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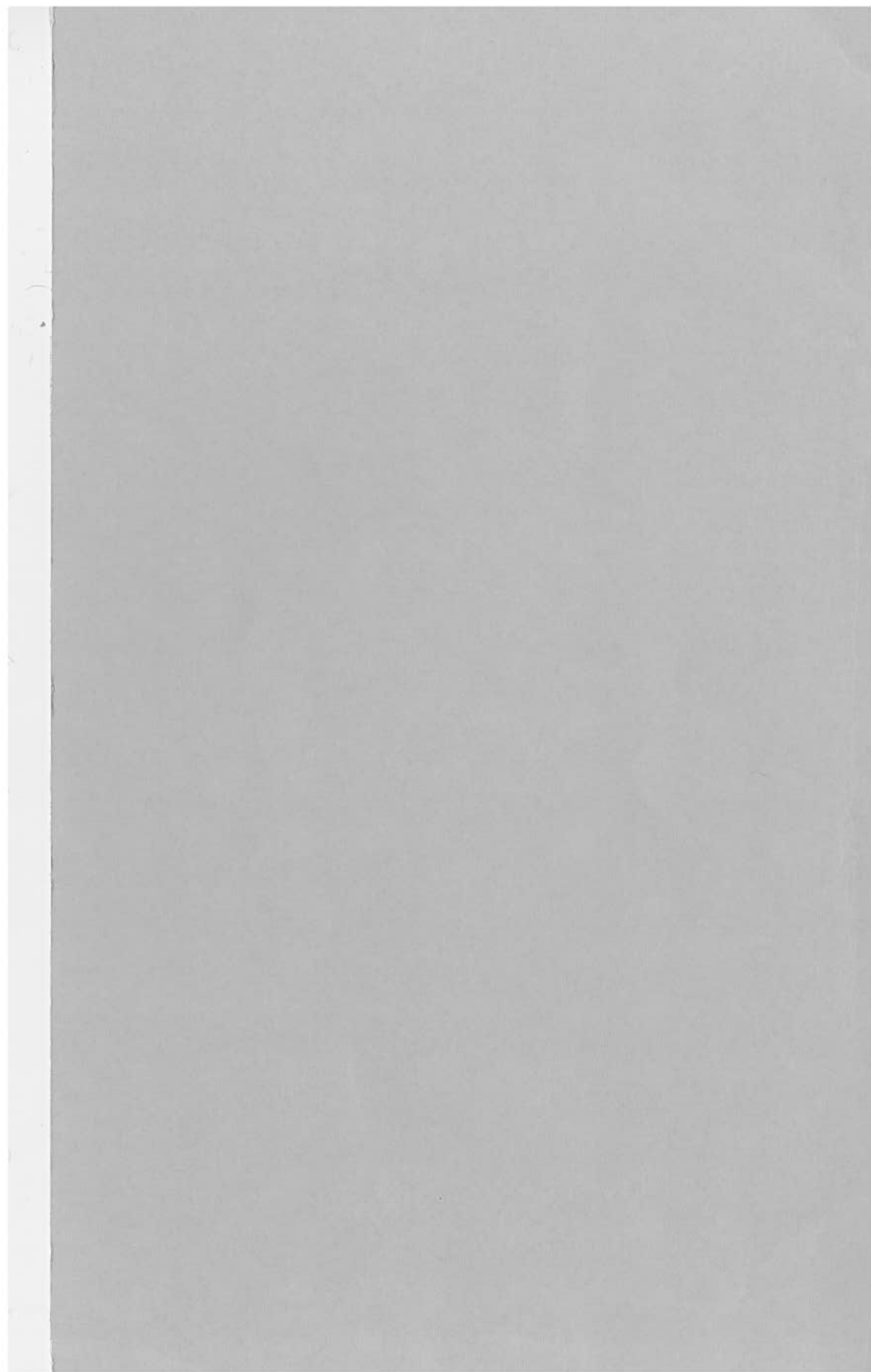
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KANTOROWICZ AND FREDERICK II

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I

Fifty years ago the German academic world was set spinning by the appearance of a new life of the thirteenth-century emperor, Frederick II.¹ It was a work that seemed to obey few of the canons of serious historical scholarship, as contemporary medievalists conceived the subject. It was a book about a tragic hero, and was filled with fierce national pride—not that national pride was objectionable, so much as the attempt to marry patriotism and historical writing. Kantorowicz's *Friedrich der Zweite* thus marks a confrontation between the German tradition of exact scholarship—*Quellenforschung* or source research—and a newly active threat of epic history, redolent of tragedy and filled with warnings to a humbled and impoverished *Reich*. Others, such as von Treitschke, had already written on the eve of German unification of the glorious achievements of the German nobility in the conquest of Slav and Baltic lands; pride of race among German historians was nothing new. But Ernst Kantorowicz claimed to identify inner qualities of the German spirit, expressed through the achievements of a ruler whose name continued to live in German folk-legend. His view of Frederick II went far deeper than purely ethnic praise; he wrote at length of Frederick's Italian blood, his 'Mediterranean qualities', his measured tolerance for Jews and Saracens. Frederick II was seen as the tragic fulfilment of the German dream, an embodiment of the German capacity for Empire—a synthesis of Teutonic instinct-to-rule and of Mediterranean spontaneity and culture. The interest the work generated is as much part of the cultural history of the Weimar Republic as it is part of the historiography of the medieval Empire.²

For the book did not appear without pedigree. The young Kantorowicz was an illustrious member of an exalted circle that surrounded the eminent poet Stefan George.³ There are many strands of George's thought in the

¹ E. Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*, (Berlin, 1927). Quotations in this article are taken from the 'authorised English version', *Frederick the Second 1194–1250*, translated by E. O. Lorimer, (London, 1931), hereafter referred to as *FS*. This article is not intended to supply a complete analysis of Kantorowicz's career and work, nor of Hohenstaufen studies in the last fifty years; it is merely an attempt to explain to the reader of an unusual and important historical biography the circumstances in which that work was conceived, and the results of its appearance.

² G. H. von Treitschke, *The Origins of Prussianism*, (London, 1942), for a particularly brutal pan-German viewpoint.

³ For George see R. Boehringer, *Mein Bild von Stefan George*, (Munich-Düsseldorf, 1951), with endless photographs of George's profile, of which the poet was so extraordinarily enamoured, and also of members of George's circle; E. Salin, *Um Stefan George: Erinnerung und Zeugnis*, (2nd ed., Munich-Düsseldorf, 1954); *Stefan George: Dokumente seiner Wirkung, aus dem Friedrich Gundolf Archiv der Universität London*, ed. L. Helbing and C. V. Bock, (Amsterdam, 1974); A. R. Evans, ed., *On Four Modern Humanists: Hofmannsthal, Gundolf, Curtius, Kantorowicz*, (Princeton, N.J., 1970).

biography of Frederick II; even the idea of writing the biography of heroes of the past was fostered with enthusiasm by the poet. It was a task that he did not propose to fulfil himself; it must be entrusted to a coterie of selected intellectual paragons. The criteria of selection were not, admittedly, in every respect appropriate for an Academy of Sciences; an aesthetic sense and a noble bearing counted for something, as well as intellectual excellence. For the young men of George's circle were to be the moral leaders of a revived Germany, men who could, in time, learn from the great actions of others how to comport themselves magnificently. This was unashamedly an élite, snooty to outsiders but unlikely to be scorned by them so long as George's poetry remained a powerful force inside Germany. For the moving spirit behind George's ideas was, he believed, the spirit of the German nation. The nation was here understood in a mystical rather than purely ethnic sense: many prominent members of George's circle, not least Kantorowicz, were in fact Jews, and George did not see in the Nazis the fulfilment of his dreams. (Of course, George's more refined outlook did not prevent the Nazis from seeing a hero in the poet; Goebbels had for a time been a fringe member of the George circle, and, in any case, the strong emphasis of George on the German spirit had unmistakeable similarities to the mystical nonsense of the Nazi theorists).⁴

Of particular interest is a poem George wrote at the time of the German defeat in 1918, entitled 'The Poet in Times of Confusion: to the memory of Count Bernhard Uxkull'. The Uxkull family developed strong links with Ernst Kantorowicz; one member was honoured with the dedication of *Friedrich der Zweite*. And George's poem is replete with images that recur in Kantorowicz's book:

when all are blinded he, the only seer,
Unveils the coming doom in vain . . .,⁵

words echoed in Kantorowicz's lengthy passages devoted to the Sibylline prophecy of the doom of the Hohenstaufen and of Germany. But George asks where might be found the common urge, the spirit of unity, in a world of chaos:

The living of this epoch who have wandered
Through long distress will always burn their incense
To every promise of the lying idols
That hurl them into serfdom and destruction.
For they forgot their noblest inner law
And what allows them to survive, rejected
Faith in a lord and need of an atoner,
And want to dodge their destiny with guile.⁶

The theme of a rejected lord is loudly expressed in Kantorowicz's biography of Frederick II; those possessed of the spirit of greatness, George would have argued, could not hope to be fully appreciated in their own time, for the mass of the population 'looks for help in increase of darling

⁴ Y. Malkiel, 'Ernst Kantorowicz', in Evans, *Four Modern Humanists*, 166-7.

⁵ *The Works of Stefan George*, transl. O. Marx and E. Morwitz, (2nd ed., Chapel Hill, N. C., 1974), 363. Cf. *FS*, 4, 573, 686-9, etc.

⁶ *Works of S. George*, 364.

gadgets'. Hope lies in youth, in revival: this image became very strong in Kantorowicz's later work, where the motif of the Phoenix in medieval art and thought was subjected to searching and ingenious analysis.⁷ It may not be whimsical to suppose that a long passage in *Friedrich der Zweite*, where the author examines the rôle of the imperial valets in Hohenstaufen Sicily, reflects a belief that Frederick, like the poet, hoped to train a new élite, composed of the most intelligent and nobly born of imperial subjects.⁸

Later sections of George's impassioned 'Poet in Times of Confusion' easily unnerve the post-Nazi reader. The new youth of Germany spits out 'the lifeless, stale, and base', to beget 'the only one who can restore':

He breaks the chains and sweeps aside the rubble,
He scourges home the lost to lasting law,
Where Lord is Lord again, the great is great
And where integrity returns. He fastens
The true device upon the nation's banner.
Through tempests and the dread fanfares of dawning
He leads his tried and faithful to the work
Of sober day and founds the Kingdom Come.⁹

Compare the tone of the conclusion to Kantorowicz's biography:

The weary Lord of the Last Day [Barbarossa, Bismarck are meant here] has naught to say to the fiery Lord of the Beginning, the seducer, the deceiver, the radiant, the merry, the ever-young, the stern and mighty judge, the scholar, the sage who leads his armed warriors to the Muses' dance and song, he who slumbers not nor sleeps but ponders how he can renew the 'Empire'. The mountain would to-day stand empty were it not for the son of Barbarossa's son. The greatest Frederick is not yet redeemed, him his people knew not and sufficed not. 'Lives and lives not', the Sibyl's word is not for the Emperor, but for the German people.¹⁰

This passage does, perhaps, lack that element of 'sober day' praised in George's final line, but the message of renewal and of worthy leadership is no less potent. And to whom is the passage addressed? Certainly to Frederick, certainly to George and certainly to a future *Führer* with a 'true device'. Indeed, Kantorowicz's book carried a device, the symbol of the publications of the George circle: a variety of swastika.

⁷ E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: a study in medieval political theology*, (Princeton, N.J., 1957), 388-395.

⁸ FS, 314-18.

⁹ *Works of S. George*, 365. Interesting too is George's pre-1914 poem 'The Graves in Speyer' (*ibid.* 224):

Then, summoned by his Staufan ancestress
From regions of the south, a splendid guest,
A people's god: the greatest of the Fredericks
Approaches arm in arm with golden Enzo.
His gaze unites the plans of Ottos, Carls,
With his own boundless dreams of the Levant,
Wisdom of Cabbalists and Rome's decorum,
Banquets of Akragas and Selinus.

¹⁰ FS, 689.

II

Unlike most earlier works on Frederick II, Kantorowicz's study was emphatically a biography, a study of a man and his impact, and not an attempt to write the history of Hohenstaufen Italy and Germany. From the earliest pages of the book there is no significant attempt to look at the Norman background to Frederick's Sicilian kingdom, nor to examine in more than cursory detail the influence of his grandfather Barbarossa's policies on later developments in Germany. We begin, indeed, with miracles: with Vergil's Fourth Eclogue, Joachim of Fiore and the Sibylline books. Now it would be ridiculous to deny that Sibylline sayings were much in vogue in late Norman Sicily, or to deny that Joachim of Fiore—himself a subject of the Norman and Hohenstaufen kings—in his own lifetime impressed the rulers of Europe with his conception of Antichrist and of the Three Ages. Joachim provides a necessary context for Frederick II; but Kantorowicz's trick was to make him virtually the sole context. We are back in the mythic days of seers and saviours, awaiting the birth of a divine hero. Cleverly, too, Kantorowicz turns from the world of mystery to the world of reason; for the hero is both the object of prophecy and, on a quite different level, the embodiment of the Roman Empire. He is first named Constantine, after his Norman mother Constance, but also, Kantorowicz subtly implies, in honour of the first Christian emperor. We are already meeting the recurrent theme of Emperor of the Last Days and Emperor of the Beginning, with which, as has been seen, the work resoundingly closes.¹¹

Like Parzival the future emperor lives at first isolated from the war-torn world in which he is eventually to triumph. Every effort is made by Pope Innocent III to bring the Sicilian kingdom securely under Rome's tutelage, though Sicily is not thereby saved from internal anarchy. Innocent III, Kantorowicz notes, showed a greater awareness of the conception of the all-powerful priest-king than did his predecessors; but the biographer then points boldly and enticingly at the similarities in Frederick II's conception of the imperial office. Kantorowicz is not prepared to accord Innocent praise or glory, seated on his 'giddy heights'; his rôle is seen as an almost functional one: 'thus Pope Innocent III, a spiritual father in very deed, must be reckoned alongside Norman and Hohenstaufen, as amongst the immediate ancestors and predecessors of the young King Frederick.' Here we see Kantorowicz's deep sense of irony at work: on the one hand Innocent's successors are going to insist on the full rights of the papal monarchy; on the other, Innocent, as Frederick's guardian, instils in his ward similar notions of monarchic authority. The implication is, of course, that the papacy had no entitlement to these rights, but merely played a necessary rôle in transmitting them to their correct bearer.¹² And Innocent comes increasingly to appear the incompetent manipulator when he gives his support to Frederick's opponents in Germany, the Welfs, hoping to separate the German crown from the Sicilian and to create a new order in central Italy that no longer depends on imperial intervention from the

¹¹ FS, 6, 11. Joachim: see M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the later Middle Ages: a study in Joachimism*, (Oxford, 1969).

¹² FS, 39–46.

north. But, of course, the Welfs are not suited for empire, partly because this is an incomplete empire, and they soon begin to grab at Italy; partly because they are only incomplete Germans. The young rival of the Hohenstaufen, Otto IV, was the son of Barbarossa's great foe Henry the Lion, and of an English mother; he 'seemed expressly created by fate to be the antithesis in every detail of his Waibling [Hohenstaufen] rival: even in his exterior'. Tall and strong, he was a misguided hero, 'heroic to foolhardiness'. And, alas, 'he displays many an English trait: a frugality bordering on parsimony, . . . an amazing lack of education, a poverty of intellect': here, clearly, are signs that the defeat of 1918 continued to rankle with Kantorowicz and his friends.¹³

Kantorowicz elevates Frederick's success in leading a small army into Germany and toppling Otto to the realm of 'fairy-tales and dreams'; but, as ever, he balances this with an insistence on more rational characteristics—Frederick's personality on the one hand, full of appeal to those who wished to discard Otto; and on the other hand, the guidance of fate, or as expressed here, 'a miraculous call', 'a rare and amazing luck'.¹⁴ This combination is repeated when Kantorowicz examines Frederick's decision to take the cross in 1215, at the time of his coronation at Mainz. The cadences and juxtapositions of Kantorowicz's style are well displayed:

Did people hope that the boy, so recently compared to King David, would really lead the hosts to David's royal city of Jerusalem? Frederick himself had every hope of it. It was an almost inspired masterstroke of diplomacy that prompted the young King to set himself at the head of the crusading movement. Unwittingly he thus took the leadership and direction of the Crusade out of the hands of the papal Emperor and took up again the noblest task of an Emperor—by common consent the imperial prerogative—to lead the knights of Christendom to the Holy Land.¹⁵

On closer examination we are tempted to wonder whether the implications Kantorowicz sees were in Frederick's mind. But the pace of Kantorowicz's prose does not allow lengthy pauses to establish points of detail. As a member of Stefan George's circle, he lived in an atmosphere where broad sweeps of imagination and impudent generalisations were, if not the norm, at least the ideal. And, interestingly, he attributes the same capacity to add emotion to reason to his hero Frederick. Frederick is not merely a symbolic version of George, but an idealised version of Kantorowicz.

Henceforward, we are told, the young ruler acts as an adult statesman, his every act full of promise of future glories. Thus the Teutonic Order benefited enormously from Frederick, as it had from Frederick's father Henry VI; and the benefits were not simply financial. The diversion of its major interests from the Holy Land to Prussia was the result of Frederick's donation in which he 'permitted the Order to found an autonomous State, owning no territorial master save the Order itself, "to be an integral part of the monarchy of the Empire"', as the Charter says'. Kantorowicz (himself a native of Prussia) had no need to excuse his slightly anachronistic interpretation of Prussia's birth in the presence of his fellow-nationalists in

¹³ *FS*, 65.

¹⁴ *FS*, 55.

¹⁵ *FS*, 73.

George's circle.¹⁶ Similarly Kantorowicz lays great emphasis on Frederick's attempt at state-building in Sicily. He is at one and the same time patron of the war against the heathen in Prussia, and moulder of a stable order in his Christian kingdom of Sicily. As early as 1221 he legislates against Jews, demanding that they wear the yellow patch; Kantorowicz cited Frederick's own legislation, for 'without such distinctive marks "the duties and the practices of the Christians would be confused"'.¹⁷ But Kantorowicz does not dwell on this point: his real emphasis is upon Frederick's success in supplanting the papacy as protector of Christian orthodoxy and as leader of the wars against heathen and infidel. Thus to Kantorowicz Frederick II's crusade, though it followed his excommunication by the pope, was not a travesty of Christian warfare, but further demonstration that an emperor sat upon the western throne whose moral authority outshone that of the pope; the crusade was a fulfilment of Davidic dreams, and far from showing that the emperor was in league with Islam, it proved that 'not through the Church, but alongside and without the Church, Frederick II had consummated his triumph as it were a *unio mystica*'.¹⁸ Frederick's crown-wearing in Jerusalem is seen, ultimately, as an act of deification.

Kantorowicz carefully juxtaposes narrative and interpretation; the latter takes the form both of short passages within the narrative and lengthy sections devoted to a study of Frederick's political ideas, and his attempts to put them into practice. For it is the relationship between Frederick's consciousness of his task, which grows with each experience of war and conquest in Germany, Italy and the Orient, and his attempt to codify these notions in laws and social reorganization that provides the central theme of much of the book:

Justinian, Emperor of Law; Augustus, Emperor of Peace, were Frederick's models; peace and law; 'two sisters in close embrace'; *pax et iustitia*, a formula which in endless variation eternally recurs, defining the purpose of a State.¹⁹

The State is, of course, to be seen both as a secular state in which reason, manifested in *Iustitia*, would be patron of government; and as a sacred entity in which the right of the ruler to act as dispenser of justice was divinely bestowed. Thus heresy and treason were seen as close partners; one could not question decisions of the ruler any more than one could question the cosmic rôle of the ruler. Kantorowicz argues that the brief exposition of the origin of government that prefaces the law-book of 1231 provides a novel interpretation of the Fall of Man and of the significance of original sin in the formation of government: 'princes are therefore established', Kantorowicz observes, 'not as a moral punishment for sin, but as a practical expedient to prevent mutual annihilation'; so too does Nature exist to serve man, 'for logically pursued the implication is, that without the Emperor, the highest superior, the whole human race and the whole realm of Nature would perish.' He cites the laws:

¹⁶ FS, 93. For his Prussian background, Malkiel, 154.

¹⁷ FS, 121.

¹⁸ FS, 202: a highly controversial section—cf. *infra*.

¹⁹ FS, 226. A full translation of the Constitutions of Melfi into rather ungainly American has been supplied by J. M. Powell, *The Liber Augustalis or Constitutions of Melfi promulgated by the Emperor Frederick II for the Kingdom of Sicily in 1231*, (Syracuse, N.Y., 1971).

'Necessity created kings'; that is: they were evolved to meet a natural need, not imposed as a punishment for sin . . . They have become 'an article of salvation as were Church and priests for the salvation of souls'.²⁰

On a practical level, we can examine Frederick's attitude to religious minorities, as proof that a profound relationship existed between the principles enunciated so grandly in his laws and his personal conduct as ruler. Yes, Frederick had cordial relations with Jewish and even Saracen scholars, but his sympathy 'extended only so far as they were serviceable to the state and laid no hand upon its sanctities'.²¹ Protection and exploitation, we might say, rather than tolerance; and certainly not encouragement. Here Kantorowicz quite rightly questioned the stories put about by Frederick's opponents, such as Pope Gregory IX or the Franciscan historian Salimbene. Questionable, perhaps, is Kantorowicz's deft distinction when he states: 'Frederick II persecuted no man for his belief. He had his hands full persecuting rebels and heretics for their unbelief.'²²

Kantorowicz had gained his doctorate with a dissertation on oriental economic history, and he was enthusiastic about the economic system established in Sicily by Frederick, referring to his 'magnificent customs system'. In particular, he was attracted by the close supervision, the all-seeing imperial eye; this was an attempt to regulate economic life in accordance with the needs of the country. Exports could be controlled to compensate for home shortages; while the rôle of foreign merchants, especially the Genoese, was much reduced following the creation of state inns and warehouses. Only the emperor was fully exempt from taxes and controls, and he, as Kantorowicz points out, was the major land-owner and exporter in the Sicilian Kingdom. He took a personal interest in his estates—'when a plague of caterpillars threatened the harvest he gave orders that every inhabitant should furnish daily a certain measure of caterpillars.' Better still, he knew how to take advantage of foreign demand for corn, and on one occasion at least he closed his ports so that only imperial ships could convey corn to famine-stricken Tunisia. The picture that is presented is, therefore, of an emperor who combines the fullest exercise of his authority in every sphere with a deep awareness of the duties that this authority demands of him. He cannot let his subjects starve because he is a man of wide knowledge and remarkable expertise.²³

A man of such intellect and of such authority could, of course, inspire the most varied reactions among those who met him. His piercing glance, Kantorowicz tells us, disconcerted even his friends: 'part of his magnetism must have lain in this disturbing effect of his timeless, soulless gaze, which let no man guess his true feelings.'²⁴ His cultural pursuits also aroused alarm; scientific experiments, searching questions about the nature of the soul and cosmos, his menagerie, and his deep faith in astrology. For even astrology was a rational pursuit, in the sense that it proposed immutable laws about the relationship between heavenly bodies and daily events. Not

²⁰ *FS*, 242–3: another very controversial interpretation.

²¹ *FS*, 267.

²² *FS*, 269, 413–4.

²³ *FS*, 282–9. For his interest in Turkish economic history, Malkiel, 157–8.

²⁴ *FS*, 367.

content, either, with consulting scholars and magicians, he became a scientist himself. His work 'On the Art of Hunting with Birds' was an outstanding contribution to medieval zoology; it was not simply a 'Teach Yourself Falconry', but a demonstration that falconry could be treated as an exact science. Most striking is the first book, where he describes the life and habits of each class of bird, hunter and hunted, basing himself on close observation. His aim was to follow Aristotle's method, to describe what he had witnessed; but he knew that an extension of this method was that Aristotle himself must be censured where he had inaccurately described the habits of birds. His watchword was expressed in a phrase Kantorowicz was quick to appreciate, the need 'to show those things that are, as they are' (*manifestare ea quae sunt sicut sunt.*) Kantorowicz sees the book as a means by which 'the courtiers of the Emperor and his sons . . . acquired an eye for Nature so that they learned the imperial art of seeing, whatever they might choose to apply it to. The new element in the Falcon Book is the idea of seeing and telling "the things that are, as they are", and that this should be done not by an unknown settler or scholar but by the Emperor of the Roman-Christian World: a remarkable parergon of a great statesman.'²⁵

All this, we are led to believe, was far from the style of thought and life practised in papal Rome or Angevin England. Indeed, the contrast between the emperor's outlook and that of his papal foes is the great theme unifying long stretches of Kantorowicz's narrative. There is no chance of avoiding strife, the biographer seems to say, when a successor of Innocent III must contend with the Transformer of the World, Frederick II. Thus we are presented quite early in the book with a papacy reluctant to allow Frederick any advantage; and Frederick, meanwhile, appears as the preacher of peace, anxious to concede many a point to papal pride, despite his position of strength, in the hope that the pope will allow himself and his kingdoms the opportunity to achieve stability. Let Rome be racked by civil strife, but Sicily, Burgundy and eventually the whole empire deserve order after decades of uncertainty and conflict. So Frederick welcomes the election of his supposed friend and future foe, Innocent IV, in 1243, anxious to recognize papal supremacy in spiritual matters, anxious too to concede many points to the papacy and to make public penance for the crimes the papacy accused him of committing.²⁶ But when the papacy insisted on authority that was not rightly its own, or accused Frederick of endless vices, the emperor and his propagandists were not reluctant to fire back their heaviest shells. Writing of Frederick's quarrel with Gregory IX, Kantorowicz says:

When the Pope, with his excommunication and his encyclicals, threatened to shake men's belief in the Emperor's mission Frederick began seriously to work up these little used forces and was able with their help partially to paralyse the full potency of the ban. He succeeded in fanning to a blaze the enthusiasm for the long-promised Messiah-Emperor, but only because the highest spiritual

²⁵ FS, 359-65. English translation of the Falcon Book: *The Art of Falconry, being the De Arte Venandi cum Avibus of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, transl. and ed. C. A. Wood and F. M. Fyfe, (Stanford, 1943). C. A. Willemsen has, in addition, edited a facsimile of the beautiful Vatican Library MS. Pal Lat. 1071, (Graz, 1969).

²⁶ FS, 578-84.

authority, Pope Gregory IX himself, had been at pains to surround the Emperor with the atmosphere of the Apocalypse.²⁷

Nor does Kantorowicz wish to regard entirely seriously the attempts by imperial writers to accord the emperor divine status:

Behind the adulations of the courtiers, often grossly overdone, we can see the truth: the impression the Emperor wished to make, especially on his own followers. The language of a court coterie is always two-edged, by turns veiling and revealing. If the phrase of the worshipper is taken too seriously it immediately becomes a jest, but if it is treated merely as a courtly game it suddenly is fully and literally intended.²⁸

This statement certainly encapsulated Kantorowicz's ambivalent attitude. One moment, the flood of his enthusiasm covers the emperor with a divine glow, another moment the man of necessity, the man of reason, is seen playing a careful and delicate game with his foreign and internal opponents.

And yet, at the height of his struggle with the papacy, the deified emperor died. He had not defeated his enemies; but neither had he been defeated by them: 'the last Emperor of the Romans disappeared from amidst his followers in the radiant glory of the Imperator Invictus, and was spared the knowledge of the tragic fate that overhung his house.' He had thrived on opposition, but the time was not come when the New Order of Joachim or of the Sybil could be established: that was a theme that would live in the mind of the German people. The hope of Frederick's return to lead his people means everything, Kantorowicz cries, to a nation that is without leaders, a nation once again called to fulfil its imperial destiny.²⁹

III

Kantorowicz's book was, as has been said, unashamedly published under the George hallmark. Its rousing style and its links with the famous poet assured it of sales far in excess of those normal for a biography of a thirteenth-century ruler, however celebrated. Ten thousand copies had been sold in German by the time that an English translation was issued (1931). The guns did not begin to fire until 1929, when the exceptionally distinguished historian Albert Brackmann delivered an onslaught in an address to the Prussian Academy of Sciences. His main attack concentrated on Kantorowicz's tendency to exaggerate, with the result that a false picture of the emperor had been presented. The idea that Frederick's victory in Jerusalem contributed to his concept of world-rule was soundly mocked; Jerusalem, Brackmann tellingly remarked, was not the seat of empire, but the recently recovered capital of the Kingdom that bore its name. Thus Kantorowicz's image of Frederick as a crusader in conscious competition with the papacy must be toned down; so too must his attempt to merge the emperor with a Christ-figure. In Sicily, too, the emperor was not all that

²⁷ *FS*, 495.

²⁸ *FS*, 522.

²⁹ *FS*, 685, 688-9.

Kantorowicz supposed. For the biographer's view of Frederick's political theory was ill-based. Kantorowicz had exaggerated the rôle of Nature in Frederick's concept of the state, and had underestimated the degree to which the emperor remained defender of the church, holding his office from God for that purpose—a point mentioned in a section of Frederick's Preface to the Constitutions of Melfi, but ignored by Kantorowicz. Brackmann insists that 'neither the Orient nor Justinian was of outstanding importance for the political thought of Frederick, but rather the West with its Christian idea of the state'. Thus much of the mystery must be removed from Frederick's propaganda. His most elevated claims to world sovereignty were made at the peak of his conflict with the papacy; they were not part of a continuing political programme, so much as a series of special answers for special times. Brackmann's first words show how clearly he rejected the attempt of the George circle to invest history with myths and heroes: 'one can write history neither as a pupil of George nor as a Catholic nor as a Protestant nor as a Marxist, but only as an individual in search of truth'.³⁰

Within a year Kantorowicz had replied. He concentrated on Brackmann's accusation of myth-making, defending his use of an *imagination créatrice*; for, he said, if we solidly search for truth and supply no unifying ideas ourselves, we are in danger of replacing our *imagination créatrice* by a *réalisme destructeur*. Here, clearly, he had been stung, and he was not prepared to move to middle ground. On more detailed points, he was anxious to defend himself against Brackmann's readings; thus he denied that he said Frederick's coronation in Jerusalem was part of a wider programme, and quoted his own text to prove this—on the other hand, his biography was so rich in subtle implication and even in blatant contradiction that either side could marshal many quotations to prove that the author had made or had not made a particular statement. Nor was Kantorowicz slow to draw on Frederick II's own words to defend his exalted view of the emperor's political theory; thus he is anxious to show how Frederick identified himself with the house of David, but seems to steer clear of Brackmann's real question, how far Frederick's ideas were part of a continuing western tradition.³¹ However, Kantorowicz's reply was not confined to this short article. He was anxious to prove that he was no mere *littérateur*, but a serious scholar (and, to be fair to his opponents, he had already received serious treatment); in 1931 he produced an *Ergänzungsband*, a supplement, to his biography, devoted to footnotes and appendices—a volume that displayed enormous learning, though, to be sure, some of this learning seems to have been acquired in the interval between publishing the biography and the supplement. It is not simply a list of references that is provided in the *Ergänzungsband*, but a display of critical sense as the author weighs up his primary and secondary authorities, and expands on individual remarks to lead the attentive reader

³⁰ The debate on Kantorowicz's book has been collected together by G. Wolf, *Stupor Mundi: zur Geschichte Friedrichs II. von Hohenstaufen*, (Darmstadt, 1966). Brackmann (reprinted here, 5–22), originally published his address in *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxl (1929), 534–49, under the title 'Kaiser Friedrich II in "Mythischer Schau" '.

³¹ ' "Mythenschau": eine Erwiderung', *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxli (1930), 457–71, reprinted in *Stupor Mundi*, 23–40. Brackmann added a 'Nachwort', *ibid.* 472–78 and 41–8.

deeper into the study of Hohenstaufen politics, institutions or culture.³²

Moreover, Kantorowicz earned kinder reports from other scholars than Brackmann. Friedrich Baethgen pointed to the dangers of an uncritical approach to medieval source material, nor did he hide the fact that Kantorowicz's work contained errors and dubious interpretations. He was, in particular, worried by the author's tendency to attribute such great originality to his subject. There were, for example, Norman antecedents to be considered. Baethgen's review possesses, despite its forceful criticism, a much milder tone than Brackmann's and provided an indication that serious scholars found sympathy for Kantorowicz in his desire to create a coherent picture of the emperor, however unacceptable, in detail or in total, that picture might be.³³ A third medievalist, Karl Hampe, awaited the appearance of the *Ergänzungsband* before reviewing the biography, and he immediately pointed to the exceptional value of the supplementary volume. Here, he said, was the *Kleinarbeit* that must precede the great survey, and if it came later rather than sooner, it must nonetheless take a worthy place in the long line of scholarly contributions to Hohenstaufen history. On turning to the text of the biography, Hampe remained gentle but did not mask his disagreement at fundamental points. He did not wish to deny the importance of prophecies, legends and anecdotes as historical source material, but Kantorowicz had not clearly defined the boundary between myth and history. In each chapter Hampe could show Kantorowicz to have been careless or misinformed; for example, his account of Frederick's troubles with the north Italian communes was grossly oversimplified.³⁴ To some degree, the violence of Brackmann's reaction had aroused sympathy for Kantorowicz among scholars not fully inclined to accept the author's view of Frederick; and to some degree the appearance of the *Ergänzungsband* had blunted attack from those who suspected that the biography was not soundly based. And yet only two years separated the *Ergänzungsband* from Hitler's accession to power; the triumph of the myth-makers was at hand, and all the nationalism and faith in the future that the George circle aimed to generate was ready to find its hollow fulfilment.

This was not a fulfilment Kantorowicz could enjoy. He was full of contempt for the upstart Nazis. Their methods and racial creed repelled many such as Kantorowicz who were in other respects sympathetic to authoritarian right-wing government, (Kantorowicz had, as a matter of fact, fought against left-wing insurgents in the streets of Munich at the end of the First World War.) Kantorowicz's credentials were, in any case, blighted by the crucial fact that he was Jewish. The years between the Nazi seizure of power and the Second World War were a great trial to him, though his book was still widely read, and continued to be cited by Nazi historians—marked, however, with a tell-tale star. In 1935 he resigned a chair at Frankfurt University, his first and only permanent academic pos-

³² *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite. Ergänzungsband*, (Berlin, 1931).

³³ F. Baethgen, 'Besprechung von Ernst Kantorowicz "Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite"', *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, li (1930), 75–85, and in *Stupor Mundi*, 49–61.

³⁴ K. Hampe, 'Das Neueste Lebensbild Kaiser Friedrichs II.', *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxlvi, (1932), 441–75, and in *Stupor Mundi*, 62–102. It is interesting to see that Hampe thought Kantorowicz had actually under-played Frederick's rôle as a harbinger of Renaissance: 468–9 and 94–5.

ition in Germany; he refused to swear allegiance to Hitler, and, in any case, Jews were soon to be removed from the universities by the barbarous Nuremberg Laws.³⁵ Apart from a brief period at New College, Oxford, Kantorowicz hung grimly on in Germany, until 1938. After the *Kristallnacht* he came to his senses and, knowing he risked mortal danger in Berlin, he at last emigrated to the United States. It is not the intention of this survey to examine his later work, composed at Berkeley and Princeton. The Emperor Frederick certainly did not cease to fascinate Kantorowicz. He turned again to Frederick's interest in antique sculpture and architecture, an interest closely connected with the revival of Caesarism in Hohenstaufen Sicily. These topics received further treatment in his scholarly work *The King's Two Bodies*, published in 1957. Thirty years after *Friedrich der Zweite*, it was clear, Kantorowicz could still generate debate on central questions of medieval history and thought.³⁶

IV

What criticisms of *Friedrich der Zweite* suggest themselves in 1977? There have been several new biographies of the emperor, and there has been much detailed work on the original sources; and yet Kantorowicz's study remains a central item in any bibliography of the Hohenstaufen. A recent collection of articles devoted to Frederick II made Kantorowicz's biography, and the criticisms by Brackmann, Baethgen and Hampe, its starting-point for a survey of the state of Hohenstaufen studies. It is only to be expected that an emperor who ruled in Germany, Burgundy, Lombardy, Sicily and the Latin Orient has been examined higgledy-piggledy by scholars throughout Europe and America, as also in Israel; there has been no attempt to co-ordinate the study of the emperor internationally, though local seminars in Germany and elsewhere have made important contributions. Here it is only possible to take one or two examples of recent work on Frederick II, and I shall concentrate on his rôle in Sicily, since his favoured kingdom has attracted attention not merely from Italian but from German, American and many other scholars.³⁷

Baethgen made the point that Kantorowicz had underestimated the Norman Sicilian contribution to Frederick's method of rule and attitude of mind. Norman Sicily itself has attracted surprisingly few scholars, though one of the earliest American experts in this field, Charles Homer Haskins, emphasized the continuity of Norman and Hohenstaufen intellectual life even before Kantorowicz set pen to paper.³⁸ More recently another American, Thomas van Cleve, offered the world a lengthy biography of the emperor that was intended effectively to displace the English version of

³⁵ Malkiel, 194–6. George took a little longer to realise the Nazis were not the long-awaited heroes: *ibid.* 196–8.

³⁶ Kantorowicz in Oxford: C. M. Bowra, *Memories, 1898–1939*, (London, 1966). Much of Kantorowicz's later work is reprinted in his *Selected Studies*, ed. R. Giesey and M. Cherniavsky, (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1965), with the obvious exception of *The King's Two Bodies* and his book *Laudes Regiae*, (Berkeley, California, 1946).

³⁷ See *Stupor Mundi*, *passim*, and, for a bibliography of Italian work from 1884–1934, G. Pepe, *Lo Stato ghibellino di Federico II*, (2nd ed., Bari, 1951).

³⁸ *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1924).

Friedrich der Zweite as the standard life of the emperor for Anglo-American readers.³⁹ In particular, van Cleve aimed to stress the rôle of Frederick's Norman heritage; this, however, he saw very largely in cultural terms, and van Cleve made no detailed attempt to supply a survey of Norman administration in Sicily and its effect on Frederick II's reorganisation of his kingdom. That the Norman kings provided a model is clear not simply from the Norman element in Frederick's legislation, but from the open similarity between the offices Frederick organised and those in existence in the twelfth century, until the chaos of German invasion and Frederick's minority swept some (but by no means all) into the hands of non-Sicilian groups—his German regent Markward, for instance, and the Genoese lords of Syracuse and Malta. Moreover, we must guard against seeing Norman government as a static model to be revived and reworked. Certain offices of state under the Normans underwent significant change from reign to reign or within individual reigns. An interesting case, recently examined by L.-R. Ménager and, in part, by myself, is that of the Admiralty. Only in the late twelfth century did a continuous line of admirals with purely naval duties emerge, as opposed to the various amirs in the Norman government from whom their office stemmed; the office of naval admiral fell into Genoese hands following the destruction of the Norman dynasty by Henry VI of Hohenstaufen, and it was only gradually that Frederick acquired complete control over his Admirals of the Fleet. They remained, however, Genoese, and Frederick's real victory lay in the way he converted them from hostile freebooters into loyal servants of the state. Yet it was not until 1239 that he formulated a detailed code of the Admiral's naval duties and privileges, on the appointment of Nicola Spinola of Genoa to succeed the Genoese Henry Count of Malta.⁴⁰

Another case of the adaption of Norman methods is Frederick's extension of control over the economy. As has been seen, Kantorowicz approved of Frederick's tight supervision of every facet of the economy, and the details of his picture of how this supervision worked seem accurate: the government warehouses, the closure of ports when this was considered in Sicilian (or Frederick's) interests, and so on. Yet Kantorowicz and even van Cleve failed to see how much of this was in fact Norman. The Norman kings also had the right to close ports, as a famous passage in the travel diary of the Spanish Moor ibn Jubayr clearly illustrates; the Norman kings, like Frederick II, had extensive crown demesne and, I believe, were major crop-producers whose trading partners included Genoa, Venice and (like

³⁹ T. C. van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, Immutator Mundi*, (Oxford, 1972). An excellent corrective is Karl Leyser's radio review of van Cleve, 'The last Hohenstaufen Emperor', *The Listener*, xc, no. 2316. 16 August 1973, 208–10.

⁴⁰ L. R. Ménager, *Amiratus—Ἀμειράς: L'Emirat et les Origines de l'Amirauté*, (Paris, 1960); D. S. H. Abulafia, 'Henry Count of Malta and his Mediterranean Activities, 1203–30', in *Medieval Malta: studies on Malta before the Knights*, ed. A. T. Luttrell, (London, 1975), 104–125. For Norman administration, see above all E. M. Jamison, 'The Norman Administration of Apulia and Capua', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vi, (1913), 211–481.

Frederick) Tunis.⁴¹ Once again the significant difference lies in the degree of supervision; the Normans permitted and indeed created many feudal 'islands', exempt areas where a bishop or other local lord himself possessed regalian rights, such as control over the cutting of forest wood, over tunny fishing or even over the levy of port dues. These rights were, in fact, not greatly different from those that a magnate in Normandy or England might have claimed, except that local circumstances determined some characteristics: tunny fish, after all, do not abound in English seas.⁴² Gradually the Normans centralised many of these rights, acquiring for themselves if not the rights, at least the right to dispose of these rights; and Frederick II, by confiscation, cessation and redistribution, gathered these privileges yet more securely into royal hands—but great exceptions continued to occur particularly in the northernmost parts of the mainland provinces of the Kingdom of Sicily.⁴³ Thus Frederick II can in many respects be described as a Norman king; his programme was to restore the Norman order in the context of thirteenth-century exigencies, and those exigencies were, first, acute conflict with his neighbour the pope, and secondly serious trouble (in his early years especially) from unruly vassals—exigencies that demanded greater local control and a more forceful imposition of old methods of government. Thus the justiciars, Frederick's local legal officers, were of indisputable Norman origin; yet Frederick took great care to wean them from local loyalties and complications by refusing to appoint the magnates of any region to the office of justiciar in that region. He preferred, indeed, pure professionals, whose loyalty was not to their own lands, wherever they might be, but to their one sovereign Frederick.⁴⁴ The effects of this view on Kantorowicz's picture of the 'Tyrant of Sicily' are clear. Frederick appears not as the modeller of a new Caesardom in Sicily and southern Italy, but as a strong Norman king anxious to break the power of his baronage. Much can, in consequence, be turned upside-down: the training of a new official class becomes part of his war on feudal foes, rather than part of an imperial scheme to rival the papal *curia*.

Such a view must not, of course, be taken too far. Frederick was emperor and there were many ways he exploited this fact within Sicily and southern Italy. The Constitutions of Melfi are filled with imperial epithets; his new coins, minted for Sicily from 1231, are based on ancient Roman models; classical styles were self-consciously imitated in the architecture and sculpture of his castles and public monuments. The problem remains acute: how to avoid demoting Frederick to a common level with contemporary kings, by pointing to banal parallels with their behaviour and methods of rule; and how to avoid placing Frederick on a pedestal where his whole work of reconstruction seems inspired by an elevated and competitive

⁴¹ *The Travels of ibn Jubayr*, transl. R. J. C. Broadhurst, (London, 1952), 353: 'there arrived an order from the King of Sicily stopping all ships from sailing from the shores of his island' (this was in 1185). For the Norman economy see D. S. H. Abulafia, *The Two Italies: economic relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the northern Communes*, (Cambridge, 1977) and *ibid.* 42n 30, 163–4, for a discussion of ibn Jubayr's passage.

⁴² F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols., (Paris, 1907), 690–707.

⁴³ For which see E. M. Jamison, 'The Administration of the County of Molise in the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries', *English Historical Review*, xlv (1929), 529–59; xlv (1930), 1–34.

⁴⁴ *Liber Augustalis*, Book I, *titulus* xlix, (Powell transl., 48).

sense of empire.

The answer lies, therefore, with Brackmann: the *Kleinarbeit*, the detailed work of scholarship, must precede any definitive assessment of the emperor. This *Kleinarbeit* has been marked by several important projects and publications. One of the most important projects was a new edition of an invaluable volume, the single surviving chancery register of Frederick II, which was to be found in the State Archives in Naples, and which dealt with the years 1239–40. This contained copies of documents, such as donations and letters, issued on Frederick's behalf within the Kingdom of Sicily; and, when Kantorowicz wrote, no satisfactory edition existed. Even the great collection of Frederick's documents by the nineteenth-century historian Huillard-Bréholles did not include accurate transcriptions of the register; instead the editor attempted to reconstruct the full text of each document from the abbreviated versions normal in medieval registers of charters. From this register, when fully published, much could be expected to be learned about the techniques of administration of the Hohenstaufen, as well as about day-to-day policy at court. And indeed an important start was made by the German scholars Sthamer and Heupel. War intervened, however, and by 1943 the Naples archive was on the battlefield between the Nazis and the Allied armies. On their retreat through Campania some Nazi soldiers set alight the villa where the Naples archive was temporarily stored ('for safety'), and the destruction of one of Europe's major sources of historical information followed, barbarously and irreparably. Progress has, however, been made in reconstructing the contents of lost material from scholars' notes and from publications. The register of Frederick II seemed, however, consigned to oblivion. Sthamer, it was true, had made photographs, but in the chaos of war nobody knew where they might be. Another German scholar, Wolfgang Hagemann, made steps to reconstruct the lost register from Sthamer's notes and other scholars' work, but there was no chance of editing a complete version of the register. And then—a remarkable coincidence. Hagemann, after long delays, received back from Italy a box of his own possessions, impounded at the end of the war, and at the bottom he found an unlabelled film which, to his delight and surprise, proved to be Sthamer's photographs of the emperor's register. An edition has, in consequence, been promised under the auspices of that most august body of German medievalists, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. This project, though hampered by so many delays, will undoubtedly set Hohenstaufen studies on an entirely new technical footing.⁴⁵

The Constitutions of Melfi have also been subjected to searching analysis, and once again it is German scholars who must be thanked for a new critical edition.⁴⁶ Great advances have been made in attempts to relate

⁴⁵ W. Hagemann, 'La nuova edizione del Regesto di Federico II' *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Federiciani*, (Palermo, 1952), 315–336. This volume constitutes one of the most valuable surveys of research on Frederick II, with contributions by English, Italian and German scholars.

⁴⁶ *Die Konstitutionen Friedrichs II. für sein Königreich Sizilien*, ed. H. Conrad, T. von der Lieck-Buyken and W. Wagner; H. Dilcher, *Die sizilische Gesetzgebung Kaiser Friedrichs II. Quellen der Constitutionen von Melfi und ihrer Novellen*; H. Dilcher, 'Die sizilische Gesetzgebung Friedrichs II., eine Synthese von Tradition und Erneuerung', *Probleme um Friedrich II.* (= *Vorträge und Forschungen*, xvi)—these three volumes, plus J. Deér, *Papsttum und Normannen*, constitute the four volume set *Studien und Quellen zur Welt Kaiser Friedrichs II.*, (Cologne and Sigmaringen, 1972–4).

Frederick's law-book to contemporary European feudal and civil law, though in Italy historians of the Norman kingdom continue to debate the validity of attribution of certain of Frederick's laws to individual Norman ancestors, and, even more, they continue to fight over the question how far Sicily can be described as a 'feudal kingdom' at all. In this controversy the legal historian Antonio Marongiu has been especially prolific; he tends to see in Norman and Hohenstaufen Sicily a 'model state', centrally organised in deliberate opposition to a feudal-style monarchy, and he does not consider that, at a governmental or legal level, feudal relationships were considered a necessary part of the structure of the kingdom. Most of his opponents cite individual, local, cases in their defence, and it does appear that they are arguing at cross-purposes. Marongiu refers to the state, and to the ruler's conception of himself; his opponents see the state as a composite of feudal elements and attribute no significance to, or deny, the exalted idea of their office that the Norman and Hohenstaufen kings held. Here, of course, a dynamic view of the situation must be expressed: when the Normans conquered southern Italy and Sicily a different relationship existed between conquerors and subjects to that which existed after Frederick II had been crowned emperor and had issued his law-code for Sicily. Yet it is clear that an important debate in this area is still in progress.⁴⁷

The problem of feudal relations in Hohenstaufen Sicily has been discussed by economic as well as legal historians. Once again, the situation remains fluid. Was Frederick II in league with the cities and merchants, in Sicily and in northern Italy, against the interests of local landowners in his southern kingdom? One of Marongiu's most spirited critics, Mario Caravale, will not allow the American historian James M. Powell to suppose that this 'anti-feudal' alignment occurred; while Powell's attempt to relate the long-term economic decline of Sicily and southern Italy to policies initiated under the Normans and Hohenstaufen has been questioned by Erich Maschke, an economic historian whose more general work includes a study of the ethnic purity of the Hohenstaufen, published under and for the Nazis. Maschke's more recent work, however, takes much further our understanding of Frederick II's interest in and control of the Sicilian economy, exercised through a centrally-directed officer class; but his economic policy must some day be considered in the context of fiscal controls by his contemporaries elsewhere in Europe.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ A. Marongiu, 'A Model State in the Middle Ages: The Norman and Swabian Kingdom of Sicily', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vi (1964), 307-320; reprinted with other articles in his collection *Byzantine, Norman, Swabian and later Institutions in Southern Italy: Collected Studies*, (London, 1972). In opposition, L.-R. Ménager, 'L'institution Monarchique dans les états normands d'Italie', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, ii, (1959) 311-31, 445-68; M. Caravale, 'La Feudalità nella Sicilia normanna', *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi sulla Sicilia normanna*, (Palermo, 1973) 21-50.

⁴⁸ Caravale, 48-50; J. M. Powell, 'Medieval Monarchy and Trade: the Economic Policy of Frederick II in the Kingdom of Sicily', *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, iii (1962), 420-524; E. Maschke, 'Die Wirtschaftspolitik Kaiser Friedrichs II. im Königreich Sizilien', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, lv, (1966), 289-328. Cf. E. Maschke, *Das Geschlecht der Staufer*, (Munich, 1943; repr. Aalen, 1970.)

To understand Frederick's overall policy, if such there was, there is perhaps no better avenue of approach than his relationship with the church, both inside his Sicilian kingdom and with his enemies at Rome. Recent work makes it possible to identify Frederick's bishops and to see what reliance the emperor placed on his local nobles in ecclesiastical government. To judge from Norbert Kamp's painstaking and, as yet, unfinished work on this subject, Frederick did not try to separate local interests from the bishoprics in the way that he separated local interests from judicial offices of state. There is no doubt that Kamp's studies of the internal history of the Sicilian and south Italian church provide a major advance in a field that has always been dominated by considerations of papal-imperial relations.⁴⁹ Here too there is room for new thought. The history of Frederick II's relations with the popes has been written, obviously enough, by those who saw the struggle between pope and emperor as an ever-deepening conflict; if it did not exist in the open, then this conflict remained implicit in every letter that passed between pope and emperor or between pope and Lombards—such, at least, was Kantorowicz's view, and for the specialist in political theory there is much to commend the idea of a cataclysmic struggle between two assertions of universal primacy. On a microcosmic level, however, it is worth asking whether there were not genuine hopes, both in Rome and in Sicily, of a close partnership between papacy and empire, and whether the rôle of Mephistopheles was not played by the Lombard towns, by Milan in particular. It was the towns that refused to allow Frederick peace while he was in Italy; and they did this not out of a spirit of friendship for the church, but because individual cities wished to retain the freedom to bully their neighbours. Frederick for his part knew that the Lombard cities were jealous of every liberty they possessed, but he wished to curb that one liberty to interfere in each other's affairs that suited the larger, richer towns; and the papacy too wished for peace but hoped that Frederick would have the sense to let Lombardy lie while he went crusading—an order of priority that continued to obsess the popes and seriously affected the attempts by Frederick to bring peace to northern Italy. This is a schematic view that is suggested by one possible reading of the course of events; it may lean too far in Frederick's favour, but it deserves to be placed in opposition to Kantorowicz's more summary consideration of Frederick's relations with the Lombards, and of the rôle the papacy played as arbiter between emperor and citizens.

Frederick's political thought has received long and valuable analysis in the work of such outstanding scholars as Ullmann and Schaller.⁵⁰ An interesting line has been followed by the group of scholars interested in *Herrschaftszeichen*, in symbols of royalty such as crowns and robes. By

⁴⁹ N. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie im Staufischen Königreich Sizilien, i: Prosopographische Grundlegung, Bistümer und Bischöfe des Königreichs*, 3 vols., further sections to be published, (Munich, 1973–5). Still useful is H. J. Pybus, 'The Emperor Frederick II and the Sicilian Church,' *Cambridge Historical Journal*, iii, (1930), 134–163. Cf. J. M. Powell, 'Frederick II and the Church in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1220–40', *Church History*, xxx (1961), 28–34.

⁵⁰ W. Ullmann, 'Frederick II's opponent, Innocent IV, as Melchisedek', *Atti Federiciani*, 53–81; H. M. Schaller, 'Die Kaiseridee Friedrichs II.', *Probleme um Friedrich II.*, 109–134; H. M. Schaller, 'Die Kanzlei Kaiser Friedrichs II. Ihr Personal und ihr Sprachstil', *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, iv, (1958), 216–327, extract reprinted in *Stupor Mundi*, 550–2.

good fortune the coronation robes of the emperor still survive, in the Treasury of the Hofburg in Vienna—the mantle made for Roger II of Sicily, and acquired by the Hohenstaufen; silk gloves, stockings and shoes; the tunic, dalmatic, belt and sword—all these Norman Sicilian or the product of successor workshops in Hohenstaufen Palermo. The coronation vestments, too, show Byzantine influence: the use of deep red (that is, the Byzantine ‘purple’), a colour reserved to the *Basileus*, but adopted by the popes and Longobard princes of southern Italy. Directly, or through papal and Longobard mediation, or indeed by a subtle combination of influences, Greek imperial ceremonial arrived at the Sicilian court. For the imperial ideas of Frederick, however exalted they were, came not merely from his distant predecessors the Augustan Caesars, but more directly many were filtered through Norman Sicily—a kingdom, not an empire, but a land whose kings aped empire and aspired to the crown of Constantinople. They buried themselves in tombs of porphyry, the purple marble prized in Byzantium, and they were worshipped by their prostrate subjects in the act of *proskynesis*. Though in fact vassals of the popes, the Norman kings elevated themselves into direct vassals of God. Through persistent propaganda, and careful relations with Rome, their state of vassallage could be passed by. It was in this field of symbolism and propaganda, and of vassallage to Rome, that the Hungarian scholar, J. Deér, excelled himself, leaving a succession of monographs on Norman and Hohenstaufen history each of which has capital importance; and a German historian, C. A. Willemsen, has studied another side of Frederick’s Caesarism, his castles and sculptures in classical style found in Apulia and Campania.⁵¹

V

There have, then, been advances on many fronts; but no overall advance in assessment of Frederick II. Our capacity to assess him will grow when the work of Kamp and Deér can be integrated into wider studies, but the source of our enquiry will often be some casual remark or bold generalisation of Ernst Kantorowicz. Yet gratitude is owed him for cultivating so gorgeous an apple of discord. Not merely has the study of Frederick II advanced substantially under his impetus, but the central question of the relationship between *Kleinarbeit* and synthesis has been posed. Moreover, we have Brackmann’s warnings to cherish, that history must be written in a spirit of search for truth; and, while Brackmann did not stop to define truth, he clearly meant more than simply the establishment of points of detail. Truth meant an open mind and a willingness to avow ignorance where necessary, rather than an impatient attempt to create coherence and consistency.

⁵¹ J. Deér, *Der Kaiserornat Friedrichs II.*, (Berne, 1952); J. Deér, *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser Friedrich II. Herrschaftszeichen*, (Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, 3rd series, xxxvi, 1955). Also Deér, ‘Das Grab Friedrichs II.’, *Probleme um Friedrich II.*, 361–383. C. A. Willemsen’s work is attractively summarised in his *Apulien – Kathedralen und Kastele*, (Du Mont Kunst-Reiseführer, 2nd ed., Cologne, 1973); cf. note 25 *supra*.