

A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL  
AND ECCLESIASTICAL DEVELOPMENT  
OF THE CITY OF MILAN  
(921-1136)

by

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## PREFACE

The present work is devoted to a discussion of the transitions which took place in the political and religious life of the city of Milan in the period 921-1136. This subject has received much attention from Italian historians, which is but natural. Nevertheless, I believe that English and American scholars in general, have neglected the question to a great extent. Although numerous works on the cities of Italy have appeared, and although the history of the commune and the duchy of Milan and the importance of the Visconti and Sforza families have been dealt with extensively, there is no thorough study in English of the rise and fall of the archiepiscopal government of Milan. It is the object of this treatise to supply that need insofar as is possible at this time. I believe that if one is to comprehend the overall picture of Italian city life in the Middle Ages, developments in Milan--the principal metropolis of Lombardy--just prior to the rise of the commune, should not be ignored.

My labors were undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. Cyril E. Smith, Assistant Professor of History at Marquette University. I am deeply indebted to him for his kind assistance and guidance. I shall always remember him as an inspiring teacher and as a master worthy of emulation. My gratitude must also be extended to Reverend Raphael N. Hamilton, S.J., and Reverend Gerald P. Brennan, S.J., both of whom were extremely helpful. I must also express my appreciation of the services rendered me by Miss Larkin of the Marquette Library, who procured several books which were

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION:

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL POWER

(921-1018)

The period from the tenth to the early twelfth century is one of political and religious transition in the history of Milan. At the dawn of that era, the city was still subject, in many respects, to the jurisdiction of the royal counts. However, the civil powers gradually passed by default to the Archbishop who was subsequently acknowledged as the most influential and the most potent prince of the Lombard plain. He not only directed the temporal and spiritual life of the archdiocese but also interfered in the affairs of other cities outside his legitimate sphere of action. On numerous occasions he acted as the counsellor, or, as circumstances dictated, as the principal opponent of the Kings of Italy. But as the years advanced the authority of the Archbishop was challenged and eventually usurped by the chief citizens. Thus at the opening of the twelfth century the commune of Milan emerged and within a short time assumed the role of arbiter of Lombardy.

The religious transition took the form of a demand for greater purity among the clergy and a stricter adherence to ecclesiastical discipline. The reform movement resulted in the raising of the standards of clerical morality and the subjection of the Milanese prelates to the authority of the Roman Pontiffs to whom they had tendered little more than nominal allegiance in previous centuries. Religious reform was also a decisive factor in the weakening of

the political power of the Archbishop and thus paved the way for the constitution of the republic. Therefore, the foundation of the communal government and the submission of the Archbishop to the Holy See are equally dependent upon each other. Their success is due not only to the internal struggles of the citizenry but also, in great measure, to the continued absence of a strong monarch resident in Italy and to the prolonged dispute between the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor over their respective rights and privileges.

Events in Milan in the tenth and early eleventh centuries clearly reveal the transitional movement in the political life of the city. During those decades, a series of attempts was inaugurated by the Archbishops to extend and to consolidate their authority and influence over the surrounding area. Such activities naturally provoked successive conflicts between the prelates and the Kings of Italy who endeavored to dictate in civil and ecclesiastical matters. There are several instances of the royal appointments being rejected by the citizens with the consequence that the city was plagued with frequent schism and internal strife. Nevertheless, the debility of the royal power in the middle of the tenth century favored the design of the Archbishops to secure greater independence in the management of their own affairs. This movement was encouraged by the German Emperors from the time of Otto the Great so that at the opening of the eleventh century, the groundwork for the future self-government of Milan had been established.

In order to understand the status of Milan in that distressed

period, it is necessary to describe briefly the political situation in Italy subsequent to the collapse of the Carolingian Empire. The gradual breakdown of the imperial authority in the peninsula was the result of several factors. Of these, perhaps the most important was the degeneracy of the Carolingian princes themselves. With weak men at the head of the state, the Pope and bishops found it an easy task to usurp the civil government. Similarly, the constant and exhausting warfare with external foes and the frequent family feuds contributed to the diminution of the central power. The feudal magnates and the cities took advantage of these disturbing conditions to assert their independence of the crown. Thus, though the imperial idea never died out in Italy, the substance of power in the first years of the tenth century was controlled by the local feudatories.

Evidences of this decentralization of authority and of the corresponding increase of the political influence of the metropolitans of Milan are offered by the career of Archbishop Lambert who was elevated to the chair of St. Ambrose on October 5, 921. Liutprand of Cremona informs us that the newly-elected prelate, on the day of his consecration, was required to pay a large sum of money to the Emperor Berengar I, as well as smaller sums to the imperial chamberlains, porters, poultry men, etc. The Archbishop later revived this complaint as a pretext for revolting against his sovereign. The latter had confided to Lambert's care, Odelric, Count of the Palace, who had previously rebelled against imperial control. The discontented prelate quickly associated himself with the cause of his prisoner and, in conjunction with Adalbert, Marquis of Ivrea and Count Gislebert



of Bergamo, plotted the expulsion of Berengar from the kingdom and the invitation of Rudolf II, King of Jurane Burgundy, to take up the reins of government. Open insurrection commenced when Lambert refused to surrender Count Odelric to the Emperor. The conspirators seem to have assembled their forces near Brescia in the vicinity of the fiefs of Count Gislebert, thus interrupting communications between the march of Friuli, the center of Berengar's partisans, and the capital, Pavia. Rudolf entered Italy in 922 and marched on the latter city where he was crowned by Archbishop Lambert in February of the same year.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Liutprand of Cremona, Historia, II, 15, in L.A. Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores ab Anno Aerae Christianae 500 ad 1500, (24 vols. in 27, Milan, 1723-1751), II, 441-442; Giorgio Giulini, Memorie Spettanti alla Storia, al Governo, ed alla Decrizione della Citta e della Campagna di Milano ne Secoli Bassi, (12 vols., Milano, 1760-1775), II, 153-157, and Rene Poupardin, Le Royaume de Bourgogne (888-1038), Etude sur les Origines du Royaume d'Arles, (Paris, 1907), 36-41.

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Nevertheless, Lambert's loyalty to Rudolf was rather short-lived, for in 925, having aligned himself with Ermengarde, widow of Adalbert of Ivrea and her brother, Guido of Tuscany, he offered the throne to Hugh of Provence. Rudolf requested the assistance of his father-in-law, Burchard, Duke of Suabia, in quelling this revolt. The Duke crossed into Italy and was tendered a cordial reception to Milan by the Archbishop. Yet, at the same moment, Lambert was conspiring against Burchard, who, according to plan, was murdered after he had departed from the city in April, 926. In consequence of the general defection of the Lombards, Rudolf was obliged to abandon Italy for Burgundy while Hugh was crowned

at Pavia, July 6, 926, by Archbishop Lambert.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Liutprand, III, 3-4, (Muratori, II, 445-446); Giulini, II, 166-175, and Poupardin, 58-59.

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Notwithstanding Lambert's role in establishing Hugh as King of Italy, the possibility of royal interference in the government of Milan was not removed, since, on the death of that prelate on June 19, 931, the King appointed his favorite, a certain Hilduin, to the archiepiscopal see. This was in line with Hugh's policy of endowing his Provencal kinsmen with fiefs in Italy in order to secure his grasp of the kingdom.<sup>2</sup> Hilduin had been

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<sup>2</sup>Liutprand, III, 11, (Muratori, II, 449-450).

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elected Bishop of Liege in 920 and had been consecrated by Archbishop Herman of Cologne. However, a party hostile to him had chosen another candidate, Richarius. Pope John X commanded both to come to Rome for the adjudication of their dispute. Hilduin preferred not to appear at the papal court so his rival was confirmed as the legitimate Bishop in 922 and Hilduin was placed under the sentence of excommunication. Therefore, he came to Italy, where, on the death of Notcherius, Bishop of Verona, in 928, he obtained that diocese from King Hugh with whom he was related by ties of marriage. Then, in 931, the King nominated him as successor to Lambert, the deceased Archbishop of Milan. Ratherius, a monk, who later became Bishop of Verona, was dis-

patched to Rome to obtain papal approval and returned bearing the archiepiscopal pallium.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>On Hilduin's election as Bishop of Liege see Flodoard, Annales, ad annos 920, 922, in J. P. Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus...Series Latina, (222 vols., Paris, 1844-1864), v. 135, col. 424-426; Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, in Migne, PL, v. 136, col. 34; Ratherius, Epistolae, V, in Migne, PL, v. 136, col. 658; Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronica, ad annum 928, in Migne, PL, v. 160, col. 181; Giulini, II, 175, 182-3, says that Hilduin was esteemed a learned man for his day and some works have been attributed to him but with little proof of their authenticity; and Ferdinand Ughelli, Italia Sacra sive de Episcopis Italiae et Insularum Adiacentium, (9 vols., Rome, 1644-1662), IV, col. 128-129.

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King Hugh intervened once more in Milanese affairs in 936 but, on this occasion, he met an opponent worthy of his steel in the person of Archbishop Arderic Cotta who was little disposed to submit to the King's policies without resistance. When Hilduin died July 23, 936, Hugh determined to invest his son Tedbald (whom he had had by a concubine, Stephania) with the Ambrosian See. Though Tedbald later became an archdeacon he did not obtain the dignity to which his father had destined him.<sup>2</sup> Since the prince

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<sup>2</sup>Liutprand, IV, 6, (Muratori, II, 454).

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was still but a youth, his royal parent decided that it would be imprudent to entrust to his inexperienced years such an important charge as the government of the archdiocese of Milan. Instead, he selected Arderic Cotta who took up his duties in August 936. Contrary to Hugh's hopes that the episcopate of Arderic would be brief and that he might then place Tedbald at the head



of the archbishopric, the new prelate, though an old man, governed Milan for twelve years. Becoming impatient of providing a place for his son, Hugh resolved to expel Arderic by force and to carry through his original intention. For this purpose, he convened a diet at Pavia in 944. As the King had previously arranged, a riot broke out in which ninety leading citizens of Milan were killed, the Archbishop narrowly escaping the same fate. The chroniclers relate that Hugh was later struck with remorse and granted many lands to the Church in reparation for his attempt on the life of Arderic.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, Historiographi Rerum Sui Temporis Libri V, I, 1-3, in Muratori, RR. II. SS., IV, p. 8; Galvaneus Flamma, Manipulus Florum, sive Historia Mediolanensis ab Origine Urbis ad annum circiter MCCCXXVI, c. 130, in Muratori, RR. II. SS., XI, col. 605, gives the name of the King's son as Manasses, obviously confusing Tedbald with the Archbishop of Arles, of whom more later; and Giulini, II, 190-1, 208.

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Undoubtedly, Hugh's effort at regulating the internal status of the archdiocese of Milan prompted the Archbishop to give a warm welcome in 945 to the Marquis Berengar of Ivrea who had established himself as the principal source of opposition to the King whose practice of providing his relatives with positions of importance was a definite cause of discontent in the kingdom. Berengar reentered Italy in 944 from Germany where he had taken refuge and in the next year was cordially received in Milan by Archbishop Arderic. Despairing of all hope of retaining his realm, Hugh sent his son Lothair to Milan in April, 945 with the request that Berengar would show him due honor even though he hated

the boy's father. The citizens of Milan were so impressed by the appearance of Lothair as he prostrated himself before the cross, that they immediately proclaimed him as their King. When Hugh attempted to escape to Provence, Berengar siezed him in August, 945 and reinstated him to rule jointly with his son, Lothair. Hugh remained in this disgraceful position until April, 947, when he was permitted to retire to Provence where he died in 948.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Liutprand, V, 12-13, (Muratori, II, 466-467); Arnulf, I, 3, (Muratori, IV, 9), and Giulini, II, 213-215.

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Although the citizens of Milan had accepted Lothair as their King, their opposition to royal authority, as actually exercised by the Marquis of Ivrea, increased and, after the death of Arderic Cotta on October 13, 948, provoked a controversy between two claimants to the see, Manasses, Archbishop of Arles, supported by Berengar, and Adelman Menclothius, elected by the people. The former, related by marriage to King Hugh, had abandoned the archdiocese of Arles to come to Italy during the hostilities between Hugh and the Marquis. Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, asserts that, in accordance with the King's policy of granting responsible posts to his relatives, Manasses had been invested with the dioceses of Verona, Trent and Mantua. The worthy Liutprand vents his wrath on a prelate whom he considers unfit for his office: "Manasses quippe obliuiosus, seu obliuiio Domini interpretatur. Quid enim verius aut apertius parentes tui hoc nomine vaticinari potuerunt?"<sup>2</sup> During the

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<sup>2</sup>Liutprand, IV, 3, (Muratori, II, 452-3).

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contest between Berengar and Hugh, the former had besieged the fortress called the Ants' Nest which Manasses, as a partisan of Hugh, had placed in the custody of his clerk, Adelard. Berengar was unable to solve the defenses of the place and so attempted to seduce Adelard from his allegiance to the King. He promised the clerk that if Manasses would secede from the royal faction, he would present the Archbishop with the see of Milan while Adelard would receive the diocese of Como. Such an offer was too tempting for the grasping Manasses to refuse, so he renounced his loyalty to Hugh and took up his position among the followers of the Marquis.<sup>1</sup> After the death of Arderic Cotta

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<sup>1</sup>Liutprand, V, 12, (Muratori, II, 466).

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in 948, Berengar fulfilled the promise he had made and, by order of King Lothair, appointed Manasses to the chair of St. Ambrose. The citizens of Milan, on the other hand, had elected a native priest, Adelman, as their Archbishop. Thus was born a schism in the Church of Milan which lasted for five years. The two rivals fought bitterly and with some bloodshed. Manasses had the support of the royal court and probably that of the provincial bishops. Also, no doubt, he enjoyed papal favor, because in a pontifical bull of Alexander III, issued in the latter half of the twelfth century, in favor of Archbishop Obert of Milan, the Pope definitely recognized Manasses as the true Archbishop.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Arnulf, I, 4, (Muratori, IV, 9); Galvaneus Flamma, c. 131, (Muratori, XI, 606-607), says that Manasses was the son of King Hugh and was appointed to the archdiocese of Milan by his brother, Lothair--a profound error; and Giulini, II, 211-2, 224-7.

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Although Manasses owed his office to Berengar, his fidelity was not unimpeachable. In the next few years, he pursued a course contrary to his patron's best interests and designed primarily to obtain as many advantages and privileges as possible for himself, and thus indirectly, for Milan. After the death of King Lothair on November 22, 950, Berengar had had himself elected King of Italy with his son Adalbert. The two sovereigns were crowned on the same day (December 15) at Pavia, probably by Archbishop Manasses. However, Manasses defected from the party of Berengar when the latter, after having imprisoned Adelaide, the widow of the deceased Lothair, became involved in a controversy with Otto I, King of the Germans. Adelaide's brother, Conrad, was not content to permit the injustice done to the Queen to pass unavenged and had protested vigorously to the German monarch who transported an army into Italy in September, 951. Otto met with little opposition since the passes of the north were controlled by Manasses. Probably, the Archbishop believed that he would be deprived of his various offices and bishoprics by Otto, since he was a supporter of Berengar, and, considering that the latter and his son could not muster sufficient forces to resist the German advance, he threw in his lot with the party most likely to emerge triumphant. Otto quickly made himself master of Pavia and it is possible that the diet was assembled there which elected him King of Italy. It is not known whether he was crowned by the Archbishop of Milan as had been customary. The principal effect of his expedition into Italy was that Berengar and his son were permitted to hold



the Kingdom as vassals of the German monarch.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cambridge Mediaeval History, (edited by H. M. Gwatkin, J. P. Whitney, J. R. Tanner, and C. W. Previte-Orton, 8 vols., Cambridge and New York, 1924-1929), III, 148-159, and Giulini, II, 235-248.

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In Milan, in the meantime, the dispute between Manasses and Adelman continued unabated. The former now had the backing of Otto the Great who rewarded him for his services with the post of archchaplain to the King and later with that of arch-chancellor. Manasses also attended the Council of Augsburg in August, 952, in his capacity as Archbishop of Milan. Hefele suggests that the German bishops present did not know that Manasses was in possession of his see through a series of irregularities or that they chose to ignore that fact. The session was closed by the King who showed no hostility to Manasses thereby giving his tacit approval to that prelate.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>For the Council of Augsburg see, Otto the Great, Constitutiones, in Migne, PL, v. 138, col. 833-4, and Charles J. Hefele, Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux, (Nouvelle traduction française faite sur la deuxième édition allemande... par Dom H. Le Clercq, 9 vols. in 18, Paris, 1907-still being published), IV: II, 783-4. This work will be referred to hereafter as Hefele-Le Clercq.

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The disloyalty of Milan and of Manasses to Berengar of Ivrea caused the latter to wreak his vengeance on the city after the departure of Otto the Great for Germany. Thus, Adelman, the people's candidate for the office of Archbishop was persuaded to abandon his claims; whether by force or no, it is impossible

to determine. Manasses was deprived of his dignity in favor of a third candidate, Walpert. The exact manner in which this came about is unknown since most of the contemporary authors are silent about the solution of the controversy. The eleventh century Milanese historian, Arnulf, states simply that Walpert gradually established himself in the good graces of the leading citizens of Milan and was thereby able to persuade his rivals to retire, voluntarily or involuntarily. It can be inferred that the pretensions of Walpert would not have been realized without the support of Berengar who rejected the claims of the unfaithful Manasses and of the popular candidate Adelman.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, I, 4, (Muratori, IV, 9); Galvaneus Flamma, c. 131, (Muratori, XI, col. 606-607), writes that neither Manasses nor Adelman was consecrated; this is true in the case of the latter, but Manasses, having held so many dioceses, was undoubtedly consecrated; Ughelli, IV, col. 132-4, holds that Walpert was elected by the clergy and people of Milan after the death of Adelman, which he places on August 8, 953; but Giulini, II, 254-269, points out that Adelman's epitaph states precisely that he died in December, 956; this seems to indicate that Adelman was induced to resign.

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Berengar soon found that Walpert, the new Archbishop, was no more tractable than his predecessors. Thus, the two came into frequent conflict over their respective rights. Many of the other lay and ecclesiastical princes of the realm, smarting under the tyranny of Berengar, took their complaints to Otto I and in 960, Pope John XII sent representatives to the German monarch beseeching him to intervene in Italy. At the same time, Archbishop Walpert fled to Germany with other prelates of



Lombardy who had been alarmed by the increasing arrogance and greed of their sovereign.<sup>1</sup> Landulf Senior relates that Berengar's son, Adalbert, had visited Milan some years before and had

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, I, 5, (Muratori, IV, 9).

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demanded that a palace be prepared for him within the city. Walpert was unwilling to do this, since he considered that the residence of the King in the city would endanger the liberty of the citizens. Thus, Adalbert was assigned a palace outside the walls. Later, the Archbishop was accused of certain crimes by the counsellors of Berengar, who were jealous of his influence with the monarch. These accusations and the hatred of Adalbert which he had earned for refusing to admit him within the city, convinced Walpert that his position at the head of the Ambrosian See was extremely tenuous. Therefore, he secretly left Milan, ostensibly on ecclesiastical business, crossed into Germany and laid his grievances before Otto the Great.<sup>2</sup> Liutprand of Cremona

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf Senior, Mediolanensis Historiae Libri IV, II, 16, in Muratori, RR. II. SS., IV, p. 78-9.

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says that Walpert "semivivus ex praedictorum rabie Berengarii atque Adalberti liberatus", condemned the harsh rule of Berengar and called on Otto to expel the tyrant from Italy, together with Manasses, who had become a pluralist once more by usurping the

archbishopric of Milan, as a partisan of Berengar.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Liutprand, VI, 6, (Muratori, II, 471).

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This last point indicates that although Manasses may have been ousted from Milan in 953, in the intervening years till 960, he had not given up his pretensions to the see.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Giulini, II, 291-2.

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Walpert's pleas had their desired effect upon Otto who welcomed the opportunity to assert his supremacy in Italy again. Having settled affairs in Germany, he crossed the Alps in the summer of 961. Practically all the Lombard magnates rallied behind him, and he entered Pavia, from which Berengar had fled, after burning the royal palace. The Lombards then acknowledged Otto as King of Italy. Landulf Senior, an eleventh century Milanese author, writes that Otto was crowned at Milan by Archbishop Walpert.<sup>3</sup> But Liutprand of Cremona, who was contemporary

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<sup>3</sup>Landulf Senior, II, 16, (Muratori, IV, 78-79).

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with these events, makes no mention of the coronation of Otto; nor does the Milanese, Arnulf. This has given rise to the opinion that Otto never took the crown of Italy. Giulini, however, maintains that he had been crowned on his first entry into Italy in 951 and that the ceremony was repeated again at

Milan in 962, after Berengar and Adalbert had been deposed. In support of his contention, he remarks that the diet ordinarily met at Pavia and the royal coronation took place there, but for some reason, the ceremony could be held in Milan, the reason in this case being the fact that the royal palace at Pavia had been burned. In the absence of more definite evidence, these statements are difficult to accept, but since it was the usual practice for the Kings of Italy to be elected in the diet of Pavia and to be crowned there by the Archbishop of Milan, there seems to be no reason to suppose that Otto disregarded these procedures.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Giulini, II, 296-7, and James Bryce, The Holy Roman Empire, (new enlarged and revised edition, New York, 1921), 88.

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At the opening of the new year, Otto the Great marched towards Rome, accompanied by Archbishop Walpert and the other Lombard princes. There, on February 2, 962, Pope John XII placed the crown of Empire on his brow. According to Landulf Senior, Walpert was the only prelate assisting at this coronation, which seems to indicate that the Archbishop of Milan possessed the right of presenting the candidate to the Pope for coronation. Throughout Otto's subsequent dispute with the Pope, Walpert sided with Otto and the anti-Pope Leo VIII, who was proclaimed in 963.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Arnulf, I, 7, (Muratori, IV, 9-10); Landulf Senior, II, 16, (Muratori, IV, 79); Liutprand, VI, 6-11, (Muratori, II, 471-474), and Giulini, II, 305-306.

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The reign of Otto I marks the beginning of a period of peace and consequent prosperity for the Lombard cities and, in particular, for Milan. The cities experienced a general increase in population and, despite the heterogeneous character of the population, the gradually evolving institutions of these municipalities were sufficiently stable to enable the citizens to act in concert as necessity required. It is at this time that the foundations of the later independent communes were laid. Occupying the place of the great feudal lords, who had been eliminated by civil war and the frequent devastations of the barbarous Hungarians, were the bishops. Since the last quarter of the ninth century, for the most part, they had been permanent missi regis in their respective sees and thereby had acquired at least a nominal supremacy over the counts. During the years of anarchy and internal disorder prior to Otto's invasion, the bishops, following the example of the other great feudatories, had extended their immunity inside their own domains by augmenting their exemptions and jurisdictions and by procuring grants of royal rights to markets. Similarly, their estates had been increased by the gifts of pious or politically-minded Kings and nobles. One of the primary sources of their power was the influence which they possessed in their own cities. In all calamities, both local and national, it had been the bishops, rather than the counts, who had taken the lead of their fellow citizens and had guided them along the path which seemed most conducive to the restoration of liberty and order. Gradually, the prelates of Lombardy acquired in their respective dioceses



the civil functions of the counts who represented royal authority. This subsequently resulted in the separation of the city and an area lying within a certain perimeter from the county and its withdrawal from the jurisdiction of the count. Thus, in Milan, the authority of the count and that of his immediate subordinate, the viscount, had been reduced to a minimum, the greater part of it having been assumed by the Archbishop and the principal captains of the city. The viscount became a subservient tool of the Archbishop and in the eleventh century, served him in the cathedral as the head of the laity. Furthermore, because the bounds of the archbishopric were extended over several counties, these rural counts lost, little by little, every active interest and every importance in the administration of public affairs while the Archbishop became the effectual master of the entire area embraced within the limits of the archdiocese. The movement whereby the prelates supplanted the counts as the arbiters of civil life in the cities of Lombardy was given renewed emphasis by Otto the Great who had entered Italy as the protector of the bishops. In consequence of pressure on the electors or by simple nomination, he secured in the bishops, non-hereditary vassals who were the most faithful supporters of the monarchy. The functions which he granted to the bishops were either those of the counts or those which he, being frequently called elsewhere, could not perform in person. By surrendering those duties to the ecclesiastical magnates, Otto and his heirs retained control of local government, though, as later developments will clearly demonstrate, the Lombard prelates, by means of their newly

acquired authority, set themselves up as semi-autonomous princes.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For the substance of this paragraph, see: Amato Amati, Il Risorgimento del Comune di Milano. Studio Storico su Documenti Patrii editi ed inediti, (Milano, 1865), 20-26; W. F. Butler, The Lombard Communes, A History of the Republics of North Italy, (New York, 1906), 47-8; Cambridge Mediaeval History, III, 165-6, 174-5, V, 214-217; Giulini, II, 329, 353-355, and C. Manaresi, Gli Atti del Comune di Milano fino all'anno MCCXVI, (Milano, 1919), xxi.

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The Ottonian policy of nominating episcopal candidates and the consequent alliance between the Archbishops of Milan and the Emperors are illustrated by the election and subsequent career of Godfrey who assumed the duties of Archbishop in 974. The death of Archbishop Walpert, who had played such a prominent role in the establishment of the Ottonian Empire, had occurred on November 4, 971. His successor, Arnulf I, held the see until his death in April, 974, after a quiet rule of three years. Godfrey was appointed Archbishop on July 29; but as it was the custom to elect the Archbishop from among the cardinal priests and deacons of the Milanese Church, the people and clergy would not accept Godfrey since he was not yet even a cardinal sub-deacon. However, he had the backing of the Emperor and, at length, won popular approval. Though he ruled the Ambrosian See until his death, September 19, 979, little is known of his activities save the fact that he quarreled with the sons of the hapless Berengar II. Evidently, the Archbishop acknowledged his indebtedness to the Emperor by assisting him in his fight against those princes.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Arnulf, I, 8 (Muratori, IV, 10), and Giulini, II, 344-8, 358-360, 367-9.

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The episcopate of Godfrey's successor, Landulf II, is significant in Milanese history because it marks the commencement of the rise of the lesser nobility, or capitanei, to a position of importance in the affairs of the city. The historians, Arnulf and Landulf Senior, state that the father of this prelate, (who was consecrated on December 10, 979), had obtained from Otto I great privileges which enabled him to rule the city as a duke rules a castle in the name of his sovereign. Landulf Senior and Galvaneus Flamma refer to him as Duke of Milan but it is more than likely that he had no such title, but rather comported himself as though he were a duke. Giulini has demonstrated that the progenitors of the House of Este, Obert I and Obert II, were really counts and marquises of Milan, although their authority had been severely impaired or wholly supplanted by that of the Archbishop. Further, the same historian has objected strenuously to Flamma's statement that Bonizo, the Archbishop's father, was a butcher (beccarius). In support of this contention, he adduces the fact that the Archbishops of Milan were selected from among the cardinal-ordinaries of the see, and he maintains that it is absurd to believe that in that order of the Milanese clergy, in which were found the sons of marquises, counts and even of kings, a butcher's son should also have a place. He holds that it is equally incredible that such a vile personage as a butcher could have obtained privileges from the Emperor of such magnitude that he could govern Milan as if he were a duke. Since there is no mention of these statements in authors more ancient than Flamma, Giulini's arguments

have a certain validity. But if one considers the assertion of Landulf Senior that at this time, because of famine and civil war, there was a paucity of great nobles, the prospect of an insignificant person such as Bonizo, whom the same author calls a faithful knight of the Emperor, attaining great influence in Milan, looms very large. Nevertheless, Flamma's statement that Bonizo was a butcher can be rejected as unworthy of credence and a probable invention of that writer's imagination.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, I, 10, (Muratori, IV, 11); Landulf Senior, II, 17, (Muratori, IV, 79-80); Galvaneus Flamma, c. 132-133, (Muratori, XI, col. 607-609), and Giulini, II, 378-385. He points out that the chroniclers are mistaken in calling Bonizo by that name since his real name was Ambrose, as is stated in the testament of his son.

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According to the elder Landulf, Bonizo used his influence with the Emperor Otto II together with liberal gifts of gold and silver to obtain the archbishopric for his son. This has prompted some to believe that the clergy and people were unwilling to accept Landulf because he had received his office through simony; but as Arnulf points out, the basic cause of the dissension which shortly broke out in the city, was the arrogant demeanor of the Archbishop's brothers who persisted in violating the established customs of the city, that is, "*instabant enim prae solito civitatis abuti dominio. Unde cives indignati una sese conjuratione strinxerunt. Inde civilis seditio ac partium est facta divisio.*" In consequence, a great battle was fought in the streets of the city and Archbishop Landulf was obliged to withdraw into the country with his brothers,

leaving his father, who was now an old man, behind. In order to regain his position, Landulf distributed the revenues and benefices of the Church among his knights. Then gathering his forces from the surrounding countryside, especially from the counties of Seprio and Martesana (where he had many adherents, since his family came from Carcano in Martesana), the Archbishop advanced to a place called Campo Carbonaria where, in the ensuing battle, (c. 983) both sides suffered great losses but Landulf turned away in defeat. One of those who lost his life was a certain Tazo or Tanzinus Burrus; when the report of this nobleman's death was received in Milan, his servant (named Mantegacius by Flamma) secretly entered the house of Bonizo while the latter lay sleeping in bed and cut his throat.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, I, 10, (Muratori, IV, 11); Landulf Senior, II, 17, (Muratori, IV, 79-80); Galvaneus Flamma c. 132-133, (Muratori, XI, col. 607-609); Giulini, II, 392-4, refused to believe that the noble House of Mantegazza derived its origin from such a lowly person as a servant, as Flamma implies. See also Francesco Schupfer, La Societa Milanese all' epoca del Risorgimento del Comune, (Bologna, 1869), 63-4.

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After his unsuccessful venture at Campo Carbonaria, Archbishop Landulf went to Verona to entreat the assistance of the Emperor who anxiously desired to put an end to the Milanese civil war, because he had been unable to secure troops for his projected campaign against the Greeks and Saracens. Thus Otto II marched to Milan and prepared to subject the city to siege. However, terms of peace were soon arranged though the method by which they were reached is not clear. Arnulf merely writes:

"Post haec et alia multa, inspirante Deo, et interveniente consultu sapientium, nova pax vetera dissolvit odia."<sup>1</sup> Landulf

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, I, 10, (Muratori, IV, 11).

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Senior describes a vision which the Archbishop had, in which the punishments of the damned and the rewards of the saved were revealed. This had the proper effect of inducing Landulf to accept a peaceful settlement. The conditions of peace as discussed by the same author, provided that the Archbishop, bound by oath, must grant to the leaders of the city, the parishes, dignities and hospitals possessed by the major ordinaries, the primicerius of the decuman clergy and the archpriests. Upon his entrance into the city, Landulf II invested the milites maiores, that is, the greater valvassors or captains, through whose authority he now held the archdiocese, with the various benefices of the see.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf Senior, II, 17, (Muratori, IV, 79-80); Galvaneus Flamma, c. 132-134, (Muratori, XI, col. 607-611), says that on this occasion the Archbishop appointed his eldest brother Captain of Carcano, the second, Captain of Pirovano, the third, of Melegnano; he wished to make his youngest brother a Captain but the latter refused, saying that he preferred to be of free condition rather than the vassal of the Archbishop as were his brothers; later Landulf besought the Emperor to appoint the Captain of Carcano as Duke of Milan, but this statement of Flamma's seems to be without foundation; Bernardino Corio, Storia di Milano, (riveduta e annotata dal Prof. Egidio Magri, 3 vols., Milano, 1855-1857), I, 108-9, gives the names of the Archbishop's brothers as Reginald, Guizzard, Ubert, and Benzo; Giulini, II, 395-8, and Schupfer, 27, 65.

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The dispute between the Milanese and their Archbishop,



Landulf of Carcano, is indicative of the dissension which appeared in Italy in the last quarter of the tenth century. This unrest had its origins among the citizens and the rural nobles. Under the great magnates of the countryside, bishops, marquises and counts, were the now numerous greater and lesser valvassors, called capitanei and secundi milites, respectively, who were distinguished chiefly by the extent of their lands and privileges but, who, in general, were vassals of the magnates and not of the Emperor. In the middle of the tenth century, the families of the captains were making their fiefs hereditary. This is evident from Landulf Senior's statement that the Archbishop invested the milites maiores or captains with the estates formerly held by the clergy of Milan. As a result of the continued predominance of city life in Italy and the dread of the recent barbarian ravages, large numbers of the captains and secundi milites had taken up their residence in the cities where they formed a powerful class in the population. The three classes, capitanei, secundi milites (who were called simply valvassors in Milan), and the plebeians were frequently hostile to each other. There were also evidences of antagonism to the rule of the bishops, of which the war against Landulf of Carcano is an example. This movement was contrary to the policy adopted by Otto the Great, whereby the bishops were the Emperor's best agents and a powerful counterweight to the fickle nobles. Yet, in Milan, this system was being stripped of its value because, as has been noted, the Archbishop had granted many of the lands of the Church to his knights so that he might have support in his war with

the citizenry and later, as the price of peace, he had been compelled to distribute ecclesiastical property to the chief citizens. Thus the Church was impoverished and the nobility strengthened. The power of the Archbishop was checked also by the assembly of the people which was convened for the discussion of all the more important activities of the community. Later, in ordinary matters of everyday life, the Archbishop intervened little or not at all, since he had portioned out his jurisdiction to the principal captains and, for that reason, all the chief public offices, both civil and military, were in the hands of these noble families. The consequent feudal disorder was further increased by the hostility of interests among the captains, valvassors, and plebeians. In the first half of the eleventh century, evidences of this will be noted in Milan and the resulting civil war can be counted as a decisive step towards the establishment of the communal government.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For the substance of this paragraph see, Butler, 54; Cambridge Mediaeval History, III, 174-5; Giulini, II, 301; Manaresi, xxii-xxiii; Luigi Salvatorelli, A Concise History of Italy from Prehistoric Times to Our Own Day, (trans. by Bernard Miall, New York, 1940), 135-8, and Schupfer, 17-78, in which he discusses the valvassors and captains at great length.

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Death overtook Landulf of Carcano, March 23, 998 and he was buried in the monastery of St. Celsus, which he had enriched by many gifts in reparation, so the historians tell us, for his previous alienation of church lands. This brought to the archiepiscopal chair (May 19, 998), Arnulf of Arsago who was one of the most influential of the Archbishops of Milan in the eleventh



century. His important position in imperial affairs is well illustrated by the fact that the youthful Emperor Otto III, desiring to take a wife, requested the counsel of Archbishop Arnulf on such a weighty subject. Otto's propensity for things Greek induced him to send Arnulf to Constantinople in 1001 to obtain the hand of a Byzantine princess for his sovereign. The Archbishop and his magnificent retinue were received honorably at the court. After almost three months of ceremonies, celebrations and negotiations, which are described by the garrulous Landulf Senior, Arnulf II departed from the capital of the East, bringing with him an imperial princess as the future wife of Otto III and numerous presents for the Emperor and himself.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately,

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, I, 13, (Muratori, IV, 12); Landulf Senior, II, 18, (Muratori, IV, 81); among the presents which Arnulf brought back was a bronze serpent, supposedly the same one which Moses had erected in the desert; this was placed in the church of St. Ambrose and stands there on a column at the left of the nave; modern archaeologists consider it as very probably a pagan emblem of Esculapius. See Giuliani, II, 452-3.

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he received news of the premature death of Otto III at Paterno, January 23, 1002.

The death of the Emperor without heirs provoked a crisis in the Kingdom of Italy and placed the Archbishop of Milan in opposition to many of the Lombard princes. The princes assembled at Pavia, February 15, 1002, and elected as King, Arduin, Marquis of Ivrea, who had been a constant troublemaker during the reign of the last of the Ottos. To the secular nobles, Arduin was their champion against the domination of the bishops; but it was

chiefly the lesser nobility, the secundi milites, who held their estates at the will of their episcopal or secular overlords and who had nothing to hope for from a foreign prince, who turned to a native King, whose domestic policies were the same as their own. Many, too, of the secular clergy, chafing under the yoke of their ecclesiastical superiors, the bishops, sided with the Marquis of Ivrea. Yet, Archbishop Arnulf of Milan regarded this election, in which he, the leading ecclesiastical prince of Lombardy, had taken no part, as an infringement of his prerogatives. Therefore, he called a new diet at Roncaglia, where the throne was offered to Henry of Saxony, recently elected King of the Germans. Henry entered Italy in April, 1004 and was crowned King on May 15, at Pavia, by Archbishop Arnulf.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, I, 14-16, (Muratori, IV, 12); Thietmar, Chronicon, VI, 5, in Migne, PL, v. 139, col. 1309; Galvaneus Flamma, c. 136, (Muratori, XI, col. 612-613), and Simonde de Sismondi, Histoire des Republiques Italiennes du Moyen Age, (nouvelle edition, 10 vols., Paris, 1840), I, 90.

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However, friendly relations between Henry II and Arnulf were disrupted in 1009 when the former invested a certain Odelric with the bishopric of Asti. The ruling Bishop, who had been a partisan of the Marquis of Ivrea, fearing punishment by Henry, had taken refuge in Milan where he closed his days. Henry's action in nominating Odelric as successor was greatly displeasing to the Archbishop who obstinately refused to consecrate the imperial nominee. Hence, Odelric took his way to Rome, where

he was consecrated by the Pope. The wrath of Arnulf knew no bounds when he learned of this proceeding and "veniens ergo in conventu Mediolanensis ecclesiae, anathematis jaculo consecrati transfixit audaciam." Then, gathering his forces and those of his suffragans, the Archbishop advanced to Asti which he laid under siege. Odelric and his brother, the Marquis Manfred, soon found resistance futile and sued for peace. Arnulf then withdrew to Milan whither he was followed by the vanquished brothers. At a distance of three miles from the city they dismounted and, with their feet bare, walked into the city. In the church of St. Ambrose, Odelric made his submission to the Archbishop and was invested with the ring and crozier. Manfred, for his part, presented a large sum of money to the Church. The brothers then proceeded to the church of St. Mary where they were received in peace by the clergy and people.<sup>1</sup> It does

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, I, 18-19, (Muratori, IV, 13); and Joannes Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, (editio novissima, 53 vols. in 57, Florence, Venice, Leipzig, 1759-1927), XIX, 310.

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not appear that Odelric was personally obnoxious to Archbishop Arnulf but rather that the latter considered Henry's appointment of Odelric to the see of Asti as an unwarranted interference in the relations of the Archbishop of Milan with his suffragans. Undoubtedly, Arnulf viewed the papal consecration of Odelric in the same light. This explains Arnulf's apparent jealousy of the rights of his office which he stoutly defended throughout his career. Probably a rapprochement was effected between the

Emperor and the Archbishop because there are no further indications of controversy between them during the remaining years of the latter's life which was brought to a close on February 25, 1018. This event paved the way for the advent of Heribert d'Intimiano, the most outstanding figure in Milanese history in the eleventh century.



CHAPTER II  
ARCHBISHOP HERIBERT  
AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC  
(1018-1045)

The consecration of Heribert d'Intimiano as Archbishop of Milan in 1018, marks the apogee of the power of the mediaeval ecclesiastical princes of the Ambrosian City. The earlier centuries had witnessed a struggle between the rulers of Italy on the one hand, seeking to make subservient tools of the prelates of Milan, and on the other hand, the archbishops, striving for greater autonomy in the administration of the see. Because of the unstable conditions resulting from disputes over the royal succession, the metropolitans of Milan were able to achieve a certain measure of independence. Evidences of this new attitude of self-determination are more abundant in the episcopates of Heribert's immediate predecessors, but the necessary foundations had been laid in previous centuries. During the incumbency of Heribert, those foundations were strengthened so that the spiritual and temporal might of Milan was able to remain defiant in the face of the terrible power of the Holy Roman Empire. Yet, despite the fact that Heribert raised the archbishopric to an exceptional height, the very basis of its authority was being undermined at the same moment that it attained its culmination. The early years of Heribert's career were, indeed, years in which the Archbishop's will was law, but at the close of the same period, it is manifest that real authority in the city had passed from

the Archbishop and the noble classes which he represented, to the more democratic elements in the population.

The newly elected Archbishop was the son of Gerard and Brillanda, of the village of Intimiano, situated in the Canturian prefecture, near the city of Como, as is seen by various testaments and charters. At the time of his election, which says Arnulf, was brought about "*consultu majorum civitatis ac dono imperatoriae potestatis*", Heribert was a Cardinal Deacon of the Milanese church. Certain writers have maintained that he was married to a noble lady called Useria. The improbability of this has been sufficiently demonstrated by Puricelli in his treatise on clerical marriage in Milan. Heribert was present at the synod held by Henry II and Pope Benedict VIII, at Pavia in 1022, where the rule of celibacy was declared as binding on all ecclesiastics. Certainly, the Archbishop could not subscribe, in good faith, to the decrees of the synod (as he did) if he himself were married. It may be true that he was wedded subsequent to the synod of Pavia, but there is no evidence to suppose that this was the case. Since the tradition does not appear in any of the more ancient authors, it can safely be rejected as fiction. No doubt, Heribert was charged with the duty of enforcing the decrees among his own clergy, but, perhaps, he did not think it opportune to arouse the wrath of the people by attempting to introduce a reform so opposed to the ancient customs of the city. At any rate, he gave no more thought to the execution of the decrees of Pavia, but turned to matters which seemed more important

to him.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, II, 1, (Muratori, IV, 14); Landulf Senior, II, 20, (Muratori, IV, 82-83); Synod of Pavia, in Henry II, Leges et Constitutiones, in Migne, PL, v. 140, col. 226-230; on the question of Heribert's marriage see, Amati, 10, 35; Corio, I, 110; Giulini, III, 525; Hefele-Le Clercq, IV: II, 919-920; Henry C. Lea, A History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church, (third edition revised 2 vols., London, 1907), I, 245, n. 2, and J. P. Puricelli, Dissertatio: Utrum Sanctus Ambrosius Clero Sui Mediolanensi Permiserit ut Virgini Nubere Semel Posset, in Muratori, RR. II. SS., IV, 121-140.

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The Archbishop had his first contact with heresy when he made a visitation of the suffragan dioceses of Milan (c. 1028). While in the city of Turin, he was informed of the existence of an heretical sect in the castle of Montfort. He ordered their leader, Gerard, to be brought before him and to state his beliefs, which the latter did willingly. With regard to the Trinity, the heretics held that God the Father is the Creator of the universe; that the Son is the soul of man beloved of God and carnally born of the Virgin Mary; the Holy Spirit is the "intellectus" by whom all things are governed. They also denied the doctrine of the Real Presence and refused to recognize the authority of the Pope, saying:

Pontificum habemus non illum Romanum,  
sed alium, qui cottidie per orbem  
terrarum fratres nostros visitat dis-  
persos; et quando Deus illum nobis  
ministrat, tunc peccatorum nostrorum  
venia summa cum devotione donatur.

Other beliefs were that virginity is the highest state one can attain in life. Those who are married must live in perpetual chastity. They believed that if all men lived continently,

the human race would be generated by other than natural means. A novel belief, which has been called incredible by several authors, was their teaching on the life after death. In order to avoid the pains of eternity, the brethren hoped to spend their last hours in physical agony. If one should escape death at the hands of his enemies and were threatened with a natural death, a friend assumed the obligation of doing violence to the dying person so that he might be free of eternal torment. Having completed his investigation, Heribert brought all the sectaries, among whom was a countess, to Milan. There he and his priests sincerely endeavored to show them the falsity of their doctrines and to bring them back to the faith. The heretics took advantage of their new-found notoriety to disseminate their beliefs among the citizens. Apparently, Heribert's efforts to reclaim them for the Catholic faith were unavailing. Thus, some of the lay leaders erected a cross in the city, against the will of the Archbishop, and compelled the heretics to venerate it. Those who did so were released; those who refused were thrown into a fire prepared for that purpose. The fact that it was the lay nobility rather than the higher clergy who wished to stamp out the new doctrines persuades one to believe that the heresy tended to subvert the social order more than the ecclesiastical. One of the teachings of the sectaries was the community of goods and during their imprisonment in Milan they had preached this, especially to men of low condition. This undoubtedly induced



the nobility to eliminate them.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Senior, II, 27, (Muratori, IV, 88-89), is the principal source for this heresy, but see also, Rudolf Glaber, Historiarum Sui Temporis Libri Quinque ab electione potissimum Hugonis Capeti in Regem ad annum usque 1046, IV, 2, in Migne, PL, v. 142, col. 672; Amati, 64-71, and Pietro Verri, Storia di Milano, (2 vols., Milano, 1834-1835), I, 106.

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The first indication of the strong character of Archbishop Heribert and of the role which he was to play in imperial politics appears in 1024, when the Emperor Henry II departed this life, leaving no heirs. The chief princes of Lombardy assembled to discuss the question of selecting a successor but jealousy and a spirit of individuality prevented them from agreeing on a candidate. Some of the nobles offered the crown to King Robert of France and then to his son Hugh; when both refused the honor, Duke William of Aquitaine was asked to accept the throne, but he too rejected it. Archbishop Heribert, becoming impatient with this dalliance, proceeded to Germany to invite Conrad the Salic, Duke of Franconia, and lately elected King of the Germans, to receive the Kingdom of Italy. Heribert met Conrad at Constance during the season of Pentecost, 1024 and there pledged his allegiance, and promised that on Conrad's entrance into Italy, he would immediately place the crown upon his brow. As a reward for such devotion, Conrad granted the Archbishop the right of investing, as well as consecrating, the bishops of Lodi. On his return from Constance, Heribert used all his vigor in writing letters and sending legates to the other princes of the Kingdom, in an

effort to win their support for Conrad.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, II, 1-2, (Muratori, IV, 14); Wipo, Vita Chuonradi Salici Imperatoris, ad annum 1023, in Migne, PL, v. 142, col. 1222, and Amati, 41.

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The descent of Conrad into Italy occurred in 1026; he attacked Pavia whose citizens, being strenuously opposed to renewed German interference in Italy, had burned the royal palace there on receiving intelligence of the death of Henry II. Finding the city well prepared to sustain a long siege, Conrad withdrew to Milan, where he was crowned on March 23, 1026, by Archbishop Heribert. Once again the King turned against Pavia, which, because of its traditional rivalry with Milan for the place of pre-eminence in Lombardy, refused to submit to him. Conrad was obliged to limit himself to ravaging the territories of the city and impeding its commerce on the Po and the Ticino.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Arnulf, II, 2, (Muratori, IV, 14); Amati, 46-7, and Jules Gay, Les Papes du XI<sup>e</sup> Siecle et La Chretienne, (deuxieme edition, Paris, 1926), 97.

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The King then directed his course towards Rome, where large numbers of bishops and princes, among whom the Archbishop of Milan was the leading figure, had assembled for his coronation by Pope John XIX, which took place on March 26, 1027. Since Heribert did not appear for the ceremony, his place at the right of the Emperor was taken by Archbishop Heribert of Ravenna, who laid claim to being the equal of the Archbishop

of Milan. This arrogant act caused the bishops in attendance to remonstrate with the usurper, but their entreaties were in vain. The Archbishop stoutly defended his rights but the complaints of those upholding the prerogatives of Milan increased in violence, so that Conrad felt it necessary to settle the question before blood was shed. Rising from his seat, he addressed the assembly;

Certum est quidem, Reverendi Patres, quia sicut privilegium est Apostolicae Sedis, consecratio imperialis, ita Ambrosianae Sedis privilegium est electio et consecratio regalis. Unde ratum videretur ut manus quae benedicit et prius coronam imponit regni, si praesens affuerit, repraesentet Regem ad imperium promovendum Sancto Petro ac ejus vicario. Quatenus Ambrosiano consecratione didicit et coepit regnare.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, II, 3-4, (Muratori, IV, 15).

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The Emperor then obliged the Archbishop of Ravenna to step down and summoned the pastor of the Milanese Church to assume his rightful place. The latter, however, had declined to attend the services in order to avoid the dissension which he had anticipated. Therefore, the place of honor was given, on the advice of the Pope and the other bishops, to Arderic, Bishop of Vercelli and suffragan of Milan, "ut pater in filio, magister videretur in discipulo." A synod was held later in the Lateran, April 6, 1027, in which the settlement of the dispute over precedence between Milan and Ravenna, as given by Conrad II, was confirmed and the Archbishop of Ravenna was forbidden forever to advance

himself before the Archbishop of Milan. In the meantime, the two hostile parties sought to decide their quarrel by other and more effectual means. The prevailing strength of the Milanese enabled them to put their enemies to flight, with the Ravenese Archbishop barely escaping with his life. Thus, the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Ambrosian See over all other Italian bishoprics save that of Rome, was acknowledged in council and confirmed on the field of battle.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, II, 5-6, (Muratori, IV, 15), and Tristanus Calchus, Historiae Patriae Libri XX, (Milan, 1628), 124-5.

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Some years later, Archbishop Heribert was afforded a further opportunity of asserting the superiority of his archdiocese. In accordance with the right lately conferred upon him by the Emperor, of investing the bishops of Lodi, Heribert selected the priest Ambrose of Arluino, from the body of the cardinals of Milan, to fill the see vacated by the death of the bishop. Having consecrated Ambrose, the Archbishop assembled his troops and marched to Lodi to enforce the acceptance of the new Bishop by the citizens, who regarded this action as most arbitrary and unprecedented. The Lodians, seeing their city blockaded and their fields devastated, soon discovered the futility of resistance and agreed to receive Bishop Ambrose and made the requisite promises of fidelity to him and to the Archbishop of Milan. But from that day, there arose an implacable hatred between the Milanese and the Lodians which was the cause of frequent



outrages on both sides, "quae si scriberentur per singula, plura fierent inde volumina," and which eventually resulted in the complete destruction of the smaller city less than one hundred years later.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, II, 7, (Muratori, IV, 15-16).

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After subjecting Lodi, Archbishop Heribert interested himself in the affairs of Cremona. The Bishop of that diocese was Landulf, an old man, who after being expelled in 1022, had been received again through the favor of the Emperor Conrad II. A diploma given by Henry III (c. 1046) to the Bishop of Cremona, relates that Heribert's nephew Gerard had invaded the parish of Arsago in the diocese of Cremona without royal or episcopal sanction. On the death of Bishop Landulf in 1031, his successor, Ubald, was denied consecration by the Archbishop of Milan until he had confirmed Gerard in the possession of Arsago. After being consecrated, Ubald reported to Conrad II that he had been compelled by force to take such action. The Emperor commanded Heribert to restore the parish to the Bishop of Cremona. This the Archbishop refused to do and not only retained Arsago, through his nephew, but also seized the parish of Misiano, in the same diocese, the tithes of the castle of Agnello, belonging to Arsago, the tithes of Mauringo, belonging to Fornovo, and the tithes of the castle of Cortigiano, in the diocese of Brescia. Conrad later restored these possessions to their original holders, but on his departure, Heribert reoccupied

them. By such means, Milan, goaded by pride and ambition, was the first of the Lombard cities to create a spirit of animosity and revenge among her neighbors, which gave rise to many years of fratricidal warfare.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Henry III, *Diplomata*, XI, in Migne, *PL*, v. 151, col. 1099-1100; *Anati*, 53-55; cf. Also, *Galvaneus Flamma*, c. 137-138, (*Muratori*, XI, col. 613-615), and *Corio*, I, 121.

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In 1032, the Milanese were called upon to assist Conrad II in making good his attempt to obtain the sovereignty over the Kingdom of Burgundy. Rudolf III had died in September of that year, thus opening the question of the succession. The Emperor was related by ties of marriage to the royal line of Burgundy and determined to enforce his claims. His outstanding rival was Odo of Champagne, who was supported by the King of France. Conrad invaded Burgundy in 1034. At this time, his Italian vassals, commanded by Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, and Archbishop Heribert, passed through the valley of Aosta, a territory filled with Conrad's enemies. The Saint Bernard was crossed without difficulty, since the partisans of Odo had abandoned it at the advent of their opponents. From there the Italian forces descended into the valley of the Rhone and made a junction with the imperial army at Geneva. When Conrad arrived, the greater part of the nobles still faithful to the Count of Champagne, came to make their submission. The Emperor celebrated his victory at a ceremony held at Geneva, August 1, 1034, at which he assumed the title of King of Burgundy. It has been conjectured that he was

crowned by Heribert of Milan, but proof of this contention is lacking. After the authority of the Emperor had been recognized the troops dispersed for home.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, II, 8, (Muratori, IV, 16); Wipo, ad annum 1034, (Migne, PL, v. 142, col. 1242; Bernold, Chronicon, ad annum 1034, in Migne, PL, v. 148, col. 1360, and Poupardin, 166-8.

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Soon after his return from Burgundy, Archbishop Heribert was confronted with a storm which had been brewing in Milan for some time, and which can be counted as the first important step in the breakdown of the archiepiscopal power, and the establishment of the commune of Milan. Since the middle of the tenth century, the Archbishop had been the dominant power in the city and this had engendered a spirit of resentment among the class known as milites. This was at first composed of all those freemen who were distinguished by birth or property, and those who, in return for military service, had been granted fiefs by the Church, the Emperors or by other feudal magnates. At the opening of the eleventh century, a further division among the milites can be discerned. The capitanei or captains, also called the milites maiores, were great landed proprietors, holding their fiefs generally from the bishops. They had been successful in making their estates hereditary and, following the example of their suzerains, had parcelled out those lands in turn, which were to be held on condition of military service. These sub-vassals were called

secundi milites, or in Milan, simply valvassors.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Amati, 81-2; Butler, 47-8, and the Cambridge Mediaeval History, III, 174-5, 265-6. See also, chapter I, 24.

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The important point of contention between these two groups, the captains and the valvassors, was that, although the fiefs of the former were hereditary, those of the latter were not, and the valvassors could be expelled from their lands at will. A revolt of these vassals was provoked when one of their number was deprived of his fief, thus causing the whole class to take up arms to revenge their comrade. The Archbishop sided with the captains and, fortunately, secured the backing of the townsfolk. The valvassors were driven from the city, but were not without assistance, because the inhabitants of the counties of Seprio and Martesana, to the north of Milan, desiring to throw off the yoke of the city, rallied behind the valvassors, as did the Lodians, mindful of the injuries which they had recently sustained from the Archbishop. Towards the close of the year 1036, the hostile forces of Heribert and the banished valvassors and their allies, joined battle in a place called Campo Malo, lying on the Ticino, a short distance to the north of Pavia. After considerable slaughter on both sides, in which the Bishop of Asti was killed, the disputing parties retired from the field, though the Archbishop and the captains seem to have



gotten the worst of the conflict.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, II, 10-11, (Muratori, IV, 16-17); Wipo, ad annum 1034, (Migne, PL, v. 142, col. 1244); Hermannus Contractus, Chronicon, ad annum 1035, (Migne, PL, v. 143, col. 237), and Galvaneus Flamma, c. 139, (Muratori, XI, col. 615-616).

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At this juncture, Conrad II appeared on the scene as arbiter of the case. He had attempted to strengthen his authority in Italy by appointing Germans to vacant Italian bishoprics, and by encouraging the intermarriage of the German and Italian nobility. Certainly, this policy was obnoxious to Heribert who dreamed of assuming the overlordship of Lombardy. Conrad, too, was aggravated by the Archbishop's increasing encroachments on the royal prerogatives; for, as has already been noted, the Milanese prelate claimed and exercised the rights of making war and of investing with their fiefs, bishops of his jurisdiction, as well as the secular nobility. Hence, Conrad accepted with alacrity the invitation of both valvassors and Archbishop to settle their controversy. No doubt, Heribert hoped the Emperor would favor his cause in view of the services which he had previously rendered him and since the cause of the Archbishop was that of the great nobles. However, Conrad, influenced either by the injustice with which the valvassors had been treated or by the exigencies of imperial policy, bestowed his favor on the valvassors. Probably, he thought to reinforce the royal power against the great lay and ecclesiastical nobility by means of the valvassors, whom he sought to attach to himself.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cambridge Mediaeval History, III, 265-6, and Ella Noyes, The Story of Milan, (London, 1908), 20-1.

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Acting on the request of the litigants, Conrad crossed the Alps and entered Milan where he was tendered an honorable reception by the Archbishop. Yet a rumor had been scattered abroad that the Emperor intended to deprive Heribert of some of his powers and especially of his right to invest the bishops of Lodi. Though the mass of the citizens might have no interest in the quarrel of the nobles, they regarded any diminution of the archiepiscopal authority as an insult to themselves. In consequence, on the following day, the Milanese rioted and openly denounced the Emperor. It is not known whether this uproar was spontaneous or whether it was incited by the Archbishop. The offended Conrad withdrew from the turbulent city to Pavia, whose citizens, though formerly hostile to the Germans, were now converted to ardent loyalty by their hatred of the Milanese. There, the Emperor convened a diet in March, 1037. Many individuals accused Heribert of various offenses and Conrad demanded that the prelate should satisfy all whom he had treated unjustly. Upon the Archbishop's refusal to grant redress, the Emperor and the entire assembly were provoked and the order was given to seize Heribert. Landulf Senior states that the soldiers were at first fearful of laying hands on a person of such great dignity as the Archbishop

of Milan. The latter took this occasion to address Conrad, reminding him of their former friendship, in hopes that he would reconsider his decision. Conrad remained unmoved, however, and commanded the soldiers to arrest the Archbishop. Heribert was then placed in the custody of Poppo, Patriarch of Aquileia and Conrad, Duke of Carinthia, who carried their prisoner to the town of Piacenza. The imprisonment of Heribert immediately threw Milan into an uproar:

*Ecce Mediolanensis attonita inhorruit  
civitas, proprio viduata pastore, dolens  
ac gemens a puero usque ad senem. O quae  
Domino preces, quantae funduntur et lacrimae!*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, II, 12, (Muratori, IV, 17); Wipo, ad annum 1037, (Migne, PL, v. 142, col. 1244-1245); Landulf Senior, II, 22, (Muratori, IV, 83-84); Hermannus Contractus, ad annum 1037, (Migne, PL, v. 143, col. 238), and Bernold, ad annum 1037, (Migne, PL, v. 148, col. 1360).

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The populace of Milan appealed to the Emperor to release their Archbishop, offering hostages as a pledge of their good will. Conrad accepted the hostages but he would not accede to the freedom of Heribert, preferring to keep him in confinement. Rather unexpectedly, the Emperor proceeded to imprison the Bishops of Vercelli, Piacenza and Cremona, all suffragans and supporters of the Archbishop of Milan. But two months after he had been arrested, that is, in May, 1037, Heribert contrived his escape to the great joy of the Milanese: "Ecce vespertinus urbis fletus subito conversus est in matutinam

laetitiam."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, II, 12, (Muratori, IV, 17).

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The imperial biographer, Wipo, says that the Archbishop was enabled to flee through the ruse of a friend, who took his place in bed, thereby deceiving the guards, while Heribert mounted a waiting horse and made his way to Milan. Landulf Senior, writing at greater length than either Wipo or Arnulf, provides us with a more detailed and amusing variation of the plot. In his account, Heribert was kept at a place near the river Trebbia, a short distance from the town of Piacenza. The Archbishop remarked on the gluttony and insobriety of his German captors and sent one of his servants to the Abbess of the monastery of St. Sixtus in Piacenza to inform her of the situation in which he was placed. The Abbess, whom Heribert himself had consecrated, after hearing the servant's account, constructed a plan for the liberation of the Archbishop. Knowing the revels in which the Germans were accustomed to indulge when drunk with wine, she sent twenty mules laden with various meats and other delicacies, and ten wagon loads of wine, to the Archbishop, with which he was to prepare a feast for his jailers. Heribert's servants plied the Germans with food and drink, while they themselves, pretending to do likewise, actually abstained from the liquor. Thus the guards were soon overcome with wine and were carried to their beds by the servants. The loyal domestics then awakened Heribert,



who did not wholly approve of their action, and led him bare-foot to horses held in readiness, which carried them to the river Po, where they embarked on a ship which brought them to Milan, probably by way of the river Lambro. The intoxicated guards, in the meantime, had discovered the absence of their prisoner, and in their anxiety to find him, ran about with torches, making a glorious din and, in the confusion, striking each other with their swords.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Wipo, ad annum 1037, (Migne, PL, v. 142, col. 1244-1245) and Landulf Senior, II, 22-23, (Muratori, IV, 83-84).

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It is not difficult to imagine the wrath of the Emperor when he learned of the flight of his enemy, whom he thought securely removed from a situation in which his presence could only be inimical to the imperial interests. His first reaction was to denounce Heribert as an enemy of the state and to summon the princes of Italy and Germany with their cohorts to the siege of Milan. Meanwhile, Heribert was not idle; the walls of the city were fortified, as Landulf says, with three hundred towers, and the citizens supplied with arms for the common defense. The imperial army devastated the surrounding fields and attacked the citizens, who resisted manfully. According to Landulf, the Milanese remained steadfast at their posts, taking advantage of every opportunity to inflict injury on the enemy. Whenever danger threatened the defenders, they were succored by reserves prepared for such emergencies. Seeing that his attempt to subdue

Milan by force was ineffectual, Conrad determined on another course. He declared Heribert deposed and appointed as Archbishop, the priest Ambrose, a cardinal of the Milanese Church, and the imperial chaplain. At Easter, May 26, 1038, Pope Benedict IX excommunicated Heribert. Neither the deposition nor the excommunication had any effect on Milan whose citizens were only strengthened in their loyalty to the Archbishop. Heribert tried to counter Conrad's action by depriving him of his office. He dispatched envoys to Odo, Count of Champagne, Conrad's old rival for the throne of Burgundy, with an invitation to enter Italy and seize the government. The Count accepted and invaded Germany, but misfortune quickly overtook him, for he was defeated in a battle fought at Bar, November 15, 1038; his head was severed from his body and sent to the Emperor in Italy.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, II, 13-15, (Muratori, IV, 17-18); Landulf Senior, II, 24, (Muratori, IV, 85-86), and Hermannus Contractus, ad annum 1038, (Migne, PL, v. 143, col. 238).

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At length, Conrad, being fatigued with a siege that showed no prospect of succeeding, and disgusted by the loss of some of his best soldiers, withdrew to Pavia. Sigebert of Gembloux asserts that St. Ambrose appeared to the Emperor while he was attending mass, and threatened a cruel end for him and his army. Thus, vanquished by the citizens of Milan and their heavenly patron, Conrad retired to Suabia in 1038, though not before he had exacted an oath from the Italian princes that

they would lay waste the lands surrounding the besieged city annually, an oath which the Lodians and Pavians were only too willing to fulfill. Great must have been the disappointment of Conrad II at seeing the power of a mighty Empire scoffed at by the recalcitrant Archbishop of Milan.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, II, 13, (Muratori, IV, 18), and Sigebert, ad annum 1039, (Migne, PL, v. 160, col. 207).

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In order to preserve his lands from the ravages of his enemies, Heribert assembled all the inhabitants of the Milanese parishes in the city, where all were instructed in the use of arms. It was at this time that the Archbishop invented the carrocio, a cart bearing the Milanese standard, which was later the emblem of Milanese patriotism, and was eventually adopted by the other Lombard cities. Arnulf describes it thus:

Procera trabs instar mati navis robusto  
 confixa plaustro erigitur in sublime,  
 aureum restans in cacumine pomum cum pen-  
 dentibus duobus veli candidissime limbis;  
 ad medium veneranda crux depicta Salvator-  
 is imagine extensis late brachis super-  
 spectabat circumfusa agmina ut qualis-  
 cumque foret belli eventus, hoc signo  
 confortarentur inspecto.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, II, 16, (Muratori, IV, 18).

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Tristanus Calchus describes the carrocio as a cart covered with a scarlet cloth, with a long pole, flying a white standard having on it a red cross, mounted in the center of the cart.

Three oxen clothed in garments of similar color drew the vehicle while the whole was entrusted to the care of a warrior called the carrocerius. A number of priests and eight trumpeters followed. The carrocio thus marked the center of the Milanese army and it was under the shadow of its banner that the military leaders took counsel and the wounded were refreshed.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Tristanus Calchus, 126-7; he was a fifteenth century author, whose description is probably that of the carrocio of later times; but the purpose of the vehicle was evidently to serve as a rallying point for the army.

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Before the Italian nobles could inflict great damage on the Milanese, as they had promised Conrad II, news of the latter's death on June 4, 1039, was received. He was succeeded by his son, Henry III, who was of a different mind than his father, and had never fully approved of his policy with regard to Milan. Accordingly, he lost little time in granting peace to that city and to her Archbishop, who reestablished friendly relations between Milan and the Empire, by meeting Henry at Ingelheim in 1040.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Arnulf, II, 17 (Muratori, IV, 18-19), and Amati, 134.

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The struggle between the Emperor and the Archbishop of Milan had come at last to a close and was, without a doubt, a victory for Heribert. Such bold defiance of the Empire shows the strong spirit of resistance to external authority which



had taken root among the Milanese. The conflict did have one very significant result, the promulgation of "the most important constitutional act of the reign, one of the most famous documents of feudal law."<sup>1</sup> This decree, called the Edictum de

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<sup>1</sup>Cambridge Mediaeval History, III, 266-7.

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Beneficiis Regni Italici, settled the issue that had provoked the controversy between Heribert and Conrad. It was published on May 28, 1037, while the Emperor was prosecuting the siege of Milan. It declared that all fiefs were hereditary in the male line, including those of the valvassors, and it provided that no one could be deprived of his fief until he had received the judgment of his peers, against which he could appeal to the Emperor. The succeeding clauses state the rights of appeal against the decision of the peers. The greater vassals may appeal to the Emperor directly; the lesser vassals to their immediate overlords or to the imperial missi. The succession to the benefice passes to the son, to the grandson by a son, or to the brother, other heirs failing. The fief may be alienated or exchanged only with the consent of the tenant; and the right of the Emperor to the fodrum is decreed. The penalty for the infraction of this law is stated at one hundred pounds of gold, one half to be paid to the injured party, the other half to the imperial treasury.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Edictum de Beneficiis Regni Italici, in Conrad II, Constitutiones, III, in Migne, PL, v. 151, col. 1042-1044.

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As a result of the edict making the fiefs of the valvassors hereditary, the great feudal magnates were deprived of much of their power, which was subjected to a gradual process of dissolution. The members of the most numerous military class, the valvassors, on the other hand, were encouraged to become independent landowners, devoted to the interests of the Emperor. Further, the valvassors secured effective participation in the government of Milan, naming representatives, as did the captains, to attend the council of the Archbishop, thus considerably limiting that prelate's power of independent action. Indirectly, the struggle of the valvassors for increased rights opened the way for the cives, or non-noble citizenry, to attain a position of importance and to secure a share in the municipal government. Thus, though Archbishop Heribert had compelled Conrad II to abandon the siege of Milan, and had made peace with Henry III, thereby raising the Ambrosian City to its crowning height, the edict of 1037 definitely weakened the feudal structure on which the archiepiscopal and aristocratic power of Milan was founded.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Manaresi, xxiii-xxiv, and the Cambridge Mediaeval History, III, 266-7.

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Another blow from an unexpected quarter was struck at that power two years later. While the greatest as well as the last of the strong ecclesiastical princes of Milan was engaged in a dispute to maintain the prestige of his See, and the rights of

his class, a new force had slowly developed which was to prove hostile to his policies. This force was the burgher class, the cives. Much had been said of them; it has been asserted that they included all the freemen of the city; or only the merchants. Manaresi considers them to be the nonfeudal wealthy classes of the city. In his study of the documents of the twelfth century, he perceives a fine distinction drawn between homines and cives. The former included the entire adult male population of the city, that is, those from fifteen to seventy years of age, excluding servants, the dumb and the blind, and other physically or mentally handicapped persons. The cives, on the other hand, were persons that enjoyed special privileges; they had houses in the city, were required to render service in the army, to perform sentinel duty; neither they nor their immediate relatives might work the land directly. They were, therefore, freemen, not given to servile labor, who enjoyed a certain monetary comfort. They were mainly of Roman origin, thus distinct from the captains and valvassors who were of prevalent Lombard stock. Their comfort consisted in ancient allodial possessions and, in the twelfth century, in the feudal possessions which they had acquired. Moreover, they were enriched by the profits of commerce. Below them stood another class in the tenth and following centuries, who were generally engaged in servile labor. These individuals, together with many rustics, freed themselves from servitude and began to agitate for that share in the government which they obtained

at the close of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Manaresi, xxiv-xxv, and Schupfer, 82-85.

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In the struggle against the valvassors, the Archbishop had been supported by the cives as well as the captains. The cives had been taught the proper use of arms and had become conscious of their own strength. It was their loyalty and bravery which had gained the victory for Heribert, but these same virtues were shortly turned against him and the aristocratic class which he represented. The burghers had seen their evils increase as the number of their masters increased, because the captains and the valvassors, now having become independent of each other in the enjoyment of their fiefs, had placed heavier burdens on the cives. Thus, after having fought against the valvassors in favor of the Archbishop and the captains, they now fought against the captains and valvassors to acquire a right to participate in the government for themselves.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Manaresi, xxiv-xxv.

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This conflict had its origin in 1042 when a valvassor severely beat a citizen in a private quarrel. Thereupon the mass of the citizens rushed to arms and civil war broke out, which raged for several months. It has been pointed out that the ultimate goal of the citizens is contained in the words of Landulf Senior:



Bella gravissima in urbe, populo adversus majores pro libertate acquirenda praeliante, quam olim parentes ejus ob nimiam hominum raritatem amiserant, crudelissima adorta sunt.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Senior, II, 26, (Muratori, IV, 87).

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That is, the citizens were mindful of the time when their fathers were free, before the barbarian invasions. In that sense, the war was one of the Roman element against the German element which had to conclude with the entire fusion of the various orders of citizens in the formation of the commune. Though the captains and the valvassors had the advantages of military training, horses and armor, and fortress-like dwellings, the people overcame them by force of numbers and expelled them from the city, sometime after April, 1042. A few days later, Archbishop Heribert, consulting the interests of his own class, followed them into exile.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Arnulf, II, 18, (Muratori, IV, 19); Landulf Senior, II, 26, (Muratori, IV, 86-88); Amati, 165, has dated the ejection of the nobles after April, 1042, because the siege lasted for three years and ended shortly after the death of Heribert, January 16, 1045, and because Heribert's acts of April, 1042, are subscribed by Lanzo, the leader of the people.

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Fortunately, the cause of the citizens was aided by one who supplied them with the leadership and cohesion necessary for success. This was Lanzo Curtius, a capitaneus, and judge of the Sacred Palace, who soon won the chief place among the

citizens by his eloquence and ability. Whatever his motives, whether impelled by ambition or a sincere love of liberty, and hatred of the injustices done the people, he molded, within a short time, a powerful organization, which struck fear into the hearts of the nobility and held them at bay for three years.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, II, 18, (Muratori, IV, 19); Landulf Senior, II, 26 (Muratori, IV, 86-88), and Amati, 158.

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Meanwhile, the ejected nobles had taken refuge in their castles in the country and had allied to themselves the feudal elements in the counties of Seprio and Martesana. The burghers were therefore unable to hold the open fields against their better armed adversaries, but they fortified the walls of the city while the nobles endeavored to shut off all intercourse between those within and the country, thus hoping to reduce the city to starvation. For this purpose, they constructed a tower before each of the six city gates. But their efforts were frustrated by the citizens who staunchly repelled all advances. "Rara namque transit absque sanguine dies."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Arnulf, II, 19, (Muratori, IV, 19), and Landulf Senior, II, 26 (Muratori, IV, 86-88).

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Hard, indeed, was the situation of the inhabitants of the beleaguered city, for they had only the food and water which could be gotten within the walls or by rapid sallies into the

surrounding country. During this period, since the legal authority was in exile, the citizens must have ruled themselves by elected governors, though there is no definite indication of this fact. It is probably not incorrect, therefore, to place here the first appearance of republican institutions in Milan.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Senior, II, 26 (Muratori, IV, 86-88); Butler, 63-64, and Noyes, 24.

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At length, worn out by the hardships of the protracted siege, Lanzo determined to seek aid elsewhere, rather than surrender to the nobles, who would exact the cruel revenge of conquerors. Therefore, taking with him one Alberic, a valvassor, and his constant companion, Lanzo slipped away from the city, and directed his steps to the court of Henry III. There he was honorably received and, having recited the course of events at Milan, the Emperor consented to send 4000 horsemen to assist him. Overjoyed by this offer, Lanzo rapidly returned to Milan, where the happy people welcomed him as though he were a king. Then, sometime in January, 1045, he opened negotiations with the exiles, dwelling on the proposed German descent into Italy. His wise counsel prevailed, and the nobles agreed to end hostilities and re-enter the city in peace.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf Senior, II, 26, (Muratori, IV, 86-88).

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The contemporary historians do not reveal to us the terms of the accord reached at this time, but certainly those terms must have included the right of the citizens to participate in the government of the city. As a proof of the new order of things, it is notable that the election of Heribert as Archbishop in 1018, was brought about, "*consultu majorum civitatis*", that is, with the counsel of the captains; the election of his successor in 1045, was held in the general assembly of all the people, "*civium universorum*". Citizen participation in government commenced, as with the captains and valvassors, through the mediation of their representatives in the council of the Archbishop, which was now composed of representatives of all three orders of the free inhabitants of the city. Probably, the number of representatives granted to the cives was much less than that fixed for the other two orders. Nevertheless, the commune was now established, though in a most rudimentary form. At the head of the civil administration was the Archbishop, who had the power of declaring war, concluding treaties, coining money, imposing tolls, turnpike taxes, etc. He was surrounded by a council of representatives, elected in the general assembly by the three principal classes of the population. Gradually, these representatives took advantage of the progressive weakening of the authority of the Archbishop to become the actual governors of the city.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>On the election of Heribert, see A. nulf, II, 1, (Muratori, IV, 14); on that of his successor, Guido, see Landulf Senior, III, 2, (Muratori, IV, 96); Manaresi, xxv-xxvi, and Schupfer, 70.

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Amati maintains that the terms of the settlement were not confirmed until 1055, and offers these proofs for his assertion. The historian Arnulf, who was prejudiced in favor of the noble party, relates that after the election of Guido as Archbishop in 1045, many conferences were held which resulted in the conclusion of peace agreements and the granting of an amnesty, and that Henry III held a diet at Roncaglia, May 5, 1055, where many matters were discussed. He does not say what these matters were, but Amati believes they related to the establishment of the peace in Milan, and that the historian did not wish to record the humiliation of his own class. Further, when one considers a passage in Sire Raul, a twelfth century writer, in which the conditions of peace concluded between Milan and Frederick I, September 8, 1158, are enumerated, this opinion becomes more acceptable. These are the words of the author:

Talis est concordia; quod civitas et  
fossata in suo statu perseverare debebant.  
Et Imperator debat habere super personis  
et rebus eorum, quae consueverat habere  
a centum annis retro.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Sire Raul, De Rebus Gestis Friderici Primi in Italia, in Muratori, RR. II. SS., VI, 1181.

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Thus, only those rights which the Emperor was accustomed to exercise for the previous one hundred years were to be retained by him. Therefore, in the treaty of 1158, the autonomy of Milan was recognized and preserved and it becomes apparent

that this autonomy existed legally for a century, that is, since 1058. The diet of Roncaglia has been fixed by Amati as the period of the definitive establishment of peace after the civil war; this settlement regulated the internal affairs of the various classes of citizens and the relationship between the city and the Empire. Giulini offers another proof from the fact that, although the King of Italy was crowned in Milan, the royal or imperial epoch, that is, the dating of the reign, never appears in the charters and other Milanese documents after 1056.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, III, 1, 4, (Muratori, IV, 22); Amati, 200-208, and Giulini, IV, 5-6. There is a document in Manaresi, CXXXII, pp. 180-2, of March-May, 1183, which confirms the statements of Sire Raul with regard to the Emperor Frederick being granted those privileges which his predecessors had had from the time of Henry III.

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The fate of Lanzo Curtius, who led the people to victory has provoked considerable speculation. According to Galvaneus Flamma, Lanzo was exiled from Milan by the captains after the conclusion of the civil war; nor could he or his relations ever again hold possessions in the city or county. There are two powerful objections to Flamma's testimony. First, it is hardly credible that the people would willingly submit to the banishment of the individual who, more than any other, was responsible for their newly-acquired liberty. Secondly, the authors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are all silent on this point and in documents of the eleventh century, Lanzo

still figures as judge of the Sacred Palace until 1057. More than likely, Galvaneus has simply created another of his fables.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Galvaneus Flamma, c. 147, (Muratori, XI, col. 623); Corio, I, 124-5, repeats this tradition, as does Carolus Sigonius, Historiarum de Regno Italiae Libri XV, (Frankfurt, 1682), 199-200. For a refutation of Flamma, see Amati, 309.

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It is surprising to discover that in this controversy between the burghers and the nobility, Archbishop Heribert, who had already demonstrated his diplomatic and military talents, should have taken little part. Landulf tells us that he attempted to act as peacemaker; that he constantly chided the nobles for their luxury and avarice and their neglect of the laws of their fathers. Nothing could compel him to oppose the people directly. Perhaps the man was wearied of strife of which he had seen so much. More probable is it that he was convinced of the justice of the cause of the cives, but out of natural loyalty to his own class, he could not openly embrace it and place himself at the head of the burghers. Not long after the conclusion of the civil war, the great Archbishop took sick at Monza, a short distance to the northeast of Milan. He ordered that he be carried to his city where he languished a few days, until January 16, 1045, when he passed away. He was interred in the monastery of St. Denis, which he had favored with many lands and honors.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf Senior, II, 26, 32, (Muratori, IV, 86-88, 91), and Arnulf, II, 20, (Muratori, IV, 19).

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With the death of the Archbishop Heribert, it can be affirmed that the archiepiscopal power has passed its zenith and is rapidly approaching its nadir. In the succeeding years, there is an evident diminution of the authority of the Milanese prelates, while the ascendancy is gradually secured by the principal citizens. This movement was given impetus by the lack of ability and foresight on the part of Heribert's successor and by the politico-religious conflict which commenced in 1056 and ravaged the Milanese Church for nearly thirty years.



CHAPTER III  
THE PATARINI:  
POLITICO-RELIGIOUS REFORM  
(1045-1075)

The struggle for religious reform which wracked the see of Milan for more than a quarter of a century, is closely bound up with the general reform movement in the Church, which began in earnest in the middle of the eleventh century. The Church had just passed through one of the darkest periods in her history, during which corruption had invaded the clerical orders even from the lowest to the highest. It was an age of extreme barbarism, in which the last vestiges of Roman culture had disappeared and the mediaeval synthesis had not yet been attained. It was an age of transition, seeking to find some form of stability. The unity of the Carolingian Empire had been disrupted and Italy had become the prey of petty princes who delighted in plunder and devastation. In such a state, the Church could not expect to remain untarnished. It is, indeed, a matter of great surprise that the Church was able to recover at all and to appear with such resplendence in later centuries. All orders were tainted; two practices in particular, were nearly the ruin of the Church; simony, or the buying and selling of ecclesiastical offices and benefices, and clerical marriage, and, what was worse, clerical concubinage. In the period under discussion, the priesthood was regarded as an excellent position, one offering security, wealth, and honors, and entailing few

duties. As a consequence, men sought and were promoted to Holy Orders, who were in no way competent to exercise the powers granted by Christ to his priests. Little thought was given to the matter of a vocation and even less to the training of candidates. Thus, the ecclesiastical offices were invaded by a class of men who would have been more fitted to the use of the plow or the sword than to the administration of the sacraments.

Not only were the priesthood, diaconate and subdiaconate so afflicted, but even the episcopate became a plaything of grasping individuals. The bishops gradually developed into feudal lords answering the beck and call of their suzerains, and as often as not were more accustomed to armor and the war-horse, than to the mitre and crosier. Frequently, these prelates regarded their positions as means of enriching themselves and their relatives and thus the practice of simony became widespread. Before a candidate could advance to orders, he was required to pay a stated sum of money, the amount increasing as he proceeded higher. Since these unworthy clerics were imbued more with the spirit of the world than that of Christ, they were unable to abandon the pleasures of the world. Many of them began to consort with women, either taking them as wives, or as concubines. It then became prevalent to advance the children of these unions to Holy Orders, and, in many cases, the son inherited the benefice of the father, just as though it were a private estate. The result was that corruption in

the Church became more firmly entrenched than ever.

Among the Churches of Lombardy, that of Milan held the foremost place, and in truth, it was second only to Rome in Italy. Her Archbishops overshadowed all others and had on many occasions braved the might of Emperors. The clergy of the city were both numerous and powerful, distinguished principally by luxury and pride. They looked upon themselves as the guardians of traditions handed down by their patron, St. Ambrose, and resented all attempts to interfere with the government of the Church of Milan. Yet, those traditions were slowly being mixed with abuses which gave evidence of the deep corruption of the clerical order. Here were to be found, in full strength, simony, priestly marriage and concubinage; here ecclesiastical orders were administered according to a regular scale of prices; here, the rule of sacerdotal celibacy was either ignored or flagrantly violated. In defending themselves against the reproaches of the reform party, the Milanese clergy avowed that St. Ambrose himself had permitted the ordination of married men and even the marriage of those already in orders was not prohibited. The contemporary author, Landulf Senior, a violent and even vitriolic upholder of the vices of the clergy, states that if a candidate for Holy Orders had not the moral strength to remain unmarried, he could take wife, with the permission of the Archbishop. A favorite argument in defense of the marriage of the clergy was: "Quis esse potest continens, nisi Deus det?" Those who attempted to keep the vow of celibacy were continual

objects of suspicion to their married brethren, who feared some treachery. Those who were in the wedded state and duly performed their sacred functions, and brought up their children properly, were respected and obeyed by the people and were eligible for the episopate. The evil crime of concubinage was condemned and all those guilty of it were barred from further promotion. Thus, Milan was infested with the same problems that sorely troubled the universal Church. There were, however, many priests who lived up to the ideals of their calling, and who attempted to purify the morals of their colleagues. When they sought to uproot those evils, a bloody civil war was provoked.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Senior, II, 35, (Muratori, IV, 92-94); Lea, I, 244-263; Cambridge Mediaeval History, V, 1-50, and Rev. H. K. Mann, The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages, (second edition, 18 vols. in 19, London, 1902-1932), VI, 217.

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For a proper understanding of the government of the archdiocese of Milan, it is necessary to discuss at length the ecclesiastical system established by St. Ambrose and further developed by his successors. The clergy of the metropolitan church were constituted in two orders; the majores, including priests, deacons, and subdeacons, were called cardinals or ordinaries; it was from among this group that the Archbishop was usually selected; the minores were also known as decumani. From this last group, according to Landulf, St. Ambrose chose twenty four priests who composed the order of majores; at their



head was the archpriest, who directed their work. The minores or decumani had originally seventy two members, but the number was later increased to one hundred by St. Simplicianus. The head of the decumani was called the primicerius or co-episcopus or sub-episcopus; his duties included the instruction of his priests in sacred theology and the care of all those diocesan matters which the Archbishop was unable to handle personally. The decuman clergy were later distributed among eleven major churches called matrices and eleven minor churches known as cappellae.<sup>1</sup> Of the former, the principal churches were those

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Senior, II, 35, (Muratori, IV, 92). The matrices were the churches of St. Mary called Hiemalis, St. Thecla, called Aestiva, St. George in Palatio, St. Ambrose, St. Nabor, St. Victor, St. Lawrence, St. Eustorgious, St. Nazarius, St. Stephen and St. Denis. The cappellae were St. Vital, St. Peter in the Lodian Field, St. Euphemia, St. Calimerius, Sts. Romanus and Babila, St. Michael, St. Fidelis, St. John ad Concam, St. Alexander, and St. Mary ad cuculum. See P.F. Kehr, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum; Italia Pontificia, (8 vols. in 10, Berlin, 1906-1935), I, 67, 108.

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of St. Mary Hiemalis and St. Thecla Aestiva which served as cathedrals. They were so called because the cardinals of the Milanese Church performed their office in the one in winter, in the other in summer.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>St. Mary Hiemalis was razed at a later date to make room for the present cathedral. Behind St. Mary were two baptistries and the palace of the Archbishop. The church of St. Thecla stood opposite that of St. Mary.

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Besides the cardinals and the decumani, there were deacons and subdeacons, headed by the archdeacon and the archsubdeacon respectively. Ranked below them were the notaries, lectors, and custodes, the leaders being called magister, primicerius and cimiliarcha respectively. The laity were shepherded, as has been noted, by the viscount. The leaders of each order carried a staff or rod and wore a piece of leather to designate their offices and dignities. Similarly, the priests carried rods bound with metal at the bottom, which served to indicate their authority. Rings were worn on the fingers to demonstrate their love of the Church. Landulf declares that the clerics were instructed in chant and if any were found to stand or to murmur in a disgraceful manner, so as to disturb the choir, they either improved themselves at once, or were improved by the cudgel of the archdeacon in the sacristy. The choir members wore white togas with capuches on their heads. Each cleric was examined as to personal appearance, voice and intellectual and moral qualities. Young boys studying for orders were educated by the magister cantus, who assembled with his charges each morning near the atrium of the church of St. Mary Hiemalis. Not only were the youths encouraged to study for honorable mention, but the Archbishop distributed many prizes to those who excelled in their work. Landulf states that there were also two schools of philosophy situated near the church, where city and foreign clerics were instructed. This indicates that even in the centuries of the greatest decadence of letters, the culture of

good studies was continued to a certain degree in Milan.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Senior, I, 3-8, II, 35-36, (Muratori, IV, 62-64, 92-95); Amati, 17-18, and Sigonius, 177.

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Such was the state of Milan and her clergy when, after the decease of Heribert in 1045, the people assembled to select a successor. The city of Milan stood at the threshold of a new era, an era in which simony and clerical marriage were dealt a severe, though not a fatal blow; an era in which the proud independence of the see of St. Ambrose was forced to bow before the authority of the Supreme Pontiff; an era in which the democratic elements unleashed by the rebel Lanzo extended their control of the municipal government and strengthened the foundations of the commune. At that assembly in 1045, four individuals of noble birth were chosen to present themselves to the Emperor Henry III, who was to appoint one of them to the vacant see. The Emperor was influenced in his choice by the necessity of having one friendly to the Empire at the head of the Church of Milan. He had been an unwilling witness to the controversy between his father, Conrad II, and Archbishop Heribert, and resolved that the imperial rights to the sovereignty of Milan should not be impinged upon by a member of the greater nobility, the capitanei. Therefore, he rejected the four candidates proposed by the Milanese, and nominated a certain Guido of Velate, a valvassor, in the hope that he would prove a willing

tool devoted to the imperial interests.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, III, 1, (Muratori, IV, 20), and Landulf Senior, III, 2, (Muratori, IV, 96-97).

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Unfortunately, Guido possessed none of the accomplishments requisite for ruling the principal Church of Lombardy. Above all, he was not the man to weather successfully the dark storms ahead. He was too concerned with the defense of the vices of his clergy and the independence of his archdiocese to realize that the reform movement had become increasingly popular. He was blind to the dangers which that popularity held in store for his cherished prerogatives. Thus, he was too weak to take the lead in religious reform; if he had done so, Milan might have been spared much bloodshed; similarly, he was too weak to employ strong counter-measures. His policy of vacillation resulted in the complete subjection of the Church of Milan to that of Rome, the practical collapse of the authority of the Archbishop and, finally, brought him the curse of the Church and the death of an outcast. The opinion of his contemporaries is no less flattering. Arnulf describes him as "idiotam et rure venientem", and Bonizo, Bishop of Sutri, an ardent supporter of Pope Gregory VII, says of him: "Guido Mediolanensem vastabat ecclesiam, vir illiteratus et concubinatus et absque ulla verecundia simoniacus."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Arnulf, III, 1, (Muratori, IV, 20), and Bonizo, Liber ad Amicum, VI, in P. Jaffe, Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum, (6 vols, Berlin, 1864-1873), II, 639. Galvaneus Flamma, c. 148,



(Muratori, XI, col. 623-624), relates that Herlembald Cotta, who succeeded Lanzo Curtius as chief of the people, persuaded them to elect four candidates; his brother, Landulf, a notary of the Sacred Palace, Anselm of Badagio, a cardinal of the Milanese Church, Arialdo of the family of the capitanei of Carimate and Acho, a Milanese cardinal. The four went to the Emperor but the party of the nobles sent Guido of Velate, a Milanese cardinal, who received the office. Galvaneus appears to have made a gross blunder here. All the evidence suggests that Herlembald had not attained the position of dominance, which he later held, so early as 1045; therefore, he could have had no hand in the selection of the candidates. Although it is possible that those named actually were chosen, it is highly probable that Flamma has merely inserted their names because of their later prominence as leaders of the reform movement. Finally, the capitanei would have no reason to send Guido, a valvassor, to the Emperor, since all the other candidates were also of the order of captains. H. C. Lea, I, 246, recounts this tale of Flamma's, but since he had access to earlier witnesses than Flamma, he cannot be pardoned for perpetuating this error.

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It is evident from the election of Guido that the city of Milan affected complete independence of Rome. Nor did the citizens consider the sovereignty of the distant Emperor, distracted by dissension in Germany, of much importance. No thought was given to the Roman Pontiff in electing the Archbishop, who, for all practical purposes, derived his temporal and spiritual authority from the imperial investiture. However, when the papacy had been restored to its pristine purity, it was necessary for it to curb the pretensions to autonomy of the Milanese Church in order to secure universal supremacy. This necessity gave impetus to the reformers who wished to reclaim the Ambrosian clergy from vice.

When the newly appointed Archbishop arrived in Milan, he was received with the usual honors reserved for such occasions, but it seems that there were many who distrusted him. No doubt,

a number of the people resented the repudiation of their candidates by the Emperor. The captains probably disliked him because he was only a valvassor, invading a dignity which they regarded as the exclusive privilege of their order. Whatever the cause of their disapproval, the clergy of Milan, on a certain feastday, openly expressed their hatred of Guido, by leaving him alone at the altar of the church of St. Mary, where he was to celebrate the divine mysteries. Nevertheless, the Archbishop eventually gained the favor of the clergy by condoning their offenses and, through them, found supporters among the noble families from which the clergy had sprung.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Senior, III, 2, (Muratori, IV, 96-97).

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In 1050, Guido was called to the Council held at Rome at Easter, April 29. There, in the presence of Pope Leo IX and many bishops, he cleared himself of the charge of simony. Although Bonizo accuses him of concubinage, there is no evidence to show that he was guilty of such a crime. The Archbishop then advanced to take his place in the assembly, but a quarrel broke out between himself and Archbishop Humfred of Ravenna, over the question of precedence. Guido's servants laid hold of Humfred and in the tussle with the Ravennese, severely beat him. Assuredly, Guido was right in his assertion of surpremacý over the Archbishop of Ravenna, because on April 6, 1027, after a similar controversy, Pope John XIX had decreed that Milan should always take precedence over Ravenna. Despite this

fact, it is unpleasant to witness such a dispute between prelates of the Church. Perhaps the Archbishops would have gained more merit by not pressing their respective claims.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Senior, III, 3, (Muratori, IV, 97-98); Hefele-Le Clercq, IV: :II, 1050-1, 1128, and Gay, 143.

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A question such as this, however important it might appear in Guido's eyes, fades into insignificance when one considers the outbreak of the religious struggle in 1056, and the profound effect which it had on the archdiocese. The papacy itself had been the object of reform since the election of Clement II in 1047, and his successors had furthered the work, by issuing decrees against simony and the marriage of priests. These decrees were generally ignored or openly violated in Milan whose clergy and Archbishop regarded them as impertinent interference by the Roman Pontiff. It would be absurd to expect ecclesiastics who considered their offices as opportunities for personal gain to give up the positions which furnished them with their livelihood, or to repudiate the wives and children which they loved. Abuses so closely entwined in the structure of the Milanese Church could only be uprooted through the violence of revolt. Existing conditions in the tempestuous eleventh century easily provoked a rebellion, in which political, social and religious interests were deeply involved. The struggle for religious reform can be considered as a continuation of the rebellion of Lanzo; it represents an attempt, in one sense,

by the burgher class to extend even further their lately won influence in the civil government. As the rebellion progressed, the movement for complete independence of the Archbishop and the Emperor became more apparent. The reform also possessed certain social aspects; the burghers disputed with the nobility and the poorest class allied itself to the burghers in the hope of securing certain privileges. The widespread agitation for religious purity found willing support among these classes, which were already oppressed by the temporal power of the ecclesiastics and were shocked by their immorality. Though the revolutionaries aimed primarily at moral rather than doctrinal reform, it is likely that considerable freedom of thought prevailed among them. The heresy of the Cathari or Albigensians which was spreading through northern Italy at this time, gained some adherents at Milan. Undoubtedly, the Cathari took advantage of the unrest in the city to mingle among the reformers and to disseminate their beliefs. Though the reformers sympathized with the strict morality advocated by the Cathari, there is no indication that they embraced the dualistic principle of the heretics on a large scale.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lea, I, 244-5, and Noyes, 28-9.

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Anselm of Badagio was the first of the Milanese to condemn the evil practices of the clergy. He was born of good family and had been ordained to the priesthood by Archbishop Guido.



But the young priest was not inclined to be silent when he witnessed the daily degradation of the Church by her unfaithful servants. So disturbing were his protests that the Archbishop travelled to Germany and obtained the appointment of Anselm to the diocese of Lucca by the Emperor.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Senior, III, 4, (Muratori, IV, 98-99), and Giulini, IV, 17.

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After Anselm's removal to Lucca (c. 1056), two new leaders stepped forward to carry on the work. The one, Arialld, born at Cuzago near Cantu, about twenty miles north of Milan, was a master of liberal arts, a profound student of scripture and a rigorous interpreter of the canons. Arnulf says that he was a deacon of the decuman clergy, but since the members of this order were all priests, Giulini has conjectured that in the time of the historian, the title of decumani was applied to ecclesiastics of whatever order who were not ordinaries. Arialld's biographer, Andrea, states that his parents were Bezo and Beza, and that the youth studied in the schools of the province and that he later travelled to other lands to complete his education. He began his preaching in Varese, but when his listeners argued that they were but simple men and that he would find a more receptive audience in the city, Arialld came to Milan. Andrea relates that while Arialld was giving his first sermon, a certain cleric, Landulf Cotta, an ordinary of the metropolitan church, and renowned for his eloquence and

high character, requested the preacher to accept him as his disciple.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Andrea, *Vita Sancti Arialdi*, c. 1-2, in Migne, *PL*, 143, col. 1439-1443, and Giulini, *IV*, 11-13.

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The historian Arnulf agrees with Andrea's description of the first association of these men, but Landulf Senior believes that Anselm of Lucca urged them to pursue the policy that he had recently inaugurated, and he implies that Landulf Cotta first allied Ariald to himself. The same author accuses Cotta of attacking the clergy because they did not support his claims to the archbishopric. Further, he says that Ariald sought reprisals against the Archbishop who had punished him for some fault. The two clerics secured great assistance from a certain merchant, Nazarius by name, an important member of the community, who gave freely of his wealth to further the cause of reform. However, the contemporary authors make no other mention of him.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Arnulf, *III*, 8, (Muratori, *IV*, 23); Landulf Senior, *III*, 4, (Muratori, *IV*, 98-99); Andrea, c. 2, (Migne, *PL*, v. 143, col. 1444), and Giulini, *IV*, 14.

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Both Landulf and Ariald resolutely undertook their task; the former preached to large crowds whom he urged to swear with him to ostracize those priests who were married or practiced simony. Since nearly all of the Milanese clergy were attainted,

the sermons of the reformers had the effect of placing many of the people in opposition to the ecclesiastics. The latter complained to the Archbishop, who, until now, had held himself aloof from the controversy. He called the preachers before him and asked them to desist from their attacks and pointed to the breach being made between the clergy and the laity. However, the voices of reform could not be stilled. On the local festival of the translation of St. Nazarius, May, 1057, Landulf and Ariald spoke at the church of St. Celsus before a large assembly. A priest, no longer able to bear the accusations of the reformers, rushed forward to question Ariald. He was irritated still more by the latter's answers and attempted to strike him. By this time the mob had been aroused and dispersed through the streets of the city, despoiling the homes of the priests and forcibly separating them from their wives. The priests of the suburbs were treated in like manner. The nobles of the city, who were the natural support of the clergy, as yet took no steps to assist them.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Senior, III, 4-9, (Muratori, IV, 99-102), and Giulini, IV, 25-26.

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Arnulf's account, though briefer than that of Landulf Senior, is substantially the same. He introduces into his text a sermon supposed to have been given by Landulf, in which the policies of the reform party, (as seen by their adversaries) are set forth. In this sermon, Landulf described the existing

vices of the clerical orders and pointed out that the people could have no hope of attaining salvation by following the example of such wicked men. "Sed numquid potest coecus coecum ducere? Nonne ambo in foveam cadunt?" He continued by demanding that the citizens avoid all contact with the clergy and that they refuse to attend religious services at which clergymen guilty of vice officiated:

Deinceps omnino cavete nulla eorum  
venerantes officia, quorum sacrifici-  
cium idem est ac si canina sint  
stercora, eorumque basilicae jumen-  
torum praesepta. Quamobrem ipsis  
amodo reprobatis bona eorum omnia  
publicentur.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, III, 9, (Muratori, IV, 23). Hefele-Le Clercq, IV: II, 1130, in commenting on this passage says: "Arnulf a certainement place ici, dans la bouche de son adversaire, des paroles plus révolutionnaires que celles qu'il prononça réellement."

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There is no reason to suppose that the leaders of the reform movement encouraged their followers to do violence, but they undoubtedly inflamed the people against the clergy to such a degree that they took matters into their own hands. This seems to be the correct view, even though Arnulf and Landulf Senior place the responsibility for the plunder, rapine and murders which filled the city, on Ariald and Landulf Cotta. Certainly, the latter were indirectly responsible for those unfortunate occurrences, but that was not their primary aim. The reformers entreated their followers to remain away from the services of married priests and to offer nothing for their



support. By publicly expressing their displeasure with the sins of the clergy, they hoped to effect a regeneration of morality. The use of the sword to enforce their demands was not advocated originally. There are other factors to be taken into account in explaining the riots and the spoilation of the homes of the clergy. The mobs, being incited to condemn the vices of those in orders, considered their grievances against the priests as the social and political leaders of the city. Thus, in an effort to wrest further rights and privileges, they began to persecute the clerics. Nor should one forget that there were certain ones always willing to take advantage of unrest in the city to plunder the homes of the citizens in hopes of finding wealth. The opinion of this intestine struggle expressed by the historian Arnulf can be accepted by anyone who views the conflict from an impartial standpoint:

Si quae enim sunt aliorum benedicta vel  
 acta non improbamus, nec ullo modo dis-  
 sentimus ab illis omnibus qui venales  
 reprobant consecrationes et sociorum  
 incontinentiam ordinum, ea tamen ratione,  
 ut a Paulo non discrepimus auctore. Ait  
 enim: "Omnia honeste, et secundum ordinem  
 fiant."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, IV, 12, (Muratori, IV, 40).

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The use of nicknames branding the opposing factions appeared in the early stages of the dispute. The clerical party were called simoniacs or Nicolaitans; the latter is the appellation

given to incontinent clerics in the Apocalypse. The reformers were called, in derision, Patarini. The origin of this name is open to varied interpretations. Bonizo explains the word as meaning the "ragged ones." Arnulf holds that it means disturbers of the peace. The accepted opinion at the present day is that the name is derived from a district within the city of Milan-the Pataria where old rags (patari) were sold. Lea maintains that the meetings of the reformers were held in this quarter. He points out that patari was the usual name given to the ragpickers, and the area inhabited by them was known as Pataria, as late as the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Bonizo, VI, (Jaffe, II, 640); Arnulf, IV, 11, (Muratori, IV, 39-40); Lea, I, 249; Hefele-Le Clercq, IV: :II, 1131, n.1, and Mann, VI, 218-9.

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During the riot on the feast of St. Nazarius, Landulf had forced the obstinate clerics to sign a document in which they promised to live in the future in accordance with the law of sacerdotal celibacy. Oppressed on all sides, the Milanese clergy appealed to their Archbishop and to the provincial bishops, but when that proved of no avail, they took their complaints to the Pope. The latter commanded the citizens to live in peace with one another and bade Archbishop Guido to investigate the question in a provincial synod, which was convened at Fontaneto, in the diocese of Novara, in 1057. Ariald and Landulf rejected the invitation to attend and, after a delay of three days, they were excommunicated by the

assembled bishops.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, III, 10-11 (Muratori, IV, 24-25); Landulf Senior, III, 15, (Muratori, IV, 104-105); Galvaneus Flamma, c. 150, (Muratori, XI, col. 625-6), and Hefele-Le Clercq, IV: II, 1131.

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Sometime after the synod, Arialdo went to Rome to defend himself and his followers against the accusations of their enemies. He pleaded his case so well before the Pope and his counsellors, that the ban of excommunication was lifted, and he returned to Milan, accompanied by a papal delegation.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Andrea, c. 2, (Migne, PL, v. 143, col. 1447); Arnulf, III, 13, (Muratori, IV, 29), and Verri, I, 139.

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At this point the movement took on a new form. Previously, the Patarines had had as their principal goal, the extermination of clerical marriage, but now more powerful attacks were directed against the other chief abuse of the clergy, simony. Bonizo informs us that from among five thousand ecclesiastics, there was hardly one untarnished by this vice. This new turn of events affected the Archbishop whose wealth and power depended to a great extent upon the sale of Holy Orders. The higher classes, too, began to support the clergy, mainly because they disapproved attacks on wealth more than on ecclesiastical offenses. They reasoned that if the riches of the clergy were attacked, the time would not be long in coming when the wealth

of the nobility would also be cursed.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Bonizo, VI, (Jaffe, II, 640).

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The papal legate, Hildebrand, made a short stay in Milan in November, 1057; he was welcomed by the Patarines but Archbishop Guido, having found his position becoming more difficult from day to day, had fled to Germany, in the early autumn. Landulf Senior recounts that Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, accompanied Hildebrand, but both he and Bonizo are in error in referring to the legate as Archdeacon, since Hildebrand did not obtain that dignity until 1059. Arnulf confuses this legation with that of Peter Damian in 1059. Landulf mentions that the legates had to meet secretly with only a few of the faithful, because the majority of the citizens had been provoked to anger against the Patarini. No doubt, too, there was much resentment against papal intervention in the affairs of Milan. The legates accused Guido of simony and, on the whole, confirmed the actions of the reformers, thus widening the gulf between the factions.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Bonizo, VI, (Jaffe, II, 640); Landulf Senior, III, 12, (Muratori, IV, 103); Arnulf, III, 12, (Muratori, IV, 25-29), and Hefele-Le Clercq, IV:II, 1131-2.

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After the departure of Hildebrand and Anselm of Lucca, Landulf and Ariald resumed their former activities. Two years later, the Milanese, wearied by constant quarreling, appealed again to the Pope, Nicholas II, to mediate their dispute. The



historian, Bonizo, who relates this fact, does not say whether the Patarini or the Archbishop made this request to the Pope, but it was probably the former. Early in 1059, Peter Damian, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, and Anselm of Lucca came to the Ambrosian city. Damian later composed a detailed account of that embassy in a letter to Hildebrand. The papal envoys were received honorably enough, and Arnulf declares that Damian was filled with admiration when he saw the clergy of Milan, "nusquam se talem vidisse clerum". But the legate undoubtedly meant that he had never seen such degenerate clergy, for in his opinion, simony and clerical marriage were not only sins, but also heresy, since the proponents of those practices attempted to defend themselves with arguments from the authority of the Scriptures or the writings of St. Ambrose. Damian's words are: "Vitium quippe in haeresim vertitur, cum perversi dogmatis assertione firmatur."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Peter Damian, Epistola Hildebrando Archidiacono, in Mansi, XIX, col. 885. Damian's legateship is best dated early in 1059, before the Easter Synod at Rome. His account of the proceedings is addressed to Hildebrand, Archdeacon; but the latter did not receive that title until the autumn of 1059. The legate states that Hildebrand had asked him to assemble various matters bearing on Roman Supremacy. This treatise then was probably meant as a record of an important decision affecting the papal claims. Bonizo, VI, (Jaffe, II, 643), places the legation before the Roman Council of April, 1059; Arnulf, III, 12-13, (Muratori, IV, 25-9), follows the same chronology; see also, Hefele-Le Clercq, IV: II, 1191-2, n.2.

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On the day following the arrival of Damian and Anselm, a tumult was provoked among the people. The Milanese clergy,

who were responsible for this uproar, protested that the Church of St. Ambrose should not be subjected to the laws of the Roman Church and that the Roman Pontiff had no jurisdiction over the Ambrosian clerics. Disorder spread through all the streets and even surrounded the archiepiscopal palace. The clamor increased still more, when, in the synodal assembly, in the presence of all the clergy, Peter took the place of honor, as the representative of the Pope, and placed Archbishop Guido on his left and Bishop Anselm on his right. Guido made no disturbance at Damian's presiding, but rather, offered to sit on a stool at the legate's feet, if he should so order. It has been suggested that the Archbishop made this proposition in order to enrage the people even more, but the Bishop of Ostia attributed it to Guido's reverence for the Holy See.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Peter Damian, Epistola Hildebrando, Mansi, XIX, col. 887; Arnulf, III, 12 (Murator, IV, 25-27), and Hefele-Le Clercq, IV: :II, 1192, n.3.

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Damian immediately mounted the pulpit to address the raging crowd. He declared that he had not come for the greater honor of Rome, but to increase the glory and prosperity of Milan. But he reminded the Milanese that the Roman Church was the source of Catholic doctrine and that she alone was supreme. He recalled the fact that the faith had been carried to Milan by Sts. Nazarius, Celsus, Protasius and Gervasius, who had been charged with that mission by the apostles Peter and Paul. He pointed

out that St. Ambrose himself had recognized the debt which Milan owed to Rome. Then with forceful logic, the legate went on to draw the inevitable conclusion:

Cum ergo vestrae salutis authores ex  
Romanae Ecclesiae prodierunt disciplina,  
consequens est, juxta aequitatis ordinem,  
ut Ecclesia Romana mater, Ambrosiana sit  
filia.

Damian stated that this order was not of recent origin and invited the Milanese, if they doubted his words, to scan the writings of their past leaders, wherein they would find a confirmation of his testimony.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Peter Damian, Epistola Hildebrando, in Mansi, XIX, col. 888

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Peter Damian's eloquence had the desired effect of calming the emotions of the assembly, and the people promised with one voice to do whatever he commanded them. Then the Cardinal began his inquest; among the enormous number of clerics present, he said that he found scarcely one who had not obtained his office by purchasing it. Indeed, he asserted that it was an immutable law of the Milanese Church, that for every order received, the candidate paid a sum of money in advance. All were tainted with simony, from the Archbishop to the lowest cleric. To punish all, as he might have done, would have left the Church of Milan without any priests. Damian was sorely distressed by this problem and in his letter to Hildebrand, advanced several reasons in defense of his subsequent action. Therefore, he accepted the course laid down by Pope Nicholas II.

Archbishop Guido, with one hand on the Gospels and the other in Damian's hand, condemned the practices of simony and clerical marriage, and promised to extirpate them in his diocese, and called down the curse of God upon his head, if he did not abide by his oath. Then each ecclesiastic stepped forward and swore in like manner. The Archbishop next bound himself not to ordain anyone to Holy Orders, who had not previously sworn that he had not paid, nor promised to pay, any sum of money for ordination. The climax was reached when Guido prostrated himself on the ground, entreating a penance from the papal envoy, by which he might expiate his past sins. Damian enjoined a penance of one hundred years, and prescribed a money payment to be made annually by the Archbishop. Then in the cathedral, a cleric, in the name of Guido, renewed the previous oaths in the presence of a multitude of the clergy and people, of whom many had already bound themselves in a similar fashion. Damian states that the ecclesiastics who had paid the ordinary sum for orders were subjected to a penance of five years; those who had paid more, to seven years. All were to make a pilgrimage, either to Rome or to Tours; Guido vowed to go to the shrine of St. James of Compostella in Spain. After having completed their penances, all were to be reconciled with the Church during mass, and were to receive from the Archbishop the insignia of their respective orders. However, only those who lived chaste lives and enjoyed good reputations, were to be restored to their former offices.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Peter Damian, Epistola Hildebrando, in Mansi, XIX, col. 885-896, and Hefele-Le Clercq, IV: :II, 1191-8.

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The papal embassy to Milan in 1059, marks the end of the independence of the Ambrosian Church. By the oaths taken on that occasion, she had subjected herself, once and for all, to the Roman See, though numerous attempts were made in the succeeding years to repudiate the authority of Rome. But if the Milanese Church had been deprived of her freedom, the benefits of greater order, tranquillity, and happiness were secured to her. The Milanese author, Arnulf, recognizing the significance of this legation, reproached his fellow citizens for their weakness: "O insensati Mediolanenses, quis vos fascinavit?...Dicetur enim in posterum, subjectum Romae Mediolanum."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, III, 12, (Muratori, IV, 29).

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The submission of the Milanese Church to the Papacy is clearly manifest in the prompt obedience which Guido and his suffragans accorded to the summons of Pope Nicholas II demanding their attendance at the Roman Council of April, 1059. They showed no hesitation in hastening to the Eternal City where they took their proper places at the right of the Pope. After promising future obedience to the chair of St. Peter, a thing that the Milanese prelates had practiced infrequently, Guido was given absolution and received the archiepiscopal ring from the Pope, even though the Archbishops of Milan had been accustomed to receive it from the Emperor. For the next few

years, Guido was not out of favor with Rome.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless,

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, III, 13, (Muratori, IV, 29); Bonizo, VI, (Jaffe, II, 643), and Giulini, IV, 48.

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after their return from the Council, the Lombard bishops, won over by their married clergy, did not publish the decrees against simony and clerical marriage. The Bishop of Brescia alone dared to do so and for his pains was nearly killed by his clerics, an attack which had the result of giving greater encouragement to the Patarini in their efforts for reform.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Bonizo, VI, (Jaffe, II, 644).

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In the meantime, the internal struggle in Milan seems to have abated for a time, but war with an external foe took its place. The chronicler Berthold assures us that this conflict with Pavia broke out in 1059. Arnulf points out that in the youth of the Emperor Henry IV, the Pavians rejected the bishop appointed by Henry, even though he had been consecrated by the Pope. Flamma pretends that the Emperor commanded the Milanese to chastise the Pavians and to compel them to accept their bishop. But Arnulf maintains that this was not the motive behind the war, rather, he says it was born of civil causes, "de causis civilibus emergit dissensio." He does not state what these causes were, but he implies that the basic reason was a long continued jealousy between the two cities.

Both were populous and renowned; the one, Milan, had been the ancient Roman capital of northern Italy, the other, Pavia, the Lombard capital. The former had frequently supported the claims of the German kings to the throne of Italy, while the latter had rejected them just as frequently.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Berthold, Annales, ad annum 1059, in Migne, PL, v. 147, col. 347; Galvaneus Flamma, c. 149, (Muratori, XI, col. 624), and Arnulf, III, 5, (Muratori, IV, 22).

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The Pavians assembled mercenary troops to supply the deficiencies of their own forces and laid waste the territory surrounding Milan. The citizens of the latter city concluded, on an unknown basis, an alliance with the Lodians, their ancient enemies. The Milanese army was divided into two corps; the one, according to Flamma, commanded by the Archbishop, assaulted the town of Parasio, lying between Crema and Treviglio, and destroyed it, as being an ally of Pavia. The other corps fought a violent battle at a place known as the Campo Morto, situated about eight miles north of Pavia, between the Olona and Lambro rivers. After considerable destruction, the Milanese remained masters of the field. According to an old calendar, this battle took place on May 23, 1061. It is a tradition in the family of Mantegazza that governed the area, that Boschino Mantegazza led the Milanese to victory. The battle of Campo Morto brought the war to a close. Two factors are notable in this conflict; first, the use of mercenary troops and, secondly, the formation of leagues between city

states. Both indicate the character of the intermunicipal wars to come.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, III, 6, (Muratori, IV, 22); Galvaneus Flamma, c. 149, (Muratori, XI, col. 624); Excerpta Historica ex Vetustissimo Kalendario Manuscripto, ad Maium, 1061, in Muratori, RR.II.SS., II::II, 235, and Giulini, IV, 48-59.

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Although Archbishop Guido had acknowledged the supremacy of the Holy See in 1059, he siezed the opportunity provided by the unexpected death of Nicholas II in 1061 and the consequent dispute over the papal throne, to attempt to release himself from the ties which bound him to Rome. Both the Roman nobles and the Lombard bishops were anxious for a change because they were aggravated by the line of reforming Popes who had infringed on their prerogatives. The young Emperor Henry IV invested Cadalous, Bishop of Parma, as Pope on October 28, 1061. But a month previous, the cardinals meeting at Rome had elected Anselm of Lucca, who took the name of Alexander II. The new Pope addressed a letter to the citizens of Milan announcing his election, yet, Milan and her Archbishop, in common with the rest of Lombardy, embraced the cause of the anti-Pope. The opposition to Alexander gradually dissipated, however, and at the Council of Mantua (c. 1061), he successfully refuted all the charges against him, to the satisfaction of the assembly. Guido of Milan and the other Lombard bishops threw themselves at his feet and requested pardon which was granted. The Pope returned to Rome, and Cadalous, though he did not renounce



his pretensions to the Holy See, remained at Parma.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Alexander II, *Epistolae*, I, in Migne, *PL*, 146, col. 1279-1281; Bonizo, VI, (*Jaffe*, II, 646), and Hefele-Le Clercq, IV:II, 1246-9.

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Shortly after the election of Alexander II, Landulf Cotta, Ariald's colleague, departed from this life. From a letter which Peter Damian addressed to Landulf, sometime after the papal legation to Milan in 1059, it is evident that Landulf desired to take the monastic habit. Damian tells us that Landulf had made a vow to do so on the occasion of the tumult which had occurred at the opening of the assembly in 1059. For some unknown reason, he never fulfilled this vow, so that Damian found it necessary to write, exhorting him to do so. The date of Landulf's death is uncertain but it seems best to place it late in the year 1061 or early in 1062. There is a letter extant which Alexander II sent to Ariald and Landulf, and this may be dated in 1061; thus it is apparent that Landulf was alive at that time. The historian Arnulf states that Landulf was beaten at Piacenza sometime after the Roman Synod of 1059 and that the wounds which he received were complicated by consumption which afflicted him for two years prior to his death. This indicates that his death probably occurred in the latter part of 1061 or in the early months of 1062.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Peter Damian, *Opuscula*, XLII, in Migne, *PL*, v. 145, col. 667-674; Alexander II, *Epistolae*, II, in Migne, *PL*, v. 146, col. 1281; Arnulf, III, 13-14, (*Muratori*, IV, 29-30), and Hefele-Le Clercq, IV:II, 1250, n. 1.

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Fortunately, Ariald was not compelled to carry on the work of reform unassisted. Landulf Cotta's brother, Herlembald, a knight, who had lately returned from Jerusalem, was persuaded to take Landulf's place. At the moment of his arrival in Milan from Jerusalem, Herlembald wished to enter a monastery, but Ariald suggested that he could be more useful to God by remaining in the world to assist in the uprooting of vice. Herlembald hesitated to undertake such a mission, and determined to seek the counsel of the Pope. On his way to Rome, he visited many monks and hermits to obtain their views on his vocation in life. Alexander II also doubted the wisdom of encouraging dissension in Milan by means of Herlembald and requested a period of three days in which to give the matter further consideration. The Pontiff was won over by the arguments of his adviser, Hildebrand, and entreated Herlembald to succor the Church. He then presented the knight with the papal standard and commended him to the work. Landulf Senior asserts that Herlembald was motivated in his acceptance by a personal grievance against the clergy. His affianced bride had been seduced by a cleric; therefore, the knight sought to revenge himself on the whole order. This may be merely another of Landulf's *columnies*; if not, it demonstrates the corruption of the ecclesiastical orders in Milan. The same author has shed doubt on the legitimacy of Herlembald's birth, but this is evidently an attempt to destroy the knight's character. Herlembald's hesitation at embarking on a career of civil strife has sufficiently shown the uprightness of his

soul.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Andrea, c. 4, (Migne, PL, v. 143, col. 1455-1456); Arnulf, III, 14, (Muratori, IV, 30); Landulf Senior, III, 13-14, (Muratori, IV, 103-104), Giulini, IV, 76-79, and Mann, VI, 298-299.

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Returning to Milan, Herlembald immediately indicated his ability and zeal for reform. His military training stood him in good stead and, within a short time, he had molded a well organized association of those devoted to the cause. With the assistance of this group, the knight and his companion, Ariald, endeavored to enforce the papal decrees against the vices of the clergy. Those defiant priests who presumed to perform their offices were driven from their altars and the struggle between the Patarines and the clergy assumed a new intensity. In the meantime, Archbishop Guido had proven false to the promises he had made to Peter Damian and the Pope and had engaged once more in the practice of simony. On the death of the abbot of the monastery of St. Celsus (c. 1063), a certain avaricious cleric, Lanfranc by name, already holding a lucrative benefice, usurped the abbacy. A similar case occurred at the monastery of St. Vincent. Herlembald and Ariald at once exerted every effort to oust the abbots from their posts on the charge of having obtained them through simony.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf Senior, III, 14, (Muratori, IV, 104); Arnulf, III, 15, (Muratori, IV, 30), and Giulini, IV, 82.

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About the same time, the Patarini, in an attempt to impose the Roman rite upon the city, openly attacked the Ambrosian liturgy. This tradition dated back to the time of Auxentius (365-374), a Cappadocian Arian and the immediate predecessor of St. Ambrose as Bishop of Milan. The Ambrosian rite, as it is called, has been identified with the Gallican rite, although important differences between the two developed in more recent times. This was due to the continual modification of the former, in an effort to bring it more and more into conformity with the Roman. This movement had its origins in the time of Charlemagne and gained considerable impetus in the latter half of the eleventh century, the period now under discussion. The citizens of Milan were exasperated by this latest activity of the reformers, which they believed was unwarranted impertinence on the part of Rome. They had already witnessed the submission of their Church to the Papacy, and had suffered their clergy to be attacked by the Patarines. But notions of liberty and independence were still strongly implanted in their minds; their devotion to the traditions of St. Ambrose, their patron, was too profound to permit further Roman interference. In consequence, inevitable tumult and disorder recurred.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>On the Ambrosian Rite, cf. Monsignor Louis Duchesne, Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution. A Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne, (translated by M. L. McClure, fifth edition, London, 1923), 88 et seq., and Dictionnaire d'Archeologie Chretienne et de Liturgie, (Publiee par Fernand Cabrol et Henri Le Clercq, 15 vols. in 30 Paris, 1924--still being published), "Ambrosien Rit", I, 1373-1441.

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The dispute over the Ambrosian Rite centered around the practice of fasting on Holy Saturday and on the days known as the Litanies. On the night of Holy Saturday, it was the ancient custom of the Milanese Church to celebrate mass and to administer the sacrament of baptism. But the clergy, not being able to endure such long fasting, were accustomed to perform these functions earlier in the day, or about the hour of nones (3 o'clock). Ariald condemned this practice of anticipation in 1064, but since he could not remedy it, he retired from the city to a place called Nemus, a mile away, where, with a few companions, he spent the night in fasting and prayer, while the other citizens were feasting. Ariald did not approve of abandoning the fast when it should be kept, but he did not wish that fasting should be enjoined during those times when the Church commanded the people to rejoice. Among those times were the fifty days following Easter to the feast of Pentecost. As a result, Ariald denounced the Milanese custom of fasting on the three days called the Litanies, which were celebrated on the first three ferias of the week following Ascension Thursday. The Litanies were of ancient origin, but the practice of fasting had been introduced by Archbishop Odilbert only at the commencement of the ninth century. Ariald did not object to the processions and other festivities held at that time, but only to fasting and public penance. Accordingly, he condemned the latter practices and was immediately accused of heresy by his opponents. The angry mob then rushed to Ariald's church and destroyed whatever

they found there or in his house. The opportune arrival of Herlembald and some of his party dispersed the crowd.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Andrea, c. 5, (Migne, PL, v. 143, col. 1464-1466); Arnulf, III, 15, (Muratori, IV, 30) and Giulini, IV, 83-5.

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Dissension flared up again in 1066, when, after Herlembald had gone to Rome to take counsel with the Pope, two priests of Monza, who had expressed their conversion from vice and had taken the oaths against simony and the marriage of the clergy, returned to the city to preach. The Archbishop on learning of this, seized both and shut them up in the castle of Lecco. Arialdo summoned his followers to assist in the liberation of the priests. Since Herlembald was absent, Arialdo took the papal standard and placed himself at the head of his troops. In the territory of Monza, they met Guido's faction, armed and ready for battle. Since the latter forces were the weaker of the two, they declined to fight, giving hostages and promising to give the priests their freedom, which was done shortly after.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Andrea, c. 6, (Migne, PL, v. 143, col. 1468-1469), and Giulini, IV, 96-7.

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When Herlembald returned from Rome in May, 1066, he brought with him a pontifical bull addressed to the clergy of Milan and excommunicating the Archbishop. On Pentecost Sunday, June 4, 1066, Guido determined to officiate at the solemn services in

the cathedral. He mounted the pulpit, holding the papal bull in his hand and denounced Arialdo and Herlembald for their attack upon him and his clergy. Then, he asked all who loved St. Ambrose to leave the church, so that his adversaries, who were present, might be more easily apprehended. The laity set upon Herlembald and the clergy upon his companion, who was beaten and left as dead. Herlembald escaped; when the report of the supposed death of Arialdo spread through the city, the Patarines invaded the archiepiscopal palace, plundering it, and beating the Archbishop, until they thought him dead.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Andrea, c. 6, (Migne, PL, v. 143, col. 1469-1474); Arnulf, III, 18, (Muratori, IV, 31); Giuliani IV, 100, and Hefele-Le Clercq, IV:II, 1253.

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Guido recovered, nevertheless, and issued an edict imposing an interdict on the city so long as Arialdo remained in it. The reformer withdrew from Milan at night and set out for Pavia, hoping to go eventually to Rome. But he was captured before he had gone far, yet the knight who had made him prisoner was prevailed upon to release him. Arialdo returned to his companions who decided that he should go into hiding for a few days. A certain priest offered to assist him and placed him in a shelter; he then hastened to the Archbishop and procured a troop of soldiers by whom Arialdo was seized again. He was taken to a place near Lake Maggiore where five men were set to guard him. In the meantime, Oliva, niece of the Archbishop,

whose servants had been instrumental in capturing Ariald, dispatched two clerics, who nursed a grudge against the reformer, to put him to death. When they arrived they found Ariald bound to a rock. They demanded that he accept Guido as a lawful Archbishop, but he steadfastly refused. The two priests then cut off his ears and again proposed the question; when Ariald replied once more in the negative, they cut off his nose. Then both eyes were torn from their sockets; his right hand and genital organs were severed from his body and his tongue ripped out of his mouth. His mangled body was then beaten to death with inhuman cruelty. In order to avoid responsibility for this murder, which took place on June 27, 1066, Oliva attempted to hide the corpse in several places, but finally it was weighted with stones and dropped into Lake Maggiore.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Andrea, c. 7, (Migne, PL, v. 143, col. 1472-1478); Arnulf, III, 18, (Muratori, IV, 31); Landulf Senior, III, 29, (Muratori, IV, 115-117); Bonizo, VI; (Jaffe, II, 648-649), and Lea, I, 255-256.

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For ten months following the decease of Ariald, Herlembald remained quiet, though slowly reconstructing his party. At the end of that period, however, a certain Algisius rushed through the streets of the city, declaring that on May 3, 1067, he had discovered the body of Ariald sticking out of the water along the shores of the Lake, and that it bore no traces of corruption. Without any hesitation, Herlembald gathered his followers and set out to locate the corpse. On the banks of



the river Ticino, which flows into Lake Maggiore, the body lay and was borne in triumph to Milan. On the feast of the Ascension, May 17, 1067, the corpse was placed in the church of St. Ambrose for the veneration of all the faithful. Ten days later, on Pentecost, the body was carried to the monastery of St. Celsus, where it was entombed. Later in the same year, Ariald was canonized with great solemnity by Pope Alexander II. Thus the cause of reform was glorified henceforth by the memory and example of a martyr.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Andrea, c. 8, (Migne, PL, v. 143, col. 1478-1482), and Verri, I, 152.

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Events in Milan had their counterpart in other cities of Lombardy. The Patarini had disseminated their beliefs over a great part of northern Italy and scenes similar to those in Milan were enacted elsewhere. In particular, in Cremona where Arnulf, the nephew of Archbishop Guido had been appointed Bishop, through the influence of his uncle at the German court, twelve men had taken the oath against simony and clerical marriage; all the citizens sided with them so that Arnulf was obliged to take a similar oath before his consecration. But on Good Friday, 1067, the Bishop ordered the seizure of a cleric belonging to the faction of the Patarini. In the resulting uproar, Arnulf himself was beaten by the crowd. After Easter, the citizens sent envoys to Pope Alexander, who urged the Cremonese not to tolerate any ecclesiastics who were

guilty of simony or who had infringed the laws of sacerdotal celibacy; further, he invited them to send a deputation to Rome to be present at the next Easter synod. In consequence, all the married or simoniac clergy were ousted from their benefices. Like proceedings were carried out in Piacenza, Lodi, Asti, and other towns.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Bonizo, VI, (Jaffe, II, 649-651), and Hefele-Le Clercq, IV::II, 1260-1.

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In Milan, Herlembald renewed his agitation, again binding clergy and laity by oaths and expelling the Archbishop from the city. In August, 1067, legates arrived from Rome, for the purpose of establishing peace and order. The envoys, Maginard, Bishop of Silva Candida, and the Cardinal John Minutus, were sincerely anxious to reconcile the opposing factions. Their settlement was based upon that of Peter Damian in 1059. They were not interested in reviewing the past, but confined their attention to the present situation, and reiterated the decrees against simony, clerical marriage and concubinage. They added that any layman, having temporal authority over a cleric and being convinced that he had violated the rule of celibacy, was bound to denounce him to the Archbishop and to see that the punishment imposed on the cleric by his superiors was carried out, insofar as it concerned temporal matters; if the ecclesiastical authorities neglected their obligation in this case, the layman was empowered to deprive the cleric of

his temporal benefice, but on the condition of restoring it later, either to the cleric if he had completed the prescribed penance, or to his legitimate successors. Finally, the Archbishop was commanded to visit once or twice all the parishes of his see in order to confirm and to establish ecclesiastical discipline and dogma. The papal legates also condemned the excesses of the Patarines, exhorting them to avoid pillage, burning and bloodshed, and to content themselves with a denunciation of the guilty clergy to the Archbishop or to the suffragan bishops of Milan. Fines were levied against those who violated the decrees; one hundred pounds denarii for the Archbishop; twenty for clergy and laity of the order of captains; ten for those of the valvassors; and five for merchants.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Constitutiones quas Legati Sedis Apostolicae Mediolanensibus Observandas Praescripserunt, in Mansi, XIX, col. 946-8.

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Since Guido had been excommunicated in 1066, it is surprising to note that the legates commanded the clergy and laity of the archbishopric to respect and obey their Archbishop and to condemn those who ignored his spiritual jurisdiction. Guido was not named, but since there was no other Archbishop nor any other claimant to the See, it appears that the legates were deliberately reaffirming the authority of the Archbishop. This is partly explained by their condemnation of the violent methods employed by some of the Patarines. The conduct of the envoys proves that in honoring Ariald, the

deceased head of the reformers, the Holy See was taking into account those elements of danger in the popular movement, for on several occasions, they had overstepped their legitimate bounds. Under the pretext of punishing obstinate clergyman, conflicts had arisen between rival social classes; mobs had been let loose whose only desire was plunder; respect for the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the priestly office had been reduced to a bare minimum. Thus the papal representatives, by avoiding all recrimination on the past, acted as peacemakers; they maintained their basic principles entirely, but they realized that nothing was to be gained by attacking Guido and renewing the sentence of excommunication against him. Perhaps they permitted the excommunication to lapse on condition that he resign, because it is known that Hildebrand declared that such action and the canonical election of another, was the only remedy for the ills of the city. The legates hoped that by acting with moderation, the Church of Milan would be freed from disorder and would take on a new life.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Constitutiones quas Legati, in Mansi, XIX, col. 946-8; Arnulf, III, 19, (Muratori, IV, 31-2); Hefele-Le Clercq, IV: :II, 1261-2, and Lea, I, 256-7.

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Shortly after the departure of Maginard and John Minutus, Herlembald journeyed to Rome to discuss the question of electing a new Archbishop in a canonical manner, without having recourse to the pleasure of the Emperor, as had been customary. It



was the opinion of the Archdeacon Hildebrand that the only means of restoring religious peace in Lombardy was to secure the resignation of Guido and to replace him with another approved by the Holy See. Accordingly, when Herlembald returned to Milan, he compelled both clergy and laity to swear that in the future, their Archbishop would be confirmed in office by the Pope rather than by the Emperor.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, III, 19, (Muratori, IV, 31-32).

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Archbishop Guido, worn out with age, sickness, and the unending contention, had already determined to surrender his office to another. But he disregarded the intentions of the papal party, preferring to give up the liberties of the Ambrosian Church to the Emperor. He selected as his successor, sometime in 1068, the subdeacon, Godfrey, an ordinary of the Church of Milan, who had long been his principal adviser. Godfrey proceeded to Germany to receive the imperial investiture. Henry IV accepted his promises to exterminate the Patarini and to send Herlembald as a prisoner to his court; after Godfrey had paid the usual sum, he was invested with the archbishopric of Milan and received the crozier and the ring which Guido had sent to the Emperor.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Arnulf, III, 20, (Muratori, IV, 33); Bonizo, VI, (Jaffe, II, 651-652), and Landulf Senior, III, 17, (Muratori, IV, 106-107).

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During Godfrey's sojourn in Germany, Herlembald seized all the strong places of Lombardy, so that when the new Archbishop arrived in Italy, he found himself rejected on all sides. The Pope refused to recognize him because he had not been canonically elected. The Milanese denied him admittance to the city, because they had had no part in his election. No doubt, the growing independence of Milan influenced the citizens in their attitude, but of course, Herlembald's prevailing authority shaped the trend of their thought. Finding himself an outcast, Godfrey took refuge in the fortress of Castiglione on the river Olona. Soon after, Guido, who had retired to Burgoglio, a place near the site of modern Alessandria, confessed that he had been deceived by Godfrey's character, and expressed a desire to reassume his former dignity, and to make peace with Herlembald. But the latter was unwilling to permit Guido to have a free hand in the city, and so confined him to the monastery of St. Celsus.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, III, 20, (Muratori, IV, 33) and Hefele-Le Clercq, IV::II, 1263-4.

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Herlembald then attempted to dislodge Godfrey from his retreat and, advancing with a numerous army, laid siege to Castiglione in January, 1071. Godfrey defended himself bravely until a sudden turn of events forced Herlembald to abandon the enterprise. During the first week of March, 1071, Milan was ravaged by the unexpected outbreak of fire. Bonizo

maintains that this calamity was the work of the party hostile to reform who wished to revenge themselves on the Patarines. Supported by a strong wind, the flames spread rapidly, consuming many houses, churches and other buildings. The troops besieging Castiglione were alarmed by reports of the fire and hastened to the city to save what they could. Herlembald remained with a few faithful followers to continue the siege, but shortly after Easter, April 24, 1071, Godfrey, accompanied by large forces of cavalry and infantry, issued forth to give battle. He sustained great losses, however, but succeeded in escaping from the field. He did not renounce his claims to the archdiocese. On returning to Milan, Herlembald commanded the citizens to swear that they would never accept Godfrey as their Archbishop.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, III, 21-22, (Muratori, IV, 33-34); Bonizo, VI, (Jaffo, II, 652), and Landulf Senior, III, 28, (Muratori, IV, 115.)

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The death of Archbishop Guido on August 30, 1071, at Burgoglio, whither he had received permission to retire, posed the weighty problem of selecting a successor. The Emperor demanded the recognition of Godfrey, but the Patarini, led by Herlembald and upheld by the papacy, elected as their Archbishop, a young cleric of the city, Atto by name, on January 6, 1072. But the opposing faction broke into the archiepiscopal palace uninvited, interrupting the banquet in honor of the new prelate. Atto was dragged from a corner in which he had

taken refuge, his clothes were stripped from his body and in that miserable condition he was conducted to the church of St. Mary Hiemalis, where, amidst the shouts of the raging mob, he was forced to mount the pulpit and renounce his rights to the Ambrosian See, "in praesens et in perpetuum." Atto's supporters had fled at the first signs of trouble and even the papal legate, Cardinal Bernard, received some blows and had his vestments torn. On the following morning, Herlembald regained control of the city and sent representatives to Pope Alexander. A few weeks later, in a synod held in Rome, Atto was confirmed as the legitimate Archbishop and was absolved from his oath, since it had been taken under compulsion. Finally, the sentence of excommunication was levelled against Godfrey. Henry IV, however, sent his own emissaries to Lombardy to compel the suffragan bishops of Milan to consecrate Godfrey, which they did, unwillingly enough, at Novara, (c. 1073).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf III, 23, IV, 2-3, (Muratori, IV, 34-36); Bonizo, VI, (Jaffe, II, 653-4), and Landulf Senior, III, 28, (Muratori, IV, 115). Neither Atto nor Godfrey appear in the ancient catalogues of the Archbishops, the one because he was never consecrated, the other because he was never recognized in Milan.

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A new direction was given to the reform of the Church and particularly to the movement in Milan by the Archdeacon Hildebrand who ascended the papal throne as Gregory VII a few days after the death of Alexander II, April 21, 1073. It was Gregory's profound conviction that the extermination of vice



in the Church could not be accomplished until lay interference in the selection of the clergy had been stamped out. Thus he attacked the whole system of feudal investiture of the clerical orders. Such action naturally brought him into conflict with the Emperor who regarded the investiture of ecclesiastics as one of his chief prerogatives. In the ensuing controversy, known as the War of Investitures, the troubled city of Milan was involved, each of the contending parties using it as a foil against his opponent. The Emperor had appointed Godfrey as Archbishop, while the Pope supported the canonically elected Atto. The two factions of the city, the Patarines and the clerical or imperial party, were now about equal in strength, so that neither of the rival claimants could take possession of the cathedral. Godfrey had fortified himself in the castle of Brebbio, while Atto took up his residence in Rome. In spite of the admonitions of the Pope, Henry IV persisted in his attempts to force the Milanese to accept Godfrey. The Ambrosian See was left then without a recognized pastor and the suffragan bishops acted according to their own liking.

Gregory VII kept up a constant stream of correspondence with Milan and Lombardy in an effort to secure the acceptance of Atto and the fulfillment of the principles of reform. On June 24, 1073, he wrote to the marquise Beatrice of Tuscany and her daughter, urging them to avoid any relations with the excommunicated Lombard bishops; on the twenty-ninth of the

same month, Bishop William of Pavia was exhorted to resist the incursions of Godfrey; then on July 1, in a letter to all the faithful of Lombardy, the excommunication of Godfrey was brought again to their attention and they were commanded to offer him no assistance. From Capua, September 27, 1073, the Pope addressed a letter to Herlembald, commending him for his zeal and expressing the hope that with the help of Henry IV, affairs in Milan could be brought to a peaceful settlement. A second letter from Capua, October 9 advised Herlembald to seek a reconciliation with those persons who had abandoned the cause of Godfrey and especially with Gregory, Bishop of Vercelli, who had promised obedience to the Holy See in the future.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gregory VII, Registrum, I, nos. 11, 12, 15, 25, 26, in P. Jaffe, Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum, II, 21-43.

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The Milanese were little disposed to obey the papal condemnation of Godfrey, while Herlembald exerted every effort to enforce it. When the suffragan bishops, most of whom had been excommunicated, attempted to fulfill the episcopal functions, in the absence of the Archbishop and, in particular, to consecrate the Holy Oils on Holy Thursday, 1074, Herlembald violently protested and threw the sacred chrism on the ground; then he trampled it under foot, because it had been blessed by schismatic bishops. On Holy Thursday of the next year, Herlembald again refused to permit the blessing of the

Holy Oils. Since none of the bishops or priests would bless the baptismal fonts on Holy Saturday, a certain priest, Liutprand of St. Paul, an ardent supporter of Herlembald, undertook this office and also administered the sacrament of baptism.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf IV, 6-9, (Muratori, IV, 36-38); Landulf Senior, III, 29, (Muratori, IV, 115-117), and Hefele-Le Clercq, V:I, 143-4.

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The citizens were gravely offended by this latest interference of Herlembald in the affairs of their Church and a number of them withdrew from the city; then they swore to destroy Herlembald's power and to select a new Archbishop whose election should be confirmed by the Emperor. On re-entering the city, sometime after Easter, April 5, 1075, they were provoked to arms by a feverish oration delivered by the papal champion. When he realized that a battle was to take place, Herlembald seized his own weapons, and bearing the standard given him by Alexander II in his hand, the knight mounted his horse, ready for the affray. The imperial party surrounded the Patarines and struck Herlembald from his charger. His body was completely divested of its covering and then beaten with cudgels and stones by the revengeful people, "ut qui vivens multis terror fuerat, multorum subjaceret lusibus moriens." The followers of the knight had fled, but one of them, Liutprand of St. Paul, was discovered and deprived of his ears and nose. The citizens rejoiced that they had overcome at last the man who had so long tyrannized over them, and on the morrow,

all went to the church of St. Ambrose where solemn ceremonies of thanksgiving were held and absolution having been given, the people returned joyfully to their homes.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, IV, 10, (Muratori, IV, 39); Landulf Senior, III, 29, (Muratori, IV, 115-117); Bonizo, VI, (Jaffe, II, 662-663), and Berthold, ad annum 1077, (Migne, PL, v. 147, col. 407). Herlembald was canonized later in the century by Pope Urban II.

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The death of Herlembald Cotta in 1075, brings to a close the great period of ecclesiastical reform in Milan. Certainly, the vices of the clergy had not been completely eradicated, but important steps had been made in that direction. Towards the middle of the next century the reform had declined in significance and the development of the communal government and the frequent intercity wars took its place in the annals of Milan. Undoubtedly, the movement for reform was beneficial in the long run, for by raising the priests of the Ambrosian city to a more exalted conception of their office, it raised the spiritual ideals of the laity as well, and brought about a general improvement in morality. Further, the movement, by encouraging hostility to the clergy had completed the downfall of the episcopal and ecclesiastical authority in civil affairs; the same hostility was directed against the Empire as the support of the corrupt clergy and, in consequence, did much to emancipate Milan from imperial control. From this time hence, the lay citizenry secured increased jurisdiction over the civil government. On the negative side, the reform



had produced bloodshed, plunder and other crimes prolonged over a period of twenty years. It had encouraged hatred between social classes, between priests and laity, and had lessened the respect of the ordinary layman for his priest and Archbishop. Reform was certainly necessary but the Patarines attempted to destroy the old traditions of the Milanese Church with one blow and to introduce the practices of Rome. Obviously, it is impossible to carry out such a plan without violence. Though one may approve of the ideals which inspired the ecclesiastical reform, one could wish that it had been effected gradually, with the avoidance of tumult and destruction.

CHAPTER IV  
ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS  
(1075-1136)

After the murder of Herlembald, messengers were sent speedily to the Emperor Henry IV to acquaint him with the details of that outrage and to entreat him to appoint a new Archbishop to the see of Milan. Henry was elated by these reports and consented to abandon his protegee, Godfrey; he then nominated as Archbishop, Tedald, a Milanese subdeacon who was residing at the German court. Bonizo asserts that when the Emperor was informed of events in Milan, he dispatched his adviser, Count Everard of Nellunburg, to northern Italy in September, 1075, to reestablish the imperial authority and, particularly, to settle the state of Milan. The Count lauded the citizens for the execution of Herlembald and attacked the few remaining Patarines as enemies of the state. Then he invited the people to send envoys to Henry IV to request the appointment of a new Archbishop. According to Landulf Senior, three deacons and a notary were sent to the imperial court as candidates for the office; the notary, Tedald, secured the appointment. The Archbishop-elect, "virum nobili quidem genere ortum et satis corpore pinguem, set virtutibus tenuem", (as Bonizo describes him), returned to the Ambrosian city where he received the acclamations of the people. But there were now three claimants to the Archbishopric: Atto, who had been canonically elected, though never consecrated, and now, having been rejected by the people, residing at

Rome; Godfrey, invested by the Emperor and consecrated by the suffragan bishops, but now abandoned by the Emperor as well as by the citizens; and Tedald. Arnulf describes this situation as "*res quidem mira et cunctis retro temporibus, inaudita, ut urbis unius uno electo antistite, sacrato altero, uno eodemque tempore, tertius erumpat!*"<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arnulf, V, 2-5, (Muratori, IV, 41); Bonizo, VI, (Jaffe, II, 664), and Landulf Senior, IV, 2, (Muratori, IV, 119-120).

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When Tedald sought the recognition of the Pope, Gregory VII replied in a letter of December 4, 1075, that the see of Milan was not vacant and that he had no cause to depose Atto whose election had been done in the prescribed form; but Tedald was granted permission to come to Rome to defend himself at the next synod to be held in February, 1076, with every precaution being taken for his safe conduct thither. If justice demanded it, said the Pope, he would willingly depose Atto, but in the meantime, Tedald should not attempt to have himself consecrated. A second letter of December 8, 1075, informed the suffragan bishops of Milan that, despite his formal promises to seek an amicable settlement of that city's affairs, Henry IV had invested Tedald as Archbishop; under pain of excommunication, the Pope forbade the suffragans from consecrating him. But neither Tedald nor the suffragans paid any attention to the remonstrances of the Pope; the same bishops who had consecrated Godfrey consecrated Tedald

on February 4, 1076.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gregory VII, *Registrum*, III, nos. 8-9, (Jaffe, II, 214-218) and Giulini, IV, 210, 262-3.

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During the year 1076, Archbishop Tedald presided at a synod held at Pavia wherein the assembled bishops excommunicated Pope Gregory. Already in January of that year the Emperor had convened a synod at Worms in which he demanded that the Pope descend from the papal throne which he had usurped. Gregory replied to these hostile actions by excommunicating and deposing the Emperor. Revolt in Germany and the announced intention of the princes to elect a new Emperor convinced Henry that he was beaten. In January of the succeeding year, he crossed the Alps and made his submission to the Pope at Canossa.

The Lombards were disgusted by Henry's voluntary humiliation before the papal power which they held in contempt, and so abandoned the imperial party for a time, seeking a reconciliation with the Pope. The Milanese sent legates to Gregory in 1077 asking forgiveness for their previous error in supporting Tedald. In response to their appeal, the Pope sent the Bishops, Anselm II of Lucca, nephew of the late Pontiff, Alexander II, and Gerard of Ostia, to Milan fifteen days after the absolution of the Emperor. The two Bishops were hindered in their mission by a troop of soldiers in the service of Bishop Denis of Piacenza who had been deposed by Gregory VII



in 1075. The biographer of Anselm of Lucca relates that the Bishop of Ostia was arrested but the soldiers dared not lay hands on Anselm. The latter demanded that they release his companion or hold himself prisoner as well. This they refused to do, so that Anselm was obliged to take his way alone. Gerard was probably liberated after the Diet of Florsheim in March, 1077, as one of the conditions of peace between the Emperor and the Pope. When the Bishop of Lucca arrived at Milan the whole city rejoiced. For three days, although Tedald attempted to provoke a tumult, the papal envoy preached and absolved all from their sins.<sup>1</sup> This

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<sup>1</sup>Vita Anselmi Lucensis, in Migne, PL, v. 148, col. 914; Arnulf, V, 9, (Muratori, IV, 44-45), says that he was one of the legates sent to the Pope and that both Anselm and Gerard came to Milan; Berthold, ad annum 1077, (Migne, PL, v. 147, col. 382), and Giulini, IV, 223.

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legation was followed by the excommunication of Tedald and his suspension from every office as bishop and priest, at the Roman Council held in Lent, 1078. The sentence against him was repeated at the Roman Councils of February, 1079 and March 1080. Notwithstanding these successive condemnations, Tedald was able to retain his office until his death in 1085.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>For these councils see, Gregory VII, Registrum, V, no. 14a, VI, no. 17a, VII, no. 14a, (Jaffe, II, 305, 355, 399).

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Indeed, until the end of his career, Tedald remained a staunch supporter of Henry IV in his controversy with the

Pope. On June 25, 1080, a diet was held at Brixen on the confines of Germany and Italy, at which Gregory VII was deposed and Archbishop Guibert of Ravenna elected in his place as Clement III. Landulf Senior states that many of the bishops present favored Tedald for the office but he declined the honor.<sup>1</sup> In March of the following year, Henry IV

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<sup>1</sup>Acta Synodi Brixinensis in Codex Udalrici, no. 64, in Jaffe, Bibliotheca, V, 133-5, and Landulf Senior, IV, 2, (Muratori, IV, 119-120).

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entered Milan where he was crowned King of Italy by Archbishop Tedald. From thence he proceeded to Rome. His efforts to take the papal capital did not bear fruit until June, 1083. According to Landulf Senior, two Milanese soldiers accompanying Tedald, a miller called Amizo and Ugo, a valet, secretly scaled the walls of the city at night, slew the guards and opened the gates to the imperial forces.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf Senior, IV, 2, (Muratori, IV, 120), and Giulini, IV, 237-9.

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It is evident from Tedald's activities on behalf of the Emperor and the anti-Pope that the Milanese, despite their submission to the papal legate in 1077, had returned to their allegiance to Henry IV. Thus they remained so long as Tedald ruled the archdiocese. But on the very same day that Pope Gregory died in exile at Salerno, May 25, 1085, Tedald, the

usurper of the chair of St. Ambrose, passed away at Arona.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Catalogus Vetus Archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium, in Muratori, RR, II. SS., IV, 143, and Giulini, IV, 258.

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Anselm of Rho was elected to succeed Tedald and, after being invested by the Emperor, was consecrated on July 1, 1086. According to the Life of Urban II, in the Liber Pontificalis, there was only one bishop present who was still in communion with Rome, the other bishops having been excommunicated. This bishop alone consecrated Anselm, with the consent of the others, though they did not perform the necessary imposition of hands. For this reason, and since so many councils had condemned lay investiture, the papal legate immediately deposed Anselm, who then retired to a monastery. Shortly after the election of Pope Urban II in 1088, Anselm was commanded by the Pope to return from his retreat, where he had lived a holy life, and to reassume his former dignity. Later, on his request, Urban II sent the pallium to Anselm III, through the legate, Cardinal Herimanus. Only a fragment of Urban's letter on this occasion remains:

Pallium fraternitati tuae consuetudinem Romanae Aecclesiae quae nulli hoc dignitatis genus nisi praesenti concedit, tuis literis exorati ex apostolicae sedis benedictione transmittimus.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Vita Urbani II, in Le Liber Pontificalis, (edited by L'Abbe Louis Duchesne, 2 vols., Paris, 1888-1892), II, clx, 293, and Theodoricus Ruinartus, Vita B. Urbani II, in Migne, PL, v. 151, col. 38.

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The fact that the Life of Pope Urban does not mention the name of the Milanese Archbishop who was restored by the Pope, but refers to him only as "A. Mediolanensis Archiepiscopus", has led many authors to maintain that the individual whose election was called in question was Anselm III's immediate successor, Arnulf III. But the text of the Acta Concilii Mediolanensis of 1098 proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that the author of the Life of Urban II was speaking of Anselm III. The Acta states plainly enough:

Ordinationes autem illorum qui se a Thealdo jussi sunt execrari decrevimus omnino irritas fieri; quae vero factae sunt ab Anselmo ejus successore ante monasticam conversionem sub Domni Papae examine illas ordinationes commisimus judicandas. Eas tamen ordinationes vel reconciliationes quos post ejus a monasterio reversionem vel susceptum a Romana Ecclesia pallium idem Anselmus fecit, ratas esse judicamus si tamen ordinati vel reconciliati probabilis vitae fuerint et canonice vixerint.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Acta Concilii Mediolanensis, in Giulini, IV, 539-542.

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This passage definitely confirms the author of the Life of Urban II. Therefore, it is evident that Anselm of Rho was a schismatic when first elected. But since there was no pope to approve his election he had to content himself with the imperial investiture. After the death of Gregory VII, the Holy See remained vacant for twelve months until the election of Victor III on May 24, 1086. The new Pope was not



anxious to accept the heavy duties of his office and could not be prevailed upon to be consecrated until May 9, 1087. Within a few months, that is in September, Victor III died and his successor, Urban II, was not consecrated until March 12, 1088. In consequence of this confusion in the papacy, Anselm III could not effect a reconciliation with Rome. And since Lombardy was still strongly anti-papal in 1086, and dominated by the Emperor, even a most well intentioned bishop such as Anselm would not dare to pronounce himself openly against Henry IV. Of course, after the papacy had regained its former vigor under Urban II and the threatening power of the Emperor had been removed, there was nothing to prevent the reestablishment of cordial relations between Rome and Milan.

Thus, in 1088, Pope Urban wrote to the Archbishop urging him to devote himself to the reconciliation of those clerics who were in schism with the Church. In the following year, in another letter, Urban granted Anselm permission to restore to their offices those priests ordained by Tedald, provided that they were not guilty of simony and if their mode of life were befitting that of clergymen. It is apparent from the tenor of these letters that any claim which Henry IV might have had to the loyalty of the Archbishop of Milan had disappeared.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Urban II, *Epistolae*, IV, in Mansi, XX, col. 645; Kehr, I, no. 124, p. 53; Hefele-Le Clercq, V:1, 342-3, n. 1, 346.

Unfortunately, there is a lacuna of about thirteen years in the history of Milan, that is, from the death of Tedald in 1085 to the election of Anselm IV in 1097. Both Arnulf and Landulf Senior conclude their works with the death of Tedald while Landulf of St. Paul, the chief source for the early twelfth century, does not commence his history until 1097. Thus we are placed in the weak position of having to rely upon scraps of information which can be gleaned from other sources that are not interested primarily in Milanese affairs.

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For the rest of his career, Anselm was an ardent supporter of Urban II, who pursued a vigorous policy against the Emperor. The Pope approved the marital alliance of Welf V, son of Welf IV, Duke of Bavaria, with the ageing Countess Matilda in 1089; this brought Henry into Italy to wage a campaign that was successful for two years. But he soon had to contend more fiercely to maintain his authority in Lombardy where it had hitherto been unchallenged. A severe blow to the imperial fortunes came in 1093, with the revolt of Henry's son Conrad, who was royally welcomed by the papal party in Italy. He was crowned King in the same year at Monza by Archbishop Anselm and the ceremony was repeated in the church of St. Ambrose in Milan. At the same time, a league was organized which was to be in effect for twenty years; it was composed of Milan, Lodi, Cremona, Piacenza and other Lombard towns in opposition to Henry's government. This league, which was a foreshadowing of the later Lombard League, definitely indicates the development of independence in the cities which were now prepared to take advantage of the difficulties of the Emperor to emancipate themselves fully from his juris-

diction. The coronation of Conrad was perhaps the last important act of Anselm's episcopate, because his life was closed on December 4, 1093, and his body laid to rest in the church of St. Nazarius.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Bernold, Chronicon, ad annum 1093, in Migne, PL, v. 148, col. 1412-3; Landulf Junior, sive de Sancto Paulo, Historia Mediolanensis ab anno MDCV usque ad annum MCXXXVII, c. 1, in Muratori, RR.II.SS., v, 472, and Giulini, IV, 295.

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Two days later, on December 6, a capitaneus, Arnulf of the Porta Orientalis or Argentea, was elected to preside over the see of Milan. Giulini maintains that he was consecrated on the same day. He suggests that the death of Anselm III followed shortly after his coronation of Conrad, and since the King and the suffragan bishops were probably still in the city or its vicinity, it is likely that the election, investiture and consecration of Arnulf III were all performed in the short space of two days. However, it is doubtful that Conrad, who had received the crown of Italy through the influence of the Pope, would have placed himself so quickly in the bad graces of Urban II, by investing the new Archbishop. Certainly, Arnulf was not consecrated on the sixth of December, 1093, because the historian Bernold states that sometime before the council of Piacenza, 1095, Arnulf, who had been a long time elected, but not yet consecrated, received episcopal consecration by will of the Pope, from the hands of Gebhard, Bishop of Constance, Archbishop Diemo of Salzburg, and Bishop

Oudalric of Passau, all of whom were staunch supporters of the papacy. Nor is it likely that of all the bishops, whom Giulini supposes to have attended the election of Arnulf in 1093, only one could be found who was still in communion with Rome. Those bishops who had been excommunicated were obviously not members of the papal party and would not have been present at the coronation of Conrad or the election of Arnulf. Therefore, Giulini's statement that Arnulf III was deposed by the papal legate because he had been invested by a layman and had been consecrated by only one bishop not in schism cannot be accepted. The Acta Concilii Mediolanensis of 1098 have clearly shown that the passage in the Life of Urban II referring to such an incident, upon which Giulini has based his conjectures, pertains to Anselm III of Rho and not to his successor, Arnulf III.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Bernold, ad annum 1095, (Migne, PL, v. 148, col. 1424); Giulini, IV, 308-9; Ughelli, IV, col. 158-9 holds with Giulini, but with much less reason; Ruinartus, c. 142-143, (Migne, PL, v. 151, col. 117-118); and see above, pp. 115-117.

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There is a letter extant, however, which gives credence to the suggestion that all of the clergy of Milan were not in accord with the election of Arnulf. This explains perhaps the delay of little more than a year before Arnulf was consecrated. This epistle is addressed to Pope Urban II, by five priests, Andrea, Otto, Arnold, Oldradus and Arnulf, calling themselves followers of St. Arianald. The priests in-



formed Urban of the death of Anselm of Rho and stated that they knew not whom to follow now, if not the Pope, because they feared that the Milanese Church was in grave danger. They requested Urban to confirm them in the priesthood, perhaps because they were among the number of priests ordained by Archbishop Anselm while he was still out of communion with the Holy See. But whatever opposition there might have been to Arnulf III seems to have dissipated after his consecration in 1094-1095.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Epistola Urbano II, in Giulini, IV, 537-8.

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Evidence of friendly relations between Rome and Milan is afforded by the visit of Urban II to the latter city in 1095. After attending the great Council of Piacenza, March, 1095, at which the problem of reconciling schismatic priests with the Church had been solved, the Pope passed to Cremona where King Conrad swore fealty to him and in exchange received the promise of imperial coronation. On the sixteenth of May, Urban arrived in Milan and there formally proclaimed Herlembald as a saint. With Archbishop Arnulf, he carried Herlembald's relics to the Basilica of St. Denis. Ughelli states that Arnulf accompanied the Pope to Clermont where the famous Council was held in November, 1095. But there is a charter extant (quoted by Giulini) which shows that the Archbishop was in his palace in Milan on November 2, 1095.

On the basis of this evidence, Giulini concludes that Arnulf did not attend the Council of Clermont. However, the Council was held later in the month, so that it is possible for the Archbishop to have been present, though, of course, there is no definite evidence to support this statement. In 1096, on his return to Rome, the Pope stopped at Milan again and, in the church of St. Thecla, preached to a tremendous throng of people and declared that the least ecclesiastic is greater than any king; he also commanded that priests should receive their offices through the election of the men of the parish and not by the payment of money.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 28, (Muratori, V, 497-498); Giulini, IV, 318-322, 339; and Ughelli, IV, 158.

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The city of Milan was no less affected than the rest of Europe by the renowned sermon which Urban II delivered at the Council of Clermont in 1095, calling upon the nobles of Christendom to retrieve the Holy Places of Palestine from the infidel Turks. Galvaneus Flamma writes that among the Crusaders present at the fall of Jerusalem in 1099 were Otto Visconti, John of Rho, Ardicus, Benedict, also called Ronzinus de Cortesella and Peter de Salvaticis, all of Milan. Ughelli contends that Archbishop Arnulf III raised an army of seven thousand men, commanded by Otto Visconti, which departed for the Holy Land in company with Godfrey de Bouillon.

Nevertheless, there is no contemporary evidence to support such an opinion. But it may be legitimately supposed that several nobles of Milan, such as those named by Flamma, did lead small contingents on the First Crusade. Since the Archbishop died on September 24, 1097 and was buried in the monastery of Civate near Milan, he obviously took no part in this Crusade, as Ughelli believes.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Galvaneus Flamma, c. 141, 153-154, (Muratori, XI, col. 617-618, 622); Ughelli, IV, col. 158-9; Giulini, IV, 414, and Tristanus Calchus, 147.

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The election following the death of Arnulf III was presided over by Cardinal Armanus, Bishop-elect of Brescia, acting in the capacity of papal legate. The nobility of Milan sought to elevate to the chair of St. Ambrose, Landulf of Badaglo, praepositus of the canons of St. Ambrose, a man distinguished for his learning and his fine character. But Armanus objected, thereby provoking a riot. Landulf fled to his own church, while the Cardinal proceeded to elect Anselm of Bovisio, a valvassor and praepositus of the canons of St. Lawrence. But the suffragan bishops of Milan refused to assist at his consecration, so Anselm IV was obliged to receive ordination to the priesthood and to be consecrated by bishops not of the province of Milan, on November 3, 1097. Later he received the archiepiscopal pallium from the legates

of Pope Urban II.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 1, (Muratori, V, 469-470); Landulf writes in c. 28, (497-8), that towards the end of the year 1113, the primicerius of the Milanese clergy, Andrea Dalvolto, died and was succeeded by Nazarius Muricola, who had been a fellow student of the historian. In 1096, on hearing the sermon of Urban II in Milan, he entered the church of Sts. Babila and Romanus, and with the support of the people expelled the priests who were accustomed to serve there. Others following his example, all of whom were unlearned men and had not received Holy Orders, having no other means of subsistence, forcibly entered the churches and seized the benefices of the clergy. Nazarius was instrumental in securing the election of Anselm IV as Archbishop, who then confirmed the usurpers in their offices.

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In pursuance of the policy laid down by the Pope at the Council of Piacenza with regard to the reconciliation of schismatic clerics with the Church, a synod was convened at Milan on April 5, 1098, at which the new Archbishop presided. In attendance were the Archbishop of Arles, the Bishops of Magalona, Mantua, Reggio, Como, Piacenza and Brescia. The first two sessions assembled in the church of St. Mary Hiemalis, but because of the large numbers present, the third and final meeting was held in the open fields. The assembly deliberated on the state of the Milanese Church and especially on the problem of those bishops who had invaded the suffragan dioceses of Milan without papal approbation. Although Henry IV had returned to Germany in the spring of 1097, his partisans still retained the upperhand in the majority of the cities of Lombardy. In the province of Milan, almost all the episcopal sees were occupied by intruders.



Therefore, the synod condemned the Bishops Obert Baltricus of Brescia, Arnulf of Bergamo, Gregory of Vercelli, Anselm of Novara, Landulf of Como, Peregrine of Alba, Otto of Asti, Theodatus of Albenga, and the Bishop of Tortona. Next the ordinations made by Archbishop Tedald were declared null and void; those of his successor, Anselm III, prior to his reconciliation with Pope Urban, were subjected to further inquiry, while those made after he had secured papal approval were adjudged as valid. Finally, the sale of church offices and the practice of lay investiture were condemned. However, the synod remains silent on the question of clerical marriage and concubinage. These customs had been so strongly entrenched in Milan that they could not be abolished suddenly. Undoubtedly, they continued to survive despite numerous attempts at repression. The strict prohibition of hereditary succession in ecclesiastical benefices enunciated by the synod, demonstrates that marriage among the clergy must not have been infrequent.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Acta Concilii Mediolanensis, in Giulini, IV, 539-542; Hefele-Le Clercq, V::I, 457, and Lea, I, 259-262.

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The news of the fall of Jerusalem in the year following this synod, created widespread enthusiasm and rejoicing in Milan. Archbishop Anselm in response to the pleas of Urban II determined to effect his design to lead a crusade to the Orient. Ughelli maintains that Anselm led five thousand men

to Palestine to take part in the First Crusade. He supposedly returned to Milan in 1098 to obtain new levies. But again there is no contemporary account which would demonstrate the truth of these statements.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ughelli, IV, col. 159-161.

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Anselm IV did go on a crusade but this took place in 1100. Prior to his departure, he instituted a search for one to whom he could entrust the archdiocese as his vicar. Certain of his priests had gone to Savona, a suffragan diocese of Milan, about thirty miles to the west of Genoa, to elect a bishop. At a place called Feraria (now probably Ferrera, lying between Acqui and Savona) they found a Greek, Peter Chrysolanus or Grossulan, so called because his usual dress was of a very coarse fabric; the tenor of his life and the manner of his dress have led some authors to suggest that he was a Vallombrosian monk. This individual was chosen as Bishop of Savona by the Milanese priests who brought him to Milan with them. There, through the efforts of the priests John Aculeus and Nazarius Muricola, Grossulan was appointed vicar to Anselm (1098) by the suffragan Bishops, Armanus of Brescia, Arialdo of Genoa and Mainard of Turin.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 3, (Muratori, V, 474-475), and Giulini, IV, 358.

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When this important matter had been taken care of Anselm was free to put his long-projected crusade into effect. A celebration in honor of the capture of Jerusalem was held on July 15, 1100, in a church which had been remodeled in honor of the Holy Sepulchre by Ronzinus de Cortesella, one of the Milanese who had taken part in the Crusade of 1099. The Archbishop then exhorted the young men of Milan to take up the banner of the cross and follow him to Palestine. Absolution of sins was granted to all who should enlist in the ranks of the crusaders. Landulf of St. Paul states that the Milanese troops marched away singing a hymn, "Ultreja! Ultreja!" This has been interpreted to mean "Come Forward! Come Forward!"<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 2, (Muratori, V, 472-474); Anselm IV, Privilegia, II, in Migne, PL, v. 155, col. 1662-3; Galvaneus Flamma, c. 153-4, (Muratori, XI, col. 627), and Giulini, IV, 422-3.

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Archbishop Anselm and his crusaders departed from Milan on September 13, 1100, making a junction with the other Lombard contingents commanded by Count Albert of Blandrate, Count Guibert of Parma and Hugh of Montebello. Their numbers have been estimated, with characteristic generosity, at 30,000 by Albert d'Aix and at 50,000 by Ekkehard of Aura.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Albert d'Aix, Historia Hierosolymitanae Expeditionis, VIII, 1, in Migne, PL, v. 166, col. 605, and Ekkehard of Aura, Chronicon Universale, ad annum 1101, in Migne, PL, v. 154, col. 979, 980.

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They were the first group to leave that year and took the route of the Danube to the western provinces of the Byzantine Empire, where they were quartered around Philippopolis, Adrianople and Rodosto. But the Italians committed so much destruction that the Emperor, Alexius Comnenus, endeavored to be rid of them as quickly as possible by demanding that they cross into Nicomedia. The crusaders were highly incensed by the peremptory tone of the Emperor and proceeded to plunder the city of Constantinople. At length, through the efforts of Archbishop Anselm and the other commanders, Alexius was reconciled with his visitors though he did succeed in persuading them to remove to Nicomedia. Contingents from France and Germany soon arrived to swell the ranks of the crusading army. According to Albert d'Aix, that vast multitude of men, women, children, monks, clerics and pilgrims now amounted to about 260,000 persons, but this figure is extremely high and would be much nearer to the truth perhaps if it were divided by twenty.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Albert d'Aix, VIII, 1-6, (Migne, PL, v. 166, col. 605-8); William of Tyre, Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarini Gestarum, X, 12, in Migne, PL, v. 201, col. 464; Ughelli, IV, col. 173, says that Anselm left from Genoa, August 1, 1100, but this statement cannot be accepted since Albert expressly states that the crusaders went by the overland route. Since so many of the French nobles who took part in the Crusade of 1101, had participated in the Crusade of 1099, only to return home before the fall of Jerusalem, several authors have termed the expedition of 1101, "The Crusade of the Faint-Hearted". I don't believe that the Milanese and Italians may be justly accused of cowardice, but as the progress of the events of the crusade will indicate, they may well be charged with foolhardiness.

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Around the feast of Pentecost, 1101, that motley host set forth under the leadership of Count Raymond of Toulouse. But instead of advancing directly to Jerusalem as some of the French chiefs suggested, the army took the course laid down by the Italians who insisted that the capture of Bagdad should be their first objective. The troops commenced their march, living intemperately and in debauchery and subjected to the attacks of marauding bands of Turks. Due to a complete lack of knowledge of the roads, the crusaders wandered through the mountains of Paphlagonia until they entered a vast plain near Osmancik, about sixty five miles southeast of Castamoun. On a Monday morning, sometime in July, 1101, the Archbishop of Milan appeared before the army and announced that a great battle would be fought on that day. He absolved all from their sins and blessed them with the arm of St. Ambrose. The soldiers then readied for combat. Within a short time, the Turkish army appeared to give battle. The conflict proved to be indecisive and at nightfall the opposing forces retired from the field.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Albert d'Aix, VIII, 7-16, (Migne, PL, v. 166, col. 609-614) Ordericus Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, X, 17-18, in Migne, PL, v. 188, col. 763-769, and Joseph F. Michaud, Histoire des Croisades, (nouvelle edition par M. Huillard Breholles, 4 vols., Paris, 1857-1862), I, 260-5.

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While the Christians were taking much needed repose, Count Raymond of Toulouse, for some unaccountable reason,

abandoned his companions and fled with all his forces on the road to Sinope, a town on the Black Sea, about eighty miles north of Osmançik. The report of his flight filled the other crusaders with consternation. All thought that their situation was hopeless and that the only remaining course was to follow the Count's example. Those that could, did so, leaving wives and children, the sick and the wounded and all their baggage behind them. The Turkish scouts apprised their leaders of the escape of their enemies and within a short time the infidels entered the abandoned camp. Those who remained were put to the sword or enslaved or subjected to worse outrages. The fleeing crusaders were pursued and the roads to the Black Sea were covered with the blood of the Christians. Albert d'Aix places the number of the slain at 160,000, though of course, this figure is greatly exaggerated. Those who were fortunate enough to reach Sinope, which was then in the hands of the Emperor, made their way to Constantinople, where they gave an account of their journey. Among these remnants of the army was Anselm IV, Archbishop of Milan, whose dream of leading a crusade for the liberation of the Holy Land had turned out to be an ignominious fiasco. He died in the imperial capital on September 30, 1101 and was interred in the monastery of St. Nicholas.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Albert d'Aix, VIII, 17-24, (Migne, PL, v. 166, col. 614-617); Ekkehard of Aura, ad annum 1101, (Migne, PL, v. 154, col. 980-982); William of Tyre, X, 13, (Migne, PL, v. 201, col. 465-466); Michaud, I, 266, and Rene Grousset, Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jerusalem. L'Anarchie Musulman et La Monarchie Francque, (3 vols., Paris, 1934-1936), I, 322-329.

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Two years after the departure of the Milanese crusaders, that is, in September, 1102, the Archbishop's vicar, Grossulan, was given definite assurance of the death of Anselm IV. Therefore, he advised the primicerius and the ordinaries of Milan to elect a new Archbishop before he returned to his own see of Savona. The primicerius, supported by the nobles, proposed that Landulf of Vergiate, praepositus of the church of St. Nazarius, should be elected. But Grossulan forbade the election since the candidate was absent on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Then Ariald, the abbot of the monastery of St. Denis, aroused a great part of the clergy and laity who acclaimed Grossulan as Archbishop. The abbot was rewarded later for his timely action by being promoted to the larger abbey of Civate.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 4-5, (Muratori, V, 475-476).

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However, there were many closely associated with the Patarini who disputed Grossulan's right to the see, accusing him of having obtained it by simony. The new prelate's chief antagonist was Liutprand of St. Paul, an erstwhile follower of Herlembald; on one occasion, the priest had reproached Grossulan (who was still only the vicar of Anselm IV) for his rude habit and suggested that he assume another more fitting to his dignity. Despite Liutprand's insistence, the vicar refused to change his dress on the plea that he had chosen to live in contempt of the world.<sup>2</sup> Soon after

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., c. 4, (Muratori, V, 475.)

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Grossulan was acclaimed as Archbishop, Liutprand proposed that two clerics bearing letters should be sent to Rome to lay the question of the election before the Pope. The envoys, Obizo Nigrus and Heribert of Bruzano, gained little favor from Paschal II. Indeed, Cardinal Bernard, abbot of Vallombrosa and papal legate in Lombardy, hastened to Milan, accompanied by Arderic of Carimate and John of Plotelo, whom Grossulan had sent to Rome. Arderic entered the city carrying the pallium which Bernard had brought, and shouted, "Hecum la stola! Hecum la stola!" "Behold the pallium!" In the ensuing uproar, the people exclaimed, "moriatur quicumque contradixerit!" Then in the church of St. Mary Hiemalis, Grossulan and the Cardinal ascended the pulpit where, in the presence of a large multitude, the new Archbishop assumed the pallium.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 5, (Muratori, V, 476-477). The expression "Hecum la stola" gives some indication of the language then spoken in Milan.

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The weakness of human nature quickly overtook Grossulan who began to wear more costly garments and to provide a more sumptuous table. When one day he demanded a cincture from Liutprand of St. Paul, the charge of simony was raised once more. The priest admitted that he had sent messengers to the Pope requesting him not to approve the election of Grossulan. When the Archbishop threatened him, Liutprand showed him a letter from Pope Gregory VII in which the latter commended the



priest for his loyalty to the Church and promised to protect him whenever the occasion might arise. Though the controversy was ended for the time being under the appearance of amity, the Archbishop and the priest remained hostile to each other. Sometime after, Liutprand received into his house, Heribert of Bruzano, who had been taken ill; the latter was one of the envoys sent to the Pope by the reformers, for which reason he had been excommunicated by the Archbishop. When Grossulan was informed that Liutprand had given shelter to Heribert, he deprived the former of all his priestly faculties.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 6-7, (Muratori, V, 477-479).

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In the spring of 1103, Grossulan convoked a synod at Milan, in the church of St. Mary Hiemalis, where, in the presence of a great assembly, he defended himself against the charges of his enemies. Liutprand took this opportunity to accuse the Archbishop of simony and offered to prove it by undergoing the ordeal by fire. On the third day, the synod met in a meadow and deposed the primicerius Andrea Dalvolto and other priests who had been ordained by Archbishop Anselm III and had been invested by the Emperor Henry IV. This sentence displeased the people and was annulled in 1104 by Pope Paschal II.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., c. 9, (Muratori, V, 479-481).

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In the meantime, Liutprand was making arrangements for the ordeal by fire. But Grossulan, hoping to avoid it, proposed that the priest leave Milan; Liutprand chose to remain and on March 25, 1103, having assumed the priestly vestments and bearing a cross, he went to the church of St. Ambrose, where he celebrated mass. Grossulan appeared and a new altercation arose in which, in response to the Archbishop's question, Liutprand named Grossulan himself, Ariald of Meregnano and Berardus, a judge of Asti, as guilty of simony. The Archbishop still desired to avert recourse to the judgment of God, but the clamor of the people forced him to accept it. Liutprand then went outside where the fire had been prepared; rejecting all pleas to forego the ordeal, he blessed the pyre, burning his hand slightly in doing so. Then with bare feet, he walked into the flames, saying over and over again: "Deus in nomine tuo salvum me fac." He passed safely through the blaze, sustaining no injury to his vestments or person. The Archbishop and his clergy pretended to regard this judgment as inconclusive and violent quarrels broke out in the city, in which many were killed or otherwise injured.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 10-11, (Muratori, V, 481-483), and Hefele-Le Clercq, V::I, 480.

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Grossulan withdrew from the city during this tumult and proceeded to Rome where he was honorably received by Paschal II. The Pope dispatched Landulf of Vergiate, lately returned

from Asia Minor, to Milan to persuade the people to live in peace and to await the decision of the Roman Council. In March, 1105, the Council met and the priest Liutprand reiterated his charges against the Archbishop. Paschal expressed his discontent with the recourse to the ordeal by fire, but would have deposed Grossulan if twelve priests could have been found to swear that the Archbishop had compelled Liutprand to undergo the ordeal against his will. Since this was not true, the Pope restored Grossulan to his proper dignity and Liutprand had to remain seven years longer under his authority.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 11-12, (Muratori, V, 483-484).

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Nevertheless, the people of Milan were not wholly satisfied by this settlement and the controversy continued to rage with intermittent violence. Liutprand saw fit to take up his residence in the Valtellina. The historian, Landulf of St. Paul, the nephew and protege of the priest, on returning home from France, where he had been studying under the master William, in company with Anselm of Pusterla and Olric, vice-dominus of Milan, both future Archbishops of the city, found Liutprand's house deserted. Meanwhile, the priest had set out for Milan, but fell sick at the monastery of Civate. The abbot Arialdo, who had been instrumental in securing the election of Grossulan, fearing that he would be deprived of

the favor of the Archbishop, if Liutprand were found there, requested Landulf to carry his uncle from the monastery. On the following day, Landulf complied with the abbot's entreaty and bore his uncle back to the city.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., c. 13-14, (Muratori, V, 484-485).

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During the years 1107-1111, Grossulan found himself an exile from Milan. The younger Landulf informs us that while studying with Anselm of Pusterla and Olric, under the celebrated master, Anselm of Laon, they heard that the Archbishop had taken possession of the citadel of Arona on Lake Maggiore in 1109. At this news, Olric, a bitter foe of Grossulan, was greatly incensed and returned immediately to Milan, where his friends elected him as archpriest in April, 1110. The supporters of the Archbishop suggested that it would be best for him to avoid dissension with Olric and to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Therefore, having appointed Arderic, Bishop of Lodi, as his vicar, Grossulan commenced his journey to the Holy Land. Some writers maintain that he was sent as a legate by Pope Paschal II to the court of Constantinople in an effort to reconcile the Greek Church with Rome. Cardinal Baronius definitely upholds this view and mentions, as proof of his contention, a sermon which Grossulan gave before the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, against the errors of some Eastern ecclesiastics with regard to the nature of the Holy Ghost.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf, Junior, c. 17, (Muratori, V, 487); Caesar



Cardinal Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici, (editio novissima ab ipsomet ante obitum aucta et recognita, 4, vols., Coloniae Agrippinae, 1609), IV, col. 116-9, and Giulini, V, 16; Grossulan's sermon, Oratio de Spiritu Sancto ad Imperatorem Alexium Comnenum, is printed in Migne, PL, v. 162, col. 1007-1016.

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In the month of June, 1110, Olric and four other clerics, Guido of Falcimania, Anselm of Pusterla, Henry of Birago and Landulf of Caronia, all of whom were openly hostile to the absent Grossulan, disdaining the authority of the vicar, Bishop Arderic of Lodi, who was then present in Milan, proceeded to Genoa, where, through the influence of the archdeacon, Arderic of Carimate, the Bishop Arialdo was prevailed upon to ordain them to Holy Orders. One of the first acts of Olric after returning to Milan was to recall to the city, Jordan of Clivio and other clerics from southern France, where they were studying. In September, 1111, these clerics were ordained to the priesthood by the Bishop of Genoa, thus increasing the number of the clergy opposed to Grossulan.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 17-19, (Muratori, V, 487-490). Charles H. Haskins, in his Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), p. 54, has stated that Grossulan is an isolated figure in the culture of Milan at that era because his successors were devoted less to the promotion of studies than to Milanese and Lombard politics. Yet the same can be said also of Grossulan. It is evident, however, from the words of Landulf, that Milan like other cities was influenced by the rebirth of learning in the twelfth century, because he has described himself and two future Archbishops of Milan as students at Turin and Paris; and he mentions Jordan and others as studying in southern France, so that Haskins' judgment of the learning of the Milanese prelates is unjust. It is legitimate to assume that many of the Milanese clergy took their studies in the schools of France, a certain number probably going there each year.

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In October, 1111, the dispute concerning the Archbishop's right to the see was rekindled, when the suburbs and parts of the city were flooded by the overflowing rivers. John Manerus and Peter of Carate defended his cause, while Guazo Cominus and Amizo de la Sala, with equal vigor, contended that Grossulan should be deposed, since he was the cause of all the dissension in the city; they also held him responsible for the ravages of the floods. The debate was terminated on the first day of January, 1112, when the Archdeacon Arderic of Carimate insisted that he would give his approval only to the election of Jordan of Clivio as the successor of Grossulan. The clergy and people assented to this proposition; Grossulan was deposed in absentia and Jordan was raised to the chair of St. Ambrose.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 20-21, (Muratori, V, 490-492).

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In the month following this election, February, 1112, the suffragan Bishops of Milan, Landulf of Asti, Arialdo of Genoa, Mainard of Turin, Arderic of Lodi, and Azo of Acqui, assembled in the city to consecrate the new Archbishop. But Landulf of Asti, questioning the wisdom of such action, requested a postponement; then he left the city. On the next day, Arialdo of Genoa and Mainard of Turin consecrated Jordan, while Landulf who had been apprehended and obliged to return, looked on in silence. An uproar arose during the ceremony in the church of St. Mary Hiemalis. Among those who disapproved

of Jordan, besides Landulf of Asti, where Arderic of Lodi, the vicar of Grossulan, and Azo of Acqui. The latter wrote a letter to the Emperor Henry V, informing him of the consecration of Jordan and of his efforts to prevent it, and asked the Emperor to dispose of the affairs of Milan as he saw fit. There is no record of Henry's reply to this letter so he probably felt disinclined to interfere with the Milanese at this time. As soon as the ceremony had been completed, Mainard of Turin was dispatched to Rome to obtain the pallium for Jordan. But not until December 6, 1112, did the new Archbishop receive it and then in secret, after he had taken an oath of obedience to the Pope which he had previously refused to do. He had obtained reports of the approaching return of Grossulan to the city and probably wished to gain the full support of Paschal II, though without creating any disturbance among the people who were still jealous of the prerogatives of their archdiocese.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 21, 25, (Muratori, V, 491-2, 495); the letter of Azo of Acqui to Henry V is printed in the Codex Udalrici, no. 161, (Jaffe, V, 287-9), and Giulini, V, 47.

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Just before the conflict between Jordan and Grossulan broke out afresh, the fiery Liutprand of St. Paul passed away at the monastery of Pontidia (between Bergamo and Lecco) on January 6, 1113. Thus, the last of the followers of Sts. Ariald and Herlembald had departed leaving no staunch defenders

of the high ideals of the clergy behind him.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 23-24, (Muratori, V, 494). The Bollandists have accepted the proofs of Liutprand's sanctity and have accorded him the title of Venerable. See Acta Sanctorum (antiquis monumentis...collegit...Joannes Bollandus, editio novissima curante Joanne Curnandet, 67 vols., Paris and Brussels, 1867-1910), June, XXVI, appendix to June 27, and Giulini, V, 47.

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The deposed Archbishop Grossulan entered Milan in August, 1113. While recounting his travels in Asia Minor, he reproached Jordan for having usurped the archbishopric in his absence. In consequence, the people were aroused and began fighting among themselves. Grossulan took refuge in the towers of the Porta Romana where he defended himself from his opponents for fifteen days. Anselm of Pusterla attempted to check the disorder in the city by asking the people to defer the settlement of the dispute between Jordan and Grossulan until a general synod of the Milanese Church could be convoked. Jordan was perturbed by this request and accused his rival of simony. Grossulan replied by declaring Jordan guilty of perjury. These harsh words only served to intensify the dissension and many citizens were killed.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 26, (Muratori, V, 495-496.)

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A short time later, Grossulan withdrew from the city to the Vallombrosian monastery of St. Mark in Piacenza. In the meantime, Jordan prohibited Anselm of Pusterla from making



any preparations for a synod to be held in the city. According to Landulf of St. Paul, money had been given to both Grossulan and Anselm to deter them from calumniating Jordan in a synod.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 27, (Muratori, V, 496).

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A definitive settlement of the rival claims of Jordan and Grossulan was not reached until March 6, 1116, when Pope Paschal II opened the Lateran Council. Jordan sat at the right of the Pope, ably upholding his position, while his opponent, sitting among the other archbishops, eloquently pressed his claims. Finally, on the last day of the Council, March 11, 1116, Grossulan was commanded to relinquish all his pretensions to the see of Milan and to retire to his original diocese of Savona. Jordan was then acclaimed as the legitimate Archbishop of Milan. Landulf of St. Paul, whose church had been invaded **first** by the primicerius Nazarius Muricola and then by Andrea Sagoliola, states that he intended to lay his complaints before the Roman Council, but Jordan dissuaded him by promising to make recompense to him on their return to Milan. If the Pope had discovered that Jordan had countenanced the ouster of Landulf from the church of St. Paul, he would probably have condemned Jordan as well as Grossulan and ordered the election of a new Archbishop.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 28-30, (Muratori, V, 497-499).

Grossulan remained in Rome at the monastery of San Saba where he died August 6, 1117. Baronius, IV, col. 116, eulogizes him as a man most learned in Sacred Scripture and nobly educated in profane letters.

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On re-entering the Ambrosian city, Archbishop Jordan, acting on the counsel of John of Crema, a Roman Cardinal, excommunicated the Emperor Henry V. The death of Henry IV in 1106, had brought about a reconciliation between the Papacy and Empire and the schism of nearly thirty years had been ended. Nevertheless, Henry V had not relinquished any of the claims of his father. No doubt, a desire for peace motivated him in seeking a rapprochement with the Holy See, but he insisted on his rights to invest the members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. At the commencement of 1117, Henry broke with Paschal II and set up an anti-Pope in March, 1118. At this time, many of the Italian nobles were preparing to revolt. In the preceding year, 1117, Archbishop Frederick of Cologne had written to the Milanese who were hostile to Henry, reminding them of their newly-acquired liberties, and exhorting them to resist the Emperor. This letter was addressed to the consuls, captains, knights and entire population of Milan. A second letter was sent to the Archbishop and his suffragans, who had assembled in the first months of 1118 to hold a synod. Frederick urged the prelates to remain faithful to the Pope, Gelasius II, who had succeeded Paschal II. The entreaties of the Archbishop of Cologne were effective,

because Archbishop Jordan and the suffragan bishops rejected the pleas of the marquises and counts of Lombardy that Henry V was innocent of all charges against him. The sentence of excommunication levelled against the Emperor by Jordan in 1116 was confirmed by the entire assembly.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 31-32, 34, (Muratori, V, 500-504); the letters of Frederick are printed in Epistolae Bambergenses nos. 20-21, in Jaffe, Bibliotheca, V, 513-5; see also Giuliani, V, 91-5.

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The death of Archbishop Jordan on October 4, 1120, brought to the chair of St. Ambrose, the vicedominus, Olric, who had been one of the principal opponents of Grossulan. His election took place on November 17, 1120. Little is recorded of his career, except that at the Roman Council of March 1123, a dispute over precedence occurred between himself and Walter, Archbishop of Ravenna. The latter sat at the right of the Pope on the first three days of meeting. Olric appeared on the fourth day and assumed his proper place at the right of the papal throne, the place which had been held by all his predecessors since the time of Archbishop Heribert in 1024.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 36, (Muratori, V, 506-507); and Hefele-Le Clercq, V::I, 641.

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Olric died on May 28, 1126 and a month later, June 30,

1126, Anselm of Pusterla was elevated to the archiepiscopal dignity. The controversy between the Holy See and the Church of Milan, concerning the rights and privileges of the latter flared up soon after Anselm's election. Though the clergy and people voiced their disapproval, the new Archbishop, following the advice of Nazarius Muricola, the primicerius, and of Peter, Bishop of Tortona, proceeded to Rome, to obtain papal approbation. Pope Honorius II proffered the pallium to the Archbishop, but he preferred to accept the advice of Roboald, Bishop of Alba, who declared that to receive the pallium from the hands of the Pope would not only be an insult to the citizens of Milan, but would also confirm the dependence of the Milanese Church upon that of Rome. Therefore, Anselm V refused the pallium. But on returning to his see, he was not permitted to assume his rightful place until his scribe, Ubert of Meregnano and Bishop Roboald had sworn that the Archbishop had consented to no diminution of the honor and independence of Milan.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 37-8, (Muratori, V, 507-510).

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Evidences of the gradual lessening of the power of the Archbishop and the corresponding increase of that of the lay citizenry through their elected representatives, the consuls,<sup>2</sup> appear in the struggle over the succession to the

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<sup>2</sup>The question of the communal government and the consuls is dealt with in full in chapter V.

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imperial throne which broke out in 1125. After the death of Henry V, Lothair, Duke of Saxony was proclaimed King of the Germans on August 30. However, a powerful rival appeared in the person of Frederick of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Suabia. The latter was regarded as the natural successor of Henry V but the ecclesiastical faction favored Lothair. In the ensuing civil war, the Duke of Suabia consented to the election of his brother Conrad as King. Leaving Frederick to defend his cause in Germany, Conrad descended into Italy where he found solid support at Milan. The clergy and laity of the city demanded in the public assembly that the Archbishop return from Brebbio where he then resided and crown Conrad as King of Italy. An embassy of four persons chosen from the principal orders of the city was sent to Anselm. The ambassadors were Anselm of Badaglo, a Milanese Cardinal, Guido of Landriano, a captain, Guerenzo of Puzobonelo, a valvassor, and Robacastello, a knight. Having received the message of the people, the Archbishop quickly returned to the city. From there he went to Monza where he placed the crown of Italy on the brow of Conrad in the church of St. Michael, June 29, 1128. The ceremony was repeated soon after in the church of St. Ambrose in Milan.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 39, (Muratori, V, 510-511), and Giulini, V, 233. The honor of completing the ceremony of royal coronation was disputed among the cities of Pavia, Monza and Milan. But in later times, between Monza and Milan alone; usually, the ceremony was performed in the former city and then in Milan.

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The Pope did not hesitate to excommunicate the new King and sent Cardinal John of Crema to pronounce the same sentence against the Archbishop of Milan. The Cardinal convoked a council at Pavia, attended by the bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Milan. Anselm protested to the assembly and requested a day's respite. But the Bishops of Pavia, Cremona and Novara, whose fellow citizens had long standing quarrels with Milan, refused to listen to his plea and declared him excommunicate. The opposition of Honorius II and the excommunication of Anselm V served to alienate the minds of the fickle Milanese from their elected King, Conrad, who, taking account of this unfavorable movement, judged it better to retire to Parma. Litifred, Bishop of Novara, addressed a letter to Conrad's rival, Lothair III, informing him of the loyalty of Pavia, Piacenza, Cremona, Brescia and Novara, and that the "*Mediolanensium idolum*", Conrad, having been abandoned by them, had fled to Parma. On the other hand, Ugo, the schismatic Bishop of Brescia, supported Anselm of Milan, as a matter of policy, though, of course, the legitimate Bishop, Villanus, who had been consecrated by Archbishop Jordan in March, 1116, was a staunch partisan of Lothair.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 30, 39, (Muratori, V, 499-500, 511-512). Litifred's letter to Lothair III is printed in the *Codex Udalrici*, no. 238 (Jaffe, V, 416); see also Giuliani, V, 246, 255-6.

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Despite this action against him, Anselm did not abandon

his archbishopric and the citizens themselves found it to their advantage to give him their support. In the controversy over the papacy which commenced in 1130, after the death of Honorius II, the Milanese and their Archbishop aligned themselves among the partisans of the anti-Pope, Anacletus II. Although all the other cities of northern and central Italy sided with the legitimate Pope, Innocent II, Milan remained hostile to him, more out of political opposition to Lothair III, who backed Innocent, than for any other reason. Anacletus bestowed his favor on the Milanese by sending the pallium to Archbishop Anselm who received it amidst the shouts of the happy citizens. Some few opposed this move, but the majority of the people quickly quelled any hostile demonstrations.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 40, (Muratori, V, 512).

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Hatred between the followers of Conrad and those of Lothair was intensified when Anselm V excommunicated a number of priests who had denounced the election of Conrad. Many of these ecclesiastics had been influenced by the preaching of St. Bernard who had travelled through Lombardy winning adherents on all sides to the cause of Innocent II. As a result of his efforts, at the Council of Piacenza, June 13, 1132, Genoa was subtracted from the spiritual jurisdiction of Milan and elevated to the dignity of an archbishopric and received as suffragans two dioceses formerly

pertaining to the Milanese archdiocese. Pope Innocent II had previously promised this honor to the Genoese and perhaps thought that by so doing he would frighten Anselm into submission. But the move served only to aggravate Anselm. The followers of St. Bernard openly declared themselves opposed to the Archbishop and for the Pope. In consequence, Anselm found himself obliged to enter the public assembly to dispute his right to excommunicate priests since he also was excommunicate. The archpriest, Stephen Guandeca, took this opportunity to accuse him of heresy, perjury, sacrilege and other crimes too lengthy for mention. Anselm was astonished at this attack, but the archpriest immediately confirmed what he had said by swearing on the Gospels. He then demanded that Litifred, Bishop of Novara, and Roboald of Alba, stand in judgment of the case. The consuls of the city declared that an assembly should be convened in the near future to discuss the position of the Archbishop at greater length.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 41, (Muratori, V, 512-513); Giulini, V, 264, 276; Hefele-Le Clercq, V::I, 709-710; Verri, I, 156, states that Gregory VII subtracted many suffragan sees from Milan: Como was placed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Aquileia; Aosta under the Archbishop of Tarantosia; Coira under the Archbishop of Magonza.

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On the appointed day (1133), the suffragan bishops and the citizens gathered to hear the debate. Anselm accused the followers of St. Bernard of heresy; thereupon the people clamored for his immediate deposition. A few days later,



the Archbishop decided to stand under the judgment of the suffragans, but the consul, John of Rho, who was charged with making this intention known, did not do so, and as a consequence the Archbishop was deposed and expelled from the city without any further ado.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 41, (Muratori, V, 513-514).

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The deposition of Anselm of Pusteria was confirmed by Pope Innocent at the Council of Pisa, in May, 1135. At the same time, Tebald, archpriest of Milan, Amizo de la Sala, archdeacon, Anselm of Rho, deacon, and many other ordinaries of the Milanese Church, abjured all connection with the anti-Pope, Anacletus, and with the deposed Anselm, and took an oath of fidelity to Innocent II. However, the members of this deputation to the Council of Pisa, feared to return to Milan unless they were accompanied by one who would confirm the papal condemnation of Anselm in the presence of the assembled populace. To this purpose, St. Bernard of Clairvaux came to Milan.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., c. 41, (Muratori, V, 514-515).

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As is evident from his letters, certain of the Milanese had invited the Saint to visit their city before the Council of Pisa, but he promised to accept their invitation after

the business of the Council had been completed. Sometime in June, 1135, St. Bernard proceeded to the Ambrosian city, accompanied by Godfrey, Bishop of Chartres, Roboald of Alba, Guido, Bishop of Pisa, and Matthew, Bishop of Albano. As he approached the city, a crowd of people, dressed in penitential garb and crying aloud for joy, hastened to meet him. The sermons and miracles of the Saint quickly made the townspeople forget their old quarrels. Then, in the public assembly, Bernard formally reunited Milan with the Holy See and confirmed her in allegiance to Innocent II and Lothair III. On entering the church of St. Lawrence, the people demanded that Bernard become their Archbishop. The abbot declined the honor and on the next day departed from the city. St. Bernard's work resulted in the introduction of new religious orders, the foundation of new monasteries, the construction of hospitals, and the establishment of societies of laymen devoted to works of charity and penitence.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>St. Bernard, Epistolae, nos. 131-134, 137, in Oeuvres Completes de Saint Bernard (traduites en français par MM. les Abbés Dion et Charpentier, troisième édition, 8 vols., Paris, 1877.) I, 203-8; Landulf Junior, c. 42, (Muratori, V, 515-516); Alanus, Vita Sancti Bernardi Abbatis, in Migne, PL, v. 185::I, col. 499-502; Vita et Res Gestae Libri Septem Comprehensae Sancti Bernardi, in Migne, PL, v. 185::I, col. 273-6, and Giulini, V, 292-4.

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After St. Bernard's refusal to accept the dignity of Archbishop of Milan, the clergy and people selected as successor to the unfortunate Anselm of Pusterla, Roboald,

Bishop of Alba, till then administrator of the archdiocese (August 3, 1135). Meanwhile, Anselm set out to take counsel with the anti-Pope Anacletus, but near Ferrara, on the river Po, he was siezed by Gazzo of Martinengo who sent him to Innocent at Pisa. From there the prisoner was taken to Rome, where he died on August 14, 1136. Since he had made his peace with the Church he was buried in the basilica of St. John Lateran. In the very same month, Archbishop Roboald was induced to go to Pisa to swear fidelity to Innocent II, although in so doing he was acting contrary to the will of many of the Milanese, who feared that the liberty of their Church was threatened.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 42-3, (Muratori, V, 516-517).

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The work of St. Bernard in Milan and the submission of Roboald to the Pope in 1136 mark the end of an era in the ecclesiastical history of Milan. The proud independence of the Ambrosian Church which so many of her Archbishops had exerted their every effort to defend, was now destroyed and Milan, like all other cities in Christendom, acknowledged the Holy See as her spiritual master. The vices of simony and clerical marriage were almost completely uprooted and the Church of Milan looked forward to a more wholesome and a happier future. The period terminates the great age in which the Archbishops wielded civil as well as spiritual authority. This movement had its origins in the opening years of the eleventh century and made perhaps its greatest

strides during the years of violence attending the religious reform. By the year 1136, the archiepiscopal jurisdiction had definitely been confined to spiritual affairs since the civil powers were now almost entirely in the hands of the consuls.



## CHAPTER V

### THE CONSULS AND THE COMMUNE

The rebellion of the citizens in 1042, under the direction of Lanzo Curtius, had brought the republic or commune of Milan into being. Although its development had been rapid during the troubled years of religious reform, as a result of the deterioration of the archiepiscopal authority, the form of the republic remained in a more or less indeterminate state until the opening of the twelfth century when the communal government had been established on a permanent basis with its own elected officials, the consuls. The consular institution does not appear, however, until 1097 at the earliest. Indeed, the word consuls, as used to designate the representatives of the people, is not found in the official acts of any of the Lombard towns until the last decade of the eleventh century when it is mentioned first at Lucca, Pisa, Arezzo, Pistoia, Blandrate, and a few years later, at Asti, Genoa and Milan.<sup>1</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup>Manaresi, xxvi-xxvii, and Schupfer, 118-126.

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first evidence of consuls in Milan is contained in a Cremonese document of August 25, 1097, which states: "Actum in civitate Mediolani in consulatu civium prope ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Codex Diplomaticus Cremonae, no. 201, in Monumenta

Historiae Patriae (Second Series, vols. 21-22, Turin, 1895-1898), volume 21, p. 92.

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Another argument in favor of the establishment of the consulate at this time is proposed by Giulini. He cites a document issued by Archbishop Anselm IV "ante magistratum" and imposing a peace on the entire city and its environs for the eight days preceding and the eight days succeeding the feast of the Holy Sepulchre, July 15, 1100.<sup>1</sup> It is Giulini's opinion

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<sup>1</sup>Anselm IV, Privilegia, II, in Migne, PL, v. 155, col. 1662-3.

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that magistratus can only refer to the consuls and that the origin of this institution can be assigned with much probability to the year 1099. As proof of his contention, he remarks that the historians Arnulf and Landulf Senior, whose works are brought down to about 1085, say nothing of any consuls in the city; but since the citizens had liberated themselves from the imperial authority and had greatly impaired that of the Archbishop, they found it necessary to have some head of the state who should be selected from their own group. Since the magistratus does not appear in a diploma of 1098, where a similar truce was established, Giulini has concluded that the consulate was instituted in 1099 and that one of its first public acts was that of 1100, proclaiming the peace of sixteen

days.<sup>1</sup> A third indication of the existence of the consulate

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<sup>1</sup>Giulini, IV, 422-423.

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in the first decade of the twelfth century is provided by the testimony of the historian Landulf of St. Paul, who states that in 1108, after returning from France where he had been studying, he held and exercised the functions of "lector, scriba, puerorum eruditor, publicorum officiorum et beneficiorum particeps et consularum epistolarum dictator."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 15, (Muratori, V, 486).

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Nevertheless, several writers have rejected these facts as not being true evidences of the existence of the consulate in 1097, 1099, 1107. In the first case, the Cremonese document does not name the consuls as such but rather the institution—the consulate (in consulatu civium). Pasquale del Giudice adduces three arguments against those who contend that the word consulatus, as used in this document, demonstrates the presence of consuls in Milan. He asserts, on the contrary, that this word refers to the assembly room or meeting place of the municipal council (consilium civitatis.) In the first instance, he notes that although there are numerous judges, notaries and missi domini subscribed to the act, there is no

one bearing the distinctive title of consul. If there were consuls in the city, such a fact should surely have been indicated in the subscription. Further, he maintains that the word cives, as used in Milanese diplomas of the eleventh century, did not imply, as it did in a later era, all the people or the entire city population, but only the bourgeoisie in the strict sense. Therefore, consulatus civium cannot be interpreted as the consulate of the citizens, that is, of the whole population. It can only mean the consulate of the bourgeoisie. But this ignores and excludes the representatives of the captains and the valvassors. Such a proposition is contradicted by the earliest decisions of the consular tribunal (in a period when its existence is undisputed) in which the consuls of each class are named. Accordingly, del Giudice concludes that the consulatus civium does not prove the existence of consuls. The third argument which he proposes is that in the years following 1097 there are no references to consuls in any public documents where their presence or participation would be necessary. For example, an inscription dated in 1098 over the main door of the atrium of the church of St. Ambrose records a decree given by Archbishop Anselm IV with the consent of the people. No mention is made of consuls.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, during the war fought between Milan and Lodi (1108-1111) there is no evidence

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<sup>1</sup>Pasquale del Giudice, "Di un Recente Opuscolo intorno la Prima Costituzione Comunale di Milano", in Studi di Storia e Diritto, (Milano, 1889), 47-50.

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that consuls played a significant role. Nor do they appear in the controversy which led to the deposition of Archbishop Grossulan in January 1112. In this instance, the two hostile parties agreed to subject the conduct of the Archbishop to an investigation directed by a board of inquiry composed of eighteen specially elected judges. Wishing to ensure the acceptance of their decision as final by all the people, the arbiters of the case summoned the principal members of each order of citizens and bound them by oath to execute without question their judgment whatever it might be.<sup>1</sup> Del Giudice maintains

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 18, 21, 30, (Muratori, V, 440, 492, 499).

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that if there were consuls present in the city, it would be fantastic to suppose that they, as the supreme municipal magistracy, should not be consulted on such a weighty problem since there could be no greater guarantee that the sentence of the judges would be put into effect.<sup>2</sup> As a final example, he points

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<sup>2</sup>Del Giudice, 57-58.

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out that in the case of the league established between Milan and Pavia in 1112 there is no evidence that the consuls had any part in its formation. Thus, in concluding his exposition, del Giudice declares that the foundation of the Milanese consulate is best dated in the episcopate of Jordan of Clivio

and particularly between the years 1112-1117, In the latter year, the consuls appear for the first time beyond question as a formally constituted corporation of notables exercising supreme power with the Archbishop.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Del Giudice, 59-60.

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By way of rebuttal to del Giudice, Manaresi provides equally cogent arguments. With regard to the former's assertion that the word cives as used in the Act of 1097, does not signify all the inhabitants of the city but only the bourgeoisie so called, Manaresi contends that besides specifically designating that class of free persons of the non-noble orders inhabiting the city, the word refers more generally to all classes of citizens taken as a whole, whether they be captains, valvassors or middle class. By way of analogy, he cites a Bavarian document of 1084 in which, in the opening sentences of the act, the different classes of citizens are distinctly named, but in the body of the same act, cives is used to denote all. Therefore, he accepts consulatus civium in its literal sense, that is, the consulate of the citizens or entire population of Milan and he maintains that the Cremonese document of 1097 is a definitive proof of the existence of consuls in Milan at that date. This document can be accepted then as being no different from consular documents of a future period. As to the objection that the consuls are not

specifically named in this act, it is to be noted that such a designation does not appear in Milanese diplomas until 1117 and yet del Giudice himself is willing to admit the possibility of the existence of the consulate a few years prior to that date.<sup>1</sup> The fact that there are no evidences

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<sup>1</sup>Manaresi, xxix-xxx, and del Giudice, 60.

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of any consuls having taken a major role in civic affairs prior to 1117 is not sufficient justification for denying the existence of the consulate altogether. The only Milanese historian for this period is Landulf of St. Paul, a priest who was primarily interested in ecclesiastical matters. Therefore, his statements concerning the political life of the city are extremely meager and only incidental. It is notable that he says little of the war between Milan and Lodi and does not indicate by whom it was directed, by the Archbishop or by the consuls. Since the former was not present in the city during most of that period, it is logical to assume that the lay leaders or the consuls conducted the war. In the case of the deposition of Grossulan, it may be pointed out that it was accepted practice in many cities of northern Italy to establish special commissions on extraordinary occasions. The members of these commissions were known as boni homines<sup>2</sup> and it may well be that the consuls

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<sup>2</sup>Arrigo Solmi, II Comune nella Storia del Diritto, (Milano, 1922), 63.

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of Milan had authorized the establishment of just such a commission of boni homines at this time. Finally, with regard to the alliance formed by Milan and Pavia in 1112, Landulf of St. Paul states that Archbishop Jordan and the Bishop of Pavia gave their consent to it. In other words, the league was apparently set up by the lay citizens of the two cities and was approved by the prelates after it had been concluded. In the negotiations preceding this act, it may be assumed that the elected representatives of the people, the consuls, took the chief part.

The identification of the magistratus with the consulate by Giulini is accepted by Manaresi and Schupfer<sup>1</sup> but del Giudice rejects it on several grounds. He contends that the

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<sup>1</sup>Manaresi, xxix, and Schupfer, 123.

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phrase "ante magistratum" indicates, though improperly, the popular assembly or perhaps the imperial judges or missi. He points out that throughout the document the Archbishop appears as the principal authority and that all deliberations are undertaken with the approval of the clergy and people. Thus, he maintains that the presence of consuls is excluded because in all diplomas subsequent to the time in which the existence of the consulate is clearly proven, whether the consulate of Milan or not, the new magistrates always appear at the side of the Archbishop effectively cooperating with



him. Furthermore, the document in question does not carry the names of the consuls as one might expect. Almost all who are subscribed to it are of the clerical order; no one bears the title of consul.<sup>1</sup> Although these arguments have

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<sup>1</sup>Del Giudice, 52-53.

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a certain validity, the possibility that the magistratus is the consulate is not removed. It is evident that the Archbishop, in establishing the truce before the magistrates, did so in order that it might be guaranteed and effectively carried out. If the magistrates were the consuls it is obvious that there was a certain cooperation between them and the Archbishop as existed in a later period. Apparently, at this time, the Archbishop was still the chief executive in the Milanese state; one should not expect, therefore, the magistrates or consuls to exercise equal authority with the Archbishop at a time when the government of the commune was still in embryo. It should be remarked also that it had been common custom in past centuries and so continued for many years, for the decisions of the Archbishop to be approved by the general assembly of the people. Therefore, this document of 1100 may be accepted as giving a clear insight into the early functioning of the communal government. The Archbishop still appears as the head of the state handing down decisions or making regulations with the consent of the people. But a third factor is now present--the new magistracy or the consulate. It too appears

as counselling and perhaps even directing the Archbishop and is apparently charged with the duty of enforcing the decree.

Concerning the statement of Landulf of St. Paul that, after returning from France in 1107, he served as secretary to the consuls, Manaresi, Schupfer and others agree that this passage is a definite proof of the existence of consuls in Milan at least as early as 1107.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, del

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<sup>1</sup>Manaresi, xxxii, and Schupfer, 123.

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Giudice denies that the historian's words are open to such an interpretation. The disputed paragraph is as follows:

Grossulanistas et in parte altera fictos et dolosos murmurare de reditu nostro valde persensimus. At ego ut minus et minus eorum murmura timerem et ut meam et ipsius mei magistri causam amplius excusarem et comprobarem, domum inter cognatos et vicinos meos non ociose emi quia in ipsa vivendo, lector, scriba, ...consulum epistolarum dictator, salva mea querela in ecclesiam et in ipsa civitate Mediolani videor parvi; namque filii eorum qui propter patariam Herlembaldum occiderunt et presbyterum Liprandum naso et auribus truncaverunt me ab ecclesia Sancti Pauli...exturbant et quia non sperno libertatem et piam conversationem quae in ipso presbytero fuit, factus sum quasi obprobrium illis et me prohibente possident et vendunt res quae sunt proprii mei juris.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 15, (Muratori, V, 486).

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Del Giudice construes this passage as meaning that Landulf, having been subjected to the hatred which Archbishop Grossulan bore Liutprand of St. Paul, the historian's uncle, withdrew from the latter's house to another where he might live quietly engaged in his manifold occupations. It is del Giudice's opinion that Landulf is merely recounting in his old age the positions which he held over a number of years subsequent to being deprived of his benefice in 1113.<sup>1</sup> Manaresi, on the other hand, declares that this

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<sup>1</sup>Del Giudice, 54-56

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interpretation is invalid. He believes that Landulf wishes to state that he acted as secretary to the consuls in 1107.<sup>2</sup> It may be remarked also that since Landulf does not refer

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<sup>2</sup>Manaresi, xxx.

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to the consular institution as something new or recently established, the inference that the office of consul had existed for several years prior to 1107 is quite legitimate. Indeed, throughout the historian's work, which extends over the entire period in which the consulate probably originated, there is no reference to its foundation. Therefore, it may be assumed that Landulf did act as secretary to the consuls in 1107 and that the office of consul had been established

some years before.

Since it is true that the political conditions of Lombardy were propitious for the constitution of the consulate at the commencement of the twelfth century, and since there were consuls at Asti in 1095, Genoa in 1099 and Pavia in 1105, there is no reason to suppose that these officials could not exist also at Milan at that time. In the period under discussion, the civil jurisdiction of the Archbishop had been weakened though not entirely destroyed by the successive revolts of the valvassors and the middle class and by the violence attending the religious reform. Therefore, it does not seem incorrect to believe that the consuls could and did exercise the functions of government in conjunction with the Archbishop at the close of the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Manaresi, xxix, and Noyes, 42-43.

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The communal government as thus established was comprised of three principal organs, the Archbishop, the consulate and the popular assembly. The Archbishop had secured jurisdiction over civil affairs in the tenth century and had increased that power to such an extent that in the early eleventh century, he appeared as the principal magnate of Lombardy. However, the three orders of citizens, captains, valvassors and burghers had obtained the right to participate actively in the civil government during the same period.



They exercised this right by means of their representatives, who were elected in the general assembly of the people. Together with the Archbishop, these representatives wielded supreme authority in the city. Although they had not yet the name, they had the functions of consuls. As noted above, the title of consul was probably applied to the people's representatives around the turn of the century. They were selected generally because of their military prowess, their wealth or their political ability. They probably held office for a definite period of time for which they received some remuneration and it is likely that on retiring from their posts they had to render an account of their activities during their incumbency.<sup>1</sup> The number of consuls in 1117 was

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<sup>1</sup>Solmi, 108-109.

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eighteen, of whom the nobility, that is, the captains and valvassors, elected seven each, while the burghers elected only four. Then, in 1130, the captains elected ten out of twenty two while the valvassors had only seven and the burghers five. It is apparent, therefore, that the nobility of the city were gradually recovering much of the predominance in the municipal government which they had lost in the previous century as a consequence of the rebellion of the middle class.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Manaresi, Documents I, III, pp. 3-4, 6-8, and Giulini, V, 260, 261.

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At the base of the government was the popular assembly or parliament of the people. It was constituted by the union of all heads of families of the three orders of the population who had the rights and duties of citizenship.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Solmi, 105.

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The assembly had existed for many centuries and had acted as a check upon the power of the Archbishop. It participated in all the more important affairs of the city such as the election of the Archbishop, the election of the consuls, the approval of statutes, etc. It usually convened in the square before the cathedral which was referred to as the arengum publicum or theatrum publicum. On occasion it met in the broletto, a field near the church of St. Barnabas. It was so called to distinguish it from the great brolo which was situated between the basilicas of Sts. Nazarius and Stephen. The assembly probably met periodically each year. It was summoned by means of messengers sent throughout the city and suburbs and by trumpeters or by tolling the bells of the churches.<sup>2</sup> It was the right of every citizen to attend the assembly and

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<sup>2</sup>Giulini, IV, 522-523; Manaresi, l-li, lxxiii-lxxiv, and Solmi, 61-63, 94-95.

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the words of Landulf of St. Paul imply that every person had the right to come before the civil authorities to demand

justice. Though decisions in the ancient assemblies of the city had been handed down by the common vote of the people, using the formula "fiat! fiat!", this process was gradually systematized until it became customary for the consuls and Archbishop only to exercise the vote, though their decisions were ultimately subject to popular ratification.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Solmi, 105-107.

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The new republic, acceding to the tradition followed by the Archbishops in the past, recognized the King of Italy as its sovereign, but it tendered him little more than that honor. The Kingship had been hereditary in the line of German monarchs since the time of Otto I, but the Milanese maintained that the royal authority was dependent upon the election of the King by the diet of all the princes of the realm, presided over by the Archbishop of Milan. Further, it was requisite for the King-elect to receive the crown in a solemn ceremony at Pavia or, as in later times, at Monza or Milan. In the former city, the Bishop of Pavia was the principal assistant of the Archbishop but in Milan, the Archbishop was attended by his suffragans. It was customary on such occasions for the commune of Milan to concede to the King certain rights such as the fodrum or forage. These rights had been determined definitely in 1055 after the conclusion of peace negotiations between the nobles and

the burghers. The hereditary Marquis of Milan, whose authority in the city since the tenth century was practically non-existent, was probably propitiated in likemanner by the annual payment of a sum of money. The King exercised his jurisdiction in the city by means of the judges of the Sacred Palace and the missi-domini but in the twelfth century the duties of these officials were assumed to a great extent by the officers of the commune.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Giulini, IV, 521, and Schupfer, 58.

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Thus, at the commencement of the twelfth century, real authority in civil affairs was controlled by the Archbishop and the consuls, though the former still held the primary place for many years. This is evident from the diploma of 1100 establishing the truce of sixteen days, in which the Archbishop still figures as the head of the state issuing a decree before the magistrates or consuls.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, when

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<sup>2</sup>Schupfer, 130-131.

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a treaty of alliance was arranged between Milan and Pavia. in 1112, the consent of Archbishop Jordan and of Bishop Bernard of Pavia was necessary. On the other hand, the Archbishop could do nothing of great importance with regard



to the public administration without the agreement of the consuls.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Manaresi, xxxii-xxxiii, and del Giudice, 74.

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The best illustration of the communal government in action is found in the history of Landulf of St. Paul concerning an assembly held in the city in March 1117. At this time, the consuls appear for the first time as an organized corporation exercising supreme power with the Archbishop. The latter, Jordan of Clivio, and his suffragans sat on one platform while the consuls and their legal advisers sat on another. Before them stood the mass of the citizens waiting to hear the judgments of the authorities and to present their cases.<sup>2</sup> Another indication of the

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 31, (Muratori, V, 500-502), and del Giudice, 59.

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joint powers of the Archbishop and the consuls is seen in the assembly of July 4, 1117 at which Jordan and the consuls presided again. The question at issue concerned the investitures made by Obizo, formerly Bishop of Lodi. It is noteworthy that in this instance, it was the consuls and not the Archbishop who decreed that these investitures and alienations of benefices were invalid.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Manaresi, xxxiii and Document I, 304, and Giuliani, V, 522-523.

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The consuls were not limited to acting as counsellors to the Archbishop. They exercised numerous functions which after a gradual process of development brought the entire civil power into their hands. Among their duties were the initiation of legislation to be approved by the Archbishop and the people; the promulgation and execution of the laws; making war and peace; the erection of fortifications necessary for defense; the imposition of tolls, etc; the appointment of minor officials such as the vicedominus and the camerarius. They also directed the Milanese army in time of war. The civic militia was composed of infantry and cavalry corps, supplemented at times by foreign mercenaries. The consuls and other officers took up their stations near the carroccio from which point they supervised the operations of the army.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Solmi, 64-65, 98, and Giulini, V, 521-525.

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It is also probable that the consuls were entrusted with the care of the public exchequer, the maintenance of roads and bridges and the administration of justice in criminal cases. When the consulate was instituted, the only persons legally invested with judicial powers were the judges of the Sacred Palace and the missi domini. Nevertheless, the citizenry frequently brought their disputes before the consuls, who because of their eminent position and the

popularity which they enjoyed in the community which had elected them to office, could be expected to make decisions that were both honest and fair. For example, the controversy between the canons of the church of St. Alexander of Bergamo and the inhabitants of Calusco was presented to the consuls for judgment on July 30, 1130. Similarly, a suit involving the members of the family of Sesto was decided by the consuls on November 10, 1138.<sup>1</sup> It had become customary, therefore, to take a case before the officials of

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<sup>1</sup>Manaresi, Documents, III, IV, 6-9.

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the commune rather than before the royal judges or missi so that the right of the consuls to pass judgment in lawsuits was recognized by the citizens at least by the second quarter of the twelfth century. But such a sentence seemed to be of less legal value than that of the missi or judges; since the latter were unwilling to surrender their rights, it was the usual practice for them to subscribe the decisions of the consuls, which thereby were given a legitimate aspect.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Manaresi, xxxiii-xxxv, and Solmi, 99.

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The gradual deterioration of the archiepiscopal power over a long period of years resulted in the acquisition of all the functions of the municipal government by the consuls

by the middle of the twelfth century. By the year 1128, the civil authority of the Archbishop had reached its lowest point. When Anselm V resolved to go to Rome to receive the pallium, which had always been sent to his predecessors through a papal legate, the clergy and people of Milan publicly denounced his intention. When the Archbishop ignored their remonstrances and proceeded to Rome, the citizens occupied all the castles of the archdiocese. On his return without the pallium, Anselm was compelled to swear that he had in no way impaired the rights and privileges of the Church of Milan. Obviously, the Archbishop is no longer the principal power in the city. It is now the people which imposes its will upon the Archbishop. Further proof of the diminution of his authority is given in the instance of the coronation of Conrad of Hohenstaufen in the same year. The people of the city deliberated in common assembly without the presence of the Archbishop. A commission was sent then to Anselm at Brebbio requesting him to perform the ceremony of coronation. It is evident that the citizens considered that neither the consent of the diet nor that of the Archbishop was necessary but only that of their assembly. By arrogating to themselves the right to dispose of the crown of Italy the Milanese indicated the superiority of their communal government to the authority of the Archbishop and the national



diet.<sup>1</sup> The question of deposing Anselm V in 1133, on which

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 39 (Muratori, V, 510-571); Giulini, V, 253, and Manaresi, xxv-xxvii.

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occasion the consuls summoned the suffragan bishops of the city to act as judges is another indication of the growing importance of the consuls. Then in 1136, the Emperor Lothair III advised the consuls to do justice to Landulf of St. Paul who had been deprived of his benefice; it is significant that his pronouncement was not addressed to Archbishop Roboald, as one might expect. This fact proves that Lothair had placed the official seal of approval on the consulate of Milan and had recognized it as a court of first instance from which appeals could be taken to the supreme tribunal of the Empire.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 44, (Muratori, V, 518); del Giudice, 75, and Schupfer, 131-133.

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Thus, towards the middle of the twelfth century the political transition was completed. The power of the Archbishop had been shattered at last and henceforth he was restricted in his activities to spiritual matters. The civil administration was assumed in its entirety by the consuls who represented the three orders of citizens. The new commune was accorded the recognition of the Emperor, even

though his sovereignty was but slightly regarded and, in the practical affairs of municipal government, of little significance. The commune, at last untrammelled by imperial and archiepiscopal interference, was in a position to attain its fullest expression. After varying fortunes, the city of Milan stood on the threshold of a new and glorious age in which true republican government flourished once more.

CHAPTER VI  
MILAN AND INTERMUNICIPAL WAR  
(1107-1139)

The first use to which the new-born commune of Milan put its liberty was to engage in fratricidal struggles with its neighbors. Such warfare fills the pages of the history of all the cities of Lombardy in the first half of the twelfth century. Generally, these quarrels derived their origin from disputes over commercial rights, such as tolls, use of roads, bridges, rivers, etc., boundary disputes and relations between the towns and the country nobles. As the leading citizens secured the powers formerly exercised by the bishops, controversies arose concerning jurisdiction over the lands of the country nobility. Each city governed a territory extending over a large part of the diocese. The feudal elements who formed no part of the commune were obnoxious to the urban populations because they levied tolls on merchandise, impeded traffic on the roads and plundered passing merchants. The communal governments, having once been established, claimed supreme authority over all the lands within the perimeter of the diocese. The communes based their claims on their rights as the legal successors of the bishops, who had obtained, for the most part, all the privileges held by the royal counts in past centuries.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Butler, 72-3, and Salvatorelli, 180.

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The campagna of Milan was divided into numerous parishes, most of which had developed a public council to direct the affairs of government. In spiritual matters, they recognized the Archbishop of Milan as their superior, but in the temporal sphere, their subordination to the republic of Milan varied from time to time and from place to place. Besides the county of Milan, there were several rural counties in the Archdiocese, of which, some were directly subject to the commune, and others only indirectly. As in the city, the authority of the rural counts had been diminished gradually as certain private citizens began to acquire wealth and possessions which enabled them to assume positions of importance. As these rural communes became more powerful, the authority of the Milanese republic was much restricted. At times, Como, Bellinzona, Chiavenna, Musocco, Limonta and the Valtellina were subject to Milan. Later, Como formed an independent county and asserted its supremacy over the Valtellina, Bellinzona, Musocco and Chiavenna, all of which owed obedience, in spiritual matters, to the Bishop of Como. The principal counties thus remaining to Milan were Seprio, Martesana, both of which scarcely ever acknowledged the authority of Milan, Bulgaria, Stazona or Anghera, Lecco, Treviglio and Limonta.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Giulini, V, 525-7.

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The same vitality which had impelled the citizens of Milan to seek their own freedom now led them to oppress those weaker communities surrounding the city. The first act of aggression was the destruction of Lodi, a strong and flourishing city. Hatred between Milan and her neighbor was not new. During the rule of Archbishop Heribert, in the first half of the eleventh century, the Lodians had been compelled to accept against their will, a bishop of Heribert's choosing. From that time on, enmity between the two cities increased. Thus, in 1036, the Lodians came to the aid of the valvassors of Milan in their struggle against the Archbishop and the captains.<sup>1</sup> The origins of the war which

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<sup>1</sup>See above, pp. 37, 41.

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broke out in 1107 are bound up with the controversy between Cremona and Crema which commenced in 1098. The Cremonese sought to subdue the county of Fulcheria which had been granted to them by the Countess Matilda of Tuscany. The citizens of Crema resolutely refused to surrender a territory over which they claimed full jurisdiction. In 1102, the two cities fought many battles, but finding that unaided, neither party could achieve victory, both communities began to search for allies. Milan was brought into the conflict when the Cremonese and their allies, Lodi and Pavia, attacked

the town of Tortona and burned one of its suburbs, on the twenty-third of August, 1107. Thus, in the same year, Milan, as an ally of Tortona and Crema, went to war with Lodi.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Chronicon Breve Cremonense ab anno 1096 usque ad annum 1232, ad annos 1098, 1107, in Muratori, RR.II.SS., VII, col. 633.

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Among the citizens of Lodi there were many who suspected their Bishop, Arderic, of perjury, because he had sworn at the Roman Council of 1105, that Archbishop Grossulan of Milan had not compelled the priest, Liutprand of St. Paul, to undergo the ordeal by fire.<sup>2</sup> Dissension became widespread;

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<sup>2</sup>On this point, see above, pp. 130-131.

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the burghers were successful in expelling the captains and the valvassors from the city, along with the Bishop, who took refuge in Milan. Since the Lodians refused to readmit the exiles, the citizens of Milan determined to demonstrate once more their superiority over the obstinate city and declared war. Pavia and Cremona immediately came to the aid of the Lodians. In 1108, the Bishop of Pavia advanced with an army to assist the Cremonese against Crema, which was now allied to Milan. The Milanese marched quickly to succor

Crema, and in the ensuing battle with the Pavians, the Bishop of Pavia and large numbers of his troops were made prisoners. The captives were housed in various jails, but in a few days, they were all brought into the plaza of Milan. Then a bundle of straw was bound to the back of each; the straw having been ignited, they were driven from the city.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 16 (Muratori, V, 486-7); Galvaneus Flamma, c. 155-159 (Muratori, XI, col. 628); see also, Giulini, V, 5-11, and Tristanus Calchus, 148.

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In the month of June, 1110, the Milanese gained a victory over the Cremonese near the Campo di Brixianorio, now called Bregano, situated on the banks of a small stream, called Ongina, in the county of Cremona. In the same year according to Galvaneus Flamma, the Cremonese defeated the troops of Brescia, but the Milanese succored the Brescians and with their combined strength put the Cremonese to flight. Giulini has suggested, however, that Galvaneus has erred in this instance by confusing Brescia with Brixianorio.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Chron. Crem., ad annum 1110, (Muratori, VII, col. 633) Galvaneus Flamma, c. 162, (Muratori, XI, col. 629); Landulf Junior, c. 17, (Muratori, V, 488); Sicard of Cremona, Chronicon a Nativitatis Christi usque ad annum Aerae Christianae MCCXIII, ad annum 1110, (Muratori, VII, 594), and Giulini, V, 18-19.

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This intermunicipal war was concluded, at least for a

time, in 1111, when Lodi was taken by the Milanese on May 24, after her protector, the Emperor Henry V, had departed from Italy. The victors wreaked their vengeance on the Lodians by razing the city to the ground. Furthermore, they forbade their vanquished opponents to rebuild their homes and dispersed them among the villages of the countryside. Nor could the Lodians sell their possessions without the permission of the Milanese consuls. If this law were violated, the goods of both buyer and seller were to be confiscated. No one was permitted to appear in public after sunset; fines and other punishments were imposed on those suspected of plotting against Milan. Finally, the Milanese removed the site of a market which had been of much utility to the Lodians, nearer to Milan where its benefits would redound to the Milanese. Many persons preferred to live in peace in other lands rather than endure such oppression and thus, for forty-seven years, Lodi disappears from the roll of Lombard cities. A new city was erected later, but modern Lodi stands four miles distant from the ancient city. According to Landulf Junior, Milan then triumphed over her other enemies, including Pavia and Cremona. Towards the end of 1112, the Milanese arranged a treaty of mutual defense with the Pavians, with the consent of Archbishop Jordan and Bishop Bernard of Pavia.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>On the destruction of Lodi see: Chron. Crem. ad annum 1111, (Muratori, VII, col. 633); Excerpta Historica, ad Maium, 1111, (Muratori, II: :II, 235); Sicard, ad annum 1111, (Muratori, VII, col. 590); Galvaneus Flamma, c. 163, (Muratori, XI, col. 629-630), discusses the conditions of



peace; Landulf Junior, c. 18, 21, (Muratori, V, 490, 492), and Giulini, V. 32-35.

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An assembly of the people and the suffragan bishops of Milan convened by Archbishop Jordan in the first months of 1117, seems to have brought about a general pacification of Lombardy which was, nevertheless, shortlived. Giulini believes that one of the principal acts of this synod was the consecration of Ubert as Bishop of Cremona. Jordan had deposed Ugo da Noceto who had previously been invested with the see by the Emperor Henry V. But before Ubert was consecrated, the citizens of Milan compelled him to swear fidelity to their city. Little did he respect his oath.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 31, 46 (Muratori, V, 500-2, 520), and Giulini, V. 79.

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The peace was disrupted in 1118 with the outbreak of the disastrous war between Milan and Como. The basis for this conflict is found in the rivalry between Guido Grimoldi di Cavallesca and Landulf of Carcano over the succession to Rainald, Bishop of Como, who died in 1084. The former had been elected canonically but the Emperor Henry IV set up another candidate in the person of Aribert or Artuico and, after his death, substituted Landulf, a cardinal deacon of the Milanese Church, who was consecrated by the Patriarch of Aquileia. At the council held in Milan in 1098, Arch-

bishop Anselm IV and the officials of the commune, who were partisans of the papacy, recognized Guido as the legitimate Bishop and condemned Landulf as a usurper, placing no consideration on the fact that he was a member of one of the most noble Milanese families. Not having sufficient force to withstand his opponent, Landulf retired to the strong castle of St. George on Lake Lugano. There he remained until 1118, when, after the departure of Henry V from Rome in June, Bishop Guido and the leaders of the Comese republic assembled in council in which Adam del Pero and Gaudentius da Fontanella, consuls of Como, proposed that the castle of St. George be surprised and Landulf made prisoner.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The causes for the war are set forth briefly in Exemplum Antiquae Schedae...de Causis Belli inter Mediolanenses et Comenses Gesti Saeculo XII, in Muratori, RR.II.SS., V, 407-8, and Giulini, V. 99-100.

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Accordingly, Comese troops advanced to the castle at night and made themselves masters of it. Otto and Lanfranc, nephews of Landulf, were killed while Landulf himself was captured. The survivors, among whom were the widows of Otto and Lanfranc, fled to Milan. There, these ladies, who were among the noblest of that city, complained to Archbishop Jordan, of whom the captains of Carcano were vassals. The ladies appeared in mourning dress, carrying the blood-drenched garments of their husbands. The Archbishop was

aroused by the injury done to his vassals and, entering the public assembly, demanded that the citizens of Milan avenge this insult by punishing the Comese. Then he imposed an interdict on Milan until reprisals should be made.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 34, (Muratori, V, 504-505), Giulini, V, 101-2, and Tristanus Calchus, 151-2.

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The Milanese civic militia was called out at once and marched towards Como. The troops encamped in a plain called La Canneda, situated in the territory of Grandate and Lucino; thence, they advanced to Rebbio, a short distance from the enemy city. At this point, a battle was fought with the Comese, which terminated at nightfall, without any advantage accruing to either side. On the following morning, the Milanese soldiers slipped past their opponents and made themselves masters of many strong points overlooking the city of Como itself. The defenders of the city, whose numbers were small, fled, thereby permitting the Milanese to enter the city. The Comese Poet, who is the principal, if not the only source for the events of this war, states that the victors respected neither age nor sex, but slaughtered all the inhabitants indiscriminately. The entire city was laid open to pillage, but the Milanese were unprepared for the arrival of their enemies, who finding the Milanese weighted down with booty, put them all to the sword. The only ad-

vantage which Milan had derived from this expedition was the liberation of Landulf of Carcano, the pretender to the bishopric of Como.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Poema De Bello et Excidio Urbis Comensis ab anno MCXVIII usque ad annum MCXXVII, Lines 1-113, in Muratori RR. II. SS., V, 413-416; Landulf Junior, C. 34, (Muratori, V, 504), and Giulini, V, 102-104.

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Towards the end of 1118, or in the early months of 1119, the citizens of Milan again bound themselves by oath to continue the war with Como.<sup>2</sup> In the meantime, the smaller towns

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 34, (Muratori, V, 505).

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in the Comese territory attempted to gain their independence of the city to which they had to pay taxes even though they were self-governing. Milan promised to gratify this desire for liberty and incited Gravedona, Menaggio, Bellagio and other small towns on the Lake of Como to revolt. The most important of the communities rebelling against the domination of the larger city was the Isola Comacina, a small island about a mile in circumference, lying only a short distance from the shore. The Islanders, with the assistance of the other rebellious towns, constructed a fleet with which they made a sudden descent on Como. Unfortunately, they were repelled, but the Comese had to turn at once to face



an attack from the south by Milan whose troops laid waste the territories of Vico (Now Borgo Vico) and Coloniola (now Borgo San Agostino). The Milanese then besieged Como with the aid of the fleet of the Islanders and their allies but the attacking forces on land were repulsed so that the fleet was also obliged to withdraw.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Poema, Lines 214-271, (Muratori, V, 417-419); Butler 84-7, and Giuliani, V. 106.

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In the month of August, 1120, the army of Milan again subjected Como to siege but sustained a failure similar to that of the preceding year. Como then turned her attention to her rebellious towns. A fleet of twelve ships was constructed and plundered Tremezzo. The Islanders surprised the Comese fleet in the middle of the Lake and drove it off. Three days later, the Comese ravaged Lazeno, an ally of the Islanders and then sailed to the harbor of the Isola Comacina and made off with some ships. They returned again to fight with the inhabitants on the shore of the Lake and defeated them; after burning the harbor they retired to Como. In a few days, the Comese attacked Bellaggio and burned Lierna. In a battle with the Islanders, the Comese fleet was again successful and returned to Como with much booty.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Poema, Lines, 272-495, (Muratori, V, 419-424), and Butler, 84-7.

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Flushed with confidence by these victories on the Lake, the citizens of Como determined to carry the war into the Milanese territories. Thus, in the spring of 1121, a Comese army advanced to Varese. The town was surprised at night and sacked. A few days later, the Comese moved on Binago whose inhabitants resisted at first but were forced at length to retire within the castle, while their enemies burned and pillaged the crops. The people of Vedano in the parish of Seprio hastened to succor the Binagese but were put to flight. Soon after a Comese force attacked the castle of Drezzo in the parish of Ogiate and easily overran the surrounding area. However, the troops had difficulty in gaining the castle which stood on a well-fortified hill. Flaming arrows were shot into the fortress which took fire; the inhabitants retired to one of the castle's two towers, from which their opponents were unable to dislodge them. While returning to their city, the Comese were accosted by a band of Milanese but the latter were routed and dispersed in various directions. There is no evidence that Milan attempted any major campaign against Como in this year, although she had threatened to renew the siege in the month of May; it has been conjectured that the cause of this inaction was that Archbishop Olric seemed of a less warlike mind than his predecessor, Jordan, and desired to reach some accommodation.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Poema, Lines 496-580, (Muratori, V, 424, 425); Giulini, V, 145-8, and Tristanus Calchus, 153-4.

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Nevertheless, in the following year, 1122, the Milanese endeavored to overcome that part of Lake Lugano held by their enemies. They succeeded in drawing to their side the inhabitants of the principal districts of that area and with vessels built at Lavena, secured the strong castle of St. Martin, little more than a mile from Lugano. Meanwhile, a Comese fleet based at Melano, gave battle to the Lavenese whose ships were ruined. A corps of Comese soldiers then attempted an attack on Lavena, but because the place was so well-guarded, the troops made little headway and had to content themselves with putting the torch to the neighborhood and to some of the ships in the harbor. The citizens of Lugano, receiving reports of the fate of their allies, retired to the castle of St. Martin, but were soon compelled to flee into the mountains, leaving the fortress in the hands of the Comese.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Poema, Lines 581-662, (Muratori, V, 425-427), and Giulini V, 154-6.

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The year 1123 opened with the transfer of the Milanese fleet from Lavena, (whose citizens had complained in Milan that the presence of the fleet in their port had caused them to suffer severe injuries) to Porlezza which afforded greater security. There the ships were repaired and new ones constructed. In the first months of the year, the Milanese

besieged the castle of St. Michael, not far from Porlezza. Their efforts to take this fortress being frustrated, the leaders of the army ordered Archbishop Olric to come to the camp for the purpose of persuading the defenders to recognize the overlordship of the city of Milan and to take an oath of fidelity to the Archbishop and his successors. Olric did as he was bid but could not induce the inmates of the besieged castle to surrender. Thus, the Milanese were forced to abandon the enterprise. This was followed by a Comese attack on Porlezza which resulted in the capture of several ships. Sometime after, Arduin Advocatus, who had been instrumental in bringing Milan into the war, surrendered Melano to the Milanese soldiers. The Comese, nonetheless, quickly recovered the town.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Poema, Lines 663-787, (Muratori, V, 427-430); Giulini V, 157-160, and Butler, 87-8.

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Milan made an important gain in 1124 when the castle of Pontegana, situated near Como, was given up to her through the treachery of a certain Gislebert who commanded it. In the same year, Como, with the assistance of the Gravedonese, who had returned to their former allegiance, attacked the Isola Comacina, the town of Menaggio and finally the town of Cantu. The Canturians, as allies of Milan, had ravaged Albate, Leppomo and Trecallo, near Como; naturally, this provoked reprisals. However, the Canturians were warned



of the approach of the Comese soldiery and in a bloody battle forced their enemies to withdraw. Shortly thereafter, the Milanese renewed the siege of Como while their opponents sent a force to besiege the Isola. Both efforts resulted in failure.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Poema, Lines 788-1096, (Muratori, V, 430-437), and Giulini, V, 190-1.

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The citizens of Milan prepared for the campaign of the following year, 1125, by building thirty ships at Lecco and laying Como under siege once more. The hostile fleets joined battle but victory was achieved by the Comese. The attack by land fared no better so that the Milanese were constrained to withdraw. The Comese took the offensive by devastating the Milanese territories of Guenzate and Cirimodo and, a little later, the castle of Vertemate. But Como suffered a disaster when, after pillaging Marliano, her troops were intercepted by the forces of Milan and her allies, who slew large numbers of them. This was followed by another severe blow when Arialdo Advocatus became a traitor to Como and placed the castle of Lucino in the hands of the Milanese. His brother, Otto, despising such treachery, attempted to regain the castle but was killed. A short time later, two Comese vessels filled with selected sailors set out to transport a noble lady called Galizia, wife of Jordan, vicedominus of Como, to the castle of Domofolo in the Valtellina, which

was commanded by her husband. However, the ships were recognized and fled to Bellano on the Milanese shore of the Lake of Como. They had hardly landed than the sailors were set upon by hostile troops who shut them in prison. Later, Galizia and the men were released and made their way back to Como. The Milanese ended their activities in this year by laying waste the Valtellina.<sup>1</sup>

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Poema, Lines 1097-1597, (Muratori, V, 437-447); Giulini V, 192-7, and Tristanus Calchus, 155.

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The war was prosecuted in the same manner in the succeeding two years but the effects of the struggle were beginning to tell on Como. Her lands had suffered annual devastation; her subject towns had gradually abandoned their allegiance; the distant Valtellina had been plundered by her enemies and the entire district of Lugano was soon lost to her. Her sorrows reached a climax in 1125, when the Bishop, Guido, who had been the heart and soul of the resistance, closed his last years.

The citizens of Como, notwithstanding their numerous tribulations, gave no consideration to thoughts of surrender, but assumed the offensive in 1126, by again ravaging the territories subject to Milan. They were repulsed and the Milanese once more besieged Como; a villa and a castle, called respectively, Villanova and Castelnovo, were constructed a quarter of a mile from the city by the Milanese.

These fortresses were placed in the custody of troops from Monza, but the Comese, unable to bear such an insult, seized the villa and imprisoned its defenders, though they could not take the castle. Shortly after, the Milanese leaders commanded a force of Lodians to come to their assistance and attacked their enemies near Mount Castellano, lying near the river Tresa. The Comese were defeated and had to abandon all the territory on Lake Lugano to the victors. With that success, the Milanese returned home for the winter. A troop of soldiers from Crema was dispatched to the defense of Castelnovo but they were no more fortunate than the Monzans who had lost Villanova, because the Comese seized the castle and burned it.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Poema, Lines 1598-1812, (Muratori, V, 447-452), and Giulini, V, 216-219.

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In 1127, the supreme effort was made by the Milanese and their allies, Asti, Cremona, Novara, Pavia, Vercelli, Parma, Bologna, Ferrara, Mantua, Crema, Alba, Albenga, Modena, Piacenza, Vicenza, and the conquered Lodians. With the assistance of this formidable array, and with the technical skill of Genoese and Pisan engineers, Milan prepared for the final siege of Como. The latter city's resources were slowly dissipated and her walls were breached. The Comese leaders then sent the greater part of their troops

with the women and children to the nearby fortress of Vico. Under cover of night, a select group made a sortie to distract the attention of the enemy while the others boarded vessels in the harbor to carry them to Vico. On the following morning, Como was deserted but, to the dismay of the Milanese, they saw that Vico was prepared to resist for a long time, since its position on a rock made it impregnable and inaccessible to siege machines. The Milanese leaders and Archbishop Anselm V adopted the wisest course and proposed an honorable capitulation which was accepted on August 27, 1127. The walls of Como were to be destroyed and the city was to pay homage and tribute to Milan. Though the property of the citizens was to be inviolable, the conquerors ignored this stipulation and sacked the city, ruining its most outstanding edifices and imprisoning many of the inhabitants.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Poema, Lines 1813-2030, (Muratori, V, 452-456); Giulini, V, 219-227; Butler, 89-91, and Tristanus Calchus, 157.

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The alliance which had enabled Milan to overcome Como was dissolved suddenly in 1129, when Archbishop Anselm V was excommunicated by the Lombard bishops assembled at Pavia, because he had crowned Conrad of Hohenstaufen King of Italy. By so doing, Anselm had rejected the claims of Lothair III, King of the Germans, who was favored by the Pope and the clerical party in general. The Bishops of



Novara and Cremona, attending this assembly in Pavia, declared that war should be made upon the Milanese for protecting the city of Crema.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 39, (Muratori, V, 512).

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these cities seem to have been motivated in their opposition to Milan, not so much because of the adherence of Milan to Conrad, but rather, because of a political question which had been debated almost twenty years before and had been settled, militarily, at least, in 1111. The point at issue was, of course, whether Milan or Cremona should exercise the predominant influence over Crema. The Cremonese had seized the castle of Crema in 1116 but in the next year it was recaptured by the Milanese.<sup>2</sup> The assembly held in the

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<sup>2</sup>Chron. Crem., ad annos 1116, 1117, (Muratori, VII, col. 633.)

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brolo of Milan in 1117 had established a temporary peace between the hostile cities, but after the conclusion of the war with Como, the conflict was renewed.<sup>3</sup> On June 1,

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<sup>3</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 31 (Muratori, V, 500); see also above p. 181.

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1130, the Cremonese attempted to recover the castle of

Crema but apparently were unsuccessful. In October of the same year, the soldiers of Cremona marched to Busseto but large numbers of them were drowned in the river Po. It may well be that the attack directed against Busseto was prompted by the affiliation of the latter city with Milan. There is no indication that such was the case, however, so this action may be wholly unconnected with the overall conflict between Milan and Cremona.<sup>1</sup> The Chronicle of Parma relates that

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<sup>1</sup>Chron. Crem. ad annum 1130 (Muratori, VII, col. 633.)

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at Brescello in 1131, a great part of the Cremonese force was captured, presumably by the Milanese; many of the Cremonese are said to have lost their lives in the Po at this battle.<sup>2</sup> According to Galvaneus Flamma, the Milanese joined

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<sup>2</sup>Chronicon Parmense ab anno 1038 usque ad annum 1309, ad annum 1131, in Muratori, RR.II.SS, IX, col. 759.

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battle with the Pavians, allies of Cremona, on the first of July, 1131, in the Campo di Maconago, and emerged victorious. In the succeeding year, another battle occurred at Martinengo, lying between Bergamo and Crema, where the Milanese defeated their enemies once more. Giulini rejects Flamma's accounts of these conflicts by referring to the Calendario Sitoniano, a contemporary source, which states

that on the twenty-third of June, 1132, numerous Pavians were captured at Marcinago on the confines of the Milanese and Pavian territories, a short distance from the river Ticino. Giulini suggests that Flamma has corrupted Marcinago into Martinengo and Maconago.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Galvaneus Flamma, c. 166, (Muratori, XI, col. 631), and Giulini, V, 244-266.

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At this time, the Emperor Lothair III, having determined to establish his authority in Italy and to obtain the imperial crown, appeared on the scene. In the summer of 1132, he advanced into Lombardy. Being anxious to revenge himself on the Milanese who had remained consistently hostile to him, he allied himself with their enemies, Cremona and Pavia. At the commencement of November, 1132, he laid siege to Crema which the Milanese were defending. After a month, Lothair withdrew, having been frustrated in his efforts to take the place.<sup>2</sup> The fortunes of Milan suffered a setback,

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<sup>2</sup>Chron. Crem. ad annum 1133, (Muratori, VII, col. 633), and Excerpta Historica, ad Novembrum, 1132, (Muratori, II: II, 236).

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however, for her troops disgracefully lost a standard to the Cremonese who proceeded to erect a castle situated so as to check the inroads of the forces of Crema and Milan into the county of Cremona. This castle, built sometime

after the feast of St. Michael (September 29), was called Ficeleone (now Pizzighettone) and was not far from the river Adda.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Galvaneus Flamma, c. 168, (Muratori, XI, col. 631); Sicard, ad annum 1133, (Muratori, VII, col. 596), calls the castle, Castelvisconte, which lies on the river Oglio; see also Giulini, V, 277-279.

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After the Council of Pisa, 1135, at which the Milanese had been reconciled with Pope Innocent II, a vain attempt was made to persuade the Cremonese to liberate those soldiers of Milan which they held prisoner. On the arrival of St. Bernard in the Ambrosian City in June, 1135, he induced the citizens to release the Cremonese whom they held captive. Notwithstanding his efforts to act as peacemaker between the two cities, the Milanese assaulted their enemies to obtain by force what they could not obtain by negotiation; but they were surprised at night by a body of Cremonese soldiers who seized one hundred and thirty knights. The number of knights in the city was not large so that the capture of one hundred thirty of them was a heavy blow to the prestige of Milan. Saint Bernard was obliged then to give up his efforts to arrange an amicable settlement between the hostile cities.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 41-42, (Muratori, V, 514-516), and Giulini, V, 290-308.

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Milan received unexpected assistance in her struggle with Cremona in 1136 when the Emperor, having completed his business in Germany, made another descent into Italy in August. As usual, the cities of Lombardy were divided in their allegiance but Milan, formerly one of his principal opponents embraced his standard. The reconciliation of the Milanese with the Emperor was due primarily to the activities of St. Bernard in persuading the citizens to acknowledge Pope Innocent II and Lothair III as their legitimate superiors, in the previous year. At Guastalla, in September, 1136, the case of Cremona against Milan was decided in favor of the latter city by the Emperor. Then, Archbishop Roboald excommunicated the citizens of Cremona since they obstinately refused to set at liberty the Milanese soldiers whom they still held in prison. Lothair followed this up by declaring war against Cremona. In October, with the assistance of the Milanese, he destroyed Soncino, on the river Oglio, and San Bassano, besides other fortresses subject to Cremona.<sup>1</sup>

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Landulf Junior, c. 43, (Muratori, V, 517-518); Chron. Crem., ad annum 1136, (Muratori, VII, col. 633); Galvaneus Flamma, c. 168, (Muratori, XI, col. 631-632); Sicard, ad annum 1135, (Muratori, VII, col. 596), and Giulini, V. 338.

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At the opening of November, Lothair directed his attention to Pavia which now opposed him because of her age-long enmity with Milan. The Pavians had defeated a Milanese army shortly before and had seized its standards. The Emperor now en-

camped near Pavia at Lardirago on the river Olana. On November 8, which was Sunday, the imperial army attacked the Pavians who were routed. The citizens were so terrified by this unhappy experience and by the news that Milan had joined her forces to those of the Emperor, that they surrendered on the next day and agreed to an exchange of prisoners with Milan. The Milanese soldiers then returned home while Lothair passed to the northwest to ravage the area.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 45, (Muratori, V, 519), and Giulini, V, 347-8.

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After the death of the Emperor in 1137 and the election of Conrad of Hohenstaufen as his successor, Milan resumed the war with Cremona. Pope Innocent II had released the citizens of the latter city from the sentence of excommunication imposed upon them by Archbishop Roboald in 1136. The Milanese now took the offensive by seizing Genivolta (1138) a town near Crema and other fortresses. They also succeeded in capturing Ubert, Bishop of Cremona, who had been consecrated by Archbishop Jordan. The Milanese had compelled him to swear fidelity to their city on the day of his consecration but he had proven unfaithful to his oath by encouraging his fellow citizens to resist the power of Milan. The Bishop was fortunate in making his escape,

however, when his jailer died of poisoning.<sup>1</sup> On the fifth

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<sup>1</sup>Landulf Junior, c. 46, (Muratori, V, 520).

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of June, 1138, the Milanese defeated the Cremonese in a battle fought near Crema.<sup>2</sup> In the following year they gained another

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<sup>2</sup>Chron. Crem., ad annum 1138, (Muratori, VII, col. 633); Chron. Parm., ad annum 1138, (Muratori, IX, 760), and Excerpta Historica, ad Junium, 1138, (Muratori, II::II, 235).

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victory over their enemies at Rivolta.<sup>3</sup> The conflict between

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<sup>3</sup>Galvaneus Flamma, c. 169, (Muratori, XI, col. 632); Sicard, ad annum 1139, (Muratori, VII, col. 598), and Giulini, V, 359, 375.

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the two cities seems to have subsided for a time because there are no further references to battles between them until the mid-century. No doubt both sides agreed to abandon the dispute since neither had been able to gain any definite advantage. In 1146, the Emperor Conrad III sent the Bishop of Constance to Lombardy to establish the imperial authority there. Apparently, the Bishop settled the feud between Milan and Cremona, at least temporarily, and brought about a general pacification in northern Italy.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Giulini, V, 450-3.

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The wars of Milan against her neighbors indicate the great degree of independence to which the city had attained by the first years of the twelfth century. They demonstrate the fierce patriotism of the citizens who could employ every resource at their command to conduct a conflict with Lodi for four years, with Como for ten years, and with Cremona and her ally, Pavia, for nearly twenty years. Although these military operations were generally carried out on a small scale and although the number of troops involved and the number of casualties must not have been large, the results were no less important to the future of Milan. Perhaps the most significant fact which these campaigns reveal is that the Milanese had passed through the transitional stage and had at last achieved political maturity. Having secured a firm foundation for the communal government the citizens were now able to devote their energy to aggrandizement at the expense of less powerful towns and to the establishment of Milanese hegemony in Lombardy. Without a doubt, Milan emerged from these struggles as the principal city-state of the Lombard plain, imposing her will on the whole of the surrounding countryside. The spirit of self-reliance and independent action so characteristic of the early Archbishops of the city was fostered by the officials of the commune and was to stand Milan in good stead in the second half of the twelfth century, when she was called upon to face the terrible might of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Milan had gained



her status of pre-eminence by sheer strength of will and nobly maintained it by standing as the bulwark of Italian freedom against the German invader.

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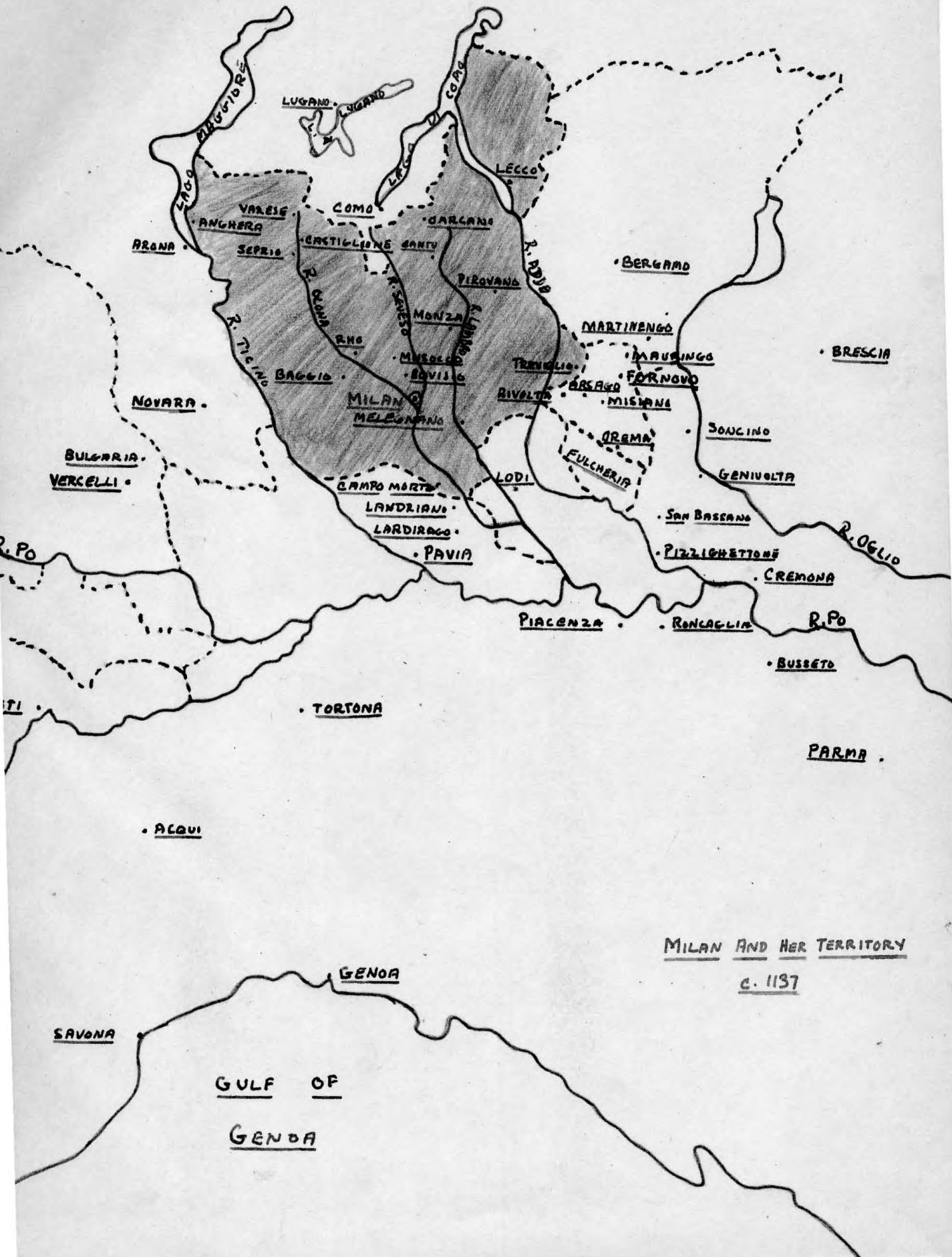
Villari, Pasquale, Mediaeval Italy from Charlemagne to Henry VII, translated by Costanze Hulton, New York, 1910.

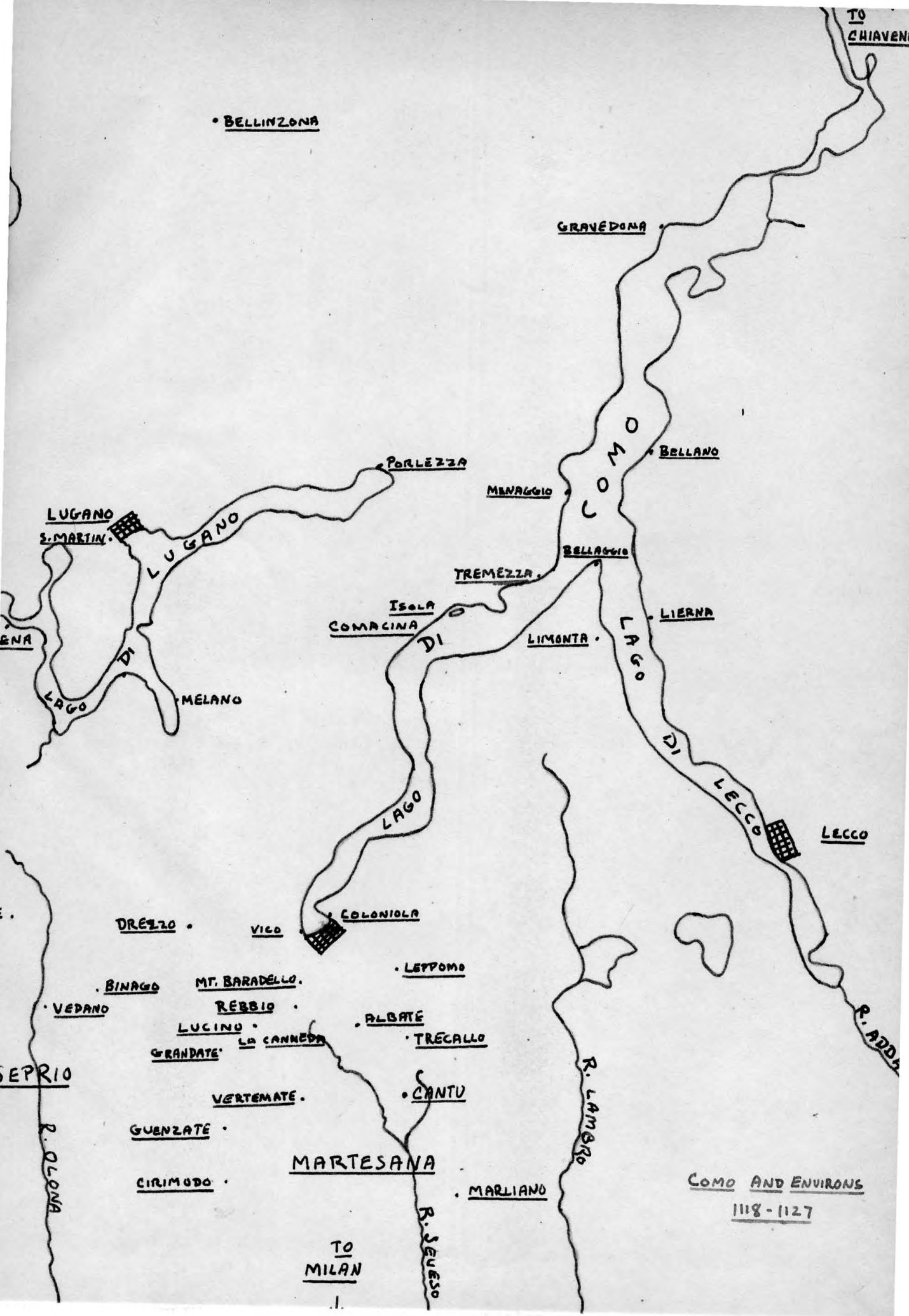
This is a general survey with little of direct reference to Milan.



• CHIAVENNA

• GELLINZONA





• BELLINZONA

GRAVEDONA

• BELLANO

PORLEZZA

MENAGGIO

LUGANO

S. MARTIN

LUGANO

TREMEZZA

BELLAGIO

ISOLA

COMACINA

LIMONTA

LIERNA

MELANO

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LETTOMO

BINAGO

MT. BARADELLO

REBBIO

VEDUGGIO

LUCINO

ALBATE

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GRANDATE

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TO  
MILAN

COMO AND ENVIRONS

1118-1127