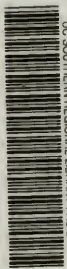


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WHO WAS ITA?



WHO WAS ITA,

COUNTESS OF HAPSBURG,

WHO FOUNDED THE MONASTERY OF MURI IN SWITZERLAND,
IN 1018, AND DIED 1026?

ON THIS QUESTION DEPENDS THE DEVELOPEMENT OF

THE ORIGIN OF THE

IMPERIAL HOUSES OF HAPSBURG AND LORRAINE,

ON WHICH NEW LIGHT IS HERE THROWN.

BY SIR EGERTON BRYDGES, BART., ETC., ETC.

PARIS:

PRINTED BY J. SMITH, RUE MONTMORENCY.

M DCCC XXVI.



P R E F A C E.

THE following pages are but an extract of a large *folio* volume, entitled STEMMATA ILLUSTRIA, not yet finished at the press. They are given in the present form, because the author has deemed them of sufficient general interest to have them separated from a set of genealogies, in which they would otherwise, perhaps, be buried.

It may be difficult to persuade the general reader, that there can be a strong or solid interest in *any* question of mere ancient pedigree: it is necessary, therefore, to point his attention to a few particulars in the present Case.

The claims of descent here discussed were the hinge of a great historical crisis: no less than the succession of the illustrious and amiable HENRY IV. to the throne of France! The *Leaguers* set up against him the HOUSE OF LORRAINE, on the absurd pretence that these were the true heirs of Charlemagne in strict male line, and that all the HOUSE OF CAPET were *usurpers!* For this purpose the infamous FRANCIS DE ROSJERES published in 1580 his *Stemmata Lotharingæ*, a work full of false documents,

which was judicially suppressed, and subjected the author to imprisonment. But, notwithstanding this, the partisans of the same cause did not abandon their weak pretensions till the middle of the subsequent century, as may be seen set out fully by CHANTEREAU LE FEBURE, in his *Considérations Historiques sur la Généalogie de la Maison de Lorraine*. Paris, 1642, fol.

The alledged descent of the House of Lorraine was this: it was asserted that *Theodoric, Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane, who succeeded 1070, was son of WILLIAM, stated to have been brother of the famous GODFREY OF BOULOGNE, and son of Eustace, Count of Boulogne, whom they called great great grandson of SIFRID, alledged to have been son of EBRARD, DUC DE WORMES, son of Conrad, Duc de Franconie, pretended to have been son of the Emperor ARNOUL, of the male line of CHARLEMAGNE.**

It is at this day unnecessary to expose the numerous falsehoods of this pedigree. No fact is more demonstrable than that *Theodoric's* father was *Gerard of Alsace, Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane, who died 1070*. This *William*, brother of *Godfrey of Boulogne*, was an imaginary person. The *Counts of Boulogne* were not descended in the male line from *Sigfrid*, but, (according to the most credible authorities,) from the *Counts of Ponthieu*. *SIGFRID* was a *Dane*, and no relation to *Ebrard, Duc de Wormes*; and *Ebrard's* father was not *Conrad*, but *Rodolfe*; nor was *Conrad* son of the Emperor *Arnoul*, nor of the same male line; and *Arnoul* himself was a bastard.

* *Considérations par Chantereau Le Febure, préf. vii.*

The rejection of this system, therefore, as soon as the political purpose which engendered and supported it had ceased, was not very difficult. But the materials of discussion which it raised, caused perplexities which it was much more difficult to allay. The question was now stirred, as to what, (since this descent was *not* true,) *was* the true descent of the House of Lorraine? Now came forward the system of *Le Père Vignier*, 1649, deriving them in the male line from *ATHIC, Duc d'Alsace*, or *d'Allemagne*, who died 720. This is the system which has been adopted by *Calmet*, and all genealogists up to this day.*

If this last system had settled the question, curious as it might have been in an historical light to have revived the memory of a dispute once entertained on grounds so extraordinarily weak, I would have left it to be sought in the books where it would have been found already decided. But it is easy to demolish, not equally easy to rebuild. Small ingenuity suffices to *object*;—to *propose*, at least on solid grounds, requires very different powers!

Being led in the course of my greater work to examine this question by the test of original authorities, on *two* accounts; *first*, to judge of the dispute between *Chifflet* and his opponents, as to the Houses of *HAPSBURG* and *FRANCE*; and *secondly*, to understand the pretensions of the House of *LORRAINE* against France; and, when those were confuted, what was its actual male origin,—I

* *Calmet*, in his *Origine de la Maison de Lorraine*, prefixed to vol. i. of his *Histoire de Lorraine, Nancy, 1728, fol.* has stated the six different systems, which have been set up, regarding this Genealogy.

soon fixed on the *Muri Genealogy*, as my pole-star to the elucidation of both objects.

I feel assured that it has not failed me. The result is different from that to which other genealogists have come, and which is to be found in other works: on which account I think myself justified to obtrude it on the public in the following pages.

The great curiosity of this contest is that, when many men of such acknowledged learning and talent were engaged in it, both sides should have committed such gross and demonstrable errors!

Both branches of this controversy, not only as it regards HAPSBURG but as it regards LORRAINE, are involved in the simple question, "*Who was Ita, Countess of Hapsburg?*" Chifflet, and the flatterers of the House of Hapsburg, contended that she was sister of Theodoric, who succeeded to the Dukedom of Lorraine-Mosellane in 1070, solely for the purpose of deriving an immediate and near descent to the House of Hapsburg, from Theodoric's mother *Hadvige*, daughter of Ermengarde de Namur, whose father was Charles of Lorraine, last of the House of Charlemagne! The fact is, that this Theodoric was a *little boy* in 1070, and that *Ita* founded the Monastery of Muri in 1018! It was easy, therefore, to crush Chifflet on *this* point! The *Muri Genealogy* records *Ita* to have been sister of a *Theodricus, Dux Lotharingorum*, and Chifflet's opponents, assuming that there could be no other person to answer this description than *Theodoric de BAR, Duke of Lorraine*, and finding his wife to have been *Beatrix, sister of Hugh Capet*, conclude this *Beatrix* to have been *Ita's mother*! And from that time this as-

sumption has run through every work of genealogy, even the most critical, to this day. But I have shewn in this tract that it is quite as impossible, as the absurd assumption of Chifflet. I have gone farther: I have not only shewn that *Beatrix* was *not* Ita's mother: I have established by positive evidence who *was* Ita's mother!

Thus, if I am right, the inquiry here pursued has ended in a result different from that which was contended for by either of the parties in the *Chifflet* controversy. Neither of them were in that case contending for *Lorraine*: and both concurred in giving to that ancient and illustrious House an erroneous male line,—the House of BAR!

Upon the question of the *identity* of ITA depends the question of the *identity* of her brother THEODORIC: and on this latter identity depends the male descent of the House of LORRAINE! The *last* branch of this double controversy must, therefore, follow in part the fate of the *first*!

I think that I have been as successful in shewing who Ita's MOTHER *was*, as who she was *not*: but I cannot venture to go quite so far as to her *father*! I have *demonstrated* who he was *not*: I have not succeeded farther than to shew *by strong probability* who he *was*! If, indeed, *Wassebourg* and *Henniges* were adequate authority, the proof would be not merely conjectural; it would be direct and positive. If, however, all the probabilities are strongly in favour of it, arguing from facts totally independent of these authors, the coincidence is extraordinary, and gives great weight to their assertion, by raising the inference that they did not speak lightly and without good authority.

Let it be recollected, that I always assume the Muri Genealogy to be, as far as it goes, incontrovertible. It is strict evidence, and the credit due to it is of the highest kind, because it speaks of facts, which it had the best means of knowing accurately. The system of *Vignier*, adopted by *Calmet*, is inconsistent with it: *Calmet*, therefore, feeling this, endeavours to attack its credit; but his objections being all futile, and the chief of them being so weak, as to be founded on a *fallacious assumption* of its contents, only tend to confirm its strength. "The Muri Genealogy," says he, "states that *Ita* was sister of *Thierri*, Duke of Lorraine," and by consequence *daughter of Frederic I. Duke of Lorraine, and of Beatrix sister to Hugh Capet*: but the authentic Genealogy of St. Arnoul proves that the son of *Beatrix* was *Thierri*, father of Duke *Frederic*; and, therefore, not the father of *Gerard*, as this *Muri Genealogy* makes him. Therefore this *Muri Genealogy* is not true!" Such is *Calmet's* reasoning, but his "*consequence*" is a most false assumption. There is not a word in the *Muri Genealogy* to identify Duke *Thierri*, the brother of *Ita*, with *that* Duke *Thierri* who was husband of *Beatrix*. On the contrary, it furnishes evidence directly the reverse!

When, after the appearance of the work of *Chantereau* *Le Febure* in 1642, the fashion of deriving the House of *Lorraine* from *Charlemagne* by the most ridiculous of all descents had passed away, and critical eyes perceived that the derivation from the House of *BAR* by *Beatrix* sister of [*Hugh Capet*, was equally untenable, another source was naturally searched for. *Le Père Vignier* then (1649) hit upon certain Counts, whom he calls *COUNTS*

OF ALSACE, whom he places in the tenth century, and whom he derives from DUKE ATHIC, (or ETHICO,) of the eighth century. His choice was probably made in good faith: I see no reason to suspect motives of flattery; and I suspect it the less, because that which appears to me to be the truth would have done more honour to the family. Right or wrong, however, whether originating from good or bad motives, this pedigree has had the good fortune to be adopted from that day by all genealogists and historians: an adoption, at which my surprise augments the more, the more I think of it; because the clue which was more obvious, was at once more easily proved, and more honourable.

I cannot guess why *Vignier* should have looked to certain *Counts of Alsace*, rather than to *Dukes of Lorraine*. For this purpose, a certain Count EBERHARD is first made *Count of Alsace*, without adequate proof: he is then made son of an HUGH, *Comte de Ferrette*, son of another Count EBERHARD, who is stated to be the same Eberhard, who was son of *Comte Alberic*, nephew of *St. Odilie*; but which could not be, since the latter lived in 750, and the former died in 890, an objection which annihilates the alledged descent from *Duke Ethico*. Lastly, this certain *Count Eberhard* is made father of ADALBERT, the founder of *Bousonville Priory*; and the said Adalbert is made father of GERARD I. father of Gerard II. (*of Alsace*), Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane, who died 1070, all which steps of descent are demonstrably false.

Gerard I. was not son of Adalbert, but *brother*; and these brothers were distinct persons from Gerard and Adalbert, whom *Vignier* falsely makes sons of Eberhard,

but who were probably uncles of the former. And here Vignier gets into an additional entanglement, by finding that these last were *Comtes de Metz*; and he, therefore, confounds these *Comtes de Metz* with his *Counts of Alsace*. This, however, was a new impediment in Vignier's way; for if there really existed *Counts of Alsace*, they certainly were not the same as the *Comtes de Metz*. On the other hand, it is easy to reconcile the *Comtes de Metz* with *Duke Theodoric*, the brother of Ita of Hapsbourg.

Without resorting, therefore, to any other system, it is clear that the system of Vignier is, in right of itself alone, impossible. Against the system which I here substitute for it, I am not only not aware of any disproof, but not even of any inference of improbability!

The *Muri Genealogy* proves that Theodoric, Duke of Lorraine, (Ita's brother,) was grandfather of Gerard of *Egisheim*; and the identity of Gerard of *Egisheim* with Gerard of *Alsace*, Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane, who died in 1070, does not seem to be questioned, and, according to the opinion which I entertain of proofs of identity, ought not to be questioned. But this Duke Theodoric was clearly *not* Theodoric de BAR. Then what other Duke of Lorraine of this name could there be at this period? We find a Conrad *le Sage*, Duke of Lorraine, (of the House of Franconia,) who died 955, from whom, (according to Wassebourg and Hennings,) came, by younger sons, two or three generations, who answer well this description: can we doubt that these were the ancestors of this Duke Theodoric? If Gerard and Adalbert, the brothers of Aleyda, mother of the Emperor

Conrad *le Salique*, are admitted to be of the same stock with this Duke Theodoric, then we have the positive testimony of *Wipon*, that Theodoric was “*ex nobilissimâ gente Lotharingorum;*” and as this does not apply to the House of BAR, it must apply to the House of Conrad *le Sage!*

Thus it is that Wassebourg deduces the descent down to Duke *Gerard*, who died 1070, and his son Duke Theodoric, who died 1115; but at this point, whence the present Imperial House of Lorraine is notoriously and demonstrably descended, he falls into the strangest and most unaccountable error. He here supposes the male stock of the elder branch to fail, and the descent to be carried on only by the *Counts of Vaudemont*, for the purpose of giving to the SUCCEEDING Dukes of *Lorraine-Mosellane* the fabulous descent from *William*, the alledged brother of *Godfrey of Boulogne*, according to the system adopted and still aggravated by the fictions of *De Rosieres*.

All this is the more wonderful, because the truth, (if the system I advocate be correct,) would have been far more illustrious for the venerable antiquity and grandeur of this House.

Taking the upper part of the pedigree, as it is drawn with great skill and critical knowledge in *Chazod's Généalogies Historiques, Paris, 1738, 4to. vol. iv. p. 191*, it stands briefly thus:

1. RODOLFE, Comte en Franconie, Avoué of Fulde, in 852, probably son of *Leidrat*, Comte and Avoué of Fulde, and grandson of *Beggon*, Comte de Paris, by *Alpais*, daughter of Louis le Dé-

bonnaire, had issue, 1. Conrad, Comte en Weteravie and Hesse, slain 905, father of Conrad I. King of Germany in 912, and four other children. 2. Gebhard, Comte en Franconie and Weteravie, father of Herman I. Duc de Souabe, and great grandfather of Herman II. Duc de Souabe, who died 1004. 3. Rodolfe Bishop of Bamberg. 4. Eberhard.

2. EBERHARD, (fourth son of Comte Rudolfe,) "Comte en Franconie et de Worms," was slain in 902, in a contest with Adelberg de Bamberg. He had issue, 1. Conrad *Curcipolus*. 2. Werner, Comte en Franconie et de Worms. 3. *Anonyme*, perhaps ancestor of the *Comtes de Solms*.

3. WERNER, (second son,) Comte en Franconie et de Worms, died 913, having had three sons: 1. Conrad *le Sage*. 2. Werner, Abbé de Fulde, in 968, died 982. 3. Adelbert, Avoué de Fulde, in 973.

4. CONRAD *le Sage*, (eldest son,) was appointed Duke of Lorraine in 944, and slain in battle with the Hungarians, August 10, 955. He married in 947 Luitgarde de Saxe, who died 953, daughter of the Emperor Otto I. By her he had Otho, and, according to Wassebourg and Henninges, a younger son THEODORIC,* *Præses Alsatiæ*.

Otho, eldest son, was Comte de Worms, Dux de Carinthie, and Marquis de Verone, and died 1020, having espoused *Judith*, by whom he had four sons: 1. *Henry*, Duc de Franconie, who died before his father, 989, having espoused *Aleyda* d'Egisheim, sister of Counts *Gerard* and *Adelbert*, by whom he had issue *Conrad le Salique*, elected Emperor 1024, who died 1039. 2. Bruno, (afterwards Pope Gregory V.) died 998. 3. *Cuno*, or *Conrad*, Duc de Carinthie et Franconie, who died Dec. 12, 1012, having married Mathilde de Suabe, (widow of Theodoric, Duke of Lorraine,) by whom he had, *first*, Conrad *le Jeune*,

* Chazod does *not* name this younger son.

Comte de Rinfelden, and Duc de Carinthie 1024, and de Worms, 1034, who died 1039, father of the Emperor *Rodolphe*, 1077, (Anti-Cæsar.) *Secondly*, Brunon, Bishop of Wirtzburg, 1034, who died 1045.

5. THEODORIC I. younger son of Conrad *le Sage*, Duke of Lorraine, who died 955, is called by Wassebourg *Præses Alsatia*. It is probable that he is the same person whom others call *Richard*, and who married the heiress of Adalbert, *Comte de Metz*, and that he was not only father of another Theodoric, but also father or grandfather of Gerard and Adalbert, and Aleyda mother of the Emperor Conrad *le Salique*.
6. Theodoric II: son of Theodoric I. married Matilde, daughter of Herman II. Duc de Suabe, by Gerberge, daughter of Conrad, King of Burgundy-Transjurane, which Matilde remarried Conrad, Duc de Carinthie and Franconie, who died in 1012, (by whom she was mother of Cuno, Comte de Rinfelden.) By this Mathilde Theodoric had issue, 1. Theodoric, Duke of Lorraine. 2. Vernher, Bishop of Strasbourg. 3. Ita, wife of Radeboto, Comte d'Hapsbourg.*
7. THEODORIC III. Duke of Lorraine, had issue by , 1. Adelbert, Co. de Metz, founder of the Priory of Boussonville, and died 1034, leaving issue by Jutta Gerard, who died 1046, leaving by Gisele , Gerard and Theodoric, who both died young. 2. Gerard, (younger son of Theodoric III.)
8. GERARD II. called *Dux Gerardus*, son of Theodoric III. probably married the heiress of the *Comtes d'Egisheim*, (perhaps a daughter of Adalbert I. brother of Aleyda, and sister of another Gerard.)

* "Idem verò Radeboto cum sibi congruum visum est, ut uxorem duceret, accepit de partibus Lotharingorum, uxorem nomine Itam, sororem Theodrici Ducis, ac Vvernherii Argentina civitatis Episcopi."—*Acta Munsteris Monasterii*, p. 5.

9. GERARD III. *d'Egisheim et d'Alsace*, (son of Gerard II.) appointed Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane 1048, died 1070, married Hadvige de Namur by Ermengarde of France, and had issue, 1. Theodoric. 2. Gerard, *Comte de Vaudemont*.
10. THEODORIC, (eldest son,) Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane, died 1115, leaving issue by Gertrude, daughter of Robert *le Frison*, Comte de Flandres, 1. Simon. 2. Theodoric d'Alsace, *Comte de Flandres*.
11. SIMON, (eldest son,) Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane, died 1149, leaving by Adelaide, sister to the Emperor Lothaire, male posterity, Dukes of Lorraine, now *Emperors of Austria*.
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I have already said, that the following ARGUMENT is an *extract* of a larger Work. In preparing it for a separate publication I have thought it necessary to add a *Preface*; and thus have been drawn to anticipate much of what is to be found in the ARGUMENT itself. But I hope that this will not be considered as an useless repetition. In going over the ground again, I have persuaded myself that I could make it more clear and forcible by shaping it in different forms, and putting it in other words: as well as by additional attempts to draw a strict attention to the points on which the question hinges.

After so many learned men have in the two last centuries employed on this topic all the industry and acuteness excited by the heat of contest when the dispute engaged the passions of rival nations, I cannot but feel somewhat anxious to justify an opinion, which differs from them all! I may seem, therefore, to have *overlaboured* points, which may appear in themselves sufficiently

clear; but though they may seem clear to those who are not conversant with the voluminous controversy through which I have waded, it has been natural to me to dwell prolixly on the elucidation of points in which so many authors of erudition and ability have erred.

In the present state of the public mind, *leading*, (not *led by*,) the public press, I can easily believe that such discussions as this will be deemed among the *difficiles nugæ* which ought to be cast away. But that cannot be a very idle question, which has not only occupied the toils and ingenuity of accomplished authors, but roused the passions of rival nations, and affected the political pretensions of mighty thrones! The claims here discussed operated as a powerful instrument in the hands of the *Leaguers* against Henry IV.; and were again made the colour of ambitious views on the part of Austria and Spain against Louis XIII.

The claim of one family in the sixteenth century, in right of heirship of blood by male descent, (*even if such descent had been true and demonstrable*), to a throne possessed by another family from the middle of the tenth century, seems at this day to be almost too ridiculous to be stated! What an aggravation, when the alledged descent was incontestably false into the bargain!

In another point of view the relation of this dispute is curious. It is an exhibition of human folly, and of the strange inequalities of human learning and talent! Whoever will look into the best Biographies of France, will find that the major part of the authors engaged in this controversy were men of eminence, not merely as antiquaries and genealogists, but for their talents and general

learning, and their works, which enjoy fame in other branches.

A friend* observes to me, that “it is not the taste of the age, (*all the worse,*) to consider it of much consequence,

“*To whom related, and by whom begot ;*”

and that I shall excite little attention by this laboured inquiry. I know it well ; but I will not be driven from an examination of historic facts, which seems to me at least rational and innocent, even though I may not engage the interest or perusal of ten readers.

There is nothing more venerable than an ancient family, where it does not disgrace itself by false pride, or trifling self-consequence. Bacon, one of the most profound of moral and political philosophers, has recorded his opinion to this effect, in his admirable Essays, in a passage too often cited to be repeated here.

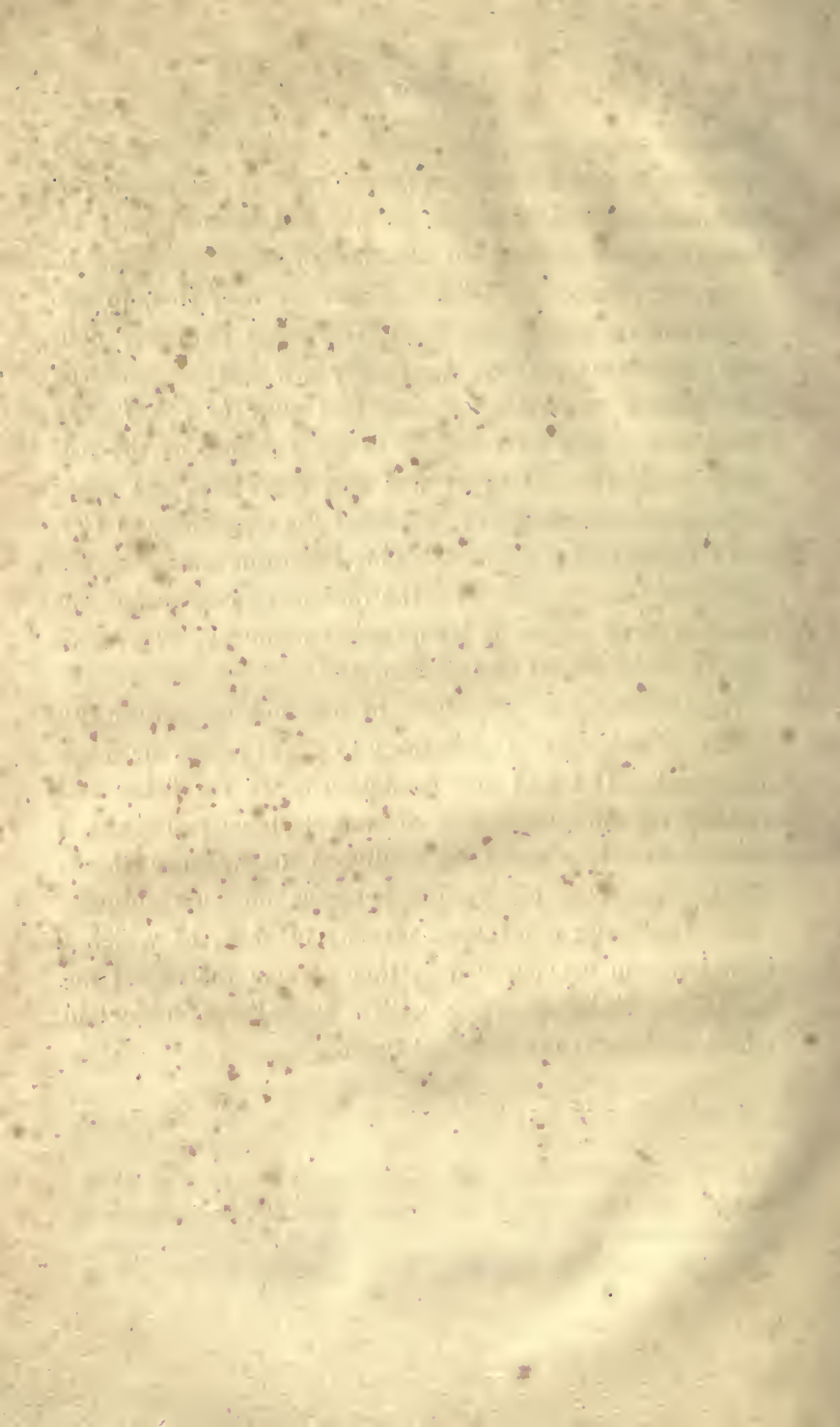
I need scarcely say, that I have no other object than the investigation of truth in this Argument. I have no passions, or prejudices, or interests, on the subject. The

* The Rev. MONTAGU PENNINGTON, of Deal, in Kent, (the nephew, executor and biographer of the very learned, eloquent, and profound poetess, Mrs. ELIZABETH CARTER, who died in January, 1806, aged 86)—a man of general literature ;—of great intelligence, always digested and ready ; of the clearest memory ; of a calm and steady judgment ;—an accomplished divine ; an indefatigable magistrate ; the friend and protector of the poor ; the adviser in their difficulties ; the arbitrator in their disputes : one whom, in an uninterrupted correspondence of more than two-and-twenty years, on every passing topic, as well literary as of private friendship, I have always found prompt and rich in knowledge, and calm and firm and comprehensive in counsel. He was of Trinity College, Oxford ; born in December, 1762.

question arose necessarily last September, out of the researches to which I was led (in the correct compilation of certain genealogical tables, to which I have already alluded), upon finding an absence of all explanation of the near alliance of *Chuno, Comte de Rinfelden*, to the *Countess ITA*, though the Muri Genealogy expressly calls him her *uterine brother*. I instantly saw that any pedigree inconsistent with this positive fact *must be false!* My mind was at this time turned to the volumes of the original controversialists; it was not, therefore, till some months afterwards that I consulted the genealogy in *Calmet's History of Lorraine*. This laborious author could not avoid to be struck with the difficulty: but he has endeavoured to escape it by a feeble sophistry, so evasive that it looks almost like dishonesty!

It happens to be important to me, not to commit my credit on subjects of genealogy to slight proof, or weak argument. If I had any hesitation as to the force and validity of the proofs and arguments here produced, I most certainly should be stultified to venture them. Thirty-five years of cruel experience on such subjects have taught me a tact and severity of skill, of which I would not in my latter days throw away the moral influence by *lightly* sporting with a speculative subject in which nothing is valuable but truth.

PARIS, Dec. 7, 1825.



WHO WAS ITA? ETC.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

I AM not so ignorant as to suppose that any genealogical question can convey much interest to the generality of readers, and more especially a question of so remote a date. But to antiquaries and historians the present question, not only in itself, but in the mode in which it has been treated, is singularly curious. It has been a topic of discussion with many authors who hold a place of some name in the annals of literature, for more than two centuries. It has had volumes written on it, even in folio; but it has never yet been cleared up. Wassebourg, Hennings, Theodore Godefroy, Duchesne, Chifflet, Dominicy, Le Tenneur, Labbe, Blondel, Chantereau Le Feburc, Le P. Vignier, Imhoff, Toul, Anselme, Chazod,* Calmet, the Benedictine authors of *l'Art de Vérifier les Dates, etc. etc.* have all touched it, but have all left it in perplexity and error.

But the most surprising thing is, that many of them have furnished the documents that have convicted themselves. Mere compilers may be expected to do no more than repeat the single author who is at the moment before them, without criticism or examination. Something better is due from men of talent and erudition: yet even the

* *Généalogies Historiques.* Paris, 1736, 1738, 4 vols. 4to.

celebrated DOM CALMET,* a profound scholar, only copied (in 1728, 1745,) the weak arguments of *Le P. Vignier* (1649,) on this subject, in his predecessor's own words, and in spite of accompanying documents which falsified the statements at almost every step.

Let us take only two instances regarding *Gerard of Alsace, Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane*, who died in 1070; the admitted ancestor of the present Imperial House of Austria!

First, he is made to be the same Gerard, who was son of *Gerard* who died 1046, and grandson of ADALBERT who died 1034, though the very two documents which are brought to prove it, prove in express terms that this very Gerard, the grandson of Adalbert, died young, "*immaturâ morte*;" and that Gerard of Alsace was not grandson of *Adalbert*, but great nephew; (for he calls Adalbert his *propatruus*,) and that in consequence of this immature death of Gerard the grandson, and his brother Theodric, he succeeded collaterally to the possessions of that branch.

Then the mother of *Chuno, Comte de Rinfelden*, (the half-brother of *Ita de Hapsburg*, 1018,) is stated by all these authors up to this day to have been *Beatrix sister to Hugh Capet*, when they themselves produce the unimpeachable testimony of WIPPO, a cotemporary, which asserts in express terms that she was MATHILDA of *Souabia*, whose mother Gerberge was daughter of Conrad, King of Burgundy-Transjurane!

It would have appeared incredible that *Duchesne*, a genealogist remarkable for his deep knowledge and critical judgment on these subjects, could have been guilty of such hallucinations as he has here fallen into! The famous *Muri Genealogy* was published at Spiremberg in 1618. It had drawn forth the pen of the learned jurist Theodore Godefroy in 1624; yet in 1631 Duchesne, in his *Histoire de la Maison de Bar-le-Duc*, marries this MATHILDA de *Souabe*, the mother of Theodoric, Duke of Lorraine, and of his sister Ita de Hapsburgh, (who founded the Muri Monastery 1018, and died, certainly not young, in 1026,) to Frederic II. de *Bar*, Duke of Lorraine, who died *young* in 1027! He states that Mathilda's *first* hus-

* Born 1672; ob. 1757.

band was Conrad (or Cuno), Duke of Franconia;* but this Conrad did not die till 1012; therefore Ita de Hapsburg, if the issue of this second marriage, could not be more than *five* years old when she founded the Monastery of Muri in 1018!!!!

The multitude, even including the greater part of literati, consider enquiries of this kind to be trifling and useless. If it be worth while to publish these histories of minutæ, it is worth while to be correct. But I may add that, so far as regards princely and illustrious houses, history can be no more understood without them, than geography can be understood without *maps*!

On the present occasion the mind is exercised in many nice distinctions:—the proofs of identity require to be canvassed with much industry and subtlety of thought; and the comparative value of documents to be weighed with calmness and precision.

A lesson is here taught us with what carelessness successions of authors take facts for granted, even when the statements confute themselves: in short, how little talent and criticism is exercised, even among authors of reputation! It is the more surprising in the present case, because the question was the subject of fierce controversy, which almost always sharpens human wits!

The trite remark that there are often strong motives of flattery or malice, which shut the eyes of genealogists to the truth, does not apply here. Here were two opposite parties: if it was the business of one to deceive, it was the business of the other to detect! They whose business was to elevate, would have elevated more by the discovery of the truth: they whose purpose was to deny, would have had their best triumph by bringing the most decisive proofs of the errors and ignorance of those who undertook to confer honour! A controversialist will surely not use weak arguments, if strong ones are at his command!

It is well known that, in 1580, FRANCIS DE ROSIERES, Archdeacon of Toul, composed and published a book, entitled *Stemmata Lotharingiæ ac Barri Ducum ab Anteriore Trojanorum reliquiarum ad Paludes Mæotidas rege, ad Caroli III. Ducis Lotharingiæ tempora,*

* Maison de Bar, p. 7.

in which he endeavoured to prove that the Crown of France belonged to the House of Lorraine, as the issue of *Pharamond* and of the House of *Charlemagne*; and for this purpose he inserted many false titles: in consequence of which the book was condemned, and he was committed to the Bastille, and was compelled to make his recantation in the presence of Henry III. and his Council, on the 26th of April, 1583. He died 1607.

The object also of the dispute about *ITA*, forty years afterwards, was to elevate the Imperial House of HAPSBERG above that of FRANCE, through the medium of that of LORRAINE. The French Genealogists took fire at this; and shewed the absurdity of the title on which Chifflet, the Champion of Austria, placed it. Who could have believed, that in the face of the *Muri Genealogy*, he should place it on the assumption that *Ita*, Countess of Hapsburg, who, having founded a monastery in 1018, died in 1026, was sister of Theodoric, Duke of Lorraine, who died 1115, son of Gerard, Duke of Lorraine, by Hadwige de Namur and Ermengarde of France—it being on record that the said Theodoric was a *little boy* at his father's death in 1070?

And what follows? His opponents, to confute him, set up another system equally disproved, even by their own evidence! They make *Beatrice* sister of *Hugh Capet* the mother of *ITA*! Where then was the acuteness of the Hapsburg champions? How could they miss the triumphant reply, which was furnished for them? Why did they not retort thus? “*True it is that you have found an insuperable objection to my former allegation; but you have supplied me with another in refutation of yourselves, which will answer my purpose as well! I give up Hadwige de Namur: but certainly you cannot support Beatrice sister of Hugh Capet in face of your own proofs! It is now demonstrated that Mathilda de Souabe was the mother of ITA: and the House of Souabe, the ancestors of this Mathilda, were, from the time of the Emperor Conrad le Salique, universally admitted to be among the first of those who were distinguished in right of Carlovingian blood!*”—Such might have been their triumphant retort.

It is equally extraordinary that the House of Lorraine did not

now take up the clue thus furnished them! To *them* it opened not only a *female* descent thus illustrious; but a *male descent* also much more splendid and certain than that for which they were contending on very *feeble* evidence! Did it arise from the volubility and inconstancy of the celebrated, romantic, and various-fortuned life of Charles (V.) who was now the heir of this dukedom; who was driven from his hereditary dominions, and died in exile in 1675, aged 71;—but for whose ill fortunes full amends were made to his brother's grandson, by his succession to the German Empire?

Yet it could not be indifference to his descent; for, in 1649, *Le P. N. Vignier de l'Oratoire* published a laboured folio of 256 pages, to prove the male descent of the House of Lorraine from ETHICO, and the ancient Counts and Dukes of ALSACE! and all this when he had a more illustrious descent for them within reach!—It has gone down, however, (unsatisfactory as it is,) and occupies all printed works of genealogy to this day!

To rely on a broken reed in perilous paths, when a strong staff is put into our hands, is a sort of voluntary folly not a little wonderful! The descent set up from ETHICO to EBERHARD is all conjectural: all about the identity of GONTRAM *the Rich*, is covered with clouds: there is no proof that Eberhard descended from Count Hugh, whose daughter Ermengarde married the Emperor Lothaire.* That Eberhard was male ancestor of the House of Lorraine, *Vignier* admits to be no more than an argumentative deduction: and it appears to me that no man of learning and talent ever ventured a weaker and more fallible train of arguments, than this author then proceeds to urge. Yet the famous *Cabmet* has adopted these arguments, and in *Vignier's* very words.†

But the deficiency does not end here: not only does the first step of proof fail in the descent from Eberhard to *Gerard, Comte de Metz*; but it is demonstrable that the Dukes of Lorraine are not descended in direct *male* line either from this Gerard, Comte de Metz, or his brother Adalbert: I have little doubt that they are descended col-

* See *Nithard's Hist.* b. 1.

† See his *Histoire de Lorraine*, 1728, fol. vol. 1.

laterally from the same common ancestor;—but that that ancestor was CONRAD of Franconia, called *le Sage*, Duke of LORRAINE:* not *Eberhard, Comte d'Alsace!* †

This first step of my own theory is itself, (I allow,) in some small degree conjectural; but it is fortified by facts, which scarcely are short of direct proof!

HISTORY OF THE CASE.

The origin of the House of HAPSBURG had been the subject of controversy at least from 1564, when *Wolfgang Lazius* published his *Commentaria in Genealogiam Austriacam, Basileæ, fol.*

But new light was thrown upon it in 1618 by the publication of *Origines Murensis Monasterii in Helvetiis, cum Comitum Habsburgensium antiqua Genealogia; autore Monacho ejusdem Cænobii; 4to. Spirembergii 1618, ibidem 1627.*

The flatterers of the House of Hapsburg brooded in discontent on this discovery; more especially as it drew forth against them the pen of a very powerful author, *Theodore Godefroy*, a celebrated jurist and profound antiquary, who published (though anonymously) a little tract, *De la vraye Origine de la Maison d'Autriche, contre l'opinion de ceux qui la font descendre en ligne masculine des Roys de France de la Race Merovingienne, 4to. Paris, 1624.*

In 1643, *Jean-Jacques Chifflet*, who had been appointed Physician to Philip IV. of Spain, and was then Chief Physician to Cardinal Ferdinand, Governor of the Low Countries, took up the gauntlet in favour of the Austrian genealogy, by publishing the first edition of his *Vindiciæ Hispanicæ: Anvers, 1643, 4to.* Here he argues that the race of HUGH CAPET did not descend in the male line from CHARLEMAGNE; and that in the female descent from that celebrated Emperor, the House of AUSTRIA preceded the House of CAPET.

* Ditmar, a cotemporary, calls Herman, the father of Matilda, not only *Duc de Souabe*, but *Duc d'Alsace*, 1002.

† There is, on the contrary, nothing to prove that Everhard was *Comte d'Alsace*; he might be *Comte en Alsace*, which makes a wide difference.

Marc-Antoine Dominicy answered this by his *Assertor Gallicus*, 1646, 4to. and *Chifflet* replied in his *Lampades Historicæ*, 1643, and his *Commentarius Lothariensis*.

Jacques-Alexandre Le Tenneur rejoined by his *Veritas Vindicata*, Paris, 1651, fol. and *David Blondel* by his *Plenior Assertio*, Paris, 1651, fol.

Le P. Nich. Vignier de l'Oratoire also treated this subject incidentally in *La véritable Origine des Maisons d'Alsace, de Lorraine, d'Autriche, de Bade, etc.* Paris, 1649, fol.

Numerous authors, up to the present day, have continued to agitate the subject. At the end of the present argument, I will insert a catalogue of the principal.

THE QUESTION.

Having thus given a short *history* of the question, I shall resume it on the ground from which it started;—the *Muri Genealogy*.

I must begin, therefore, with stating the facts, which that document testifies.

It records that *ITA* OF *HAPSBERG*, the foundress, (the word is *reparatrix*), of the *Muri* Monastery, (1018,) was sister of *Theodric*, Duke of *Lorraine*, and of *Chuono*, Count of *Rinfelden*: that *THEODRIC* was father of Duke *Gerhard*, who was father of *Gerhard of Egisheim*, who had issue *Ulric* and *Stephen*.

That *CHUONO*, Count of *Rinfelden*, had issue *Rodolph* the King, who had issue *Agnes*, the mother of Duke *Conrad*.

That *ITA* OF *HAPSBERG* was mother of Count *WERNHER* and of *Richenza* of *Lentzburg*.

That *WERNHER* was father of *OTTHO*, and of *ITA* OF *THIERSTEIN*.

That *ITA* OF *THIERSTEIN*, or *HOMBERG*, was mother of *WERNHER*, who was father of *ALBERT*, the admitted male ancestor of the Imperial House of *Hapsburg*.

I shall not enter into the proof of the *authenticity* of this *Genealogy*, as it was originally registered, because no rational critic can

doubt it. And inasmuch as it claims to have been written by a Monk regarding the foundress of his own Monastery, only one hundred and sixteen years after her death, I shall consider the facts to have been such as may fairly be taken to have been within the memory of his own time, on which, therefore, he could not be mistaken, and which he had no temptation to falsify. It must be recollected, that at any rate it cannot ascend to more than *three* generations above the parties then living. We are bound, therefore, to take the *facts* of this pedigree as *data* not to be disputed!

From *ITA*, the foundress of the Muri Monastery, 1018, it is admitted on all hands that the Imperial House of *HAPSBURG* was descended: but, according to the authority of this genealogy, not in the *male* line, but from her son's daughter *Ita*, by a *Comte de Thierstein*, whose male posterity assumed their mother's name, *De Hapsburg*.

This, however, did not form the *sole*, nor the *main* ground of dispute on the part of the *Hapsburg* advocates. These assertors contended for a different mother to *ITA* OF *HAPSBURG* than their opponents admitted: and this for the purpose of shewing that the Emperor partook more nearly, more by primogeniture, and at an earlier period, of the blood of Charlemagne, than the *CAPETS*!—

The mode which *Chifflet* took to effect this last purpose was this: he contended that the *Theodoric, Duke of Lorraine*, here named, was *Theodoric* who succeeded to the *Dukedom of Lorraine-Mosellane* in 1070, and who was son of *Gerard* (appointed to this Dukedom in 1048), and of *Hadwige de Namur*, daughter of *Albert I.* Count of Namur, by *Ermengarde*, daughter and coheir of *Charles* of France, Duke of Lorraine, uncle of *Lothaire*, King of France, the last monarch of the Carovingian line. Unfortunately for this theory, this *Theodoric* lived till 1115, and was a *boy (puer parvulus)* when he succeeded to the Dukedom in 1070, whereas *ITA DE HAPSBURG*, the sister of the true *Theodoric*, founded the Monastery in 1018, and died in 1026, certainly not a young woman. Here then was an anachronism of a century! But *Chifflet* was obstinate, and persisted long in the face of this disproof. However, all rational judges abandoned him on this point.

His opponents were not content with thus refuting him: they set up a theory of their own, which has been followed to this day, but which it is part of the business of this ARGUMENT to shew is equally open to refutation.

They contended that this *Theodoric* was *Theodoric DE BAR*, Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane, who is stated to have died in 1024, son of Frederic I. *de Bar*, Duke of Lorraine, who died in 984, by BEATRIX, sister of HUGH CAPET! That this Beatrix was the wife of this Duke Frederic, and long lived his widow, the celebrated ancient *Genealogy of St. Arnoul*, and other indisputable documents, put beyond all question! But every one of these controversialists, and every subsequent writer, seem, with a blindness utterly unaccountable to me,—or almost as if by design,—to have neglected another fact of the *Muri Genealogy*, which in itself, (independent of all other objections,) falsifies this theory.

It is admitted that CHUONO, Count of Rinfelden, was *uterine* brother to ITA and THEODORIC! How happens it, that when the question arose, no attempt was made to ascertain the *mother* of CHUONO? As soon as I entered on this point, I instantly perceived that *there* lay the clue!—But what was my surprise, when *at last* I found that on this fact there was the most positive cotemporary evidence!—

WIPON, the Chaplain of Conrad II. *le Salique*, has written the *Life* of that Emperor; and in that memorial has told us in express terms who was the mother of *Chuno de Rinfelden*! To understand this, the reader must be informed that *Chuno* and *Conrad* are the same name: and that *Chuno de Rinfelden* is admitted to have been Cuno or Conrad, Duke of Carinthia and Worms, the father of Rodolph, elected Emperor (or *Anti-Cæsar*) 1077, whose daughter *Agnes* was mother of *Conrad*, Duke of Zeringen:—and further, that this first *Cuno de Rinfelden* was son of another Conrad, Duke of Carinthia, who was paternal uncle to Conrad *le Salique*.

And now we come to WIPON'S OWN words:

“*Prædicti duo CHUNONES, (the Emperor and his cousin,) cum essent, ut dictum est, ex parte genitorum nobilissimi, haud secus ex materno genere claruerant. JUNIORIS CHUNONIS mater, MATHILDA, DE*

FILIA CONRADI REGIS BURGUNDIE NATA FUIT. *Majoris Chunonis mater Adelberta, vel Adelbera, vel Adeleyda, ex nobilissimâ gente Lotharingorum oriunda, fuerunt. Quæ Adeleyda soror erat Comitum Gerardi et Adelberti qui semper cum Regibus et ducibus confluentes ad extremum causa propinqui sui Conradi Regis viâ acquiescebant.*"

This MATHILDA was daughter of Herman II. *Duc de Suabe*, by *Gerberge*, daughter of Conrad, King of Burgundy-Transjurane: and her sister *Gisele de Suabe* was wife (by a *third* marriage) of Conrad the Emperor, who was nephew to her own husband.

Here then is positive evidence that the mother of Chuno de Rinfelden was *not* sister of *Hugh Capet*; therefore, the mother of ITA was not sister of Hugh Capet, nor was Frederic I. *de Bar*, Duke of Lorraine, her father!

After this positive and express refutation, it may seem scarcely worth while to notice minor and circumstantial objections: but there are enough to be decisive in themselves.

Conrad, the husband of *Mathilda de Suabe*, died in 1012. ITA DE HAPSBURG, the daughter of Matilda by another husband, founded the Monastery of Muri in 1018, and died in 1026. Therefore ITA must have been the daughter of a *former* husband, and her mother could not have been a *first* wife of Frederic, the husband of Beatrix, the sister of Hugh Capet, which Beatrix survived Frederic. She could not have for a *first* husband *Theodoric de Bar*, (son of Frederic,) because he survived till 1024: still less *Frederic II.** son of the last, because he died 1027, which date Duchesne assigns on the authority of *Wipo*, his cotemporary: as well as that he died without issue male, leaving *Beatrix* and *Sophia* his daughters and heirs.

In short, the discrepancies of the *Muri* Theodoric, either with *Theodoric de Bar*, or *Frederic II. de Bar*, are insurmountable.

It will not appear credible to those who have not gone through the original works, as I have done, that these difficulties should

* Duchesne, most absurdly, and unlike his usual accuracy, gives Mathilda to this Frederic II. who died without male heir, whereas, in that case, the Theodoric of the *Muri Genealogy* would have been his son.

have been passed over from author to author for two hundred years; and that, taking for granted, because the opponents of *Chifflet* had confuted his theory, therefore, that the theory which they substituted for it, was right, future genealogists should repeat what on a little examination furnishes the proofs of its own falsity!

I cannot but consider that up to this point my arguments are quite unanswerable: and I believe that I am now qualified, by the extent of my enquiry up to this day, (25th Oct. 1825,) to add that they are quite new! I admit that they have cost me some labour; and that I did not bring them into their present state without days of research, and nights of thought!

I have thus shewn who the *Muri* Theodoric was *not*! My business is now to shew who he *was*! My difficulty on this subject has not been small.

The *Muri* Genealogy proves that there was another Theodoric, Duke of Lorraine in 1028, or 1026, besides *Theodoric de Bar*! It does not say which Lorraine, whether *High* or *Low*!

The List of Dukes of Lorraine, as commonly given, is this:

HIGH LORRAINE, OR LORRAINE-MOSEL- LANE.	LOW LORRAINE, OR DRABANT.
950. Frederic I. <i>de Bar</i> .	1004. Otto, son of Charles of France.
984. Theodoric, his son.	
1024. Frederic II. <i>de Bar</i> .	1026. Gozelo, son of Godfroy, Co. de Verdun.
1027. Gozelo, Duke of Low-Lor- raine.	1044. Gozelo II.
1044. Albert d'Alsace.	1046. Frederic de Luxemburg.
1048. Gerard d'Alsace.	1065. Godefroy IV. <i>Barbatus</i> .
1070. Theodoric, his son.	1070. Godefroy V. <i>le Bossu</i> .

Now I believe that all these Dukes of both Lorraines were *Beneficiary*, (or removeable,) not *hereditary* dukes: the greater part of them certainly were so. And I think that the evidence of the *Muri* Genealogy is alone sufficient, that *Theodoric*, *ITA's* brother, was interposed between some of this family of *Bar*: probably be-

tween *Frederic I. DE BAR*, 984, and his son *Theodoric*: because I, for the same reasons, feel assured that he had also a *father Theodoric, Duke of Lorraine*, who must have died some time before 1012, when Conrad, the *second* husband of Matilda de Suabe, died!

The question which now arises is this: *of what family were these intervening Theodorics?*

After long search, I have found whom *Wassebourg* in his *Antiquities de la Gaule Belgique*, 1549, and *Henninges* in his *Tabellæ Genealogicæ*, 1598, took them to be! I acknowledge that neither *Wassebourg* nor *Henninges* are to be believed on their own *dicta*;* and that the authorities ought to have been cited by them: but we cannot rationally doubt that they *had* authorities: and did not make their assertions on mere *conjecture*. As it is, we must try these assertions by their own intrinsic value.

Wassebourg derives the Dukes of Lorraine-Mosellane, of whom *GERARD* died in 1070, and *THEODORIC* his son in 1115, from *Theodoric Præses Alsatiæ*, whom he states to have been a younger son of *Conrad le Sage*, Duke of Franconia, appointed *beneficiary* Duke of all Lorraine in 944, who fell in battle 955, and who married *Luitgarde*, daughter of the Emperor *Otho I.* This *Conrad* had an elder son *Otho*, Count of Worms, Duke of Carinthia, and Marquis of Verona; who was grandfather of the Emperor *Conrad le Salique*, and of *Cuno, Count de Rinfelden*.

Henninges also (*vol. IV. p. 42.*) names this *Theodoric*, whom he calls *Landgrave of Alsace*, a younger son of *Conrad le Sage*. It will be seen that *Wassebourg* gives the name of *RICHARD* (not *Theodoric*) to his grandson, whom he makes father of *Albert*, Comte de Longcastre, and of *Gerard*, Comte de *Castinach*, which *Gerard* he makes father of *Theodoric*, Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane, and of *Gerard*, Comte de *Vaudemont*, (*f. 211, 244.*)

I cannot at present establish every step of this pedigree by positive testimony; but it seems to me that I can go very near it. I

* I will take an opportunity to examine the degree of credit due to these Antiquaries. I have since found that *Chantereau Le Febure*, in his *Considérations sur l'Origine de la Maison de Lorraine, etc. Paris, 1642, fol.* adopts these *Theodorics*.

find in *L'Origine de la Maison de Lorraine*, (by Benoit de Toul,) printed at Toul, 1704, 8vo. certain proofs collected to establish a very different system—the system of *Le P. Vignier*, (viz. a male descent from ETHICO, or Attic, Duke or Prince of ALSACE,)—but which it seems to me are confirmatory of the descent stated by *Wassebourg* and *Henninges*.

It appears that, in 971, there existed in these parts a powerful Count, named RICHARD, who had enriched himself by marriage with the heiress of ADALBERT, *Count of Metz*, who thus conveyed to her husband the title of that province. It seems that this *Adalbert** was slain in 944, and that he had two brothers, *Gerard* and *Matfrid*. I can scarcely question that this *Richard* was the THEODORIC of *Wassebourg* and *Henninges*. When I add that the Chronicle of Metz gives us *Gerardus Comes nostræ civitatis, filius Ricardi potentis*; and further add, that Duke Gerard, who died 1070, had a great uncle Gerard, (brother of Adalbert,) who was *Comte de Metz*, the circumstances of identity surely become very strong. If also we admit, what seems generally to be left undisputed, that this *Gerard* of Metz, and *Adalbert* his brother, were sons of Adalbert, who was brother of Aleyda mother of the Emperor Conrad *le Salique*, who is sometimes called Adelaide of *Alsace*, and sometimes Adelaide of *Egisheim*, we may confirm these circumstantialities by the testimony of Wippo, who says that *Aleyda* was “*ex nobilissimâ gente Lotharingorum oriunda*.” Now what *gens Lotharingorum* could this be? To whom could it better apply than to the posterity of CONRAD *le Sage*, the last Duke of all Lorraine?

It could not apply to the House of BAR; for it is not pretended that the House of *Egisheim*, or that of *Metz*, or that of *Alsace*, came from the House of *Bar*! But branches of the House of Conrad, *le Sage*, were not only Dukes of *Suabia*, but Dukes of *Alsace*, about this very time, as may be seen in *La Guille's History* of that Sovereignty: whereas the family of *Eberard*, from whom *Vignier*, *Toul*, *Calmet*, etc. deduce the descent, were not Counts of *Alsace*, but only Counts *in Alsace*! an important difference!

* There was a former *Adalbert, Co. de Mets et Duc d'Austrasie*, a man of consideration, slain in 841. See *Nithard's Hist.*, etc.

That Gerard, Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane, 1048, who married Hadwige de Namur, and died 1070, was Gerard, son of Gerard, son of the Theodoric, Duke of Lorraine, of the *Muri Genealogy*, can, I think, admit no rational doubt. It is true that his son Theodoric is not named; and two unknown sons, *Ulric* and *Stephen*, are named; but these might have died infants, and *Theodoric*, who was a little boy at his father's death, 1070, might not be born when the first links of the pedigree were noted.

In 1090, Duke Theodoric records that his father was Duke *Gerard*; that his grandfather's brother, (*propatruus*.) was Adalbert, Duke of Lorraine, the husband of Jutta; and that his brother was Gerard, Count of *Vaudemont*.

Yet in defiance of this express proof given by themselves, *Vignier*, *Toul*, *Calmet*, etc. state him to be *grandson*, not grandnephew, of Duke Adalbert. True it is that other documents given by the same authors prove that Adalbert had a son Gerard, who had two sons named Gerard and Theodoric; but these are said to have been taken off *immatura morte*.

These same Genealogists assume that *this* Adalbert was the same who was brother of Gerard, whose sister was *Aleyda*, mother of the Emperor Conrad *le Salique*; but he was clearly either nephew, or more probably first cousin *once removed* of *that* Adalbert; for Gerard, the brother of *that* Adalbert, had an only son Sigfrid, who was slain in his father's lifetime, 1014 or 1017, and, therefore, he could not be the same Gerard whose son Gerard was the father of Theodoric, who died 1115.

My opinion is this, that Theodoric (or Richard,) Comte de Metz, had two sons: Gerard, Comte de Metz, and Theodoric;—

That Gerard, Comte de Metz, had Adalbert, Gerard, and Aleyda; and that Theodoric was Duke of Lorraine, and married *Mathilde de Souabe*.

EXTRACT.

Genealogia Familiæ Habsburgicæ, ex Originibus Murensis Monasterii in Helvetiâ, editis Spirembergii anno 1618.

I. Ista est Genealogia nostrorum Principum: THEODRICUS, Dux Lotharingorum, et CHUONO, Comes de Rinfelden, fratres fuerunt: eorum soror fuit ITA, Comitissa de Habsburg, reparatrix hujus MURENSIS Cœnobii.

Genuit autem Theodricus GERHARDUM Ducem; ille vero genuit GERHARDUM de Egisheim patrem VDALRICI et STEPHANI.

II. CHUONO, Comes de Rinfelden, genuit RUDOLPHUM Regem; et ille genuit AGNETEM matrem CONRADI Ducis.

III. ITA de Hapsburg genuit VERNHERUM Comitem; et Richenzam sororem ejus de Lentzburg.

IV. VERNHERUS genuit OTTHONEM et ITAM DE THIERSTEIN.

V. OTTO genuit VERNHERUM et Adelheidem de Huneburg.

RICHENZA de Lentzburg genuit ARNOLDUM.

Here ends the first author, who wrote in 1152, or 1153.

The continuator brings it down to 1218, to this effect:

VERNHIER (son of *Ita de Thierstein*,) was father of ALBERT, who, by *Ita*, Countess of Pfullendorf, was father of RODOLPH, who, by *Agnes de Stouffen*, was father of ALBERT, who, by *Helwige de Kiburg*, was father of ALBERT, with whom the pedigree ends.

This Albert III. died in 1260, without issue: he had two younger brothers, *Hartman*, who died young; and RODOLPH, not then born, elected EMPEROR in 1273, who obtained the territories of the Houses of *Kiburg*, *Egisheim*, etc. by his marriage with *Gertrude de Hohemberg*.

TABLE.

1. CUNO, seu CONRADUS, *Sapiens*, Dux Lotharingiæ universæ, (Othonis I. Imp. gener,) successit in Ducatu 944 Othoni, (*Ricvini* filio,) a quo Ducatu Otho Imp. cum removet ann. 953; restoratus est 954. Occubuit in prælio contra Hungaros 955. Regnum Lothariense Otho tunc fratri suo Brunoni, Archiepiscopo, commisit, qui Frederico de Bar, anno 959 *vice sua* præfecit.

2. Lutgardis, filia Othonis I. Imperat. 947, et Edgida uxoris; (soror Luidolfi.)

Otto, filius natu maximus, Comes Wormensis, Dux Carinthiæ, Marchio Veronæ, ob. 1020, duxit Juditham et pater fuit duor. fil. 1. Henrici, Ducis Franconiæ, qui ob. v. p. 989, et genuit ex Adalaida d'Egisheim, sorore Gerardi et Alberti, Conradum II. Salicum, Imperat.; et 2. Cunonis, vel Conradi, Ducis Carinthiæ et Franconiæ, qui ob. 1012, maritus secundus Mathildæ filia Hermanni II. Ducis Suaviæ, ex Gerbergâ filia Conradi Regis Burgundiæ Transjuran., ex qua genuit Cunonem seu Conradum Com. de Rinfelden, et Ducem Carinthiæ, patrem Rudolphi, elect. Imperat. 1077.

(Matilda supradicta vidua fuit Theodorici Ducis Lotharingiæ, ex quo genuit Theodericum II. Ducem Lotharingiæ, et Itam Comitissam Habsburgensem, Fundatricem Monasterii Murensis in Helvetiâ.)

3. THEODORICUS, filius junior Conradi, *Sapientis*, Ducis Lotharingiæ, ex Luitgardâ filia Othonis I. Imperatoris, nominatus *Præses Alsatia* ab Ottone Imp. (*vid. Wasseburgum*, 211, *Henningsium IV.* 42,) quem alii appellant *Ricardum*.
4. filia, (ut videtur) et hæres Adalberti Comitæ Metensis.

Gerardus Comes Metensis, unus filiorum Theodorici Præsidis Alsatia genuit Aleydem, Adalbertum, et Gerardum qui ex Evâ Luxemburgense, sorore Cunegondæ Imperatricis, genuit Sigefridum filium unicum, occisum in prælio 1017, s. p.

5. THEODORICUS II. Dux Lotharingæ, filius Theodoricus I. Ducis Lotharingæ, (ex hærede Adalberti, Comitis Metensis,) et frater Gerardi Comitis Metensis (patris Gerardi, Adalberti, et Aleydæ.)
6. Matilda filia Hermani II. Ducis Sueviæ, ex Gerbergâ filiâ Conradi Regis Burgundiæ Transjuraniæ, (renupta Conrado, Duci Carinthiæ, ex quo genuit Cunonem Co. Rinfeldensem, etc.)

Ita filia Theodoricus II. Ducis Lotharingæ, uxor Radebotonis Comitis Habsburgensis, Fundatrix Monasterii Murensis in Helvetia 1018, ob. 1026.

7. Theodoricus III. Dux Lotharingæ, frater Itæ Comitissæ Habsburgensis. 8. N.

Adalbertus Comes, Marchio, ob. 1034, fundator Monasterii Bouso-villæ; duxit Juditham, ex quâ genuit Gerardum, mortuum 1036.

9. Gerardus II. Dux, filius Theodoricus III. Legitur in Genealogiâ extr. ex *Actis Murensibus* (Impr. Spiremberg, 1618.) Nepos ejus Dux Theodoricus 1090 appellat Adalbertum, qui obiit 1034, *propatruum suum.* 10. N.

11. Gerardus III. dictus *d'Egisheim* in Genealogia Murensi, filius Gerardi II. nominatus *Dux Lotharingæ* 1048, ob. 1070.
12. Hadviga filia Alberti I. Comitis Namurcensis, et Ermengardæ filiæ Caroli Ducis Lotharingæ, fratris Lotharii Franciæ Regis.

Gerardus filius junior, Comes Vademontis.

13. Theodoricus, Dux Lotharingæ, filius Gerardi III. Ducis Lotharingæ, ob. 1115.
14. Gertruda Roberti *Frisii*, Flandriæ Comitis, filia.

Theodoricus Alsatiensis, filius junior Theodoricus Ducis, Flandriæ Comes, ob. 1168.

15. Simon I. Dux Lotharingæ, filius natu maximus Theodoricus, Ducis, ob. 1149.
16. Adelais soror Lotharii Imperatoris.

PROOFS OF THE TABLE.

The first part of this pedigree, from Conrad *le Sage*, to Conrad *le Salique*, is not disputed. He was grandson of Eberhard, "*Comte en Franconie et de Worms*," slain 902, brother to Conrad, *Duc de Thuringe*, who was father to *Conrad I.* elected King of Germany in 912. Hennings calls these *Franconian Emperors* "*ex posteris Caroli Magni oriundi*," and says of Conrad *le Sage*, "*de Clodovei vel Caroli Magni posteris hunc ortum esse, dubium non est*," (IV. 30, 39.) and it is observable that Theodoric, Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane, son of Duke Gerard by Hadwige de Namur and Ermengarde of France, speaks of his father as "*ex antiquâ Caroli Magni progenie geniti*."* The descent from Charlemagne, therefore, had taken place before the marriage with *Hadwige de Namur*.

L'Histoire de la translation de S. Arnou porte: "*Breviliacam villam quam Richardus, Comes Metensis beneficii jure possidebat, Mosomensi cœnobio legaliter concessit VII. Idis Novemb. 971.*"

La seconde Chronique de Metz dit que Gerard, Comte de cette ville, fut fils de Richard.

Gerardus, Comes nostræ civitatis, filius Ricardi potentis. Toul, p. 153.

La Chronique MS. de Metz dit que l'Evêque Théodoric établit ce Richard, Comte de Metz, et plus bas, elle ajoute qu'il avait été l'héritier, par sa femme, des grands biens du Comte Adalbert, d'où elle lui donne l'épithète de riche, *Gerardus comes nostræ civitatis filius Ricardi potentis. Ib. p. 154.*

Wassebourg, Antiq. de la Gaule Belgique, 1549, fol. p. 211, says, Ann. 1014. "Entreprise de Lambert, Comte de Louvain, pour recouvrir la Duché de Lorrain Gerard de Castinach, cousin

* Vignier, p. 109, etc.

de Lambert Godfroy, Duc de Lorraine, assiége Lambert en son Château de Louvain. Lambert print le Château de Huz sur l'Evesque du Liège L'Empereur envoie Gozelo en Lorraine pour défendre la duché avec son frère Godefroy *Gerard de Castinach* vaincu, et son fils tué par Godefroy, Duc de Lorraine, 1014." This is the marginal Note. The Text is:

“ Or avant que passer oultre, les lecteurs noteront, que de cestuy *Gerard d'Alsace*, premier du nom, et de ses predecesseurs, sont descenduz les Comtes de Vaudemont à present regnans, pour intelligence de quoy fault reduire en memoire ce que nous avons escript, au livre precedent, d'un noble Prince nommé *Conradus le Sage*, Seigneur de Wormatre et *Alsatie*, descendu de l'ancien lignage de Charlemagne, qui eut espousé Lutgarde fille de l'Empereur Otho premier; defendit l'Empereur en plusieurs batailles, et soubz luy fut constitué gouverneur de la portion de Lorraine apres la mort d'Otho fils de Gislebert. Ainsi qu'amplement avons dict cy-dessus, parlant de l'année neuf cens quarante troys, soubz laquelle Sigebert escript ce que s'ensuit. *Otho dux Lothariensium obiit. Conradus gener regis Otthoni succedit, etc.*

“ Si trouvons que cestuy Conrad, entre aultres enfans eut un fils nommé THEODORIC, qui eut son partage en *Alsatie*; il fut appellé des hystoriens *Præses Alsatiæ*. Et engendra cestuy *Gerard d'Alsatie* premier du nom, qui tenoit deux Comtés en *Alsatie*, l'un nommé *Longcastre*, l'autre *Castinach*. Il entrepreint guerre en faveur de son cousin Lambert de Lovain; son fils nommé *Richard d'Alsatie*, fut tué ceste dicte année *mille et quatorze*, comme avons dict, et ainsi l'escript le dict hystorien Sigibert. Or laissa cestuy *Richard* de sa femme, sœur de l'Empereur Conrad II. deux fils, à sçavoir Albert, Comte ou Duc de *Longcastre*, et Gerard, Comte de *Castinach*. Duquel sont descenduz les *Comtes de Vaudemont*, comme nous escrivons selon l'ordre du temps.”

OBSERVATIONS.

THE GERARDS.

Great perplexity arises in distinguishing all the *Gerards* and *Adalberts*, unless we examine the proofs with the most minute attention. Hitherto they have been grossly confounded by every genealogist whom I have examined. (*a*)

The first is Gerard I. Comte de *Metz*, whom I assume not to be the same as Gerard the *brother* of *Adelaide*, the mother of the Emperor *Conrad le Salique*, but her *father*.

Gerard II. (*b*) I take to be that *brother*; and to be the same who married *Eve de Luxemburg*, and to have had an only son, *Sigfrid*, (*c*) slain in 1014 or 1017, and to have been living in 1020.

A third Gerard (*e*) was son of *Adalbert*, the founder of *Bousonville Priory*, who died 1034, and survived till 1046, leaving two sons, *Theodoric* and *Gerard*, who appear to have died young.

Then comes a *fourth* Gerard, *Comes Castinensis*, (*Castinach*), named by *Wassebourg* as son of *Theodoric*, Duke of *Lorraine*.

Last comes a *fifth* Gerard, his son, (*f*) called also in *Hist. MS. Laurentii Leodiensis** *Comes Castinensis*, called also *Gerardus Alsatiae*, et *Gerardus de Egisheim*,† who was appointed Duke of *Lorraine-Mosellane* 1048, and died 1070, and who had a younger son *Gerard*, Comte de *Vaudemont*.

Besides these, there was a *Gerard*, Comte d'*Egisheim*, brother of *Pope Leo IX*.

THE ADALBERTS.

Adalbert I. I place as the brother of *Gerard II*. Comte de *Metz*, and of *Adelayde* mother of *Conrad le Salique*.

Adalbert II. *Comes de Longuicastro*, the founder of *Bousonville Priory*, (*d*) is commonly confounded with *Adalbert I*.; but inasmuch

* *Vignier*, 104, and *Wassebourg*, 211.

† *Muri Genealogy*.

as he was *propatruus*, (great uncle on the father's side,) to Duke Theodoric, who died 1115, and was, therefore, brother to Gerard, Comte de Castinach, son of Duke Theodoric brother of Ita, he could not be the same who was son or brother of Gerard, Comte de Metz. This Adalbert died 1034.

Adalbert III. *Comes de Longuicastro*, (so he is called in Hist. MS. Leodiensis,*) appointed Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane, 1046, slain 1048, probably son of Adalbert I. brother of Adelaide.

This distinguishes the Counts of *Longcastre* and *Castelnach* sufficiently from the Counts of Metz, to confirm the assertion of *Wassebourg* and *Henninges*, and the Muri Genealogy, that the latter, including the founder of Bousonville Priory, were the issue of Duke Theodoric, not of Gerard, the maternal uncle of Conrad *le Salique*.

But to let the reader judge, I will now give the words in proof of each position, referring to it by letters.

(a) I have already cited the words of the *Chronique de Metz*, (from *Toul*, p. 153,) to prove Gerard, Comte de Metz, the son of Comte Richard.

(b) *Ex Chronico Ditmari, Lib. VII.* "Adjieiam Godefridi Ducis et Gerardi Comitum congressum, etc. Sigefridus ejusdem (Comitis) filius captus est, etc."

Ex Chronico Cameracensi, Lib. III. cap. XI. "Gerardo fugato, et unico filio vulnerato capto, postmodum vero defuncto."

Ex Chronico Sigeberti I. Anno MXIV.

Dux Godefridus *Gerardum Comitem* multis modis regnum inquietantem bello vicit. In quo filius ejus cum multis oecisus, complices ejus deterruit." *Vide Vignier, 96.*

Ex Chronico Hermanni Contracti quod edidit Canisius.

"Anno MXV. Ernestus, Dux Alemanniæ, in venatu ab Adalberone Comite feram appetente, sagitta vulneratus interiit, et Ducatum ejus

* Vignier, 104.

filius æquivocus; viduam vero *Gisela* Conradus filius Henrici, filii Ottonis ducis, futurus postea Imperator, accipit.

“Anno MXVII. Godefridus dux partis Lotharingorum, Gerardum Comitem, Conrardi postea Imperatoris *avunculum*, commisso prælio vicit.” *Ib. p. 97.*

(c) “Notum sit omnibus, etc. quomodo quidam vir illustris, et magnæ opinionis Comes, memor fragilitatis suæ, suadente suâ conjugē Eva, pro se et anima filii sui Sigifrīdi defuncti, et consilio parentum suorum, etc. Actum Metis 3 Nonas Febr. 1020.”

Toul, pp. 155, 156.

His brother Adalbert became his heir.

Ex Chronico Alberici. “Anno 1036. Bruno Episcopus Tullensis, Albertus Comes Metensis, et Gerardus filius ejus, multa contulerunt Ecclesiis.” *Vignier, p. 106.*

It seems that Mathilda, a sister of this Gerard the son, married *Folmar*, who became (*jure uxoris*) Comte de Metz; and that Jutta the wife of Adalbert, the founder of the Priory of Bousonville, was another daughter; and that this *Gerard*, son of Adalbert; Comte de Metz, was the same whom Gerard, the founder's son, calls *avunculus*.

(d) *Fondation de l'Abbaye de Bousonville.*

“Anno 1033. Rogante glorioso Comite ADALBERTO una cum optima et christianissima conjuge sua JUDITHA.”

See it more at large in *Vignier, p. 97.*

Suite de la Fondation.

(e) “His ita dispositis, Comes supradictus post annum moriens, in choro Sanctæ Crucis est sepultus, et uxor sua JUDITHA in medio Monasterii sepulta.

“Successit eis Gerardus Comes et Marchio, filius, qui cum uxore sua Giselia locum præfatum, etc.

“Tali ergo moderamine curam disponens ejusdem familiæ duodecimo anno post mortem patris defuncto, uxorque sua Giselia in

choro Sancti-Petri est sepulta. Succedentibus sibi filiis DEODERICO scilicet Comite, et GERARDO Duce. Isti namque parentum suorum liberalitatem sequuti, fratres et familiam eis datam, benevolentiam custodire, omni conati sunt. Sed *immature ambo mortem vitam mutaverunt. Et dominium Bousonville suscepit Dux Theodericus, puer parvulus, Gerardi Ducis filius.* Vignier, p. 102.

(f) “ Anno 1090. Ego THEODERICUS filius GERARDI Ducis Lotharingiæ, ex antiqua Caroli Magni progenie geniti, Dux Lotharingiæ, pace habitam per misericordiam Dei cum fratre meo Domino Gerardo primo Comite Vadani Montis, do, etc. eadem forma secut pater noster Gerardus, et propatruus noster Adelbertus seu Albertus Dux Lotharingiæ, et uxor ejus Jutta dederunt. Data an. MXC.”

Vignier, p. 109.

Thus have I clearly separated the Comtes de Metz, (from whom came the mother of Conrad le Salique,) from the Comtes de Longcastre and Castelnach, the descendants of Duke Theodoric, the brother of Ita of Hapsburg!

I have already said that the train of arguments produced by Vignier, and adopted by Calmet, to prove the descent of the Imperial House of Lorraine from the Dukes and Counts of Alsace, (of the stock of Duke Ethico,) is singularly weak and inconclusive in itself, setting aside the counter-evidence!

It begins (p. 92;) at the point where he undertakes to shew that Gerard, Adalbert, and Adelaide, (mother of the Emperor Conrad le Salique,) were children of a certain Eberhard, Count of Alsace. He assumes that he has already proved that this Eberhard was the male descendant of Duke Ethico; (a descent of which his proof is really the reverse of satisfactory.)

Vignier builds his system on the fact of the alliance between Pope Leo IX. and Conrad le Salique. He then assumes as incontrovertible six propositions, whence he draws his conclusion; but un-

luckily he fails in the proof of at least four of these propositions; and the other two, if admitted, are quite nullities.

1. He assumes that Pope Leo IX. was himself descended in the male line from these *Counts of Alsace*, by which he begs the whole question; and of which he gives no approximation to proof;— unless the next proposition be a proof—that Leo's father *Hugh* was a *Count in Alsace*!

2dly. That the patrimony of Leo's father lay *in Alsace*: which proves nothing to the purpose.

3dly. That the relationship to Conrad could only be on the side of the Emperor's *mother Adelaide*, or *Aleyda*; which does not follow: but, if true, signifies nothing, unless the first proposition be admitted.

4thly. That *Adelaide* was sister of Gerard, Comte de Metz, and of Adalbert, Comte d'Alsace, and founder of Bousonville Priory; of which the latter part is false, for the founder of Bousonville Priory was a subsequent *Albert*, the son of Theodoric Duke of Lorraine, Ita's brother.

5thly. That Pope Leo and Conrad being *AVITA COGNATIONE*, were, *therefore*, the *children of first cousins*; which does not at all follow.

6thly. That the ancestors of Pope Leo finished their lives as monks, and that Count Hugh, the son of Count *Eberhard*, did the same: a most ridiculous proof of identity, at a period when these acts of piety at the close of life were so frequent!

Yet Vignier, *assuming* that he has established these propositions, cries out, that “*he must be an enemy to truth, who will not admit the conclusion, that Gerard, Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane, (1048) sprung in the male line from Count Eberhard, and, therefore, (as he farther assumes,) from the ancient Dukes and Counts of Alsace!!*”

I think that I cannot be wrong or censorious in pronouncing these arguments to the last degree futile.

I am ready to admit that HUGH, father of Pope Leo IX. was in fact first cousin to Conrad *le Salique*, viz. nephew of *Aleyda*, which renders it probable that he was son of *Comte Adalbert*. I found this admission on an extract which Vignier himself gives *ex Alberici* Chronico*.

But I do not admit that this HUGH was son of another *Comte HUGH*, who was brother of *Eberhard*, the alledged father of Gerard, Adalbert, and Adelaide, (or *Aleyda*), which would make Conrad second cousin to Pope Leo, not first cousin to his father Hugh. In the first place, dates are fatal to it: Pope Leo died 1049, therefore his grandfather must be supposed to have died about 989. *Eberhard*, the alledged grandfather of this last, was the favourite of *Waldrade*, the wife or mistress of *Lothaire II.* King of Lorraine, who died 869; which would bring Hugh his son to about 900, and Hugh and *Eberhard*, his grandsons, to 930, instead of 989.

I have a strong persuasion that in fact Leo's father *Hugh* was one of the sons of *Adalbert*, brother of *Adelaide*; if not, he was son of a sister. *Le Mire*, in his *Chron. Belg.* p. 276, makes *Adalbert* and *Hugh* of the same male stock: but he makes Gerard, (not *Adalbert*), the father of *Hugh*, which is a clear error. I suspect that *Hugh* had a brother *Gerard*, and a sister who was mother of *Gerard III. d'Egisheim*, appointed Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane, 1048. I further conjecture that the heiress of the above *Adalbert*, (probably his son's daughter,) was no other than "*Mathildis Comitissa Lotharingiæ*," named by *Henningses, IV.* 71, as wife of *Folmar III. Comte de Metz*, which will settle many difficulties that *Calmet* and others could not reconcile, as to the *Comtes de Metz*.

Thus have I shewn that not only do not Vignier's proofs and arguments support his system, nor invalidate mine, but, wherever they apply at all, even strengthen mine!

* *Albericus floruit 1241.* Vide *Fabricii Bibl. Med. et Inf. Lat. I.* p. 98.

RECAPITULATION.

My purpose has been to make the following confutations, and corrections.

1. To confute the assertion of Chifflet that Ita, Countess of Hapsburg, was daughter of *Hadwige de Namur*, (whose mother was Ermen-
garde of France,) by Gerard, Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane, who
died 1070.
2. To confute the assertion of Le Tenneur, Blondel, Chantereau le
Febure, Vignier, and all subsequent genealogists, that Ita's mother
was *Beatrix sister of Hugh Capet*, by Frederic I. DE BAR, Duke of
Lorraine, who died 984:
3. To establish that Ita's mother was Mathilde de Suabe, daughter of
Herman II. Duke de Suabe, by Gerberge de Bourgogne-Trans-
jurane.
4. That this Mathilde's *second* husband was Conrad, Duke of Carin-
thia, first cousin to the Emperor Conrad *le Salique*, by whom
she had Conrad, *Comte de Rinfelden* and Duke of Carinthia,
who was uterine brother to Ita.
5. That Theodoric, Duke of Lorraine, the *first* husband of Ma-
thilde, and father of Ita, was of a totally different family from
the House of BAR; and of the male line of the Imperial House
of Franconia, descended from a younger son of Conrad *le Sage*,
Duke of Lorraine, who died 955.
6. That Duke Theodoric, whole brother to Ita, was father of Duke
Gerard, father of Gerard d'Egisheim; and that this last was the
same Gerard who was appointed Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane,
1048, whose wife was Hadvige de Namur, and who died 1070.
7. Consequently that his father was not Adalbert, founder of Bou-
sonville Priory, who died 1034, but Gerard, brother of Adalbert.
8. That these brothers Gerard and Adalbert were not the same as
Gerard and Adalbert, brothers of Adelaide, mother of the Em-
peror Conrad *le Salique*, but of a subsequent date.
9. That Gerard, the son of Adalbert, the founder of Bousonville, and
husband of Gisele, was not the same Gerard who was father

- of Gerard, Duke of Lorraine-Mosellane, abovesaid, but *nephew* to the said father.
10. That Gerard, Adalbert, and Adelaide, were not children of *Eberhard Count of Alsace*, but of a Gerard *Comte de Metz*, who was probably brother of Theodoric, *first* husband of Mathilde de Suabe, daughter of Duke Herman II.
 11. That Gerard, the brother of Adelaide, had only one son, Sigfrid, who died before him.
 12. That Hugh, the father of Pope Leo IX. was one of the sons of Adalbert, the other brother of Adelaide; and perhaps Albert, who was appointed *Duc de Lorraine-Mosellane*, in 1046, was another son, though others believe this Duke to have been Albert de Namur, father of *Hadvige*.
 13. That Duke Gerard, husband of *Hadvige*, had a maternal uncle* Gerard, who was probably son of Hugh, and brother of Leo IX. who also had a brother Hugh, *Comte d'Agsburg*, according to *Le Mire, Chron. Belg.* 276.
 14. That the grandfather and heiress of Adalbert, Adelaide's brother, seems to have been married to Folmar, (*juxta uxoris*,) *Comte de Metz*.
 15. That Alberic, in his *Chronicon*, expressly states Adelaide to be "*de genere FRANCORUM*," and Wippo calls her "*ex nobilissima gente LOTHARINGORUM*," which precisely applies to a descent from Conrad *le Sage*, who was of the House of *Franconia*, and Duke of *Lorraine*; and inasmuch as Adelaide's brothers are also proved to have been Comtes de Metz, and closely connected at the same time with Ita's brother Theodoric, "*Dux Lotharingorum*," the whole are thus strongly bound together, as being sprung from Dukes of *Lorraine*, who were of the House of *Franconia*!
 - 16, and lastly. That the Imperial House of HAPSBURG, were sprung from ITA and COUNT RADEBOTO, her husband, not in the male line, but in the female line through the Counts of THIERSTEIN.

* *Avunculus*.

MURI MONASTERY.

It seems that the scite and demesne on which the Monastery of *Muri* was built, had been an usurpation of Lanzelin the father of Count Radeboto, and son of Gontram *the Rich*, and the usurpation had been renewed and extended by Radeboto, who, when he married *Ita*, settled it on her in dower in preference to his own more rightful possessions. *Ita's* conscience was afterwards struck at this unjust title, and she became anxious to restore it to the rightful heirs; but finding many difficulties in the way of this, she resolved to dedicate it to God, and build here a religious house. For this purpose she consulted her *brother* Wernher, the Bishop, who encouraged her design, and promised her all his aid and interest, and advised her to convey the place and its appurtenances to some powerful man, who might obtain the Pope's confirmation. Accordingly they chose her *half-brother* Count* CHUNO for this purpose.

“Mortuo Comite Radeboto, corpus ejus translatum est huc, ac sepultum ante altare sanctæ crucis.”†

In confirmation of my theory, I request the reader to keep in mind the following important extract, regarding the male descent of the Emperor Conrad *le Salique*:

Ex Alberici Chronico.

“ANNO MXXIV. Fuit autem iste CONRARDUS ex parte matris de genere FRANCORUM. Item Hugo, Comes de Daburg, Pater Sancti LEONIS Papæ, de quo suo loco dicetur, et Imperator iste CONRARDUS, fuerunt consobrini.”

But more especially this decisive passage from *Wippo*, already cited:

* “Ad hoc Comitem Chuno fratrem suum *de matre*, patrem autem Rudolfi Regis elegerunt.”

† P. 44. Calmet pretends that this volume of *Acta Murensia*, was really printed at *Paris* by the celebrated *Peiresc* under the false name of *Spiremberg*.

Wippo de Vitâ Chunradi Salici.

“Prædicti duo CHUNONES, cum essent, ut dictum est, ex parte genitorum nobilissimi, haud secus ex materno genere claruerant. *Junioris* Chunonis mater, Machilda, de filiâ Conradi, Regis Burgundiæ, nata fuit; *Majoris* Chunonis mater, Adelberta, vel Adelbera, vel Adeleyda, ex nobilissimâ gente *Lotharingorum* oriunda, fuerunt. Quæ Adeleyda soror erat Comitum *Gerardi* et *Alberti*, qui semper cum Regibus et ducibus confligentes ad extremum causa propinqui sui Conradi Regis vix acquiescebant.”*

*The last of the French Branch of Lorraine, the *Duc d'Elbæuf*, died at Vienna, while this sheet was passing the press. But see *Moreri* VI. 406.

*Catalogue of Books on the Hapsburg and Lorraine Genealogies
alluded to in this Question, p. 26.*

1. Origines Murensis Monasterii. *Spiremberg*, 1618, 4to. *Ib.* 1627.
2. De la vraie Origine de la Maison d'Autriche. *Paris*, 1624, 4to.
(par Théodore Godefroy.)
3. Joan. Jac. Chiffletii Vindiciæ Hispanicæ. *Antverpiæ*, 1647, fol.
4. M. Antonii Dominici Assertor Gallicus, contra Chiffletii Vindicias Hispanicas. *Paris*, 4to.
5. J. J. Chiffletii Lampades Hispanicæ. *Antverpiæ*, 1649, 4to.
6. J. J. Chiffletii, ad Vindicias Hispanicas Lumina Nova Prærogativa, hoc est, de Origine Domus Austriacæ, adversus Marcum Ant. Dominicy. *Antverpiæ*, 1647, fol.
7. Stemma Austriacum millenis abhinc annis. Hieron. Vignier, Cong. Orat. Presb., priores novem gradus adumbravit. J. J. Chiffletius asseruit atque illustravit. *Antverpiæ*, 1650, fol.
8. La véritable Origine des Maisons d'Alsace, de Lorraine, d'Autriche, etc. *Paris*, 1649, fol. (par L.-P. Vignier, de l'Oratoire.)
9. Veritas vindicata adversus J. J. Chiffletii Vindicias Hispanicas; Lumina Nova, et Lampades Historicas, etc. Opera et studio Jacobi Alexandri Tenneurii. *Parisiis*, 1651, fol.
10. Tenneurius expulsus; ejus Calumniæ palam repulsæ: auctore J. J. Chiffletio. *Antverpiæ*, 1651, fol.
11. J. J. Chiffletii Commentarius Lothariensis, quo præsertim Lothariensis Ducatus Imperio asseritur, etc. *Antverpiæ*, 1649, fol.
12. Barrum Campano-Francicum Commentarium Lotharingicum J. J. Chiffletii, auctore Davide Blondello. *Amstelod.* 1652, fol.
13. Généalogie des Ducs de Lorraine, fidèlement recueillie de plusieurs histoires et titres authentiques: par Théodore Godefroy, Avocat en Parlement. *Paris*, 1624, 4to.
14. L'Origine de la très-illustre Maison de Lorraine, etc. par Benoit (Picard) de Toul, Capucin. *Toul*, 1704, 8vo.

15. Les Généalogies Historiques des Rois, Ducs, etc. de Bourgogne, (suite des Généal. Hist. des Maisons Souveraines.) *Paris*, 1738, 4to. (par Chazod.)
16. Histoire de Lorraine par Dom. Augustin Calmet. *Nancy*, 1729, 4 vols. fol. seconde édition 1745.
17. Histoire d'Alsace, par L.-P. La Guille. *Strasbourg*, 1726, fol.
18. J. W. Imhoff Notitia Procerum Imperii Germanici Heraldico-Genealogica. *Tubinga*, 1693, fol.
19. Origines Habsburgo-Austriacæ a Joan. Georg. Eccardo. *Lipsiæ*, 1721, fol.
20. Genealogia Diplomatica Domus Habsburgicæ, a Patre Marquardo Herrgott, etc. *Viennæ Austriacorum*, 1737, 3 vols. fol.
21. Joan Hübner CCCXXXII. Genealogische Tabellen. *Leipsic*, 1712, fol.
22. Hieron. Henninges Theatr. Genealog. *Magdeburg*, 1598, 6 vols. fol.
23. Eliæ Reusneri Opus Genealogicum. *Francof.* 1612, fol.
24. N. Ritterhusii Geneal. Imperatorum, etc. 1664, 3 vols. fol.
25. P. J. Speneri Theatrum Nobilitatis Europæ. *Francofurti*, 1668, fol.
26. Les Affaires qui sont aujourd'huy entre les Maisons de France et d'Austriche. *Cologne*, 1648, 12mo.

The different systems of many of these Genealogists are stated with critical acumen by *Chazod*, in his *Généalogies Historiques de Bourgogne, Livre IV. Art. VII. (Comtes de Habsbourg,)* p. 228, et seq.

The following are the full titles of some of the works already mentioned :—

Commentariorum in Genealogiam Austriacam Libri duo: in quibus præter vetustatem Nobilitatem atque arborem recta ascendentem inclyta gentis Habsburgicæ propagenes etiam ad latera diffunduntur eo-

rum, qui et ipsi non minus quam Austriades ex Habsburgicis egressi sunt, Burgundiæ regum, Zaringiæ ac Teccensium ducum, Burgundiæ Palatinorum et Advocatorum Arelatensium, Comitumque cum de Lauffenburgo tum vero de Kyburgo ac Fryburgo. Quorum stirpe omnium desinente, Austriæ Archiduces, non rerum gestarum modo, verum opum affluentia, ditione ad Columnas usque Herculis, a superno mari usque ad infernum extenta, et in Mæsiam ac Scythiam usque perseverant, fascesque Rom. summa cum laude retinent.

Autore Wolgango Lazio, Viennen. S. Rom. Imp. M. Consiliario, Historico, ac Gymnasii Viennen. primario Professore et Superintendente.

Accessit rerum et verborum memorabilium locupletiss. Index.

Cum Cæs. Majest. privilegio ad decennium.

Basileæ, apud Nicolaum Episcopium, etc. *fol.*

MDXLVI. mense Septembr.

Francisci Guillimanni Habsburgica, sive de antiqua et vera origine Domus Austriacæ, Vita et rebus gestis Comitum Vindonissensium, sive Altenburgiensium in primis Habsburgiorum, Libri septem.

Ad Rudolfum II. Habsburgi-Austriacum Imperatorem semper Augustum.

Cum S. Cæsareæ Majestatis privilegio, Mediolani, ex officina regia Pandulphi, et M. Tullii Malatestæ, 1605. Superiorum permissione.

4to. pp. 544.

Francisci Guillimanni, Consilarii et Historiographici Cæsarci Austriaci, de vera origine et stemmate Cunradi II. Imp. Salici Syntagma.

Ad Fridericum Alstetterum S. Cæs. Majestatis et Sereniss. Archiducis Maximiliani III. Consiliarium Intimum. et amplissimum Aulæ Cancellarium.

Cum Sac. Cæs. Majestatis privilegio perpetuo, Friburgi Brisgoiæ apud Joannem Strasserum. Anno MDCIX.

4to. pp. 32.

Origines Murensis Monasterii in Helvetiis, atque adeo Europâ Universâ celeberrimi, Ordinis S. Benedicti: seu Acta Foundationis, cum

brevi Chronico sæculi undecimi, quo major scriptorum penuria fuit. Cumque variis privilegiis Apostolicis, ac Cæsareis, aliorumque fidelium antiquis largitionibus, et aliis authenticis ejusdem Cœnobii monumentis. Atque imprimis antiquissima Principum Fundatorum Genealogia: hactenus desiderata et a nonnullis laudata ac summopere commendata, nunc demum ex vetustissimo codice Murensi edita, etc.

Spirembergi, in Bibliopolio Brucknausenio. MDCXVIII.

4to. pp. 65, besides Index.

Mémoires sur l'Origine des Maisons et Duchez de Lorraine et de Bar-le-Duc. Divisez en trois parties, avec des Pièces Justificatives. Considérations Historiques sur la Généalogie de la Maison de Lorraine. Première partie des Mémoires rédigé par Louis Chantcreau le Febure. Paris, MDCXVII. *fol.*

CONCLUSION.

I AM fully apprised that in the present state of literature, and of political thinking, at least in England, the question here discussed will not seem worthy of the labour spent in it. It is, indeed, impossible in these days to guess what may be deemed important or amusing, and what dull or trifling. Caprice in part directs,—yet not entirely caprice. There is something of principle or design in it; but a principle difficult to be analysed, and dangerous to be expressed.

Did we, indeed, live in an age of grave and inflexible wisdom, by the dictates of a profound moral and political philosophy of the highest class, in which nothing idle or unnecessary ever obtruded itself; where nothing of mere curiosity could any longer be allowed to occupy men's intellects, then the question of the source whence two great Imperial Houses sprung eight hundred years ago, might be a wasteful and foolish study! But when the most superficial, the most meretricious, and the most sophistical volumes receive unbounded favour and applause from the public, the charge of a fruitless exercise of the intellect could never be made by the living public, had they any shame of inconsistency!

The love of history is almost innate in the mind of Man; in every age but the present it has been read for itself, for the mere pleasure of gratifying an indefinable curiosity; it is now taught to be considered as childish gossip or dry rubbish, except so far as it may be warped to contribute to the factious politics of the day. Let those who are engaged in the duties of politics, pursue them with ardour and skill; but it is not necessary for the whole reading public to be exclusively engaged in them. Yet at present there is no literature untainted with politics; no criticism, of which politics are not the real motive: and these not abstract politics, not political science, which is a branch of literature; but party politics! We have not at present in England one critical journal, of which literature is the primary object!

In England, the members of literature are now as much orga-

nized, and the business conducted with as much management, and finesse, and underhand movement, as the most intriguing cabinets conduct affairs of state. Notes, arguments, and parts are given out from head-quarters, and all the bearings near and remote are duly weighed by a combination of minds, before a work is to be praised, or condemned, or kept out of sight! or before an author, living or dead, is to be set up, or cast down! just as a manager of the House of Commons settles among his creatures how a measure in Parliament is to be treated! Thus the individual is nothing: it is all combination; and he is only the single stick in the faggot! Thus, as Office makes men, Party makes men who have no strength of their own!

There *were* times when men of honest and independent literature could be heard, and carry authority with them. Those times are utterly past! The universal vanity of ambition and political power; the cupidty of lucre; the strange inebriating poison which has poured dissolution into all the links of society; the piquant epigrammatic, malignant raillery adopted by venal criticism to flatter the multitude's passion for the degradation of genius, have extinguished independent studies, and the esteem for individual eminence of wisdom, talent, and erudition! All is become a system of selfish artifice, by which factitious means are directed to produce, unduly, temporary effects! The calm voice of unaffected genius is rendered mute; and the simple colours of nature are eclipsed, and become impotent!

Let us look into old libraries, and see what gained the esteem of past ages! Are we alone endowed with force of intellect and correctness of taste? Are we advanced by such gigantic steps, that all which delighted them can justly appear like folly or dulness?

POSTSCRIPT.

DECEMBER 18, 1825.

WHILST this sheet was in the compositor's hands, I obtained *Mr. Charles Butler's delightful Reminiscences*, (4th edition, London, 1824, 8vo.) I have there found mention of another work of the learned author, probably appurtenant to the subjects discussed by me in this tract, which unluckily I have never seen; and which not being in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, I cannot procure in time for this publication. It is entitled "*Germanic Empire; being a succinct History of the Geographical and Political Revolutions of the Empire of Germany; or the principal States which composed the Empire of Charlemagne, from his coronation in 800 to its dissolution in 1806. With some account of the Genealogies of the Imperial House of Hapsburg, and the six secular Electors of Germany; and of Roman, German, French, and English Nobility.*"

The amiable and able author says, that "the composition of this work involved the Reminiscent in the abyss of German and Italian genealogists; but his grand resource was *Anderson's Genealogical Tables*, a work of the most profound and extensive erudition. A new edition of it, corrected, enlarged, and brought down to the present time, would be an invaluable present to the literati of every nation: but such a work is too expensive to be printed, otherwise than by a large subscription; and for such subscriptions this is not the hour!"

Anderson's Book the present author has not seen since he left England in 1818, and indeed had forgot it till Mr. Lodge mentioned it to him with praise last autumn. He will take an early opportunity of re-examining it, and forming anew his own opinion on it.

As it happens that a page or two is yet vacant in the present sheet, the author will insert a few remarks suggested by the *Reminiscences*, though they will be blamed as totally irrelevant to the subject of *Who was Ita?*

Mr. Butler's *Reminiscences* is a golden book. Its whole matter is full of the deepest interest; and it is treated with an integrity, a candour, an originality, a profundity of research and learning, and a talent, which have very rarely indeed been combined. I do not exactly agree with the views he takes of several public characters: but I am not the less interested in them on that account. His extreme candidness of heart makes him, I think, estimate the talents of some of his deceased cotemporaries a little too high: it would be invidious to point out names, where I cannot have space to give my reasons. On the contrary, though Burke is highly praised, he is not set as much above his cotemporaries as he is entitled to be. In poetical taste my opinions and feelings on many points differ essentially from Mr. Butler's.

I have announced, in a NOTE published in September last, as in preparation for the press, my own *Memoirs of my own Times, and Characters of my Cotemporaries*. I find that it will require more leisure, and a longer period of labour, than I had anticipated, and it is probable that in the mean time I may put forth some LOOSE LEAVES from this voluminous work. In the last age there shone in public life some of the most extraordinary men in native gifts of intellect who ever adorned the British annals: but there were also men who attained very high political and professional power, with very mean and contemptible talents, and very sordid hearts. And in this period of mingled splendor and gloom, like a stormy night, where the blaze of the lightning is surrounded and succeeded by massy darkness, that political aristocracy which had formed an essential intermediate balance in the constitution, was utterly changed in its elements, and reversed in its order.* Pitt's profuse additions to his aristocracy arose from his *contempt* of it: but this shews that his contempt was not the fruit of profound views: his own feeling of personal superiority to rank and honours could not overcome the effects resulting to others, from the abuse of an excessive and indiscriminate enlargement of its privileges. Let us look at any court-

* See the sagacious *John Wilkes's* opinion on this subject in *Butler's Reminiscences*, p. 72. Butler's character of *Wilkes* shews exquisite tact.

capital in Europe, which the English frequent, and see what is the fruit of the seeds sown by Mr. Pitt's upstart aristocracy! There is not birth, talent, education, manners, character, or even decency! Not merely a brutal apathy to the past splendors of England; but a blind and unconscious ignorance of it!

These Memoirs shall be written with a fearless frankness: I will give no man just ground to tax me with personal animosities; but I will not compromise. I am above the influence of dazzle, as I am above the motives of flattery or favour: I have seen things at a distance "through the loop-hole of retreat," but not perhaps the less accurately on that account: nothing is more certain, than that persons may be too near, as well as too remote, to discern with justice. There is a mist from the heat of proximity, as well as from the interval of long space. Actors commonly see less than standers-by. They are too much engaged in their own partial interests; and enveloped in the clouds of their own passions. Few great statesmen have written accurately and powerfully the history of their own experiences, except Lord Clarendon. We owe to the retired study of the learned CAMDEN the best *History of the glorious Queen Elizabeth*: and the best intelligence regarding the State-affairs of England during the first half of the last century has come from the secluded industry of *Archdeacon COXE*. What did GIBBON gather of his inexhaustible historical wealth from high practical offices, from ministers, or chancellors, or ambassadors?

As to my living cotemporaries, delicacy must necessarily impose restraint. We have no right, except in extraordinary cases, to wound another's self-love. We have a right to criticize a man's public works, and to use the results drawn strictly and exclusively from *them!* But so far as the opinions are mixed of what is extrinsic to those public works, it is necessary to be very cautious.

If I choose to criticize Mr. Thomas Moore's *Life of Sheridan*, it is a game which he has put at my mercy; it is public property: if I feel that he has sacrificed to the living a natural and justifiable regard to the memory of him, whose Life he has undertaken to write, I am not only entitled to give my opinion, but should be mean to suppress it! The biographer has related facts, which all but *party-men*,

(and who so odious, or so stultified as a party-man?) must feel to have exalted Sheridan's political character above the former estimate of him, and which must at the same time condemn to inextinguishable detestation those leaders of factions, who now call themselves the great and the fashionable—mushrooms, whose names are unknown in history, sprung from “the little tyrants of a village,” to the usurped dominion over the minds of a deluded people! rich in the spoils of the public purse, yet haughty as if their wealth sprung from the merits of themselves and their ancestors!

There is one most manly and independent remark of Mr. Butler, worthy of his accomplishments and his virtuous mind, which I cannot forbear to cite from page 86:

“How much the learned man and elegant scholar lowers himself by frequenting the tables or the conversazioni of the great, may be seen in a work of d'Alembert, which should lie on the desk of every scholar.”*

Among the most odious of literati, are those metrical scribblers, whom Bishop Hall, (I think,) in his *satires*, called “*trencher-poets*.” There was, however, a dignity in POPE's association with the great, considering the times in which he lived, which elevates the mind as a proof of the ascendancy of genius. I know that Dr. J. Warton censures his scorn of rank and title as too often on his lips, and too much like affectation. But the great did in fact bow to him, and tremble at his frown. His address to Bolingbroke,

“*Awake, my St. John!*” etc.

is very grand: and in no moral poetry is any thing to be found so

*“His ‘*Essay on the intercourse of Men of Letters with Persons high in rank or office*.’ The same subject is treated in an agreeable and interesting manner in ‘*the Literary Character*’ of Mr. d'Israeli, now in its third edition.” *Butler*.

I must add, that which I am surprized escaped Mr. Butler's notice, that Gray contemplated an *Ode on this very subject*; and that he greatly admired this *Essay of d'Alembert*. See Mason's Narrative appended to *Gray's Letter to Dr. Wharton, of the 9th of March, 1755*.

perfect and so touching, as his *Dedication of Parnell's Poems to Lord Oxford*. The solemnity of its flow; the unaffected depth of its melancholy, the "sober certainty" of its genuine feeling, are quite unequalled, and perhaps inimitable! Four lines of that short composition are worth tenfold more than the whole *Rape of the Lock* (which is a mere piece of art,) and the *Dunciad* put together. I do not believe that Pope would have flattered, or for a moment even have *bent*! But nothing less than *Pope's* magnificent talents, and that high power of moral exaltation which was at his command, could preserve the independence and dignity of a man of his obscure birth and station from the insolence and dominion of new nobles like Bolingbroke and Oxford, at once so proud of their venerable descent, and so vain of their new honours! Look at the characters and habits of Milton, Gray, Collins, Cowper, and Burns! Did one of them truckle at the tables of those, whom the world, with liberty on its lips, and the basest servility in its heart, calls the great? The two proudest of modern English nobles are by universal consent two *new* Peers, whose motto ought to be *frangas, non flectes*; but of whom neither in fact, I believe, uses that motto; it happening that nothing is so unluckily assorted as *mottos*, too many of the peers bearing on their scrolls a *memento*, which they would most wish to keep out of sight!

ADVERTISEMENT.

A multitudinous author may be a very silly person; and exercise no faculty but memory, and scarce any labour but that of the pen. He, therefore, who carries through the press many volumes which are the fruit of his own literary occupations, must incur the hazard of this censure. The tests which *ought* to be applied to him, are very simple: the tests which *will* be applied, depend mainly on the honesty and candour of those who apply them.

First. Do they convey any thing new, either in the particulars, or in the combination?

Secondly. If new, is it of sufficient importance and correctness, to be worth knowing?

Thirdly. Is it told with sufficient ability and skill?

If all these cannot be answered in the *affirmative*, the author had done better not to have made the attempt to fatigue the public attention; and the type, the paper, and the compositor's time, had better have been saved.

The novelty of ignorance is worse than the stalest truth—and the disguise of painful transposition and a changed language is disgusting for its fraud, as well as for its stupidity. There is a tact in real taste, which instantly acknowledges what is genuine: it has a stream

of life beneath the surface, which breathes through: it speaks from its own fulness, and borrows nothing from without. When the mind, as when the heart, is loaded, it must find vent. No one is sure that he is master of his thoughts or sentiments, till he has clothed them in language. When an author stands continually in the public eye, and not in a borrowed dress, he has an excitement to correctness and truth in his opinions and sentiments, which the mere private indulgence of thinking can never give. He lives in the glare of day, and every spot and aberration will be marked.

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