Otto von Freising. I – Der Bildungsgang Ottos von Freising". *Neues Archiv*, XXXVIII (1911): 101-114. On the popularity of augustinianism in the Middle Ages. Arquilliere, Henry-Xavier. *L'augustinisme politique*. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1955.



Sicily.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, he promised to make no concessions to the Byzantine Emperor in Italy, and to expel him from the peninsula should he invade. The initial facts of Frederick's first voyage to Italy were contained in a pact that bound him to the Pope in exchange for his coronation as King of the Romans, and against the King of Sicily and the Byzantine Emperor, adversaries of the Pope.<sup>45</sup>

In the course of his first expedition to Italy, did Frederick, King of the Romans and then pretender to the Imperial Crown, have a veritable political programme, as many historians have suggested?<sup>46</sup> This programme would have relied on his domination of Christianity, which would have submitted to him. Yet, if we trust what it is possible to gather from his education, he does not seem to have been educated in a way fitting to someone taking up the reigns of Empire. He was first and foremost trained to be a knight and to understand society of his time in the hierarchised form of the feudal system.<sup>47</sup> His uncle, a Cistercian monk who became Bishop, was able to give him a worldview based on the way clerics of the Gregorian reform saw the world.<sup>48</sup> Nothing had truly prepared Frederick to brave the Italian world that he came to travel through and discover. There were too many differences between German skies and Italian skies for the New Emperor to be able to understand what separated the Kingdom of Germany from the Kingdom of Italy.

There was however a principle that the Emperor was never to abandon at any point in his exploits, *honor imperii*.<sup>49</sup> It was by combining this principle with a certain pragmatic vision of reality that his reign would unfold. Frederick was fully aware of how his government should be, his rank, and his place within Christian society. All of his decisions were guided by the respect for a principle elevated to the rank of the basis for all he did, and he was also encouraged by certain advisers, his main one, undoubtedly, being Rainald von Dassel, his chancellor, Archbishop of Cologne, who without a doubt, in the name of Imperial honour, pushed him to take serious decisions with both fortunate and unfortunate consequences.<sup>50</sup>

It was clear from his remarks and from his uncle Otto of Freising's account of his observations, that arriving on Italian soil, he, the German Aristocrat could not but be surprised. It was up to him to restore order, re-establish royal authority; an

44. See note 35.

45. Clementi, Dione. "The relations between the Papacy, the Western Roman Empire and the Emergent Kingdom of Sicily and South Italy, 1050-1156". *B.I.S.I.M.E.*, 80 (1960): 191-212.

46. This is the case for Pacaut, Marcel. *Frédéric Barberousse*. Paris: Fayard, 1990; and Münz, Peter. *Frederick Barbarossa. A study in medieval politics*. London: Cornell University Press, 1969.

47. See the portrait of Frederick painted by Cardini, Franco. *Il Barbarossa. Vita, trionfi e illusioni di Federico I imperatore*. Milan: Mondadori, 1985: 71-87.

48. See note 44.

49. Görlich, Knut. *Die Ehre Friedrich Barbarossas. Kommunikation, Konflikt und politisches Handeln im 12. Jahrhundert*. Darmstadt: WBG, 2001; Rassow, Peter. *Honor imperii. Die neue Politik Friedrich Barbarossas. Durch den Text des Konstanzer Vertrags ergänzte Neuausgabe*. München: Oldenbourg, 1961 (taken from a text which appeared in 1941).

50. Grab, Walter. "Studien zur geistigen Welt Rainalds von Dassel". *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, LXXI (1969): 10-36; Kluger, Helmut. "Friedrich Barbarossa und sein Ratgeber Rainald von Dassel". *Geschichte in Köln*, 44 (December 1998): 5-22.





enormous task. His first two Italian expeditions, the first for his coronation, the second occurring in the same way between 1158 and 1162, are significant of his commitment to re-establish his authority. This is symbolised by the decisions that he tried to impose in the course of two significant Diets, two large assemblies of German aristocrats and representatives of the Italian nobility as well as the cities, held at the gates of the city of Piacenza, on a large site between the river and its tributary the Nure, upstream from the city, at Roncaglia.<sup>51</sup> Constitutions of this sort were more postulates than actual applicable decisions. During the first expedition, the first constitutions formed a basis upon which the Sovereign built his administration and above all involved the fiefdoms.<sup>52</sup> A major issue tackled by the Kingdom of Italy's administration was the relationship between the sovereign and the cities. This was not the case in 1158.<sup>53</sup>

During the first expedition in 1154, Frederick made contact with the Doctors of Law from the Bologna schools, who were in the process of restoring the great principles of Roman law to their rightful place of honour in public and private law.<sup>54</sup> The Roman laws, collected in the Justinian Code and their mention in the Pandects, affirmed royal sovereignty.<sup>55</sup> In 1158, the Archbishop of Milan, presenting the future imperial decisions in his opening speech at the Diet of Roncaglia, was able to say, "What pleases the Prince, by authority of the law".<sup>56</sup> The Emperor had not had time in 1154, or did not feel himself sufficiently well informed to confront the realities of the Kingdom of Italy. In 1158, he was assisted by four jurists from Bologna whose mission it was to introduce him to the list of laws (*regalia*), which, in accordance with Roman law, should be returned to him.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, a very long list of laws had to be drawn up, affirming his authority over the streets, rivers and navigable waterways, in the ports, taxes and tolls, minting of coins and their distribution, the

51. Nassalli Rocca, Emilio. "La dieta di Roncaglia del 1158 nei cronisti medievali italiani". *Archivio storico per le provincie parmensi*, s. 4, XII (1958): 51-78.

52. DF1, n. 90. Haverkamp, Alfred. *Herrschaftsformen der Frühstaufer in reichsitalien*, 2 volumes. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1970-1971: I, 51, 344, 364, 366, 271, 373, 435.

53. DF1, N. 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242.

54. Stelzer, Winfried. "Zum Scholarenprivileg Friedrich Barbarossas (Authentica Habita)". *Deutsches Archiv*, 34 (1978): 123-165. The author believes that the meeting between Frederick Barbarossa and the jurists from Bologna was the origin of the *Habita* constitution, the first legal document recognising the law schools of Bologna; he dates the constitution 1154 whereas the traditional date given by most historians is 1158.

55. Appelt, Heinrich. "Friedrich Barbarossa und das römische Recht". *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 5 (1961-62): 18-34, reproduced in Woof, Günther, ed. *Friedrich Barbarossa*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl., 1975: 55-82 (Wege der Forschung, 300).

56. *Quod principi pla cui legis habet vigorem, cum populus ei et in eum unum imperium et potestatem concessit*, quoted by Cardini, Franco. *Il Barbarossa...*: 200 and note: 373.

57. During the Amalfi siege in 1138, the Pisans got their hands on the Pandects, a collection of decisions made by Roman jurists compiled by order of Justinien, and had brought the manuscript back Pisa, where a rival law school to the one in Bologna was flourishing. Although Pisa was still a town loyal to its Emperor, it was the Bologna jurists, more assertive than those in Pisa, that Frederick contacted: Cardini, Franco. *Il Barbarossa...*: 201-204. The author believes that the decisions of 1158 are an imperial response to the *Dictatus apae* by Gregory VII.



collection of fines, the administration of vacant and confiscated goods, removals, taxes for royal expeditions, the power to appoint magistrates, the right to build palaces in the cities, ownership of the mines, revenues from the fishermen's catches and the salt works, the crime of lese majesty, the appropriation of treasure from public and church lands.<sup>58</sup>

All these rights had in various ways been usurped by the city councils that had purely and simply appropriated them, more often than not at the expense of the bishops to whom the Ottonian sovereigns had granted them.<sup>59</sup> The list having been drawn up, the Emperor declared that he accepted that the royal prerogatives could be exercised by those who were able to justify them by written text, if not, he demanded that they be returned. These laws were not only theoretical, but also had an undeniable financial aspect, to the extent that a historian thought it credible that an annual revenue of the order of 300,000 marks in silver, the equivalent of about a tonne of silver, had to be given to the Emperor.<sup>60</sup> In terms of politics, Frederick Barbarossa's Italian policy from then on appeared to be not only theoretical in nature, but also financial.<sup>61</sup> This is how Frederick's politics emerge, from the German's he demands men for his army and his expeditions to Italy, and from the Italians, particularly the city-dwellers, he asks to provide him with the money necessary for the Treasury's needs, none of which was meant for Germany.

The first Diet of Roncaglia had, in 1154, attempted to rebuild a feudal system, which had been seriously neglected by the city councils. A new constitution in 1158 banned the alienation of fiefs, and the Sovereign reclaimed the granting of public office, duchies, marquisates, and earldoms for himself.<sup>62</sup> A vassal of a vassal who offended the Lord would be deprived of his fiefdom. Frederick thought he had thus restored order within the kingdom; on the one hand forcing the Communes to restore usurped royal law, on the other hand restoring feudal society and his place and rank within the kingdom's society. Postulates, we have said, were the theoretical decisions behind the constitutions that were difficult to apply. They required the Sovereign to have a sufficient army, an indisputable authority to bring the urban organisations back into the fold, which, it was decided would not be allowed to

58. DF1, n. 237.

59. The Ottonians had delivered diplomas to the Bishops of Lombardy and Emilia: Dupré Theseider, Eugenio. "Vescovi e città nell'Italia precomunale", *Vescovi e diocesi in Italia nel Medioevo (secoli IX-XIII)*. Padua: Antenore, 1964: 55-109; Fumagalli, Vito. "Il potere civile dei vescovi al tempo di Ottone I", *I poteri temporali dei vescovi in Italia e in Germania nel Medioevo*, Carlo Guido Mor, Heinrich Schmidinger, dirs. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1979: 77-86; Keller, Hagen. "Zur Struktur der Königsherrschaft im karolingischen und nachkarolingischen Italien". *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, XLVII (1967): 123-223.

60. Cardini, Franco. *Il Barbarossa...*: 206.

61. The financial aspect of Frederick Barbarossa's politics was highlighted by Haverkamp, Alfred. *Herrschaftsformen...* (see note 53) and Brühl, Carlrichard. *Fodrum, gistum; Servitium regis. Studien zu den Wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des Königtums im Frankenreich und in des nachfränkischen Nachfolgestaaten Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien vom 6. Bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 2 volumes. Cologne-Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1968 (Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, 14).

62. DF1, n. 242.

continue, as the example of Milan shows, which had to bow to the Imperial force twice, in 1158 and 1162.<sup>63</sup>

The Italian peninsula showed itself to be a veritable hornets' nest for the Emperor. His imperial honour was satisfied by the Constitution of Roncaglia and above all the affirmation of his Sovereign rights as too by his success in tackling Milan. The Italian Communes seemed to admit defeat after the razing of Milan in 1162, but remained for the Emperor the Roman problem. The agreement signed for the Imperial coronation in 1153 had originally worked well, and had at the very least enabled Frederick's Imperial coronation. Frederick had agreed to consent to no arrangements with the Sicilian sovereign and the Byzantine Emperor in Italy. However, the Pope, dissatisfied that Frederick was not more firmly committed to re-establishing his power in Rome following his coronation, and aware of the danger that he as an Emperor could possibly be confronted with, decided to negotiate with the Sicilian sovereign, William I, successor to the Kingdom's founder, Roger II. He therefore signed the Treaty of Benevento in 1156. The Pact of Constance shattered.<sup>64</sup> The agreement between the Pope and the Emperor was unable to last any longer than an incident at the Diet of Besançon in 1157. The Pope conceded that unfortunate translation of the term *beneficium* as "fiefdom", instead of the desired "Empire" consciously or unconsciously by Rainald von Dassel, had made him seem like a fief.<sup>65</sup> Cardinal Rolando Bandinelli, papal legate, then made his pronouncement against Rainald. The conditions of Frederick's Italian policy were to be profoundly transformed with the election Rolando, who took the name Alexander III, to the papal throne.<sup>66</sup> His rival, the antipope Victor IV, turned to the Emperor, who acknowledged him as the only legitimate Pope, and Frederick intended to impose him on Christianity by installing him in Rome, where, moreover, the unrest caused by a population dissatisfied by the papal administration continued to rage.<sup>67</sup>

The situation that emerged from the papal schism led Alexander III to move closer to the King of Sicily and the Byzantine Emperor, who because of his Italian policy relied on the Adriatic port of Ancona.<sup>68</sup> Certainly since 1162 and the terrible punishment inflicted on the Milanese, the Lombardian Communes under the yoke

63. The defeat is particularly highlighted by the chronicler Otto and Acerbo Morena in their chronicle (see note 33).

64. M. G. H. *Legum sectio IV, Constitutiones et acta publica*, ed. Lothar Wieland. Hannover: Hahn, 1893: 588; *Acta sicula: Pactum Beneventanum inter Hadrianum IV et Wilhelmum I regem*; Houben, Hubert, "Barbarossa und die Normannen. Traditionelle Züge und neue Prospektiven imperialer Suditalienpolitik", *Friedrich Barbarossa. Ahndlungsspielräume...*: 112. On the events leading up to the Treaty of Benevento in June 1156, see Maccarone, Michele. *Papato e Impero. Dalla elezione di Federico I alla morte di Adriano IV (1152-1159)*. Rome: Lateranum, 1959; Deer, Josef. *Papsttum und Normannen. Untersuchungen zu lehnrechtlichen und kirchpolitischen Beziehungen*. Cologne-Vienna: Böhlau, 1972: 247-253.

65. On the Besançon incident, Heinemeyer, Walter. "Beneficium" non feudum sed bonum factum. Der Streit auf den Reichstag zu Besançon, 1157". *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 15 (1969): 155-236.

66. On the figure Alexander III, see Pacaut, Marcel. *Alexandre III. Etude sur la conception du pouvoir pontifical dans sa pensée et son œuvre*. Paris: Vrin, 1956; and Baldwin, Marshall. *Alexander III and the twelfth Century*. New York: The Seabury Press, 1969.

67. On Roman unrest, see note 40.

68. Chalandon, Ferdinand. *Histoire...*: II, 301; Lamma, Paolo, *Comneni...*: I, 109-115.



of the Podestats that the Emperor imposed on them.<sup>69</sup> When Frederick Barbarossa tried to appoint his Pope in Rome in 1167, he was able to go through Lombardy without encountering any serious resistance, despite the muffled discontent of the population faced with the arrogance of the Podestats.<sup>70</sup> Nonetheless, he avoided passing through the eastern part of the Paduan plain where an association of hostile towns had grown up under Verona's lead.<sup>71</sup> *Honor imperii* gave him the power to make himself the master of Rome and to install *his* Pope, while the candidate elected by the majority of the Cardinals, Alexander III, had had to leave the capital of the Christian world to place himself, at first, under the protection of the King of Sicily, then subsequently, the King of France.<sup>72</sup> Frederick had not been able to convince Louis VII and his rival Henry II Plantagenet of acknowledging Victor IV then his successor following the failure of the negotiations at Saint Jean de Losne.<sup>73</sup> Frederick successfully reaching Rome, was able to install *his* Pope, but the weather turned against him and led to the outbreak of an epidemic, very probably gastroenteritis, which decimated his army.<sup>74</sup> The Lombardian towns, on hearing news of the disarray of the Imperial army, founded the Lombardian League, which united with that of Verona.<sup>75</sup> Great rivals of Milan, such as Cremona, called on their allies to participate in rebuilding the city, thanks to grants that the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel Comnena, granted to them. *Honor imperii* was scorned, on the one hand

69. The day after the sacking of Milan, Frederick Barbarossa, on the advice of Rainald von Dassel, appointed podestats at the head of the Lombardian cities: Ludwig, Christoph. *Untersuchungen über die frühesten "Podestates" italienischer Städte*. Vienna: Universität Wien, 1973.

70. Güterbock, Ferdinando. "Alla vigilia della lega lombarda. Il dispotismo dei vicari imperiali a Piacenza". *Archivio storico italiano*, 95/1 (1937): 188-217 and 95/2: 64-77, 181-192. The article was the subject of another publication in Florence in 1938.

71. Our knowledge of the League of Verona is unfortunately weak, limited to the *Liber pontificalis*, 3 volumes, ed. Louis Duchesne. Paris-Rome: E. de Boccard, 1955: 411: *pro importabilibus malis Veneti cum Veronensibus, Paduanis, Vicentinis et cum tota sibi adiacente Marchia occulte se convenerrunt et super tantis oppressionibus diutius conferentes, tandem pariter iuraverunt quod salvo imperii antiquo iure nihil amplius facerent predicto imperatori nisi quod ab antiquis antecessoribus, Carolo videlicet atque aliis orthodoxis imperatoribus constat exhibitum*. On the League of Verona, see Fasoli, Gina. "La Lega lombarda. Antecedenti, formazione, struttura", *Probleme des 12. Jahrhunderts*. Constance-Stuttgart: Vorträge und Forschungen XII, 1968: 151 (Vorträge und Forschungen, 12); Oppl, Ferdinand. *Stadt und Reich im 12. Jahrhundert, 1125-1190*. Cologne-Vienna-Graz: Universität Wien, 1986: 360 (Padua): 469-470. (Verona).

72. The King of Italy let Alexander III have four galleys to enable him to win Narbonne then the Kingdom of France where the King, followed by his English counterpart had taken his side: *Liber Pontificalis*...: II, 404.

73. Schmale, Franz-Josef. "Friedrich I und Ludwig VII. In Sommer des Jahres 1162". *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte*, 31 (1968): Beck, 315-368; Schuster, Bern. "Das Treffen von Saint Jean de Losne im Widerstreit der Meinungen. Zur Freiheit der Geschichtsschreibung im 12. Jahrhundert". *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 43 (1995) 211-245.

74. Herde, Peter. "Die Katastrophe vor Rom im August 1167. Eine historische epidemiologische Studie zum vierten Italienzug Friedrichs I Barbarossa", *Sitzungsberichte der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität Frankfurt/Main*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 199: 139-166.

75. Fasoli, Gina. "Federico Barbarossa e le città lombarde", *Scritti di storia medievale*, Francesca Bocchi, Antonio Carile, Antonio-Ivan Pini, eds. Bologna: La fotocromo emiliana, 1974: 229-255; Vismara, Giulio. "Struttura ed istituzioni della Lega lombarda", *Popolo e Stato in Italia nell'età di Federico Barbarossa. Alessandria e la Lega lombarda*. Turin: Deputazione di storia patria, 1970: 291-332.



by the difficult conditions in which the Emperor had to leave Italian soil to take refuge in the Kingdom of Bourgogne, on the other hand by the creation of a town whose name sounded like an insult to the Emperor, Alexandria, named after his great enemy Alexander III, and elevated to the rank of diocese, some years after it was founded.<sup>76</sup>

With this front formed by Pope Alexander III, with Manuel Comnena who returns to Italian soil through the port of Ancona, the King of Sicily, and the Lombardian League that Frederick Barbarossa, whose authority in Italy is seriously undermined, clashes with. It is well known that the Emperor, even after his defeat at Legnano in 1176, succeeded after a fashion to get himself out of the tight corner that he had got himself into.<sup>77</sup> It is nonetheless true that the circumstances had changed. Manuel Comnena had been defeated by the Turks at Myriokephalon.<sup>78</sup> And Alexander III without abandoning the Lombardian alliance, made up with the Emperor in Venice in 1177.<sup>79</sup> *Honor imperii* was in part left intact, the Emperor had avoided being humiliated before the Pope in Venice, as Lothaire III had previously, and his excommunication was revoked. The six-year truce, agreed to by the Lombardian League, which the Communes had broken loose from, who, like Pavia and Cremona, no longer supported Milanese imperialism, was signed in 1183. The Emperor, at the Peace of Constance, succeeded in safeguarding his honour but had to acknowledge the autonomy of the Communes,<sup>80</sup> to be called from that point on

76. Pistarino, Geo. "Alessandria nel mondo dei Comuni". *Studi Medievali*, s. 3, 11 (1970): 1-101; Pistarino, Geo. "Alessandria de tribus locis", *Cultura e società nell'Italia medievale. Studi per Paolo Brezzi*. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1998: II, 697-715.

77. On the Battle of Legnano, which made a big impact in the Italian sphere, see Martini, Giovanni. "La battaglia di Legnano: la realtà e il mito". *Nuova Antologia*, 111 (1976): 357-371.

78. Lamma, Pietro. *Commeni...*: II, 281: *il disastro di Myriokephalon è veramente più grave, certo più pesante di Legnano per Barbarossa*.

79. Brezzi, Paolo. "La pace di Venezia del 1177 e le relazioni tra la repubblica e l'impero", *Venezia dalla prima Crociata alla conquista di Costantinopoli del 1204*. Florence: Sansoni editore, 1960: 49-70; Schmale, Franz-Josef. *Der Friede von Venedig*. Bochum: 1981; Althoff, Gerd. "Friedrich Barbarossa als Schauspieler? Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Friedens von Venedig (1177)", *Chevaliers errants, demoiselles et l'autre. Festschrift für Xenia von Eitzdorff*, Trude Ehlert, dir. Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1998: 3-20; Laudage, Johanne. "Gewinner und Verlierer des Friedens von Venedig", *Stauferreich im Wandel. Ordnungsverstellungen und Politik vor und nach Venedig*, Stephan Weinfurter ed. Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2002: 1107-1130.

80. On the Peace of Constance, cf. the volume of minutes from the scientific conference that was held to commemorate the event: *La pace di Costanza. Un difficile equilibrio di poteri fra società italiana ed Impero*. Bologna: Studia testi di storia medievale, 1984. See the text of the agreement in *il Registrum del Comune di Piacenza*, 5 volumes, Ettore Falconi, Roberta Peveri, eds. Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1984-1997: I, n. 163 with an introduction and commentary by E. Falconi. The same author has contributed an important study on documents linked to this text: "La documentazione della pace di Costanza", *Studi sulla pace di Costanza*. Milan: Deputazione di storia patria per le province parmensi, 1984: 21-104; Haverkamp, Alfred. "Der Konstanzer Friede zwischen Kaiser und Lombardenbund", *Kommunale Bündnisse Oberitaliens und Oberdeutschland im Vergleich*. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1987: 11-44 (Vorträge und Forschungen, 33). This latter author offered a new interpretation of the event and the circumstances surrounding it. On the consequences of the Peace of Constance in Italian History, Racine, Pierre. "La paix de Constance dans l'histoire italienne: l'autonomie des Communes lombardes". *Studi sulla pace...*: 223-248.



city-states,<sup>81</sup> though still under theoretical imperial protection because the consuls received their investiture from the Emperor or his representative and an imperial court continued to judge cases that were worth more than 25 Imperial pounds. The city of Alexandria was founded again by the Emperor and given the name Caesarea.<sup>82</sup> Imperial politics led to the fragmentation of the Kingdom of Italy into City-states and the Constitutions of Roncaglia, which were only Postulates to justify royal sovereignty, and could only be applied with great difficulty.

Illusions within disillusion, such was the evolution of Frederick Barbarossa's Italian Policy between 1154 and 1183.<sup>83</sup> The sovereign, a German Aristocrat, did not understand the essence of the urban bodies that he had to confront. After the initial euphoria of the years 1158-1166, came the period of the Legnano disaster and the Emperor had to demean himself, stooping to negotiate with his adversaries from the Lombardian League. All that Frederick Barbarossa had done in Italy had at first been oriented towards satisfying *honor imperii*, it did not constitute a veritable Mediterranean policy. The Emperor was first and foremost interested in assuring his domination in the Kingdom of Italy as he was in affirming before the Pope his universal secular power. He intended, all the more so in this last case, to allege in view of the Byzantine Emperor that he was the only true heir to the Roman Empire, and Rainald von Dassel saw the French and English sovereigns as kinglets only (*reguli*).<sup>84</sup>

That is not to say however that a certain type of Mediterranean policy did not enter into his relations with the Sicilian sovereigns, who were being called on to claim Byzantine heritage and demonstrate their pretensions to the Byzantine throne.<sup>85</sup> They were certainly vassals of the Pope, but proclaimed themselves nonetheless the protectors of a Lord who had great difficulties within his administration in Rome and his territories of the Patrimony of Saint Pierre.<sup>86</sup> Frederick Barbarossa must have been aware of the position of the Sicilian Kings in relation to his Italian policy. On several occasions, he wanted to invade the kingdom of Sicily. He had long viewed the King of Sicily to be a usurper, even a tyrant.<sup>87</sup> He had believed that he

81. Delumeau, Jean Pierre. "Communes, consulats, et la city republic", *Mondes de l'Ouest et villes du monde. Regards sur les sociétés médiévales. Mélanges en l'honneur de A. Chédeville*, Catherine Laurent, Bernat Merdri-gnac, Daniel Pichot, eds. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 1998: 491-509.

82. It is the name given to the town in the Peace of Constance (see note 81).

83. Engels, Odilo. *Die Staufer*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1998<sup>7</sup> observes on page 75 that the Roman catastrophe of 1167 was the reign's pivotal moment: (*die wohl folgenreichste Wende in der Politik Friedrich Barbarossas*). It led to a progressive reorientation of the Emperor's policy on Southern Italy: Lamma, Paolo. *Comneni...*: I, 283.

84. This is how he treated these Sovereigns during the meeting with Saint Jean de Losne (see note 74).

85. Chalandon, Ferdinand. *Histoire...* does not fail to highlight this aspect, even before the establishment of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily.

86. These four Sicilian galleys which carried Pope Alexander III, in hiding from the lands of the Kingdom of Sicily, to France: *Terracinum perrexit, ibique invenit quattuor galeas egis Sicilie optime preparatas, quas illuc ad eius servitium destinaverat*. Boso. "Vita Alexandri", *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne. Paris: Boccard, 1955: II, 404 (note 72). Chalandon, Ferdinand. *Histoire...*: II, 294.

87. Freising, Otton de. *Gesta Friderici*, ed. Franz-Josef Schmale. Darmstadt: Geburstag, 1986: *pro Guilelmo siculo, qui patre suo Rogerio noviter defuncto successerat, utriusque imperii invasore...*





could make the most of the revolt of the Sicilian Barons, linked to the murder of Maio de Bari for invading the kingdom in 1160, moreover with the full support of Manuel Comnena.<sup>88</sup> But launching an expedition against the kingdom required the support of a fleet that the Emperor did not have. Also in 1162, he had negotiated with Pisa as he had with Genoa, by offering them very significant trade privileges in the case of victory.<sup>89</sup> The Italian cities had agreed to provide the Emperor with contingents for the invasion of the Kingdom (Brescia, Piacenza, Cremona, Ravenna and Lucca).<sup>90</sup> The expedition could not take place as Frederick was called to the Kingdom of Bourgogne to negotiate with the King of France at Saint Jean de Losne. The expedition of 1167 was not only destined to occupy Rome, but to continue as far as the Kingdom of Sicily, as the chronicles of Romuald of Salerno and the Annals of Pisa by Bernardo Maragone say.<sup>91</sup> The catastrophe that Frederick's army suffered in 1167 put an end to any attempts to invade Sicily.

The politics of the Emperor like the King of Sicily gradually changed in the 1170s. Already the chancellor, Christian de Mayence, had been persuaded to negotiate with the Sicilian King in 1173. When the possibility of a marriage between a daughter of the Byzantine Emperor and the Emperor's eldest son arose, the Emperor declared that he was ready to sign a permanent peace treaty with the Sicilian sovereign. The Pope standing in the way of the prospective marriage would not agree to it, and the attempted rapprochement was aborted. With the Peace of Venice, the rapprochement between the Emperor and the Sicilian Sovereign<sup>92</sup> was confirmed. From then on, the wheels of a prospective marriage of Henry to a Sicilian princess were put in motion.

The last expedition by Frederick to Italy in 1184, which clashed with the Pope's determined opposition to acknowledge the hereditary nature of the Imperial Crown in the Staufen family,<sup>93</sup> nonetheless resulted in what may seem like a *coup de théâtre*

88. *Gesta Friderici*, IV, 84: 704-706. Lamma, Paolo. *Comneni...*: II, 56-57.

89. DFI: II, n. 356. Abufalia, David. *The two Italies. Economics relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, s. 3, vol. 9). *Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova...*: I, n. 279, 280, 282; Pistarino, Geo. "Commercio e comunicazioni tra Genova e il Regno normanno-svevo all'epoca dei due Guglielmi", *Potere, società e popolo nell'età dei due Guglielmi (Atti delle quarte giornate normanno-sveve)*. Bari: Centro di Studi Normanno-Svevi, 1981: 233-236.

90. M. G. H., *SS rer. germ., Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. Georg Waitz, 1880: 112: *Feria secunda Paschae Pisani fidelitatem imperatori iuraverunt et expeditionem ei facere promiserunt in Apuliam, in Calabriam, in Siciliam, in Sardiniam, in Corsicam et ersus Constantinopolim... Feria tertia Brixienis similia imperatori iuraverunt*. DFI, n. 362, n. 369, 372, 375.

91. Salernitani, Romualdi. *Chronicon*, ed. Carlo Alberto Garufi. Bologna, 1935<sup>2</sup>: *Rerum Italicorum Scriptores Nuova Edizione*: VII/1: 255. Maragone Bernardo. *Annales Pisani*, ed. Michele Lupo Gentile. Bologna, 1936: *Rerum Italicorum Scriptores Nuova Edizione*: IV/2: 41.

92. Romuald de Salerne. *Chronicon...* *Interea praedictus cancellarius ex mandato imperatoris nuntio ad Willelmum Sicilie regem transmisit suadens et postulans, ut, ipse, imperatoris in uxorem accepta, cum eo pacem perpetuam faceret et ipsi se amivaliter couneret*.

93. If there was a change in Frederick Barbarossa's policy regarding the Kingdom of Sicily, it should be pointed out that the King of Sicily, William II, had come the day after the Peace of Venice, wanting to play a role in protecting Christians in the Holy Land who were under pressure from the Turkish advance and, from that time on, turning his back on the Byzantine alliance: Houben, Hubert. "Barbarossa und



with the engagement of Frederick's son Henry to Constance, daughter of the late Roger II of Sicily, aunt of William II, announced in Augsburg in October 1184. Was the Pope surprised? He nevertheless allowed the marriage to take place, believing that it presented no danger to his territories. Are we to believe that this was a Machiavellian calculation on Frederick Barbarossa's part, who would thus have been able to make his son heir to the Sicilian throne? This would without a doubt be a misunderstanding, as William II, who had married an English princess about 10 years his junior, was in the perfect position to produce an heir. It was nonetheless true that after the marriage, the Sicilian monarch had to name his aunt as heir in case no children were produced from his union with Jane of England.<sup>94</sup> It was nonetheless Frederick Barbarossa's masterstroke that enabled him to eventually foresee Southern Italy's unification with the Empire, a goal pursued, alas in vain, by Otto II and that no Emperor had been able to attain. The marriage allowed the Emperor to establish a friendship with the Sicilian royal family, and therefore gain an ally likely to put pressure on the Pope. It was the reversal of Frederick's policies during his expeditions to Italy, that at least until the 1170s had been met with hostility from the King of Sicily.

Did Frederick also have the Crusades in mind when he made an alliance with the King of Sicily through the marriage of his son Henry? In 1184, Pope Lucius III had admittedly called on Christians to concern themselves with the difficult situation of the eastern Latin states confronted by the advance of Saladin. But between the Pope and the Emperor, it does not seem that the question of a new expedition to save the Holy Land was discussed. The disaster of Hattin in 1187, then the loss of Jerusalem profoundly affected the Christian West.<sup>95</sup> The Popes once more called Western Christians to reconquer Jerusalem, which Saladin had just taken. Frederick put himself forward to lead the new Crusade. He had resolved the affair in Germany of Henry the Lion his cousin who had despoiled his duchies in Saxony and Bavaria,<sup>96</sup> and the Peace of Constance had ruled in favour of his interests in Italian affairs.<sup>97</sup> Frederick, after meticulous planning of the military operation, finally decided to take the overland route, despite the offer made to

die Normannen", *Friedrich Barbarossa. Handlungs spielräume...*: 123-127. On the marriage of Henry and Constance: Baaken, Gerhard. "Unio regni ad imperium. Die Verhandlungen von Verona 1184 an die Eheabredung zwischen König Heinrich VI und Konstanze von Sizilien". *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 52 (1972): 219-297; Wolter, Heinz. "Die Verlobung Heinrichs VI mit Konstanze von Sizilien im Jahre 1184". *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 105 (1995): 163-182.

94. M. G. H. SS, t. 19: *Annales casinenses*: 314; San Germano Richard de, *Chronica*, ed. Carlo Alberto Garufi Bologna, 1937: *Rerum Italicorum Scriptorum Nuova Edizione*: VII/2: 6, *quo etiam procurate factum est, ut ad regis ipsius mandatum omnes regni comites sacramentum praestiterint, quod si regem ipsum absque liberis mori contingeret, a modo de facto regis tamquam fideles ipsi sue amite tenerentur dicto regi Alemannie viro eius*.

95. On the repercussions of the Battle of Hattin and the loss of Jerusalem, see Richard, Jean. *Histoire des Croisades*. Paris: editions Fayard, 1996: 228-229.

96. Heinemeyer, Karl. "Der Prozess Heinrichs des Löwen". *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, CXVII (1981): 61-71; Althoff, Gerd. "Die Historiographie bewältigt. Der Sturz Heinrichs des Löwen in der Darstellung Arnolds von Lubeck", *Die Welfen und ihr Baronschweiger hof im hohen Mittelalter*, Bernel Schneidmüller ed. Wiesbaden: Jarhundert, 1995: 163-182.

97. See note 81.





him by the King of Sicily to give him a fleet to get to the Holy Land from Southern Italy.<sup>98</sup> His army's march through the Danube valley, where they took the same route that he had taken at his uncle's side for the Second Crusade, turned out to be very difficult. Despite the agreements made with the Byzantine Emperor, pillagers constantly hounded the army of crusaders, attacking above all their logistics. Anti-Byzantine feeling was developing within his army's ranks to the point that the Byzantines thought an assault on their capital by the Crusaders was possible. Did Frederick Barbarossa himself think about a similar attack and even taking the place of the Byzantine Emperor? No document, no account by any chronicler supports such a hypothesis these days, while the Emperor found himself nearing the walls of Constantinople. It is, however, certain that between the two Emperors a climate of defiance and suspicion reigned. Frederick went on Crusade more for the sense of chivalry than a real intention to establish himself in the Orient. Of course, he planned to reconquer Jerusalem, but did he intend to wear the Crown of the Frankish Holy Land? The untimely death of the Emperor, who drowned in the Selif River, makes this question impossible to answer.<sup>99</sup>

Six expeditions to Italy, one Crusade, it seemed that the Sovereign had no other real goals except to strengthen his *honor imperii*. No plans were made for domination of the Mediterranean area, pursuing a large-scale Mediterranean policy was not at the heart of the Emperor's designs when he restored royal authority to the Kingdom of Italy, assuring his sovereignty there and affirming his position with regard to the Papacy. Faced with the King of Sicily, faced with the Byzantine Emperor, the Emperor never had any plans in mind other than enforcing his Sovereignty within the peninsula. The King of Sicily is an enemy when he protects the Pope, but the Emperor manages to make him an ally after the Peace of Venice. The Emperor's expeditions to Italy were linked first and foremost to spreading his imperial honour. At a time when Saladin was systematically conquering the Holy Land, it is in the name of his imperial title that he decides to take up the cross. *Honor imperii*, the sense of chivalry that drove him on, his piety commanded him to head the new expedition. If we talk of a particular Mediterranean policy on Frederick Barbarossa's part, one ought to trace it back to the Emperor's keen sense of duty as universal Emperor at a time when the Italian peninsula was at the heart of Mediterranean history. The German aristocrat that he was, he did not cease to

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98. The sources on the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa were collected in a volume by Chroust, Anton. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.* Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1928 (M. G. H. *Script. rer. Germ.*, n.s. vol. 5). They were used extensively by Eickhoff, Ekkehard. *Friedrich Barbarossa im Orient. Kreuzzug und Tod Friedrichs I.* Tübingen: Verlag Ernest Wasmuth, 1977 (Istambuler Mitteilungen. Beiheft 17.) and more recently by Hiestand, Rudolf. "praecipua tocius Christianismi columpna". *Barbarossa und der Kreuzzug*, *Friedrich Barbarossa. Handlungs spielräume...*: 51-108; and Cardini, Franco. "L'imperatore annegato ed altri principeschi incidenti in Terra Santa", *I Re nudi. Congiure, assassini, tracolli ed altri imprevisi nella storia del potere. Atti del convegno della Fondazione E. Franceschini (Certosa del Galluzzo 19 novembre 1994)*, Glauco Maria Cantarella, Francesco Santi, eds. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 1996: 39-87.

99. As the chroniclers report, Frederick's death profoundly affected the Crusaders. Arnold de Lubeck, the author of the *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, and the French, Italian, and English authors of annals and chronicles do not fail to remind readers of the events of 1190.



be, deeply immersed in the rules of Feudal society, he was not in a position to act in Italy where he did not have the support of the German Princes, more interested in the colonisation of oriental lands at the hands of slaves, and indifferent to the thought of an actual Mediterranean policy supporting the Emperor.

