

**Tilman Struve (Hg.), Die Salier, das Reich und der Niederrhein, Köln, Weimar, Wien (Böhlau) 2008, VIII–414 S., 10 Abb., ISBN 978-3-412-20201-9, EUR 54,90.**

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The 900<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Emperor Henry IV (7 August 2006) occasioned several special colloquia (in Cologne, Speyer, Goslar) and publications in celebration of the so-called »Year of the Salians«<sup>1</sup>. While several scholarly publications and exhibits also appeared with specific focus on Henry IV himself<sup>2</sup>, the present volume contains the papers given at a colloquium held at the University of Cologne (26–30 September 2006), which accordingly focused on the Salian dynasty's history in the lower Rhine region. Prof. Dr. Tilman Struve (emeritus professor at the University of Cologne), who has spent much of his career studying the Salian house during the Investiture Struggle<sup>3</sup>, lends his considerable expertise to framing this collection of disparate essays.

Published conference proceedings are always a mixed bag, and this volume is no exception. Essays range from a virtually undocumented 11-page sketch to a remarkably fulsome 76-page study complete with primary and secondary source citations at least as long as the article itself. Helpful if not groundbreaking *Zusammenfassungen* of scholarship on selected topics are joined with detailed new research findings that have also been subsequently published elsewhere. And while some articles focus specifically on the Salian dynasty, others do so only tangentially because their topics happened to be located in the (usually late) Salian era. The volume therefore has a loose framework of three themes: (1) the Salian family, (2) aspects of imperial politics in the Salian era, and, given the location of the colloquium, (3) the region of Cologne and the lower Rhine.

In the first section, Daniel Ziemann, (»Heinrich III. – Krise oder Höhepunkt des salischen Königtums?«) assesses Henry IV in relation to his father and son (Henry III and V respectively), and concludes that the

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<sup>1</sup> The Salian year was anticipated by Stefan Weinfurter, *Die Salier und das Reich*, 3 vols., Sigmaringen 1991; and Id., *Das Jahrhundert der Salier. Kaiser oder Papst?«*, Ostfildern <sup>2</sup>2008. It was then celebrated (along with the volume under review) by Christoph Gutmann, Tilman Struve (ed.), *Die Salier und Sachsen. Tagung anlässlich des 950. Todestages Heinrichs III.*, Gütersloh 2009 (Goslarer Fundus, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Goslar, 55); Bernd Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter (ed.) *Salisches Kaisertum und neues Europa. Die Zeit Heinrichs IV. und Heinrichs V.*, Darmstadt 2007; Tilman Struve, *Salierzeit im Wandel. Zur Geschichte Heinrichs IV. und des Investiturstreits*, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna 2006; [Johannes Laudage, Die Salier. Das erste deutsche Königshaus, Munich 2006](#).

<sup>2</sup> Gerd Althoff, *Heinrich IV.*, Darmstadt 2006; Stefan Weinfurter, *Canossa. Die Entzauberung der Welt*, Munich 2006; Christoph Stiegemann, Matthias Wemhoff (ed.), *Canossa 1077. Erschütterung der Welt. Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur am Aufgang der Romanik* 2 vols., Munich 2006; Historisches Museum der Pfalz Speyer (ed.), *Heinrich IV. Kaiser, Kämpfer, Gebannter*, Speyer 2006.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to his intensive work on the imperial register of Henry IV for the »Regesta Imperii« series and the recent volume of his previously published essays cited in footnote 1 (*Salierzeit im Wandel*), Tilman Struve also produced the monograph, *Die Salier und das römische Recht. Ansätze zur Entwicklung einer säkularen Herrschaftstheorie in der Zeit des Investiturstreits*, Stuttgart 1998.

Salian dynasty was not one of decline from a golden age of Henry III's rule. Ziemann shares Stefan Weinfurter's doubt about representing the Salians as the ›losers‹ of their era, especially in light of the autocratic rule of Henry V, and argues that the political conflicts of the Salian era were similar to those that faced the Ottonian dynasty: struggles for power and rights between monarchs and individual magnates who thereby formed opposing coalitions – hardly the stuff that amounts to a distinctive style of Salian kingship from that which came before.

Claudia Zey follows (»Frauen und Töchter der salischen Herrscher. Zum Wandel salischer Heiratspolitik in der Krise«) with a study of the changing politics of marriage alliances during the Salian era. Although Conrad continued the Ottonian practice of seeking marriage alliances beyond the German kingdom in order to advance imperial status in Europe (e.g. his son Henry III's marriages to Gunhilda of Denmark and then Agnes of Poitou, and his daughter Matilda's unfulfilled betrothal to King Henry of France), from Henry IV's marriage to Bertha of Turin/Savoy and his sister Matilda's brief marriage to Rudolf von Rheinfelden onward Salian royal marriages were arranged not so much to advance imperial prestige as to address the power politics within the empire itself. Henry IV's second marriage to Praxedis (Adelheid), daughter of Grand Prince Vsevolod of Kiev, in summer 1089 (in Cologne) is said to have had less to do with aggrandizing claims of imperial sovereignty than with shoring up the German monarch's relations with Saxon lords after his defeat at their hands at the Battle of Plechfeld (1088). The same is said to have been true about his sister Judith's marriage to the Polish Duke Vladislav I Hermann in 1088. Finally, even Henry V's lengthy betrothal and eventual marriage to King Henry I of England's daughter Matilda is presented as overwhelmingly serving the sole purpose of raising an immense amount of money from English coffers to pay for his Italian campaign. While this was surely a major part of the marriage negotiations, it is too efficient to exclude the real burnishing of imperial prestige in Europe that a marriage bond with the English royal daughter afforded – imperial prestige that was also of much use while on campaign in Italy. English chronicles state that the emperor himself initiated the marriage negotiations and thus indicate an imperial agency and intentionality; indeed, this step represented a remarkable shift westward from the usual Salian *Ostpolitik* (as seen in the earlier Polish and Russian marriage alliances). And though in German charters Matilda was only referred to as *regina*, she herself when widowed employed the title *imperatrix* to her dying day, which suggests a very real if lingering value of imperial prestige throughout Europe. The same can be said for the assertion of imperial suzerainty through marriage alliances with a Polish ducal house and a Russian princely house with regard to lordship challenges in Saxony. By all accounts these ducal, princely, and royal dynasties understood the continued value of the currency of imperial stature, and such capital cannot have been missed by the Salians emperors themselves as a means to achieving the goal of imperial hegemony in either Italy or Saxony.

Caspar Ehlers (»Corpus eius in Spiream deportatur«) considers the process of consensus building among the imperial ruling elite that led to the establishment of what would prove to be the only dynastic burial site of kings in the German region of the empire. Not only did Henry V rightly sense that for his own future

political viability his fallen father had to be reintegrated into the kingdom (while avoiding the creation of a mistreated saint who could undermine his legitimacy), but so too did the community of princes understand itself as a legitimating force as the *communio catholica* that owed an exiled monarch reconciliation through a proper burial. Rather than depicting the Speyer mausoleum site as a monument to dynastic power, therefore, Ehlers see it as a rare sign of consensus including both Salian king and imperial princes for the sake of the realm.

Jürgen Dendorfer («Heinrich V. – König und Große am Ende der Salierzeit») completes the theme of the Salian family by considering the history of Henry V's fluctuating ability to win aristocratic support for his policies. Early in his reign the young Salian monarch followed a »consensual lordship« style evincing collaborative decisions with the magnates. This approach, however, paradoxically limited Henry's ability to make a distinctive impact on his own realm. But after the year 1111, when Henry V returned from Italy with the imperial crown, collaboration with the German princes ended in favor of his own independent *Reichsgutpolitik*. Contrary to Claudia Zey's assertion in her article, Dendorfer sees the extension of Henry's imperial stature in his marriage to the English royal princess Matilda. The diets of Würzburg (1121) and Worms (1122) are however reminders that, since the Investiture Conflict was not only between Emperor and Pope but also involved the entire empire, Henry V's range of individual action as emperor was never very free. Therefore his efforts at operating as a completely free political agent ultimately weakened the position of the king within the German realm.

Oliver Münsch («Heuchlerischer Tyrann oder Opfer päpstlicher Willkür? Die Darstellung Heinrichs IV. in publizistischen Texten des Investiturstreits») carries forward from Dendorfer and extends the volume into the second theme (Aspects of Imperial Politics). Reviewing the emerging genre of propaganda literature written during the Investiture Conflict, Münsch not surprisingly finds that Henry V as well as his supporters and enemies were used as foils for their opponents' political goals. The same propaganda discourse was used by both sides in the conflict to argue an essentially moral case: as theocratic kingship was the basis of the imperial side, the emperor himself therefore was judged either morally worthy or flawed for this high status; conversely, theocratic priesthood as the alternative of the Gregorian party led to an argument about the pope's moral rectitude as well.

Gerold Bönner («Aspekte gesellschaftlichen und stadtherrlichen Wandels in salierzeitlichen Städten») provides a deep and probing survey of the social and political changes underway during the Salian era. Indeed, the Salian monarchs sought to gain advantage from the socio-political changes afoot in their era by siding with urban communities that sought increasing autonomy for self-governance from their episcopal lords. But Salian open-mindedness toward the economic interests of new urban groups ultimately proved a failed strategy to circumvent the power of the episcopal princes, since urban communities simply sought the same privileges and exemptions from imperial authority (e.g. taxes, tolls, market rights, coin minting, institutions of self-governance) as their episcopal lords had obtained in the Ottonian era. The Salians were also frustrated in their outreach to urban communities because of the

confluence of interests between the Church and urban organizations with regard to the religious reform movement. These factors led to the result that the conflicts of the Investiture Struggle were very often played out in the urban milieu, the outcomes of which did not result in the extension of Salian imperial authority.

Jörg W. Busch (»Die Diplome der Salier als Spiegel ihrer Italienpolitik«) moves the volume's focus to the Italian territories of the empire. By studying the Salian charters for Italy from the 1080s onward, Busch reveals the central role imperial Italy played for Salian imperial politics. When compared with the Ottonian era, there was a significant increase in German lordship presence in Italy, as evidence by the fact that almost a third of all surviving Salian charters were drafted for Italian recipients. There was also a noticeable change in the kind and location of Italian recipients: after Canossa Henry IV shifted his attention from earlier clerical recipients (usually episcopal churches) to rural and urban communities. Lombardy no longer predominated as in the days of even his own Salian ancestors, but now the majority of charters fell to northeast Italy within the metropolitan district of Aquileia. His son Henry V continued this new pattern of Italian charter production.

Knut Görich (»Ehre des Königs und Ehre des Reichs. Ein Motiv in Begründung und Wahrnehmung der Politik Heinrichs IV.«) extends his earlier extensive work on this subject backward from the Staufer era into the reign of Henry IV<sup>4</sup>. Görich takes up the notion of consensual rule also studied by Dendorfer, but focuses on its implications for the assertion and preservation of honor in relations between monarch and the princes of the realm. The German magnates understood themselves as preservers of the *honor regni* along with the king, while Henry IV and his circle (especially during the Saxon Wars and the Investiture Struggle) made a distinction between the *honor regis* (i.e. of the king as an individual) and the *honor regni* (i.e. of the kingdom as a political entity). Thus Henry IV's political behavior as a monarch can be understood in this context as a dogged effort at restoring the *honor regis* after it had been offended repeatedly during the regency government of his minority – much to the damage of the *honor regni* as far

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<sup>4</sup> Knut Görich, Die Ehre Friedrich Barbarossas. Kommunikation, Konflikt und politisches Handeln im 12. Jahrhundert, Darmstadt 2001 (Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne, 1); Id., Die »Ehre des Reiches« (*honor imperii*). Überlegungen zu einem Forschungsproblem«, in: Johannes Laudage, Yvonne Leiverkus (ed.), Rittertum und höfische Kultur der Stauerzeit, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna 2006, S. 36–74; Knut Görich, Eine »internationale« Sprache der Ehre? Gesandte vor Friedrich Barbarossa, in: Hanna Vollrath (ed.), Der Weg in eine weitere Welt. Kommunikation und »Außenpolitik« im 12. Jahrhundert, Berlin, Münster 2008 (Neue Aspekte der europäischen Mittelalterforschung, 2), S. 35–58; Knut Görich, Vor 800 Jahren – der Tod Philipps von Schwaben: Ein Mord aus verletzter Ehre?, in: Damals. Das Magazin für Geschichte und Kultur 6/40 (2008), S. 58–65; Id., »... damit die Ehre unseres Onkels nicht gemindert werde ... Verfahren und Ausgleich im Streit um das Herzogtum Bayern 1152–1156, in: Peter Schmid, Heinrich Wanderwitz (ed.), Die Geburt Österreichs. 850 Jahre Privilegium minus, Regensburg 2007, S. 23–35; Ehre als Ordnungsfaktor. Anerkennung und Stabilisierung von Herrschaft unter Friedrich Barbarossa und Friedrich II., in: Bernd Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter (ed.), Ordnungskonfigurationen im hohen Mittelalter, Ostfildern 2006 (Vorträge und Forschungen, 64), S. 59–92; Knut Görich, Wahrung des honor. Ein Grundsatz im politischen Handeln König Konrads III., in: Hubertus Seibert, Jürgen Dendorfer (ed.), Grafen, Herzöge, Könige. Der Aufstieg der frühen Stauer und das Reich (1079–1152), Ostfildern 2005, S. 267–298; Knut Görich, Geld und Ehre: Friedrich Barbarossa, in: Klaus Grubmüller, Markus Stock (ed.), Geld im Mittelalter. Wahrnehmung, Bewertung, Symbolik, Darmstadt 2005, S. 113–134; Knut Görich, Verletzte Ehre. König Richard Löwenherz als Gefangener Kaiser Heinrichs VI., in: Historisches Jahrbuch 123 (2003), S. 65–91; Id., Die Last der Ehre, in: Damals. Das Magazin für Geschichte und Kultur 34/1 (2002), S. 14–21.

as the German princes were concerned.

The third and final theme that provides the book with some overall structure stems naturally from the location of the colloquium: Cologne and the Lower Rhine region. Rudolf Schieffer («Die Salier in den Rheinlanden») assesses the meaning of the lower Rhineland for the Salian dynasty in a chronological fashion. Since Conrad's reign it served as a stronghold of Salian support, especially after the loss of Saxony under his grandson Henry IV, and retained this function until the uprising against Henry V of 1114 in which even the Archbishop of Cologne (Frederick I) joined. Kaiserswerth in particular became the first center of imperial residence and authority in the region under Henry III, and though Henry IV seems to have spent little time in the region (perhaps because of the memory of his abduction by a conspiracy of German princes in Kaiserswerth during his minority) Schieffer reads this as a sign of regional stability rather than abandonment or diminution of royal control. By the early twelfth century, however, the lower Rhine became the center of imperial politics once again during the final conflict between Henry IV and his son and heir. Cologne in particular proved a bastion of support for the aged father against his upstart son.

Hugo Stehkämper («Die Entstehung der bürgerlichen Stadtgemeinde in Köln 1106») rehearses his publications elsewhere<sup>5</sup> in a short essay in which he has described how a civic, transpersonal legal body as well as a communal sensibility emerged among the merchants and urban dwellers of Cologne as a result of their rebellion against their urban lord, the archbishop, in support of the beleaguered emperor Henry IV in 1105–1106. Stehkämper asserts that the Cologners' collective oath to support the deposed emperor as well as their massive common enterprise in fortifying the city's defensive walls implies a tacit recognition of public authority that the citizens had taken upon themselves. He locates this emerging civic consciousness not among the mercantile elites but within the district communities of the city, the *Sondergemeinden*. When the death of Henry IV shortly thereafter obliged them to make peace with Henry V, they took on an astonishingly high *Königsbuße* of 5000 marks of silver – which Stehkämper sees as another tacit recognition by the king of the urban community's legal standing apart from the archbishop's sovereignty as the city's lord. This was a new status that both archbishop and king did nothing to undo after the settlement, which then left the increasingly autonomous citizenry in an ambiguous constitutional relationship with their archbishop whose feudal lordship they did not challenge in principle. The stage was then set for the subsequent history of Cologne's tumultuous relations between its archbishops and *Stadtgemeinde*. One wonders though, since the citizens did not question archiepiscopal overlordship, whether it might be equally important to consider the possibility that they also understood their authority to extend the city walls (a regalian right of the monarch, after all) and defend Henry IV as derived from the emperor himself rather than from their own sense of political unity and autonomy. The annals of Hildesheim indicate that this was the case; namely, that Henry IV gave the citizens permission to extend

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<sup>5</sup> Hugo Stehkämper, *Die Stadt Köln in der Salierzeit*, in: Weinfurter (ed.) (as in n. 1), Bd. 3: *Gesellschaftlicher und ideengeschichtlicher Wandel im Reich der Salier*, Sigmaringen 1991, S. 75–152; Hugo Stehkämper, *Zur Entstehung der Kölner Stadtgemeinde. Wann und wie könnte sie im Mittelalter zustandegekommen sein?*, in: *Jahrbuch des Kölner Geschichtsvereins* 65 (1994), S. 1–12.

the walls for his defense and even took an active role in the design<sup>6</sup>. Furthermore, the *Chronica regia Coloniensis* record that after the rebellion the Cologners paid the enormous *Königsbuße* of 5000 marks of silver – in addition to their surrender (*deditio*) to Henry V – »to obtain his mercy«<sup>7</sup>. This was no doubt an overt recognition that the citizens had continued need of royal authority to legitimate their assertions of autonomous action. The complex interplay of *Herrschaft* and *Gemeinschaft* is in need of a more fulsome assessment in this instance<sup>8</sup>.

The editor offers his own article (»Die Entführung Henrichs IV. zu Kaiserswerth in bildlichen Darstellungen. Konstituierung eines Geschichtsbildes«), a study in modern medievalism rather than of medieval Rhenish-Salian relations yet one quite worthy of a volume dedicated to the celebration of Henry IV's 900<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Struve skilfully depicts how 19th-century German nationalism reshaped the story of Henry IV's seizure at Kaiserswerth (by Archbishop Anno of Cologne, Duke Otto of Bavaria, and their circle of princes) through book illustrations, wall paintings, and even scrapbooks depicting the event. Now this spectacular medieval event was popularized as a reinterpreted conflict between the unity of the state (as embodied by the young monarch) and the particularistic interests of the leading princes. Thus we have yet another example of past being instrumentalized for contemporary political purposes.

Manfred Groten (»Karlsmythos und Petrustradition – Aachener und Trierer Siegel als Zeichen eines neuen Denkens in der späten Salierzeit«) completes the volume with his substantial piece of detective work<sup>9</sup>. He not only offers new conclusions about the dating and uses of the charter seals in Aachen (both of Charlemagne and of Mary) and Trier, but also derives evidence for an important transition in intellectual history that reflects the new expression of an emerging civic identity in these cities. Groten reveals a transition from traditional fixation on an image of an individual person (usually of a saint or Christ with an inscription bearing the name of the figure) as the timeless legitimating presence incarnated on the seal to an abstract concept of a political community represented by a scenic image of the city (with an inscription on the seal bearing the name of the city). Thus the emergence of the first corporate seals used by urban communities in the early twelfth century can be dated to the same time period in which seals were

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<sup>6</sup> Georg Heinrich Pertz (ed.), *Annales Hildesheimensis*, Hanover 1939 (MGH SS 3), S. 110–111.

<sup>7</sup> Georg Waitz (ed.), *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* (*Annales maximi Colonienses*), Hanover 1880 (MGH SS rer. Germ., 18), S. 45: *Colonienses deditionem faciunt, insuper regi pro obtinenda gratia sua 5,000 marcarum solvent.*

<sup>8</sup> In the *Großer Scheid* of 1258 brokered by Albertus Magnus, the Cologne citizenry was obliged to pay 6000 marks to Archbishop Konrad as a penance – in similar fashion to the 5000 marks paid here to Henry V – as recognition of the lordship authority under which they exercised their own governmental autonomy.

<sup>9</sup> This article is more substantially developed (including a consideration of the role of scholastic thought) in Groten's forthcoming publication: Manfred Groten, *Vom Bild zum Zeichen. Die Entstehung korporativer Siegel im Kontext der gesellschaftlichen und intellektuellen Entwicklungen des Hochmittelalters*, in: Markus Späth (ed.), *Die Bildlichkeit korporativer Siegel im Mittelalter. Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte im Gespräch*, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna 2009 (Sensus. Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunstgeschichte, 1). Likewise to be consulted is his article: Manfred Groten, *Der Heilige als Helfer der Bürger. Auf dem Weg zur Stadtgemeinde: Heilige und frühe Stadtsiegel*, Rheinisch-Kölnisch-Katholisch. Beiträge zur Kirchen- und Landesgeschichte sowie zur Geschichte des Buch- und Bibliothekswesens der Rheinlande. Festschrift für Heinz Finger zum 60. Geburtstag, Cologne 2008 (Libelli Rhenani, 25), S. 125–146.

redesigned to capture this abstract, transpersonal yet time-bound and historical nature of the city and its citizens. One could also suggest that the late Salian era reflects in its urban seals the syncopation between *Herrschaft* and *Gemeinschaft* in the self-depiction of episcopal cities in Germany.

An *Abkürzungsverzeichnis* and a common *Register (Orte, Namen, und Sachen)* unify this wide variety of essays, and provide a very useful means of cross-referencing them in comparative study. Though conference paper collections are always a many splendored thing, this set finds its collective voice in the articulation of the multifarious ways that the later Salian era in particular laid the foundations for the future development of the German kingdom well into the remainder of the Middle Ages and beyond. Several of these articles will therefore become essential works in any bibliography of the Salian era.