LAND AND CULT:

SOCIETY AND RADICAL RELIGION IN THE DIOCESE OF MILAN c.990-1130

JAMES NORRIE

DPhil Candidate, History Faculty

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Wolfson College

ABSTRACT

This thesis engages with the problem of how religious and structural social change were integrated in northern Italy during the long eleventh century. To this end it engages with both the historiography of the contemporary religious 'reform', movement and debates over the rate and nature of contemporary socio-economic change. Its principal inquiry is to situate the origins and consequences of the Pataria, the largest and most radical popular movement in Latin Europe of the period, within its local social environment in the city and diocese of Milan. The Pataria shared the goals of contemporary religious reform, and wished to end simony and clerical marriage, but it was also a social movement of size and influence that has no contemporary comparison. By insisting on the mutually constructing nature of ideology and material culture, this thesis argues that the Pataria not only emerged in the countryside, but did so at a space and moment in time in which city market relations were extended deeper into rural space, with potentially socially destabilising effects which also transformed local perceptions of value.

My discussion proceeds as follows. Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the chief players and institutions which shaped Milanese politics and organised the region's elites before the formation of the commune. Although this is not in the first place a study of political history, at least some familiarity with these is needed to understand how power and authority was distributed in the period. We survey, therefore, the character of episcopal authority in the city and the centrality of the archbishop's court for politics and patronage among the regional aristocracy. We also examine the structure of the city clergy, which was highly distinctive in Milan, and emphasise what we know about the social origins of its members.

Having provided a sense of the central institutions of power in pre-communal Milan, we turn in the next two chapters to look at social developments in both the countryside and the city. Chapter 2, on rural society, uncovers the extension and extraordinary reach of episcopal power into the countryside. It also argues that before the mid-eleventh century, aristocratic families managed church properties as part of a functional relationship between lay groups and ecclesiastical institutions. From the middle of the century, however, landscapes and social relations in areas of the countryside become profoundly affected by the extension of market relations. Not only did this expose cultivators to debt and economic insecurity, it also enabled the expansion of rural centres, an increased division of labour, and – especially in the north-eastern plain – the foundation of the common life among the clergy. Chapter 3, meanwhile, focuses on social life in the city itself. It first reconstructs what it is possible to know about the complexity of urban space and economic activity in Milan, before considering trends in demographic and economic development.

Chapter 4 examines more closely the anxieties about clerical marriage and simony articulated by the Patarines and their allies, before attempting to frame their social origins in the Milanese countryside. Here we draw out the fact that the areas in which reform of the clergy first took root, and where links with the Patarines can be made, coincided with the same places where we can first observe the abrupt extension of market relations into the countryside. Having explored the relationship between these two developments, we also look at the legacy of the Pataria in city politics after its decisive defeat in 1075. Episcopal authority remained subject to popular negotiation and, by the new century, aristocratic families lost their monopoly on episcopal office. Finally, we look at documentary evidence to shed lights on the effects of reform on property ownership in rural localities after 1100.

Chapter 5 focuses on the role of the cult of saints in contemporary conflicts. It reviews some of the hagiographic evidence for those saints' cults closely associated with the

figure of the archbishop and the Ambrosian tradition, before examining how the Patarines contested this authority through their own attempts to appropriate representations of sanctity. The capacity for saints' cults to communicate ideology beyond an elite audience is also stressed. In Chapter 6, meanwhile, we consider how public ritual and liturgy in the city became a central element both in the patterning of violent and symbolic conflict, and in the reproduction of social consensus. It combines a close reading of our central liturgical source, Beroldo, with the evidence of written narratives in order to uncover elements of ideology which were constitutive of social order. Considerations on the troubled relationship between crowd turbulence and public ritual order in city life will lead to our conclusion.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My first debts are to the institutions which made this research possible: above all to the Wolfson Foundation, for the award of a Postgraduate Studentship in the Humanities, but also to the Scouloudi Foundation at the Institute of Historical Research, whose Fellowship gave me the time and resources to complete my research. I also owe more than I can say to both my supervisors, Chris Wickham and Conrad Leyser, and to their examples of scholarly excitement, rigour, and ambition. Both too have shown immense support, generosity, and patience in encouraging and evaluating my work. I am also deeply grateful to Cristina La Rocca, whom I worked with during a visiting studentship at the University of Padua. The humbling generosity of her support has been matched by the marvellous hospitality she and Stefano Gasparri have shown me over the past years during my stays in Italy. My previous teachers in history have also made me an exceptionally fortunate student: Peter Cramer, Gareth Mann, Matthew Kempshall, Jane Garnet, David d'Avray and Antonio Sennis, each of whom has made a lasting impression on my thinking. I must also thank for kind advice, assistance, and valuable conversation over the past four years Michele Baitieri, Nick Evans, Stefano Gasparri, Kathryn Gleadle, Caroline Goodson, Anna Rapetti, Francesco Veronese, Antonio Sennis, among many others. To Maria del Carmen Moreno Escobar I owe an enormous debt of gratitude for her selfless assistance with making the maps. I am also extremely grateful to the staff at the Bodleian Library in Oxford; at the British Library, Warburg Library, and the Institute of Historical Research Library in London; at the libraries of the Dipartimento di storia at the University of Padua and at the University of Milan. I have been welcomed and ably assisted by the staff of the Archivio di Stato di Milano and the Biblioteca Capitolare di Monza. I especially owe to the kindness of Miriam Rita Tessera extraordinary access to the Archivio Capitolare di Sant'Ambrogio. There is also so much I owe to my parents, Richard and Mary, and their endless love, kindness, and support. And I thank Jenny Shurville, who has done so much so generously to help in the last stages of this project, for her love and for walking the streets of Milan with me.

CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations
6

List of Archbishops, Kings, and Popes
9

Maps
11

*

Introduction
13

1. Court and Clery in the Archbishop's City
54

2. The Countryside: Episcopal Power and Marketisation
90

3. The City: The Growth of an Urban World
151

4. The Pataria and Agrarian Change
195

5. Authority and the Cult of Saints
221

6. Contesting the Liturgy: Theatres of Consensus and Ritual Violence
251

Conclusion
293

*

Bibliography
298

ABBREVIATIONS

ACM	*Gli atti del Comune di Milano fino all'anno MCCXVI*, ed. C. Manaresi (Milan, 1919).
Ambrose, *Epistulae*	Ambrose of Milan, *Epistularum liber decimus, Epistulae extra collectionem, Gesta concilii Aquileiensis*, ed. M. Zelzer Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout,1982).
Andrea da S, *VSA*	Andrea da Strumi, *Vita sancti Arialdi*, ed. F. Baethgen, MGH SS XXX.2 (Leipzig, 1934) pp. 1047-75.
Anon, *VSA*	*Passione del beato Arialdo*, in *Arialdo: Passione del santo martire milanese* (Milan, 1994). ed and trans. M. Navoni, pp. 177-227.
AP	*Gli atti privati milanesi e comaschi del secolo XI*, eds. C. Manaresi, G. Vittani, and C. Santoro, 4 vols. (Milan, 1933-69).
Ariberto, *I documenti*	*Ariberto da Intimiano: i documenti segni del potere*, eds. M. Petoletti, M. Basile Weatherill, M. R. Tessera, et al. (Milan, 2009).
Arn, *LGR*	Arnolfo of Milan, *Liber gestorum recentium*, ed. C. Zey, MGH SRG, LXVII (Hannover, 1994).
ACSA	Archivio capitolare di Sant'Ambrogio.
ASMi	Archivio di Stato di Milano.
Beroldo, *Ordo*	Beroldus, *Ecclesiae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis Kalendarium et Ordines, saec. XII, ex codice Ambrosiano*, ed. M. Magistretti (Milan, 1894).
Bonizo, *LAA*	Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH LdL, I (Hannover, 1891), pp. 568-620.
Catalogus	*Catalogus archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium*, eds. L. C. Bethmann and W. Wattenbach, MGH SS, VIII (Hannover, 1848), pp. 101-110.
CISAM	Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo.
CSAmbrogio	*Le carte del monastero di S. Ambrogio di Milano,* III/1 (1101-1180), ed. M. L. Mangini (Pavia, 2007).
CSMMorimondo	*Le carte del monastero di S. Maria di Morimondo, I (1010-1170)*, ed. M. Ansani (Spoleto, 1992).
Giulini, *Memorie*	G. Giulini, *Memorie della città e della campagna di Milano, ne' secoli bassi*, vols. 1-5 (1760-5).
Gregory VII, *Register*	*Gregorii VII Registrum*, ed. E. Caspar, MGH Epistolae selectae, II, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1920-3).
Land Sen, *HM*	Landolfo Seniore, *Historia Mediolanensis*, eds. L. C. Bethmann and W. Wattenbach, MGH SS, VIII (Hannover, 1848), pp. 32-100.
Land SP, *HM*	Landolfo di San Paolo, *Historia Mediolanensis*, eds. L. Bethmann and P. Jaffé, MGH SS XX (1868).
Libellus de situ	*Anonymi Mediolanensis libellus de situ civitatis Mediolani, de adventu Barnabe Apostoli, et de vitis priorum pontificum Mediolanensium*, eds. A. and G. Colombo (Bologna, 1942).
Liber notitiae	*Liber notitiae sanctorum Mediolani*, eds. M. Magistretti and U. Monneret de Villard (Milan, 1917).
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica

— Cap	Capitularia regem Francorum
— LDL	Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum
— Leges	Leges (in Folio)
— SS	Scriptores.
— SRG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum
— SRG NS	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum nova series.
— SRL	Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX.
Paul the Deacon, *HL*	Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, eds. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz, MGH SRL, pp. 12-187.
PCapMag secoli	'Pergamene del Capitolo Maggiore', in *Pergamene milanesi dei XII-XIII*, vol. Ed. M. F. Baroni (Milan, 2005).
PCapMin secoli	'Pergamene del Capitolo Minore', in *Pergamene milanesi dei XII-XIII*, vol. Ed. M. F. Baroni (Milan, 2005).
Peter Damian, *Briefe.*	*Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. K. Reindel, MGH Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, IV, 4 vols. (Munich, 1983-93).
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
Placiti	*I placiti del 'Regnum Italiae'*, ed. C. Manaresi, 3 vols. (Rome, 1955-60).
PSGiorgio	*Pergamene milanesi dei secoli XII-XIII*, vol. 5, ed. L. Zagni (Milan, 1988).
PSPGCucciago	*Le pergamene della canonica dei santi Protasio e Gervasio di Cucciago 1096-1582*, ed. T. M. Tagliabue (Florence, 2011).
PSLorenzo	*Pergamene milanesi dei secoli XII-XIII*, vol. 7, ed. M. F. Baroni (Milan,1989).
PSMargherita	*Pergamene milanesi dei secoli XII-XIII*, vol, 2, ed. L. Zagni (Milan, 1984).
PSMAurona	*Pergamene milanesi dei secoli XII-XIII*, vol. 1, ed. M. F. Baroni (Milan, 1984).
PSMChiaravalle	*Pergamene milanesi dei secoli XII-XIII*, vol. 17, ed. A. M. Rapetti (Milan, 2004).
PSMVelate	*Le carte della chiesa di S. Maria del Monte di Velate I (922- 1170)*, ed. P. Merati (Varese, 2005).
PSRadegonda	'Le pergamene di S. Radegonda', *Pergamene milanesi dei secoli XII-XIII*, vol. 8.
PSSepolcro	'Le pergamene di S. Sepolcro', *Pergamene milanesi dei secoli XII-XIII*, vol. 8.
PSSVimercate	*Pergamene milanesi dei secoli XII-XIII*, vol. 14, ed. L. M. Perelli (Milan, 2001).
PSVVarese	*Pergamene milanesi dei secoli XII-XIII*, vol. 9, ed. L. Zagni (Milan, 1992).

LIST OF ARCHBISHOPS OF MILAN, KINGS OF ITALY, POPES OF ROME

Archbishops of Milan

Landolfo II da Carcano	(980-998)
Arnolfo II da Arsago	(998-1018)
Ariberto da Intimiano	(1018-1045)
Guido da Velate	(1045-c.70)
Goffredo da Castiglione	(c.1070-75)
Atto	(1072-75)
Tedaldo (da Landriano?)	(1075-85)
Anselmo III da Rho	(1086-93)
Arnolfo III da Porta Orientale	(1093-97)
Anselmo IV da Bovisio	(1097-1101)
Grosolano	(1101-12/16)
Giordano da Clivio	(1112-20)
Olrico	(1120-26)
Anselmo V della Pusterla	(1126-35)
Robaldo	(1135-45)

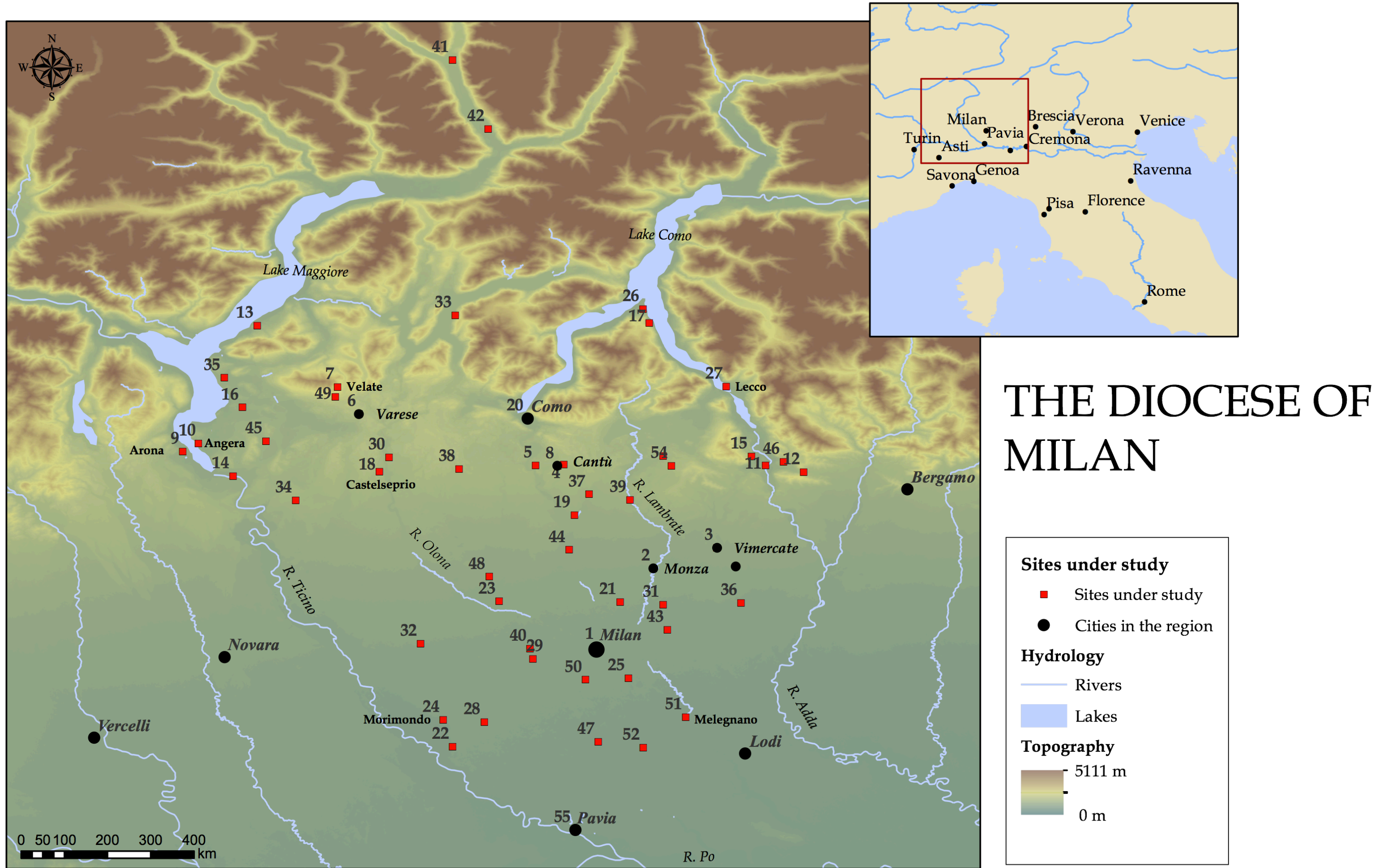
Kings of Italy

Otto I	(951-73)
Otto II	(967-83)
Otto III	(983-1002)
Arduin of Ivrea	(1002-14)
Henry II	(1002-24)
Conrad II	(1024-39)
Henry III	(1039-56)
Henry IV	(1056-1106)
Conrad of Italy	(1087-93)
Henry V	(1106-1125)
Lothair II	(1125-37)
Conrad III	(1138-52)
Frederick I Barbarossa	(1152-90)

Popes

Benedict VII	(974-83)
John XIV	(983-4)
John XV	(985-96)
Gregory V	(996-9)
John XVI	(997-8)
Silvester II	(999-1003)
John XVII	(1003)
John XVIII	(1003-9)
Sergius IV	(1009-12)
Benedict VIII	(1012-24)
John XIX	(1024-32)
Benedict IX	(1032-45, 1045-6, 1047-8)
Silvester III	(1045)
Gregory VI	(1045-6)
Clement II	(1046-7)
Damasus II	(1048)
Leo IX	(1049-54)
Victor II	(1055-7)
Stephen IX	(1057-8)
Benedict X	(1058-60)
Nicholas II	(1059-61)
Alexander II	(1061-73)
Honorius II (Cadalus)	(1061-72)
Gregory VII	(1073-85)
Clement III	(1081-1100)
Victor III	(1086-7)
Urban II	(1088-99)
Paschal II	(1099-1118)
Theoderic	(1100)
Albert	(1102)
Gelasius II	(1118-19)
Gregory VIII	(1118-20)
Calixtus II	(1119-24)
Honorius II	(1124-30)
Anacletus II	(1130-8)
Innocent II	(1130-43)
Celestine II	(1143-4)
Lucius II	(1144-5)

Key: 1. Residence of the da Baggio family/ S. Giovanni alle Quattro Faccie; 2. *Curtis ducis*/'Cordusio'; 3.S. Maria alla Porta Vercellina; 4. *Beccaria Maggiore* (Butchers' Market); 5. S. Maria Beltrade; 6. Episcopal Palace (aprox.); 7. Baptistery of S. Stefano; 8. Baptistery of S. Giovanni; 9. S. Vittore e 40 Martiri/Erlembaldo's residence; 10. S. Vittore al Teatro; 11. S. Paolo al Compito



KEY: 1. Milan; 2. Monza; 3. Vimercate; 4. Galliano; 5. Cucciago; 6. Varese; 7. S. Maria del Monte Velate; 8. Cantù; 9. Arona; 10. Angera; 11. Brivio; 12. Pontida; 13. Valtravaglia; 14. Sesto Calende; 15. Airuno; 16. Brebbia; 17. Limonta; 18. Castelseprio; 19. Meda; 20. Como; 21. Sesto; 22. Besate; 23. Rho; 24. Morimondo; 25. Chiaravalle; 26. Bellagio; 27. Lecco; 28. Rosate; 29. Cesano Boscone; 30. Castiglione Olona; 31. Cologno; 32. Corbetta; 33. Campione; 34. Arsago; 35. Leggiuno; 36. Gorgonzola; 37. Mariano; 38. Appiano; 39. Agliate; 40. Baggio; 41. Biasca; 42. Claro; 43. Segrate; 44. Bovisio; 45. S. Sepolcro (Ternate- Comabbio; 46. Cisano; 47. Villamaggiore; 48. Lainate; 49. Velate; 50. Gratosoglio (S. Barnaba); 51. Melegnano; 52. Landriano; 53. Bulciago; 54. Cremella.

INTRODUCTION

Sex and money are always freighted with danger. And yet, we might still wonder at a past society where what were once normal habits of intimacy and exchange became abruptly rejected by the riotous violence of the street. The eleventh century was an era of urban growth and turbulent transition for the peoples and economies of Latin-speaking Europe. It saw new anxieties emerge in the shadow of the city. Men asserted that female bodies were intolerably polluting, and could not come into contact with those whose duty it was to administer the sacrifice on the altar of the Christian religion. And gifts of silver, so often in the past instruments of solidarity, risked more and more staining the hands of clerics with guilt and suspicion. Unlike religious disputes of the earlier middle ages, the moral accusers were not simply intellectuals, members of courtly entourages and cathedral churches. They were also women and laymen from across the social spectrum, who assembled in numbers not seen since antiquity to challenge traditional structures of authority amid a changing world. The rise of radical religious movements underlines the depth and reach of social change in this period of European history, above all in the world of cities in Italy.

Under the pressure of urban growth, humans were also transforming the landscape itself, as they changed the ways in which they managed the land around them and extended the cultivation of cereal crops. Growing surpluses fed growing populations and a broader revival of urban culture, centuries after the fragmentation of the economic exchange systems of the Roman empire. Transformations of the material world created another problem, of how communities constructed authority and organised access to the immaterial world and the divine. To understand how cities changed and responded to, not only the

social and physical landscape around them, but also religious cult, we can do little better then to turn our gaze to the city of Milan in the long eleventh century. No other centre in the region witnessed the same scale of popular dissent and religious violence. Few others experienced a comparable rhythm of growth in the period, which would make Milan the largest city in all of later medieval Europe.

This thesis asks how we can understand the ways in which urban growth transformed related processes of religious reform and socio-economic change. Within the scope of this question, it also aims to locate the social conditions in eleventh-century Milan which gave birth to the Pataria. The Pataria was contemporary Latin Europe's largest and most radical popular movement, whose revolt struggled to transform the conditions of the clergy and the sources of episcopal authority. Medieval historians are well accustomed to looking for change in the eleventh century, indeed to the extent that some are bored of doing so. At the same time, two historiographical debates on eleventh-century transformations – focused on the problems of 'Gregorian reform' and 'feudal revolution' – have too often proceeded in isolation from each other. In the first case, students of ecclesiastical reform in this period have tended to focus on narratives of institutional and doctrinal change set apart from the wider social environment in which they took place. This is despite the fact that clerical communities lived in the world. Their members were bound to families, and both their domestic and ritual needs – whether bread for idle mouths or olive and animal fats for lights – demanded property and labour. The demands of eleventh-century reform – to intensify liturgical life; to separate clerics from wife and family; to resist simony, or the commercial traffic in church offices – all directly concerned the relations which bound cult to the material world.

Yet historians of the so-called Gregorian reform still work, tacitly or otherwise, with the inherited narratives and concerns established by confessional scholarship of the

twentieth century and earlier. As Maureen Miller has forcefully underlined, few narrative models escape the influence of either Augustin Fliche's story of the papacy's liberation of a church held in lay captivity, or Gerd Tellenbach's less than heroic tale of a new priestly caste which rejected the government of kings.[1] Furthermore, among scholars of all backgrounds it is still often the case that reform is reduced to a history of high politics, a drama of popes and sovereigns, or a story of communication between elites. Disembodied texts are made to resound apart from the people who made the worlds which produced them.[2] And yet it was often popular and local movements, in advance of bishops and popes, which struggled to transform the social status of the clergy or the organisation of ecclesiastical property. Even in the hinterland of the church of Rome, a local community in Sabina in the early eleventh century acted to support the common life of clerics a generation before their bishops agitated for the same.[3] From this the importance arises of a number of studies since the 1990s which have underlined the need to de-centre the history of reform, and show that lay people were its participants, not antagonists. Nevertheless, in the influential works by Maureen Miller and John Howe which made this case, a focus on institutions makes less clear the social developments which supported religious innovation.[4]

Conversely the tradition of social history inaugurated by Georges Duby, who in the years after the war first clearly defined a European social revolution around the year 1000, has only intermittently taken seriously the ways in which agrarian and social change interacted with religious culture. Duby himself, while pursuing arguments which he had made about the origin of patrilineal kinship after the first millennium, did become

[1] A. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, 3 vols. (Louvain, 1924-37), G. Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1993). On the historiography, see as mentioned M. C. Miller,

[2] The story of works including, C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989), I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest* (Manchester, 1978), L. Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere: The Public Debate during the Investiture Contest, c.1030-1122*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2007). On the latter, see the pointed review by C. Symes, *American Historical Review*, 114.2 (2009), pp. 468-9

[3] P. Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiéval. Le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IXe siècle à la fin du XIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1973), vol. 2, pp. 925-30.

[4] M. Miller *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950-1150* (Ithaca, 1993), J. Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and His Patrons* (Philadelphia, 1997).

increasingly interested in clerical reform's concern with sexual regulation and prohibition.[5] And one of Duby's most influential early successors, Pierre Toubert, was also more attentive than many after him to the ways in which changes in religious practice were embedded in wider society. His fundamental study of the social and settlement transformation of southern Lazio spoke of a new world of castles. But it also suggested interactive links between settlement patterns, changing family structures, and new modes of clerical organisation.[6] However, the tendency among social historians of the eleventh century has been to exclude, or at least downplay, the role of cult in the structures they analysed. This is as true of critics of the 'feudal revolution' paradigm, such as Dominique Barthélemy, as it is of supporters. And it is notably the case for regional monographs on Italian social history by French historians, the heirs of Toubert.[7]

The same can be said of Chris Wickham's new and innovative work on the emergence of Italy's city communes. A recent article of his relates this transition to the wider story of social transformation of the post-Carolingian world in the eleventh century. But it does not once consider the potential role of contemporary religious changes in the breakdown of old structures of authority, the necessary precondition for the appearance communal government. This is despite the fact that contemporary religious reform, and its goal of destroying the clerical family, was making fundamental arguments about property and its control, with wide implications for the social reproduction of power. Wickham has also made a convincing case that the social background of the new communal elite, which crystallised in the early twelfth century, was substantially different to the more exclusively

---

[5] G. Duby, *La société au IXe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953), id. *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest* (New York, 1983).
[6] Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiéval*, vol. 2, especially pp. 693 ff.
[7] D. Barthélemy, *The Serf, the Knight, and the Historian*, trans. G. R. Edwards (Ithaca, 2009). For Italian regional monographs by French scholars in the tradition of Toubert, see below.

aristocratic membership of previous episcopal governments.[8] Attention paid to breaks in religious culture, however, might well help us specify with greater precision the processes which made this social and political transition possible.

In Italy historians since the war forged a different historiographical tradition. Beginning in the 1950s, Cinzio Violante made a turn towards social history, based on documentary sources. Active for the first part of his career at Milan's Università Cattolica, Violante was centrally concerned with the history of religious life in this period. He in particular sought, with great innovation in the post-war years, to reconstruct a history of ecclesiastical institutions, first in Milan then in northern Italy more broadly, based on charter evidence and a sensitivity to social context. Nevertheless, this work still cleaved to confessional if not moralising narratives, which subjected ecclesiastical practices and organisations to various value-judgements.[9]

More recently, English-speaking historians including Charles West and John Eldevik have shown a very welcome interest in the relationship between structural change and religion in this period.[10] But the most forceful attempt to locate the transformation of religious cult in a narrative of social and demographic upheaval remains that first made by R. I. Moore in a seminal article published in 1980. Armed with highly suggestive arguments from anthropologists such as Mary Douglas, Moore identified the anxieties driving forward eleventh-century reform as rooted in responses to the contemporary fragmentation of community and property wrought by demographic pressure and aristocratic violence. These pressures are also what gave these anxieties popular expressions. Here the movement to

---

[8] C. Wickham, 'The 'Feudal Revolution' and the Origins of Italian City Communes', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 24 (2014), pp. 29-55 and *Sleepwalking into a New World: the Emergence of Italian City Communes in the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, 2015).

[9] C. Violante, *La società milanese nell età precomunale* (Bari, 1953), *La Pataria milanese e la riforma ecclesiastica. I. Le premese, 1045-1057* (Rome, 1955), *Studi sulla cristianità medioevale. Società, istituzioni, spiritualità* (Milan, 1975), 'Pievi e parrocchie dalla fine del X all'inizio del XIII secolo', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'Societas Christiana' dei secoli XI-XII. Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie* (Milan, 1977) pp. 643-799.

[10] C. West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution* (Cambridge, 2013), J. Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire* (Cambridge, 2012).

separate clerical officers from bonds of family and commerce, and to intensify the ritual authority of the priesthood, produced trusted mediators and symbols of community. But it also, in Moore's narrative, gave birth to institutions which held in place new structures of authority, not least the patrilineage, but ultimately too a literate elite capable of extensive social and moral control. This very compelling model was built on a thorough synthesis of the work of contemporary social historians, above all Georges Duby, but also Toubert, Violante and Pierre Bonnassie.[11]

This sort of broader synthesis does, however, make it more difficult to pin down the relationship between reform movements and social change within a more precise timeframe and context. In northern Italy, for example, we might wonder why popular reform first erupted in the 1050s, when many of the socio-economic shifts identified by Moore and other scholars as summoning the reform movement were already in place decades earlier. Other influential studies which have sought to locate reform in the economic transitions of 1000 have pointed to even less well defined contexts. This is the case for Lester Little's ingenious 1978 book on the birth of movements embracing religious poverty. Little read the rejection of simony and the repudiation of wealth as a response to the appearance of a monetised, profit economy. The rise of the cash economy made the exchange of money for sacred offices and rites look like part of the commodity market. Alexander Murray, almost simultaneously with Little, also identified the emergence of simony as a direct symptom of a newly monetised economy. Brilliant as these studies were, Little's periodisation especially, in which a gift economy predominantly structured exchange in Europe before 1000, after which the abrupt emergence of commercial relations transformed perceptions of money

[11] R. I. Moore, 'Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* vol. 30 (1980), pp. 49-69, id. 'Duby's Eleventh Century', *History*, 69 (1984), pp. 36-49, id. *The First European Revolution, c.970-1215* (Oxford, 2000), id. 'The weight of opinion: religion and the people of Europe from the tenth to the twelfth century', in K. Cooper and C. Leyser (eds.), *Making Early Medieval Societies* (Cambridge, 2016). For Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966).

and wealth, is far too crude to sustain the full weight of its own argument. Their models for early medieval economic history depended on Philip Grierson and Georges Duby, who in turn sought inspiration to characterise pre-market systems of exchange from anthropologists such as Mauss and Malinowski. However, recent studies and new data have underlined that coinage had a much greater role to play in the early medieval economy than once thought, in complex relation with other modes of exchange. Scholars have also critiqued the implicit assumptions in these older models, that before the millennium Europeans were irrational or primitive economic actors. If the European and Mediterranean economy did experience a real transition in the long eleventh century, it was not in the simple binary terms once suggested by historiography.[12]

These problems, where stereotypical models stand in for the reconstruction of explanatory contexts, lead us back to Milan. Moore again insisted that population growth and mobility in the eleventh century made possible not only city life, but the resurgence of the crowd as a political protagonist - above all in the north Italian metropolis.[13] Informed by broader questions, a close, regional study makes it possible to trace with greater precision the chronology of social transitions and their context in the local, human landscape between the end of the tenth century and the early twelfth century. More than this, Milan was one of the sites in which the effects of eleventh-century demographic and religious change in Latin Europe were felt most intensely. Urban growth swelled from as early as 1000, beginning phases of expansion which would make Milan probably the largest city in Italy by the twelfth

[12] L. K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1978), A. C. Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1978), esp. pp. 63-7 and 87-90. For the economic models, G. Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century* (London, 1974), P. Grierson, 'Commerce in the Dark Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 9 (1959), pp. 123-40. For the anthropological influence, M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London, 1990), B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London, 1922). For the critiques, see the approach taken by the contributors to W. Davies and P. Fouracre, *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010), and R. Naismith, 'The Social Significance of Monetization in the Early Middle Ages', *Past and Present*, no. 233 (2014), pp. 3-39,

[13] Moore, 'Family, Community and Cult', p. 49.

century, and certainly by 1300, when its population was perhaps as high as 150-200,000.[14] This expansion was paralleled by a gradual but profound reorganisation of the countryside, and a growing division and specialisation of labour.

Traditional modes of religious authority were simultaneously challenged in the strongest terms. The mid-eleventh century gave rise to the Pataria, the most radical popular reform movement of the era, which gripped city life from 1057 until 1075, and had political consequences for long after. This was a popular movement, led by laymen and clerics alike, which legitimised physical force against priests deemed guilty of simony or sexual incontinence. Milan also has the sources, both in quantity and in range – from documentary to narrative and hagiographic evidence – able to sustain close study of the changing relations between urbanism, society, and religious practice. This makes it possible to reconstruct a more distinct chronology and geography of key moments of social and religious change in the region, which can suggest broader conclusions about how cults and communities transformed each other. The chronology of this study, from the last decade of the tenth century up until about 1130, takes us from the Ottonian era of aggressively expansive episcopal government to the eve of autonomous, lay rule of the city commune. The years of the Pataria and Milan's political and economic crisis, 1057 to 1075, lie at the midpoint of this timeline. This gives us the chronological breadth to assess both the movement's roots in the region's social history, and its subsequent effects on Milanese politics and society.

Milan's rich source material in this period has, unsurprisingly, drawn the attention of historians before, especially local scholars. The starting point for modern historiography on the city in the central middle ages remains Cinzio Violante, whom we have mentioned already. His 1953 book, *La società milanese in età precomunale*, was at the time a highly original study of the socio-economic history of northern Italy based on the documentary

[14] See below, Chapter 3.

evidence, highlighting indicators of economic development in the decades around 1000 which remain fundamental to students of the region. *La società milanese* is also a narrative interpretation of the history of episcopal government up to the death of Archbishop Ariberto in 1045, continued to 1057 in another volume published two years later.[15] Most scholarship on medieval Milan before the commune has been carried out by Violante's students and researchers at the Università Cattolica, built right next to the basilica of Sant'Ambrogio. This has usually been focused on narrower aspects of local institutional history.[16] Gabriella Rossetti (who later followed Violante to Pisa) published especially important studies of local society and the property and power of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[17] The most recent monograph from this school was written by Alfredo Lucioni. His book on the episcopate of Anselmo IV brings to bear the author's mastery of the local sources on the religious politics of the 1090s.[18]

After Violante, the most important study of Milanese society was published by a scholar north of the Alps, in 1979. Hagen Keller's magisterial enquiry into the formation and social stratification of regional elites did much to illuminate the changing structure of the aristocracy, and the character of lordship which crystallised in the twelfth century.[19] Keller set out to reconstruct the process by which elite families of the post-Carolingian era

[15] Violante, *La Pataria milanese*, is more about Milan's broader political context in these years rather than the Pataria itself. The further implied volumes never appeared.

[16] See the edited collections, *Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Medioevale dell'Università Cattoica del Sacro Cuore*. vol. I (1968); vol. II (1972); vol. III (1975), and collected writings of P. Zerbi, *Tra Milano e Cluny. Momenti di vita e cultura ecclesiastica nel secolo XII* (Rome, 1991), especially on the early twelfth century, A. Ambrosioni, *Milano, papato e impero in età medievale: raccolta di studi* (Milan, 2003), mostly concerned with the twelfth-century history of the chapter of Sant'Ambrogio. A recent volume on Archbishop Ariberto, E. Binachi, M. Basile Weatherill, M. Rita Tessera, et al. (eds.), *Ariberto da Intimiano* (Milan, 2007), represents work by the new generation of this school. On the Università Cattolica, F. Schianchi, *La Università Cattolica* (Milan, 1974). Medievalists at the public University of Milan have interested themselves primarily with the more secular-looking history of the commune and later middle ages.

[17] G. Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo. Cologno Monzese 1. Secoli VIII-X* (Milan, 1968), while her most important articles are collected in ead., *Percorsi di Chiesa nella società medioevale* (Pirsa, 2008).

[18] A. Lucioni, *Anselmo IV da Bovisio, arcivescovo di Milano (1097-1101): Episcopato e società urbana sul finire dell'XI secolo* (Milan, 2011).

[19] *Adelsherrschaft und städtische Gesellschaft in Oberitalien 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1979), trans. by G. G. Merlo, *Signori e vasalli nell'Italia delle città (secoli IX-XII)* (Turin, 1995), with a response to his critics by the author.

reconstituted their resources and social status in the court of the eleventh-century bishop. If Keller's more rigid understanding of the social and juridical separation of different strata of the aristocracy (the first-rank *capitanei* and the second-rank *valvassori*, in contemporary terminology), and his insistence on continuity between Carolingian and post-Carolingian elite families, has since been convincingly criticised, the central achievements of his work remain very much intact.[20]

Any study of Milanese society is inevitably in debt to the models and rich comparative data offered by regional monographs of other Italian cities and their territories. Most relevant here is François Menant's exemplary study of the rural society of east Lombardy (the territories of Bergamo, Cremona, and Brescia) from the tenth century. Due to this region's proximity and its shared geographical features, the material marshalled and analysed by Menant provides an essential counterpoint to that of Milan (although not for urban society; cities are carefully extracted from Menant's field of view). Other points of comparison for contemporary society in the Po valley are provided by Pierre Racine's study of Piacenza and Gérard Rippé's monograph on Padua and its territory.[21] Important points of comparison and contrast to northern Italy are also brought out by studies of central Italy, not least in Toubert's southern Lazio. Among these it is also worth stressing Chris Wickham's studies of society in Lucca and Rome from the tenth to twelfth centuries. These takes very seriously the relationship between city and countryside, more often downplayed in French-language historiography.[22] None of these monographs, however, is concerned with the role of religion in social change.

[20] On this debate, see Chapter 1 below.

[21] F. Menant, *Campagnes lombardes du Moyen Âge. L'économie et la société rurales dans la région de Bergame, de Crémone et de Brescia du Xe au XIIIe siècle* (Rome, 1993), P. Racine, *Plaisance du Xème a la fin du XIIIème siècle* (Paris, 1980), G. Rippe, *Padoue et son contado (Xe – XIIIe siècle): société et pouvoirs* (Rome, 2003).

[22] Toubert, *Les structures du Latium*, L. Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales: Territoire, économie et société en Italie centrale du IXe au XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1998), C. Wickham, *The Mountains and the City: The Tuscan Apennines in the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988), id. *Medieval Rome: Stability and Crisis of a City, 900-1150* (Oxford, 2014), E. Faini, *Firenze nell'età romanica (1000-1211)* (Florence, 2010).

Despite its rich documentation and the drama of its events, a comprehensive study of the Pataria has yet to be produced. Violante studied the immediate political and religious context around the Pataria's beginning in 1057, and made a crucial analysis of lay involvement in the movement, but stopped there.[23] Giovanni Miccoli did most to elucidate the ideas of the movement, as transmitted by the written texts, while Giorgio Cracco investigated the obscured meaning of the term 'Pataria', emphasising the connotations of dogmatic rigor which it held for contemporaries.[24] Outside of Italy, the East German scholar Ernst Werner provided a social account of its origins, if a slightly crude one, in which the religious identity of the Pataria was presented as a mask for what was really a heretical counterculture.[25] In Britain, H. E. J. Cowdrey provided a synthetic account of the Pataria as part of a broader inquiry into the changing relationship between Milan and papal politics, while R. I. Moore, as we have seen, put the movement at the centre of his story of how the socio-economic of the eleventh century transformed the structures of family and religious authority.[26] From the standpoint of the narrative texts produced about the Pataria, Brian Stock has argued that the conflict in Milan reflects the consequences of growing literacy and its role in forging collective identities, but did not go into detail about the process. An extremely attentive reading of the sources, it may nevertheless privilege unduly the role of discourses in seeking to find what drove the movement.[27] Keller wrote an ingenious if flawed essay which, noting the shared role of oath-based associations outside the episcopal church, identified in the Pataria the proto-existence of the lay city commune. The importance of these oaths can be debated however, and now that scholars have pushed

[23] Violante, *La pataria*, and id., 'I laici nel movimento patarino', in id., *Studi sulla cristianità medioevale*, pp. 145-246. See also P. Golinelli, *La pataria: lotte religiose e sociali nella Milano dell'XI secolo* (Novara, 1984).
[24] 'Per la storia della pataria milanese', in *Chiesa Gregoriana* (Florence, 1966), pp. 101-68, G. Cracco, 'Pataria: *opus* e *nomen* (tra verità e autorità)', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 18 (1974), pp. 357-87.
[25] E. Werner, *Pauperes Christi* (Leipzig, 1956).
[26] H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Papacy, the Patarenes and the Church of Milan', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ser. 5., vol. 18 (1968), pp. 25-48, Moore, 'Family, Community and Cult'.
[27] B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983).

back the origins of the Milanese commune to the 1130s it is harder to point to the Pataria, defeated by 1075, as its embryo.[28]

We now need to turn to the sources on which this study is based. A survey of the documentary, literary and other forms of evidence will be followed by a narrative overview of the history of Milan in this period, and the central events of the Pataria. We will then consider problems of methodology, before outlining the structure of the thesis.

Sources

This is a study which insists on the complex integration of social change and religious practice in this period. For this reason it has been necessary to engage with a wide range of different types of source material, each with its own interpretative problems and potentials. Milan is also one of the few regions in Italy where a local study is able to make use of such a diversity of evidence. Not only is the city's territory in our period densely documented in the testimony of hundreds of private charters, but Milan is unique among north and central Italian cities in the long eleventh century for its production of surviving narrative texts. Three examples of historical writing by Milanese authors have reached us from between the late eleventh and the early twelfth century, and events in the city were often dramatic enough to attract the attention of outside observers. We also have a number of important letters from the Patarines' allies in the Roman reform circle. And while local manuscript copyists were selecting and reproducing existing hagiographic texts, the events of the Pataria also led its allies to compose a new saint's life of the movement's leader, Arialdo da

[28] H. Keller, 'Pataria und Stadtverfassung', in J. Fleckenstein, *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung* (Sigmaringen, 1973), pp. 321-50.

Cucciago, set entirely in Milan and the surrounding countryside. Among written sources we should finally mention liturgical texts, which offer invaluable insights into the public ritual activities of the city. Material evidence, on the other hand, is much poorer in Milan, although far from useless. We shall look at all of these in a moment.

Much of this study depends on an analysis of the documentary record, especially private charters describing property transactions.[29] The number of surviving private charters for this period runs into four figures, making Milan one of the most copiously documented territories in the peninsula, alongside Piacenza, Lucca, and Rome. In contrast to the chartularies which dominate the record in northern Europe, these almost entirely survive on single parchment sheets, most of which are originals but including a number of near-contemporary, authenticated copies. This is not to say that there are no concerns at all with authenticity, but there are fewer than students of chartularies and other copied charters must confront. The great majority of Milan's documents – and indeed before 1100 almost their entirety – are published in modern, printed editions. Milanese documents before 1000 were published in 1873 together with other northern Italian collections in Giulio Porro Lambertenghi's serviceable *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae*.[30] Private charters of the eleventh century meanwhile were edited by Cesare Manaresi and his collaborators in the four volumes of *Gli atti privati* between 1933 and 1969.[31] The edition of twelfth-century documents is more complex and remains not quite complete, having been published in separate volumes corresponding to the original institutional archives. Most of these have been edited since the 1980s under the auspices of Milan's Archivio di Stato, in the series *Pergamene milanesi*. But these are augmented by a number of other publications – most

[29] For recent methodological questions concerning the study of early medieval charters, J. Jarrett and A. S. McKinley (eds.) *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters* (Turnhout, 2013), W. C. Brown, M. Costambeys, et al. (eds.) *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013).

[30] *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae*, Historiae patriae Monumenta, vol. 13, ed. G. Porro Lambertenghi, (Turin, 1873).

[31] *Gli atti privati milanesi e comaschi del secolo XI*, eds. C. Manaresi, G. Vittani, and C. Santoro, 4 vols. (Milan, 1933-69).

importantly those of the archives of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio, Santa Maria del Monte di Velate, and the monastery of Morimondo.[32] Still unpublished are the twelfth-century documents of the chapter of San Giovanni of Monza, the chapter of Sant'Ambrogio, and the community of Monastero Maggiore. Most of these are now preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Milano, although the Ambrosian chapter's many documents are split between here and the Archivio Capitolare di Sant'Ambrogio, and a smaller number of San Giovanni's charters remain in the Biblioteca Capitolare di Monza.[33] Publication of documents from the private archive of the Antona Traversi family in Meda also remains uneven.[34]

Gli atti privati do not include the handful of Milan's surviving notices of judicial decisions made by public courts (*placita*) from the eleventh century, which are gathered in Manaresi's other publication, *I placiti del 'Regnum Italiae'*.[35] Cesare Manaresi is also the editor of the acts of the commune of Milan up to 1216, although only two of these date to before the end of our period.[36] Much worse served however are the remaining acts of the archbishops, which, with the exception now of a recent prestige edition of Archbishop Ariberto da Intimiano's documents, lack modern editions. Otherwise a fair number of these are found among unsystematic selections of copied documents, appended to the volumes of Milanese history compiled by the antiquarian Giorgio Giulini in the eighteenth century, or in even older collections.[37] A modest number of royal and imperial diplomas in favour of Milanese institutions also survive, easily accessible in the standard editions of the

[32] *Pergamene milanesi dei secoli XII-XIII*, vols. 20 (1984-), *Le carte della Chiesa di Santa Maria del Monte Velate*, vol. 1, ed. P. Merati (Varese, 2005); *Le carte del monastero di Santa Maria di Morimondo*, vol. 1, ed. M. Ansani (Spoleto, 1992). Very nearly all of the publications of twelfth-century collections have been digitised by the online *Codice diplomatico della Lombardia medievale (secoli VIII-XII)*, hosted by the University of Pavia, and accessible at http://cdlm.unipv.it/edizione/mi.

[33] Collections in the Archivio di Stato di Milano: ASMi, Fondo Capitolo di S. Ambrogio, A.D. Perg. cart., 303; Fondo S. Giovanni di Monza, A.D. Perg. cart., 587, Fondo S. Maurizio (Monastero Maggiore), A.D. Perg. cart. 485; Milan, Archivio Capitolare di Sant'Ambrogio, perg. sec. XII; Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, Perg. cart. 6

[34] See for example A. Albuzzi, 'Pergamene inedite dei secoli X e XI nell'archivio privato Antona Traversi di Meda', *Aevum,* 70 (1996), pp. 193-211.

[35] *I placiti del 'Regnum Italiae'*, ed. C. Manaresi, 3 vols. (Rome, 1955-60).

[36] *Gli atti del Comune di Milano fino all'anno MCCXVI*, ed. C. Manaresi (Milan, 1919).

[37] *Ariberto da Intimiano: i documenti segni del potere*, eds. M. Petoletti, M. Basile Weatherill, M. R. Tessera, et al. (Milan, 2009), G. Giulini, *Memorie della città e della campagna di Milano, ne' secoli bassi*, vols. 1-5 (1760-5). G. P. Puricelli, *Ambrosianae Mediolani basilicae ac monasterii hodie cisterciensis monumenta* (Milan, 1645).

Monumenta Germaniae Historica, and Paul Kehr's *Italia Pontifica* can be consulted reliably for papal privileges.[38]

For the earlier part of the period, by far the largest ecclesiastical archive is that of the suburban monastery of Sant'Ambrogio, and historians of Milan before and around 1000 in particular are dependent on the records of its extensive property interests across Milan's territory for their insights into local society and property relations. As the eleventh century progresses, however, increasing survivals from other institutions expand and diversify the documentary gaze. The archive of the canons who shared the Ambrosian basilica with its monks is among the most important of these. But Milan's charter evidence also affords us a rare opportunity to see in some detail the records of local, rural churches and parochial centres (*pievi*, as they were known in northern Italy). Two *pievi* archives survive, those of S. Stefano of Vimercate, which begins in the mid-eleventh century, and S. Vittore of Varese in the north-west hills. In addition very rich collections have reached us from S. Giovanni of Monza and S. Maria del Monte Velate, an influential rural church within the jurisdiction of the *pieve* of Varese. Geographically, this gives us particular insights into the upper plain in the near northeast of the city where Monza and Vimercate are found, and to the hills around Varese further to the northwest. Meanwhile in the lower plain south of Milan, the establishment of the two Cistercian monasteries of Chiaravalle and Morimondo in the 1130s led to the collection of an important dossier of document dating to before their foundation as well as after (in Morimondo's case, going back as early as the 1060s).

The zone about which we are comparatively less-well informed, however, lies within the walls of the city. Small collections begin to survive more frequently in the eleventh century from a number of urban institutions, including the female convents and the basilica of S. Giorgio al Palazzo. To this can be added a number of documents belonging to the

[38] MGH Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae, I-VI. Papal privileges in favour of Milanese churches are listed in P. Kehr, *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, vol. VI.I, pp. 24-167.

monks of Sant'Ambrogio concerning their possession of an oratory in the city centre. The big lacuna here is the complete loss of the archives of the episcopal church (perhaps to fire or the city's sack in 1162), which must have been by far the biggest owner of city land. We are left with large gaps in our picture of the urban landscape as a result. Furthermore, in contrast to many other Italian cities where historians often largely rely on cathedral chapter archives, this means that the economic and social resources of Milan's archbishops and the cathedral clergy are very hard to reconstruct. Other indicators have had to be used instead. The absence of imperial concessions of public rights and jurisdiction, commonly made in favour of other Italian bishops, are also most plausibly explained by the loss of the episcopal archive (despite convoluted hypotheses from Giovanni Tabacco and other scholars that Milan's bishops received concessions through other means).[39]

As the length of this survey will already have suggested, it has not been possible to write this thesis on the basis of an exhaustive analysis of such a large documentary base. We have however attempted to select a number of case studies which reflect at least something of the social and geographic diversity of Milan's territory in this period. All of the published charters between 990 and 1100 have been consulted, and it has often been necessary to examine a number of earlier, relevant documents in the *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae*. The ever increasing survival of documents after 1100 has meant that we have had to be more selective in our reading of twelfth-century material up to 1130. This has, however, included a reading of the relevant unpublished material conserved in Milan's Archivio di Stato, as well as a small number of items in Sant'Ambrogio's Archivio Capitolare and Monza's Biblioteca Capitolare. The year 1130 has not in any case been treated as an absolute cut-off point, as inevitably the immediate fates of certain individuals, families, and institutions after this date fill out our understanding of various important players. Within this wide range of material, a

[39] G. Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 173.

number of case studies have been analysed more systematically: these include above all documents directly pertaining to the city itself, and the territories of Vimercate, Monza, and Varese. But the study of certain practices described in documents – exchanges, to name just one example, or commercialised rents – have been traced closely wherever they appear.

As has been indicated, the survival of Milan's narrative texts represents a happy if curious anomaly in Italy, particularly when compared to the energetic historiographical traditions in other regions of Latin Europe. They are among the very few examples of surviving history writing produced between Rome and the Alps, after the works Liutprand of Cremona in the mid-tenth century (written in Germany) and before the first narratives of the city communes in the twelfth century. Chris Wickham has suggested that this absence might be a consequence of the lesser traction of the king and his court in comparison with legal state institutions as a political reference point within the kingdom of Italy, leading to a weak historical memory of its past.[40] If this is the case, the burst of historical writing in Milan might in part be explicable because of the city's centrality in regional politics, meaning that contemporaries could read the history of the city as a history of something wider. This seems at least to have been the case for one of the three authors, Arnolfo, who especially in the early books of his *Liber gestorum* moves easily between stories of kings and the history of the city. But this is not to say that Italians did not care about the past. Indeed the sacred history of bishops and saints was extremely important to contemporaries in cities including Milan, as they attempted to forge cohesive, local identities. This interest, however, took different forms, whether hagiographies, bishop-lists, or liturgical and architectural

[40] C. Wickham, 'Lawyers' Time: History and Memory in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Italy', in id. *Land and Power* (London, 1994), pp. 275-94.

monuments.[41] And it is still striking that these concerns led Italians to different forms of cultural production from those who recorded chronicles and annals north of the Alps.

Two of Milan's historical narratives – Arnolfo's *Liber gestorum recentium* and Landolfo Seniore's so-called *Historia Mediolanensis* – were written during and shortly after the events of the Pataria, which came to an abrupt end in 1075. The *Liber gestorum* traces Milan's history from the reign of the Italian king Hugh of Arles until contemporary events. Landolfo meanwhile begins his narrative in the years of Ambrose's archiepiscopate, before passing through some rather fantastic episodes of the city's past to reach the eleventh century and the author's own day. Arnolfo, as the recent author of his exemplary modern critical edition has shown, initially wrote his work in three books by 1072, before adding an additional two books before by 1077.[42] With no visible relationships between the two texts, Landolfo Seniore (a modern name for the author) also wrote his history in the same short period, probably very soon after 1075.[43] Arnolfo was an establishment figure, the great-grandnephew of the tenth-century archbishop of the same name, and given his family background probably a member of the cathedral clergy himself. Arnolfo was interested in the deeds of the kingdom's sovereigns as well as the city's archbishops, and he is a detailed narrator of the Pataria as well as the conflicts and civic strife which marked Milan in the preceding century. Unsurprisingly given his social background, Arnolfo found the popular character of the Patarine movement intolerably subversive. But his last book in particular

[41] Basic for the construction of such historical memories in northern Italy before 1000 is J.-C. Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques: sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du nord des origines au Xe siècle* (Rome, 1998).

[42] Arnolfo of Milan, *Liber gestorum recentium*, ed. C. Zey, MGH SRG, LXVII (Hannover, 1994). See further ead. 'Una nuova edizione del "Liber gestorum recentium" di Arnolfo di Milano: un progresso?', in P. Chiesa (ed.), *Le cronache medievali di Milano* (Milan, 2001), pp. 11-27.

[43] To follow the dating proposed by J. W. Busch, '*Landulfi senioris Historia Mediolanensis* – Überlieferung, Datierung und Intention', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, vol. 45 (1989), pp. 1-30, and *Die Mailänder Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Arnulf und Galvaneus Flamma. Die Beschäftigung mit der Vergangenheit im Umfeld einer oberitalienischen Kommune vom späten 11. Bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1997), who considers the final four chapters to be a later interpolation. But note C. Alzati, 'I motivi ideali della polemica antipatarinia', in Violante (ed.), *Nobilità e chiese nel medioevo* (Rome, 1993), pp. 199-222, who still dates the work to the end of the eleventh century.

reveals a more sympathetic attitude towards the role of papal authority in local affairs compared to many of his co-citizens. Landolfo meanwhile was not only a vehement opponent of the reform movement, but also an intransigent, clerical apologist for the Ambrosian church and its particular culture, traditions and autonomy. The Patarines' violent rejection of these traditions provoked his construction of a historical narrative, the rhetoric of which attempts to vindicate the antiquity and sacral character of the church's institutions and practices - not least clerical marriage.[44]

The third of Milan's narratives, Landolfo di San Paolo's *Historia Mediolanensis*, was composed during the 1130s and looks back to events beginning at the very end of the eleventh century, from the election of archbishop Arnolfo IV.[45] As with the elder Landolfo, *Historia Mediolanensis* was not a contemporary title. The identification of their works as 'city chronicles' is a consequence of their reception in late-medieval Milan, as contemporaries became interested in constructing a historical memory of their communal past. Landolfo di San Paolo's aims were much more personal, at times even quixotic.[46] While furnishing a host of details about figures involved in the political turbulence of the time, his chronicle is at base an elaborate, rhetorical vindication of his rights to occupy the urban church of S. Paolo in Compito. It is to this end that Landolfo valorises the deeds of his uncle and the previous occupant of S. Paolo, Liprando, an aged ex-Patarine, who underwent trial by ordeal in 1103 to demonstrate charges of simony against the sitting archbishop, Grosolano. Despite the fact that Liprando had been mutilated for his leading role in the Patarine movement, there is

[44] Landolfo Seniore, *Historia Mediolanensis*, eds. L. C. Bethmann and W. Wattenbach, MGH SS, VIII (Hannover, 1848), pp. 32-100. This edition is to be preferred over the more recent *Landulphi Senioris Mediolanensi historiae libri quatuor*, ed. A. Cutolo (Bologna, 1942). In addition to the works already cited, see especially on Arnolfo and Landolfo Seniore, O. Capitani, 'Storiografia e riforma della Chiesa in Italia', in *Settimane di studio del CISAM*, 17 (1970), pp. 557-629, Stock, *The Implications of Literacy* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 151-215. On rhetoric in medieval historiography, M. Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400-1500* (Manchester, 2011).

[45] Landolfo di San Paolo, *Historia Mediolanensis*, eds. L. Bethmann and P. Jaffé, MGH SS XX (1868), but note also *Landulphi Iunioris sive de Sancto Paulo Historia Mediolanensis*, ed. C. Castiglioni (Bologna, 1934). See O. Capitani, 'Da Landolfo seniore a Landolfo iuniore: momenti di un processo di crisi', in *Milano e il suo territorio*, vol. 2, pp. 589-622 and R. Rossini, 'Note alla "Historia Mediolanensis" di Landolfo Iuniore', in *Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Medioevale*, pp. 411-80.

[46] See Busch, '*Landulfi senioris*', pp. 3-5.

little to suggest that his later activism around 1100 was linked to reforming ideology. It would be a mistake therefore to identify Landolfo's *Historia* as a 'pro-Patarine' text, not least because the political and religious dividing lines of the early twelfth century had by them been redrawn.

Later historical writing which looks back to the period before 1130 has not, in general, been used. The communal-era annals of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries are extremely terse about this period, while the fourteenth-century histories of Galvano Fiamma are too late to permit using their claims about this much earlier epoch (despite the readiness on the contrary of quite a few local historians).[47] With caution, on the other hand, some details from two thirteenth-century texts have been drawn on very sparingly. Bonvesin della Riva's *De magnalibus Mediolani* is a literary eulogy written for his city in 1288, but some of his information on population size will be discussed when considering demographic problems in our period.[48] The *Liber notitae sanctorum Mediolani* is also a thirteenth-century text, which catalogues the dedications of churches and altars to saints venerated in Milan, alongside a host of other data on ecclesiastical organisation and jurisdictions in the diocese.[49]

In addition to the Milanese narratives, events of the Pataria were set down by Bonizo of Sutri in his *Liber ad amicum*, probably completed shortly after Gregory VII's death in 1085. Bonizo was a radical supporter of Gregory's reform and was made cardinal bishop of Sutri and a permanent papal legate. He was never able to realise his later appointment to the see of Piacenza, occupied by a pro-imperial rival, and was later in 1089 blinded and horribly mutilated by his opponents. The *Liber ad amicum* legitimises the movements around and

---

[47] *Annales minores et notae Mediolanenses*, ed. P. Jaffé, MGH SS XVIII, pp. 383-402. For the later medieval historiography, Busch, *Die Mailänder Geschichtsschreibung*.
[48] Bonvesin de la Riva, *De magnalibus Mediolani. Le meraviglie di Milano*, ed. P. Chiesa (Milan, 1997).
[49] *Liber notitiae sanctorum Mediolani*, ed. M. Magistretti and U. Monneret de Villard (Milan, 1917). See topographical notes in G. Vigotti, *La diocesi di Milano alla fine del secolo XIII: chiese cittadine e pievi forensi nel* Liber Sanctorum *di Goffredo da Bussero* (Rome, 1974).

behind Gregory by setting their events in a wider context of universal, ecclesiastical history, beginning his account with the Roman church in the fourth century. Bonizo was evidently plugged in to reforming networks in Milan and the wider region, as his sympathetic accounts of the Pataria are especially rich. We also owe to Bonizo slightly more detailed knowledge of the radical movement's spread to cities beyond Milan, including Cremona and Piacenza, something otherwise only alluded to very faintly by Arnolfo.[50] A number of German historians were also interested in Milan's tumultuous history in this period, their gaze drawn by the city's role in events relating to popes and emperors south of the Alps.[51]

A number of contemporary letters also concern Milanese history in these years. The most important derive from the collected correspondence of Peter Damian, cardinal bishop of Ostia and one of the key political and intellectual figures in Rome's radical reform circles.[52] Especially valuable is his letter (no. 65) reporting on his legation to the Milanese in 1059, which sought to settle the city's violent religious controversy. But others too attest to the Patarines' active links with wider reform networks across the peninsula, and perhaps most valuable of all is Peter Damian's eloquent articulation of contemporary reform ideology and its justifications. In the absence of writings by Milanese reformers themselves, such testimony is especially valuable. Indeed there were demonstrable doctrinal differences between the bishop of Ostia and what we know of the Patarines' thought, as we shall see. But there were also strong affinities, and in these case the letters illuminate the intellectual context informing local actors. To this we should add letters from Pope Gregory VII's register which intervened in the Milanese disputes, and a number of relevant epistles

[50] Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH LdL, I (Hannover, 1891), pp. 568-620. Arn, *LGR*, IV. 6.

[51] Conrad's confrontation with archbishop Ariberto was described by the emperor's panegyrist, Wipo, among others. See Wipo, *Gesta Chuonaradi imperatoris*, ed. H. Bresslau, MGH SRG, LXI, pp. 1-62. Later the pro-Gregorian chronicles of Berthold of Reichenau and Bernold of St.-Blasien reflect the perceived importance of Milanese events for the broader political struggles between pope and emperor. *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bertolds von Konstanz, 1054-1100* (Hannover, 2003), ed. I. S. Robinson.

[52] Peter Damian, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. K. Reindel, MGH Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, IV, 4 vols. (Munich, 1983-93)., translated by O. J. Blum et al., Peter Damian, *Letters*, 6 vols. (Washington D.C., 1989-2005).

excerpted from the registers of Alexander II and Urban II in the so-called *Collectio Britannica*, a manuscript of collected authorities dating to the years around 1100.[53] The terse extracts from Urban's register have an added importance, as even the dim light they shed on the archiepiscopate of Anselmo III and Arnolfo III (1086-97) is close to all the information we have on the high politics of the city in these years.

Contemporary hagiography provides a further narrative compliment to the anti-Patarine histories of the 1070s. The violent torture and murder of the radical movement's leader, the deacon Arialdo, in 1066 led to the formation of a martyr's cult around him, and the composition of a biography in 1076. The *Vita sancti Arialdi* was written by a former comrade turned Vallombrosan monk, Andrea da Strumi, on the instructions of the head of his order, abbot Rodolfo of S. Pietro.[54] Andrea was concerned with communicating reforming ideology among his networks through the example of Arialdo's life. The hagiography is thus closely focused on Arialdo's activism in the city, as well as being an attempt by an ally to articulate the ideas which motivated him.

Those moving in the establishment clerical culture of the episcopal church, meanwhile, were in this same period selecting and copying existing hagiographic texts which enforced their interpretation of the Ambrosian church's special authority. And occasionally they constructed new compositions for the same purposes.[55] Most striking of these, although before the Pataria, was the aborted project to construct a Milanese *Liber pontificalis*, the so-called *Libellus de situ civitatis Mediolani*. After a classicising prologue eulogising the

---

[53] For the excerpts from Alexander II, S. Loewenfeld, (ed.) *Epistolae pontifcum romanorum ineditae* (Leipzig, 1885). For an edition of the excerpts from Urban II's register and extensive commentary, R. Somerville with S. Kuttner, *Pope Urban II, the* Collectio Britannica*, and the Council of Melfi (1089)* (Oxford, 1996).

[54] Andrea da Strumi, *Vita sancti Arialdi*, ed. F. Baethgen, MGH SS XXX.2, pp. 1047-75. There are few studies directly on the *Vita Arialdi*, but see C. Pellegrini, 'Fonti e memorie storiche di S. Arialdo', *Archivio storico lombardo,* 14 (1900), pp. 209-36, 16 (1901), pp. 5-24, 17 (1902), pp. 60-98, and for more on the context of the text's composition and transmission, see below.

[55] For a survey of hagiographic sources in Milan in this period, P. Tomea, 'L'agiografia milanesi nei secoli XI e XII', in *Milano e il suo territorio*, vol. 2, pp. 623-88, and for Milan and the wider region (with some revised judgements on dating), id., 'L'agiografia dell'Italia settentrionale (950-1130)', in G. Philippart (ed.), *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique*, vol. III (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 99-178, 104-116.

city's, etymology, fabric and physical setting, the text begins with a narration of the Milanese church's alleged apostolic foundation by Barnabas, before including the biographies of its first six archbishops. The dating of the composition of the *Libellus* is difficult, as the text itself offers few clues and the earliest manuscripts or references in other works are late eleventh century. However Jean-Charles Picard and Paolo Tomea have suggested by far the most convincing context for the text, at the end of the tenth century.[56] This was a moment when we know from other evidence that archbishops were intensely interested in promoting the veneration of their ancient predecessors. The discovery of relics and liturgical practices, as well as stories of bishops' deeds from the past, worked to associate urban topography with sacred spaces and episcopal memory. This sort of link, it should be emphasised, between the writing of episcopal biographies and the construction of liturgical space was widespread in the period.[57]

This leads us to the final, main type of written source which we have used: liturgical texts. This study is not based on a complete survey of the generous sources for Milan's Ambrosian liturgy in this period, but one work is particularly important for understanding the city's ritual life.[58] Between 1126 and c.1140 Beroldo, a minor cleric of the cathedral clergy, wrote a wide-ranging liturgical work, which includes detailed descriptions of the ceremonial orders and regular processions undertaken by members of the city church.[59] When read together with the narrative evidence, which was also often concerned with urban ceremony, Beroldo allows us to deepen our understanding of those actions and

---

[56] *Anonymi Mediolanensis libellus de situ civitatis Mediolani, de adventu Barnabe Apostoli, et de vitis priorum pontificum Mediolanensium*, eds. A. and G. Colombo (Bologna, 1942). On the text and especially the dating context, P. Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo: la leggenda di San Barnaba* (Milan, 1993), pp. 399-413, and Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, pp. 453-9.

[57] See M. Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum* (Turnhout, 1981), pp. 17-21.

[58] On current approaches to liturgical sources, see H. Gittos and S. Hamilton, *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham, 2015).

[59] Beroldo, *Ordines*. For the dating of the earliest manuscript witness and its provenance in the cathedral scriptorium of S. Tecla, see M. Ferrari, 'Valutazione paleografica del codice ambrosiano di Beroldo' in *Il Duomo cuore e simbolo di Milano* (Milan, 1977), pp. 302-7, and ead., 'Produzione libraria e biblioteche a Milano nei secoli XI e XII', in *Milano e il suo territorio*, vol. 2, pp. 689-736, 712. For further comments and literature on Beroldo as a source, and the manuscript witness Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana I. 152, inf., see below.

rituals understood by contemporaries to be either constitutive or disruptive of competing visions of social order. Especially as Beroldo has mostly so far been explored by students of liturgical history more strictly defined, there is potential to explore the text in this wider political and social context, as a later chapter attempts to do. Beroldo also wrote a liturgical calendar, which when put alongside three others which survive from the same period makes possible some insights into changing practices of cult and veneration in the city.

A brief word should be said on material sources. Medieval archaeology in Milan has had few opportunities to flourish in a landscape so marked in the twentieth century by vast urban sprawl and industrialisation.[60] In discussing the fabric of the city in Chapter 3, however, it has been possible to take advantage of limited findings from the cathedral square, which were turned up during excavations in 1982-90 during the construction of the Metropolitan Line 3.[61] Local archaeology of architecture has also yielded insights about the course of construction of Milanese churches in our period, which sometimes gives us something to say about the growing wealth and capital of institutions in this period.[62] Milan's mint (one of the few in the northern Italy, alongside Pavia, Lucca, and Venice) has - in common with other mints of the region - left very few surviving issues. On the basis of local numismatic expertise, however, and contextualisation of some of the finds, it is possible to make some modest observations about the increasing use of currency in this period, especially from the later eleventh century.[63] Having looked at the sources upon which this

---

[60] But see, for example, S. Lusuardi Siena and C. Giostra (eds.) *Archaeologia medievale a Trezzo sull'Adda* (Milan, 2012) and A. Martinelli (ed.), *Tremona Castello* (Florence, 2008).

[61] D. Caporusso (ed.), *Scavi MM3. Ricerche di archaeologia urbana a Milano durante la costruzione della linea 3 della Metropolitana, 1982-1990* (Milan, 1991), 4 vols. There has also been some archaeological work on the ancient Roman forum (modern-day Piazza S. Sepolcro), but little of the finds relate to our period. See A. Ceresa Mori, 'Dal foro romano all'ambrosiana: Dati archeologici sulle dinamiche di trasformazione di un settore urbano milanese', *Studia ambrosiana,* 4 (2010), pp. 91-113.

[62] L. Fieni (ed.) *La costruzione della basilica di San Lorenzo a Milano* (Milan, 2004).

[63] See especially O. Murari, 'Le monete di Milano dei primi decenni del secolo XI', *Rivista italiana di numismatica*, 82 (1980), 'La moneta milanese', *Memorie dell'Accademica Italiana di Studi Filatelici e Numismatici*, I/IV (1981), ''Note sulla monetazione milanese da Ottone I a Federico II', in G. Gorini (ed.) *La Zecca di Milano.* (Milan, 1984), pp. 263-76. For broader problems to do with the study of coinage in early medieval Italy, see especially the articles collected and translated in A. Rovelli, *Coinage and Coin Use in Medieval Italy* (Farnham, 2012).

study is based, we will now move on to introducing the basic narrative of events in Milan in this period.

The Pataria and the Shape of Milanese History

In order to clarify the later arguments of this thesis, we will benefit from at least a brief narrative sketch of Milanese history in this period, and of the Patarine movement which so dominated its middle years. Milan was part of the kingdom of Italy, throughout this period (Arduin of Ivrea's rebellions between 1002 and 1014 apart) ruled by German sovereigns who only periodically crossed the Alps in order to exercise royal authority over the peninsula directly. Like most other Italian cities, Milan was governed by its bishops, who were exceptionally ambitious and powerful at the turn of the millennium and in the early decades of the eleventh century. Archbishops Arnolfo II da Arsago (998-1018) and Ariberto da Intimiano (1018-45) were not only at the centre of vast patronage networks which increasingly commanded the adhesion of most of the city's rural aristocracy (the leading level of which was known as the *capitanei*), but were also expansionist. They were able to increase and exert their hegemony over the wider region, both through their status as metropolitans and militarily. These were also archbishops which looked towards and identified with the wider political structures of the kingdom, and benefitted from their role in collaborating with the kings and emperors. Arnolfo, for example, had conducted a diplomatic mission for the emperor in Constantinople, and Ariberto notably served in Conrad II's army during his invasion of Burgundy in 1034.[64]

[64] Land Sen, *HM*, II. 18, Arn, *LGR*, II. 8.

Ariberto's episcopate was not, however, uncontested. First in 1035-7, he faced a rebellion by his military vassals, which was later settled by Conrad II who issued an edict guaranteeing the heritability of fiefs granted by public officers such as the archbishop. This was an act which did much to stabilise the gradual patrimonialisation of family benefices, a major shift in the structuring and distribution of power which benefitted aristocratic kinship groups, although the city and the archbishop's court remained the chief centre of political gravity. Ariberto soon afterward found himself going to war with Conrad himself, and was even imprisoned before managing to break free and return to Milan. However the emperor soon died in 1039. The early 1040s were also marked by a violent urban revolt, a reflection of the city's growth and the increasing confidence of urban strata to demand participation in local government.

However, none of these disturbances matched the fierce intensity of the Pataria which erupted in 1057 during the second decade of the episcopate of Ariberto's successor, Gudio da Velate. The Pataria, we will argue, is best defined in two ways. First, by its uncompromising commitment to two aspirations shared by contemporary religious reform movements: the suppression of clerical marriage and sexual incontinence, and the elimination of the role of monetary exchange in the appointment of clerical officers. The latter practice was known as simony by contemporaries, after the New Testament figure Simon Magus, who sought to purchase the spiritual power of the apostles with coin. Neither of these practices, it must be stressed, were obviously controversial or problematic up to this point. Indeed clerical marriage and family-rearing in Italy before the mid-eleventh century are utterly commonplace in the sources, and the practice would only receive censure in universal canon law in 1139. These motives connected the Patarines to the broader currents of religious reform which from the mid-eleventh century were exerting increasing weight on politics and society, not least when a number of their proponents took

over the papal curia in Rome. But, as both sympathetic and hostile accounts make clear, the Milanese reformers held to a rigourist position which put them in the minority of reforming opinion. They held that sacraments offered by priests guilty of simony or polluted by sexual relations were void and ineffective. This was the position most famously articulated by Humbert of Silva Candida, but for the most part considered too extremist even by very strident reformers. This included Peter Damian who eloquently argued against Humbert, insisting that divinely imparted grace was the gift of God alone.[65]

The Pataria's second defining feature also set it apart from other groups who shared their goals: this was a popular and social movement. The Patarine leaders whom we are well-informed about (there must have been others) were from landowning families, including one which was aristocratic. But the movement won truly popular support, was swollen by ordinary men - and apparently women - from the city and the countryside, and achieved its aims through the activism of the crowd. There were other instances of popular reform movements in contemporary Italy. The one we know most about was led by the Vallombrosans in Florence, but very radical movements also emerged in Cremona and Piacenza, although we have close to zero narrative evidence to help us reconstruct these. Certainly none rivalled the size and radicalism of the Milanese. Crowds, of course, have their own dynamic as we will explore in Chapter 6, and not every member will have acted with the same clear cut ideological motivations. But it is at least clear that the Patarines' public sermons, which raised the fear of ritual pollution conveyed by sex and money, and so the exclusion of the populace from the cultic interface with the divine provided through sacraments, fitted with actually held popular anxieties. As will become clear, the Milanese protest did not wait for ideas or intellectuals of reform to arrive from Rome or Lotharingia.

[65] Humbert of Silva Candida, *Adversus simoniacos libri tres*, ed. F. Thaner, MGH LdL, I (Hannover, 1891), Peter Damian, *Briefe*, no. 40.

These religious problems, which point towards the role of money and family in the construction of authority, had inherently social implications, for they amounted to a debate about the legitimate distribution of power. There is therefore no need for the historian to extricate two artificially abstracted 'religious' and the 'social' dimensions to the movement: each constituted the other. Although support for the Pataria crossed class divisions, it is clear enough that the majority of the aristocracy were virulently opposed to the movement, in which they saw the ranks of the non-elite acting illegitimately to control public affairs. Even the most radical social upheavals in history only very rarely capture social strata as a whole in a struggle to transform existing hierarchies; that the Pataria was socially heterogenous, therefore, should not obscure the significance of the movement's achievement in forcing a break between a very large segment of the subaltern population, and the archbishop and the religious culture which he upheld. At the same time it should be stressed the Patarines' celebrated some forms of power while they questioned others. Indeed one of the principal motivations driving popular motivation in the movement was a violent misogyny: belief that the female body and sexuality polluted, that it desecrated the holy; fear of women's protagonism inside the male domains of clerical power.

Driven by these anxieties, and no doubt moments of collective hysteria as well, crowd violence between 1057 and 1075 boiled over into rioting and street-fighting, and also targeted members of the priesthood accused of simony and sexual incontinence, ripping them from their choirs, altars, and assemblies and beating them in the streets. It was at moments of acute crisis, however, that popular support risked draining from the Pataria as communities rushed back to the stable markers of authority represented by the archbishop, his court, and the protection of the city's patron saint and holy martyrs. This happened definitively after the catastrophic fire of 1075, the moment which effectively brought an end to the Pataria as an activist movement.

Although the city was the principal backcloth to these events, the Pataria emerged from the countryside, albeit one being transformed by the economic impact of urban change. We are well informed about its two first leaders. There was Arialdo da Cucciago, a deacon in the minor clergy of the city church, but from a middle-landowning family in a village outside Cantù, in the north of the diocese towards Como. The second was Landolfo, an aristocrat (we do not know from which family) and member of the cathedral clergy. Underlining the movement's rural roots, in 1057 Arialdo first sought to launch his reform campaign among the country clergy of the church of Varese, a settlement some distance north-west of the city, in the Alpine foothills. This was unsuccessful, and it was only then that Arialdo, supported by Landolfo, came to Milan, where on 10 May 1057 they disrupted the important procession and celebration of the translation of San Nazaro by roving through the city streets to denounce clerical marriage. This inaugurated a campaign of public speeches and crowd violence which closed down religious services and pressured members of the city church to foreswear marriage.[66]

The establishment church was deeply shaken by the violence and subversion of these outrages, and Archbishop Guido convened a synod (probably still in 1057) at Fontaneto, near Novara, at which he pronounced Arialdo and Landolfo excommunicated. Undeterred, the Patarines continued to expand their influence in Milan, and began to cultivate direct links with the Roman papacy, with Arialdo himself journeying to Rome to secure support and official censure of Guido and the Milanese church. In 1059 Peter Damian made a legation to Milan, at which he sought to settle the dispute and emphasise Rome's authority over the Ambrosian see. In an operation of keen pragmatism, Peter Damian denounced the 'heresy' of simoniac practices which accompanied ordination in the Milanese church, but allowed for

[66] The following narrative sketch is primarily based on the contemporary historical sources introduced above: Arn, *LGR*; Land Sen, *HM*; Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*; Bonizo, *LAA*; Land SP, *HM*. For the most convenient narratives of the Pataria, Cowdrey, 'The Papacy, the Patarines' and Golinelli, *La Pataria*.

the archbishop and his clergy to remain in place if they signed an oath and accepted penance.[67]

Nevertheless the socio-religious fault-lines split open by the Pataria persisted. At a certain point Landolfo died of natural causes, and his brother, a layman named Erlembaldo, joined the leadership of the movement. Links with the papacy intensified (Erlembaldo even received the standard of Saint Peter from Rome), not least with the election of the Milanese Pope Alexander II, former bishop Anselmo I of Lucca and scion of the aristocratic da Baggio family. Arialdo also established a chapterhouse at the extramural church of S. Maria di Porta Nuova. There continent priests renounced private property and, in contrast to the city clergy, lived in common and under strict discipline. This was a radical experiment in the organisation of clerical life, and crystallised the institutionalisation of the movement, creating a more stable counterweight to the authority of the cathedral church. The archbishop's vassals and clergy attacked these institutions as well as their leaders. Furthermore, Arialdo began to condemn many of the liturgical rites and customs peculiar to the Ambrosian church, most notably (and controversially) the pre-Pentecost fast during the Three-Day Litanies. Indeed, the deacon stretched his support base to breaking point on Pentecost, 1066. Fresh from his chaotic clashes over his denunciation of Ambrosian fast during a season of feast, he disrupted Archbishop Guido's Pentecost sermon in S. Maria Maggiore in order to present a bull of excommunication delivered from Rome. This offended Milanese pride in the Ambrosian church and its autonomy in the process. Arialdo then became a victim of crowd violence himself, and was forced to flee the city. Seeking refuge in the countryside, he was horrifically mutilated by men of Guido's family, murdered, and had his corpse thrown into the waters of Lake Maggiore.

[67] Peter Damian, *Briefe*, no. 65.

The movement rebounded, however, and indeed spread beyond Milan to Cremona and Piacenza. Arialdo's corpse was recovered a year after his death in the summer of 1067, and with the sanctity of a martyr he was interred in the Patarine-controlled monastery of S. Celso. Soon afterwards a second papal legation, led by the cardinal bishop Mainardo of Silva Candida, attempted to calm tensions. It issued an edict (which survives in the chapter archive of S. Ambrogio), which censured the Milanese clergy for their alleged simony and incontinence, but also precluded lay discipline of clerics. This was an attempt, it would seem, to rein in something of the Pataria's subversive dynamic.[68]

Nevertheless, Erlembaldo only intensified his opposition to Archbishop Guido, to the extent that in c. 1070 the exhausted prelate resigned, and left his seat to the cathedral subdeacon Goffredo da Castiglione. Erlembaldo increasingly militarised the Patarine movement, and waged war against Goffredo who, holed up in his family castle, was unable to take up his seat in the city. At the same time he had Guido da Velate imprisoned in the monastery of S. Celso. Guido later died outside the city in 1071. Thus the knight of the Patarines emerged as the most authoritative ruler of a profoundly fractured city. A disastrous fire devastated the city in 1071, and on the day of Epiphany, 1072 Erlembaldo attempted to arrange the election of a new archbishop, named Atto, in the presence of a papal legate. After the election, as Atto and his companions were feasting in celebration, a mob invaded the episcopal palace. Atto was badly beaten and the palace looted, and the newly elected prelate was forced to renounce his seat on oath at the cathedral altar. The existence of two rival archbishops, neither of whom could assert themselves, would provoke open schism between first Alexander II and then Gregory VII on the one hand, and Emperor Henry IV on the other. These rival candidates, in a city as important as Milan, forced even more sharply the problem of competing jurisdiction over epsicopal

[68] J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Iter italicum* (Stuttgart, 1883), no. 39, pp. 424-9.

appointments and investiture. Goffredo was consecrated metropolitan, with a royal mandate, by his suffragans in Novara, while after the death of Alexander II, Atto left Milan for Gregory's court.

Erlembaldo remained in control. He collaborated intensely with Gregory VII, who regularly sent him moral and material support. In 1073, the Patarine leader began to assume the right to define the spiritual boundaries of the community, by forbidding the celebration of baptism on the Saturday of Pentecost that year. In 1074 he went further. Before baptism on Easter Saturday, in an extraordinary act of ritual violence, he grasped the consecrated oil before the cathedrals and had it publicly crushed underfoot. An alternative baptism took place, with different chrism. A similar occurrence happened on Easter Saturday, 1075, but this followed a catastrophic fire earlier in the year which had evidently made the city population deeply weary. Shortly after this second Patarine baptism, Erlembaldo was killed in the street by a band of episcopal vassals wishing to reassert the traditional order - Arnaldo da Rho, according to Landolfo di S. Paolo, dealt the final blow. Erlembaldo's corpse was then left exposed on the street and forbidden proper burial. Liprando (uncle of the chronicler Landolfo di S. Paolo), who had celebrated the final Patarine baptism, was captured and mutilated - his ears and nose sliced off.

These brutal acts put a sombre end to the Pataria as an activist movement, but its memory and the social dynamics which it had brought into being continued to affect city society and politics. Not long after Erlembaldo's death, the Milanese brushed aside the two rival candidates for the episcopate and elected Tedaldo (1075-85), a member of the cathedral clergy and a royal servant (and likely from the aristocratic da Landriano family). His appointment marked a true restoration of the old order. Tedaldo was succeeded by two more aristocratic archbishops: Anselmo III da Rho (1086-93) and Arnolfo III da Porta Orientale.(1093-7). Relations between the papacy and the Milanese church softened under

these two prelates, although they continued to affirm the traditional social hierarchies of the city. In 1095/6, in the presence of Urban II, Arnolfo III had Erlembaldo's body translated from S. Celso to S. Dionigi, Ariberto da Intimiano's burial place. That Arnolfo felt the need to associate the memory of Erlembaldo and past archbishops reveals the continued significance of the Pataria, and the pressing need to define it.

However, Arnolfo III too would be forced out the city. Urban II had given an incendiary sermon against simony in the summer cathedral in 1096, which gave licence to local communities to elect their own priests. A priest named Nazaro Muricola (the future head of minor order of the city clergy) roused a crowd and expelled the clergy of the church of S. Babila, establishing a new chapterhouse to support the common life. Crowd violence led to the expulsion of clergy from other churches too, and amid these upheavals Archbishop Arnolfo III left the city and died in 1097 in the monastery of S. Calocero in Civate (near Lecco).

The election of Arnolfo's successor, Anselmo IV da Bovisio, marked a real break with archbishops of the past. He was the first prelate in our period not to have been a member of the *capitanei*, or to have come from the cathedral clergy - to the consternation of Milan's traditional aristocratic families. Giddied by the news of the crusaders' conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, Anselmo took the extraordinary step of launching a crusade of Lombard militia to expand Christian conquests in the East. Their army was crushed in the Anatolian heat, and Anselmo died on the return journey in 1101 in Constantinople. Grosolano, suffragan bishop of Savona, had been made the archbishop's vicar on Anselmo IV's departure, and once word of his death reached Milan, a faction - in the teeth of aristocratic opposition - engineered to keep Grosolano in post. Not only deeply unpopular with many of the city's most powerful families, Grosolano was also accused of simony and became the target of relentless opposition mounted by Liprando di S. Paolo - the same Liprando

mutilated for his role in the Patarine baptism. Despite his previous history, it is not clear that the elderly Liprando represented continuity with the Patarines. Indeed it is notable that Liprando and his nephew, Landolfo di S. Paolo, did not approve of the popular revolts which expelled city clerics from their churches in 1096, and there is little evidence that Liprando himself was able to raise the crowd.

Perhaps for this reason, Liprando attempted to prove the charges of simony against Grosolano by undergoing a trial by fire in 1103, but it was not until years later (and no thanks to Liprando) that Grosolano was forced out of the city. A faction elected Giordano in his absence in 1112, and despite bitter resistance Grosolano eventually died in Rome. In 1117 Giordano launched a long and bloody war against Como. Under the same archbishop and his successors, lay citizens outside the traditional governing circles of Milan's episcopal vassals grew increasingly political assertive and independent. The weight of citizens' assemblies in local politics was growing, but it was only in the 1130s that the nascent commune stepped fully out of the shadow of episcopal government and exercised rule autonomously, as Chris Wickham has recently emphasised. [69]The key date which marked the commune's ascent was the deposition of Archbishop Anselmo V della Pusterla in 1135. Anselmo had fallen into opposition with both Pope Innocent II and his own citizens. This political transition marks the bookend to the period under study in this thesis, and while the origins of the commune is not our subject, the diminishing centrality of episcopal authority after 1100 should be borne in mind as we attempt to locate the effects of social and reform movements in their wider context. As we will argue, the Pataria did not cultivate the embryo of the commune, but it did contribute to the gradual degradation of episcopal authority, and of the security of the archbishop's court as a place of patronage.

[69] Wickham, *Sleepwalking*, pp. 21-66.

With a bare-bones framework of the shape of Milanese political history, we are now better equipped to situate the moments of socio-economic change and sources of popular reform which lie at the centre of our inquiry. Before we do so, however, we need to consider problems of methodology.

Approach and Argument

In seeking to establish the social origins and effects of the Pataria, the starting point of this thesis is to insist not simply that religious cult was central to the organisation and reproduction of society in this period. It is also to underline that ideology itself, far from being trapped to a plane of ideas accessed within the mind, is a material phenomenon. As a number of theorists from Althusser to Godeleir have argued, ideology is embodied and 'done', not simply thought.[70] Archaeologists too – notably in an important article by DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle – have emphasised that ideology itself is materialised.[71] As they argue, ideology necessarily assumes concrete forms and embodied gestures and performances if it is to become meaningfully set in peoples' lives and communicated. This same process makes it possible for elite groups to exercise control over the material forms of symbolic systems. It also follows, we might add, that moments of economic and material change will disrupt existing patterns of producing ideology in its concrete forms. These insights can also be put very fruitfully beside Maurice Bloch's work on the 'social determination of ritual'. Drawing on fieldwork studies of rite of passage among the Merina

[70] L. Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses, in id. *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (1971), pp. 127-86, esp. p. 165 ff, M. Godelier, *The Mental and the Material: Thought, Economy and Society* (London, 1986).
[71] E. DeMarrais, L. J. Castillo, T. Earle, 'Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies', *Current Anthropology*, vol. 37.1 (1996), pp. 15-31.

people of Madagascar, Bloch not only sought to criticise idealist models, in which ritual acts simply derive from mental cosmologies, but also reductive Marxist models, which render ritual a cynically deployed instrument of class power. Bloch suggested that only a historical frame of analysis can overcome these two dangers of interpretation, allowing the observer to analyse the ways in which symbolic and cosmological systems - whatever their origin - are placed by agents across time into new associations with social hierarchies. In Bloch's own work, he demonstrated how important seasonal rites or rites of passage, especially of circumcision, communicated pre-existing, recognised meanings about the hierarchy of the the spiritual over the material. But at a certain point those with power, such as the king, could insert themselves into the ritual actions, effecting an association between themselves and existing symbolic hierarchies.[72]

Such an approach helps us conceptualise the changing role of religious practices in the central middle ages. In the following discussion peoples' beliefs are taken seriously, and it is assumed that religion and ritual represent engaged attempts by people of the past to make sense of the world around them and their place within it. But this does not mean we can subtract the social and power relations which joined these practices to the contemporary worlds they were embedded in. Once structures of ritual and symbolic meaning which commanded the adherence of a community existed, contemporaries were able to play with them. The Christian sacraments and duties of priestly office should not be defined simply as tools of domination in the middle ages. But as systems of material exchange and property circulation changed in the eleventh century, members of the clergy were forced to reconstruct the bases on which they secured their possessions and properties, and their authority to do so. Re-contextualising existing rites, and laying stress

[72] See Maurice Bloch, *From Blessing to Violence* (Cambridge, 1986), esp. pp. 1-11 and 187-95, and id. 'The ritual of the Royal Bath in Madagascar', in D. Cannadine and S. Price (eds.) *Rituals of Royalty* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 271-97. Note however the critical evaluation in D. Graeber, *Towards an Anthropological Theory of Value* (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 239-51.

on the association between them and clerics, acted to underline in new ways the special function of the priest and his power. Furthermore, as churches succeeded in submitting increasing amounts of land and labour to institutional control in a period of economic instability, wealth was diverted to intensifying the liturgy. This took place both through greater commitment to ritual activity and to securing a flow of material objects: breads, meats, wine, oils, stones, and bricks. The heightened importance of this ritual economy, and its control by custodians of cult who were evermore separated from the rest of society - socially, through the negation of clerical marriage; physically, through the erection of altar screens between priest and people, and through new distinctions in dress - was precisely a moment in which an elite group took greater control over the material components of ideology.[73] These processes were also heavily contested. Because of the importance of religious structures to the legitimacy of city government, bitter competition arose over the control of public liturgy and the cult of saints, and the meaning which they communicated. Changing socio-economic relations between city and country transformed the shape and size of the city, and especially by the mid-eleventh century, traditional patterns of signifying space through ritual became unstable. We will trace this competition in the later sections of this thesis.

The following discussion will pursue how urban change in particular transformed the material relations between people and things, and the ideas of authority which these supported. Economic specialisation and population growth in Milan's long eleventh century reached a new level of intensity. Precocious clearances of the rural landscape were matched by the developing complexity of the urban economy and its fabric. These changes have few parallels in contemporary western Europe. Having argued for the close integration of cult

[73] On the importance of lighting in early medieval churches, P. J. Fouracre, 'Eternal light and earthly needs', in W. Davies and P. J. Fouracre, *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 53-81, on changes to clerical dress, M. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe c.800-1200* (Ithaca, 2014).

and changes to social structure, we would expect the intensity of the upset to traditional forms of religious authority in Milan to be commensurately great. The Pataria, in its radicalism and unprecedented popular character, certainly was. In this discussion the roots of reform will not be searched for in the arrival of ideas from Cluny or Lotharingia, or even Rome, but in the local social environment itself. It was lived experience, not intellectual innovation, which called ordinary men and women to take to the streets and the piazza. But even if we accept this, one of the key obstacles for historians who have in the past looked for the social determinations of reform has been the difficulty of isolating, in a precise context, the social causation of anxieties about simony and clerical families. We have seen how previous historiography has identified the rise of commercial to monetised exchange as the process which made gift giving among the clergy look problematic. But if this is so, we need to explain why the Patarines first rioted in 1057, given that Milan was already a very active market centre even before 1000.

In the following we will argue that the answer is to be found in the changing relationship between city and countryside in the same period. In the mid-eleventh century, indicators do not only reveal an expanding urban market, but also an increasing penetration of monetised social relations in the countryside. This drew an increased amount of people from Milan's hinterland into the city, people probably with little experience of urban culture who found themselves in a world of strangers, where the nature of social bonds among those with power would have seemed obscure. But the extension of market relations into the countryside, and the increasing experience of coercive forms of debt, also made monetary exchange appear dangerous, to a rural population which previously had little contact with these practices. As market activity increasingly moved from rural centre to the city, and as coinage became used more and more for exchange and for accountancy, rural producers both found it harder to access markets themselves and were more liable to have

debts fixed with monetary values. David Graeber has recently popularised his theories concerning the role of monetisation in the transformation of debt into a coercive instrument. [74]This discussion follows this concern. It is not enough to assume, as orthodox economy theory does, that increased marketisation and credit represent the growing capacity of people to behave according to supposedly innate rules of economic rationality. Exchange has to be located according to social logics which are particular to a given society. This is why it is not sufficient simply to trace the expansion of the size of markets or the availability of credit, as Cinzio Violante did in his classic studies of Milan. We need to explore how economic activities were part of new social relations between people, how elites sought to reproduce or extend their power through them, and how ordinary people resisted. This demands a differentiated appreciation of the working of market relations in varied social contexts. Even if urban markets had been active and developed for some time already, the point at which they began to affect production and exploitation in the countryside marked something qualitatively new.

Structure

My discussion proceeds as follows. Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the chief players and institutions which shaped Milanese politics and organised the region's elites before the formation of the commune. Although this is not in the first place a study of political history, at least some familiarity with these is needed to understand how power and authority was distributed in the period. We survey, therefore, the character of episcopal authority in the

[74] D. Graeber, *Debt: The first 5,000 years* (New York, 2011).

city and the centrality of the archbishop's court for politics and patronage among the regional aristocracy. We also examine the structure of the city clergy, which was highly distinctive in Milan, and emphasise what we know about the social origins of its members.

Having provided a sense of the central institutions of power in pre-communal Milan, we turn in the next two chapters to look at social developments in both the countryside and the city. Chapter 2, on rural society, uncovers the extension and extraordinary reach of episcopal power into the countryside. It also argues that before the mid-eleventh century, aristocratic families managed church properties as part of a functional relationship between lay groups and ecclesiastical institutions. From the middle of the century, however, landscapes and social relations in areas of the countryside become profoundly affected by the extension of market relations. Not only did this expose cultivators to debt and economic insecurity, it also enabled the expansion of rural centres, an increased division of labour, and – especially in the north-eastern plain – the foundation of the common life among the clergy. Chapter 3, meanwhile, focuses on social life in the city itself. It first reconstructs what it is possible to know about the complexity of urban space and economic activity in Milan, before considering trends in demographic and economic development.

Chapter 4 examines more closely the anxieties about clerical marriage and simony articulated by the Patarines and their allies, before attempting to frame their social origins in the Milanese countryside. Here we draw out the fact that the areas in which reform of the clergy first took root, and where links with the Patarines can be made, coincided with the same places where we can first observe the abrupt extension of market relations into the countryside. Having explored the relationship between these two developments, we also look at the legacy of the Pataria in city politics after its decisive defeat in 1075. Episcopal authority remained subject to popular negotiation and, by the new century, aristocratic

families lost their monopoly on episcopal office. Finally, we look at documentary evidence to shed light on the effects of reform on property ownership in rural localities after 1100.

Chapter 5 focuses on the role of the cult of saints in contemporary conflicts. It reviews some of the hagiographic evidence for those saints' cults closely associated with the figure of the archbishop and the Ambrosian tradition, before examining how the Patarines contested this authority through their own attempts to appropriate representations of sanctity. The capacity for saints' cults to communicate ideology beyond an elite audience is also stressed. In Chapter 6, meanwhile, we consider how public ritual and liturgy in the city became a central element both in the patterning of violent and symbolic conflict, and in the reproduction of social consensus. It combines a close reading of our central liturgical source, Beroldo, with the evidence of written narratives in order to uncover elements of ideology which were constitutive of social order. Considerations on the troubled relationship between crowd turbulence and public ritual order in city life will lead to our conclusion.

I.

THE ARCHBISHOP, HIS COURT, AND CLERGY

This chapter introduces the central institutions and hierarchies which structured the distribution of power in Milan. Like most other cities in the Italian kingdom of this period, this was a city governed by its bishops, whose court therefore formed the central arena for patronage for city elites and the local aristocracy, the leading militarised stratum of which was known by contemporaries as the *capitanei*. The political formation around the episcopal court endured, as we have seen, despite the severe crises of the eleventh century and early twelfth centuries, until the crystallisation of a fully autonomous, communal government in the 1130s, the end of our period. The following discussion provides necessary orientation concerning the key players who shaped Milan's history, but it is also an investigation into the character of political and religious authority in the city. We need to ask, therefore, who wielded it and how it was defined. Having an idea of this will also make much clearer what opponents of the episcopal hierarchy were struggling against.

Milan's prelates were not simply bishops, but metropolitans. This extended the importance and reach of archiepiscopal influence still further. We will therefore begin by examining the character of the archbishops as metropolitans, before looking at the nature of their government and authority in Milan itself. We will then examine the complex structure of the city clergy, and the social background of those who won office there. Finally, we will give an overview of the lay membership of the archbishop's entourage, emphasising the centrality of the episcopal hierarchy for all local elites, not simply the clergy. The character

of Italian city aristocracies has been intensely debated in modern historiography, so it is important to clarify some of these points of contention.

The Ecclesiastical Province of Milan

Alongside Ravenna and Aquileia, Milan's metropolitan jurisdiction formed one of three great ecclesiastical provinces in Italy north of Rome, until the creation of archbishoprics in Pisa in 1092 and in Genoa in 1133. The province of Milan extended across the northern half of the Po river basin west of Verona, and the zone west of the river Trebbia, crossing the Apennines to include the cities on the coast of modern Liguria. At the turn of the millennium the province included the following suffragan seats: Acqui, Alba, Asti, Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, Ivrea, Lodi, Novara, Tortona, Turin, Vercelli, Albenga, Genoa, Savona, and Ventimiglia. Reflecting collaborative relations between archbishop and emperor, Henry II's *ex novo* construction of an episcopal seat at Bobbio in 1014 was made subject to Milan's jurisdiction, either at its foundation or at least by 1027 or shortly afterwards.[75]

Two seats in this geographical zone avoided dependency on Milan. Como, despite close proximity to Milan, was dependent on Aquileia, as it had been since the early seventh century: Bishop Agrippino, an adherent of the Three Chapters schism, rejected communion with Rome and was consecrated by the tricapitoline patriarch of Aquileia sometime between 607-612, solidifying a shift in provincial affiliation which lasted throughout the

[75] Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Holzmann, MGH, SS. IV (Hannover, 1935) p. 354, does not specify which province Bobbio formed a part of, but a document dated under the bishop Sigefredo (1027 or after) records submission to Milan. See V. Polonio, '«Bobiensis ecclesia»: un vescovado peculiare tra XI e XII secolo', in E. Destefanis and P. Guglielmotti (eds.), *La diocesi di Bobbio: formazione e sviluppi di un'istituzione millenaria* (Florence, 2015), pp. 179-5 and A. Piazza, *Monastero e vescovado di Bobbio (dalla fine del X agli inizi del XII secolo* (Spoleto, 1997) pp. 35-7.

middle ages.[76] The other neighbouring city which lay outside of Milanese jurisdiction was the capital of the kingdom, Pavia. Probably in recognition of the city's political status under the Lombards, the papacy had granted the church of Pavia direct dependence on Rome, despite apparent opposition from Milan's archbishop Benedetto during a legation to Pope Constantine (708-15).[77]

This exemption remained particularly galling for the Milanese, as inter-city rivalry was intensified by competing claims over political pre-eminence within the kingdom. 'Both cities,' wrote Arnolfo in his *Gesta*, describing the background to the bloody battle of Campo Morto in 1061 (the first major battle between two cities in pre-communal Italy), 'were more populous and celebrated than the others in the kingdom. ... And being neighbours, each city was ashamed to give way to the other.'[78] The ecclesiastical exemption was clearly still a sore point for Milanese churchmen in the eleventh century, and Landolfo Seniore evoked the legend of his church's apostolic foundation at the hands of Barnabas in order to vitiate Pavia's claim (a pseudo-Isidorean tradition asserts that the primacy of apostolic successors).[79]

However the structural crisis which archiepiscopal authority underwent in the 1120/30s, especially during the office of Anselmo V da Pusterla, also struck its mark on the geography of the metropole. As relations between the papacy of Innocent II and the church of Milan deteriorated during the years of Anacletus II's schism, the pope amputated the province. In 1133, Innocent elevated Genoa to metropolitan status, making it the centre of a maritime province which included some of the churches of Corsica, as well as Brugnato (a

---

[76] G. Cuscito, 'Agrippino di Como: un emissario del partito scismatico nella provincia ecclesastica milanese', in *Atti del Convegno: Como e Aquileia. Per una storia della società comasca (612-1751),* (Como, 1991), pp. 27-48. On the Three Chapters controversy, C. Chazelle and C. Cubitt (eds.), *The Crisis of the Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean* (Turnout, 2007).

[77] *Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 vols (Paris, 1955-7), vol. I pp. 391-2, Paul the Deacon, *HL*, VI. 29.

[78] Arn, *LGR*, *Fuerat enim civitas utraque populosa et super regni ceteras inclita. ... Cumque essent contique, pudebat alteram alteri cedere.*

[79] Land Sen, *HM*, II, 15. On the pseudo-Isidorean decretals, H. Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen*, vols. 1-3 (Stuttgart, 1972-4). On Barnabas and apostolic authority, see Chapter 5.

new seat) and Bobbio – the latter, of course, also at Milan's expense.[80] Innocent's intervention had more than one motive, but Archbishop Anselmo V did not have the political resources which his predecessors a century earlier were able to deploy, with such exceptional force, in order to police the quality and geographical reach of their authority as metropolitans. It is to these qualities that we now turn.

The Archbishop as Metropolitan

Some time after September, 1005, the pro-Arduin bishop Pietro of Asti was forced to take refuge in Milan as Henry II installed Adelrico, the brother of Marquis Manfredi of Turin, in his place.[81] Archbishop Arnolfo was disturbed by an imperial appointment to a suffragan seat which bypassed his authority and ignored the fact that Pietro was still alive. He therefore forbade Adelrico to be consecrated but the latter made the journey to Rome and was able to secure his consecration directly from the hands of pope John XVIII. This incursion by the papacy into Milan's provincial jurisdiction, Arnolfo's chronicle says, infuriated the archbishop even more than the actions of the crown.[82] At an assembly in 1008 in Milan archbishop Arnolfo anathematised Adelrico, before gathering an army with a number of his suffragan bishops and besieging Asti until Adelrico and Marquis Manfredi surrendered. In an act of reconciliation, Adelrico and Manfredi were led towards Milan and, having reached a three-miles distance from the city, undertook a ritual of penance and submission. They processed

[80] V. Polonio, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche della Liguria medievale* (Rome, 2002).
[81] F. Gabotto (ed.), *Le più antiche carte dell'Archivio Capitolare di Asti* (Pinerolo, 1904), no. 135 (1004), in which Pietro involved, is dated to Arduin, while no. 138 (1008), is dated to Henry's reign. On Manfredi and the march of Turin, see R. Pauler, *Das Regnum Italiae in ottonischer Zeit: Markgrafen, Grafen und Bischöfe als politische Kräfte* (Tübingen, 1982), pp. 6-8.
[82] Arnolfo, *LGR*, I.18. *Quod ubi innotuit Arnulfo, iusta satis accenditur iracundia, non tantum regia institutione, quantum Romana, quod deterius videbatur, indignatus consecratione*.

barefoot towards the basilica of S. Ambrogio, the bishop holding a book, the marquis holding a dog - markers of their clerical and lay status. On the threshold of the church Adelrico and Manfredi made a confession of their guilt, echoing contemporary rites of penance, before being admitted inside, where Adelrico placed his ring and staff on Ambrose's altar. Arnolfo then collected the ring and staff (now gifts from Saint Ambrose) and reinvested Adelrico with them, before the reintegrated bishop and marquis continued their barefoot procession to the cathedral church of S. Maria Maggiore for a public celebration.[83]

This episode vividly underlines how the archbishops of Milan defined their own metropolitan jurisdiction. Threats to Milan's rights over consecration within the province were intolerable and legitimised the use of heavy coercion in order to reaffirm the archiepiscopal seat's authority. Moreover, its authority over suffragans was characterised both by relations of ecclesiastical oversight and of secular lordship, and the archbishops were time and time again anxious to reproduce both. By walking barefoot, by making their confession on the threshold of the church, Adelrico and Manfredi were submitting to a practice which drew conspicuously from contemporary penitential rites administered by bishops, and underscored Arnolfo's pastoral authority, which extended over the bishops and marquises of the province. But at the same time, by making the procession while carrying a dog and a book, the brothers were undertaking a secular ritual of satisfaction and reconciliation deployed by kings and other lay lords. The ritual humiliation of *harmiscara*, attested regularly as a penalty in Carolingian capitularies from 829, appears to have been demanded in cases where the offender injured the victim's honour or status, and enjoined

[83] On contemporary public rites of penance and reintegration, as described by Regino of Prüm and Buchard of Worms, see S. Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900-1050* (Woodbridge), pp. 34-8.

the former to submit to the latter, holding what were often markers of their social status.[84] Manfredi carried a dog – as, for example, Duke Eberhard and his men had done on their journey of reconciliation to Magdeburg after their rebellion against Otto I – but lay offenders also frequently had to hold a saddle.[85] Manifredi's humiliation was immense, and Arnolfo was making an enormous status claim by appropriating the ritual language of *harmiscara*, a ritual censure associated with royal authority.

Asti's submission was not the only instance in which metropolitan authority was underlined by force in this period. According to Arnolfo, Archbishop Ariberto received a privilege from Conrad II, after his coronation in 1024, to invest as well as to consecrate the suffragan bishops of Lodi.[86] However when Ariberto later sought to put this into practice and invested with ring and staff one of his cardinal priests, Ambrogio, with the seat, the people of Lodi forcefully resisted the appointment. Ariberto, like his predecessor, responded by force of arms. He attacked Lodi's castles and besieged the city, installing the bishop through coercion.[87]

Eleventh-century archbishops were equally concerned to demonstrate that their spiritual and pastoral authority had a genuinely province-wide scope. In 1028, Ariberto made a pastoral visitation to 'almost all' of his suffragan churches. During the visitation Ariberto came to Turin, and in the course of his audience there he was informed about a heretical sect in the local castle of Monforte.[88] The archbishop summoned a member of the sect,

---

[84] J.-M. Moeglin, 'Harmiscara-harmschar-hachée: le dossier des rituels d'humiliation et de soumission au moyen âge', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, LIV (1996), pp. 11-65, pp. 20-25 for the capitulary evidence. See also, K. J. Leyser, 'Ritual, Ceremony and Gesture: Ottonian Germany', in id. *Communications and Power*, 1, pp. 189-213.

[85] Ibid, pp. 24-5. On Ebehard, Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum gestorum saxonicarum libri tres*, eds. H.-E. Lohmann and P. Hirsch, MGH SRG, LX (Hannover, 1935), p. 40.

[86] Arn, *LGR*, II. 2.

[87] Ibid, II. 7. For bishops of Lodi see Pauler, *Das Regnum Italiae*, p. 144-6 and L. Carazzali, 'Ambrogio vescovo di Lodi (1027-1051?), *Archivio Storico Lodigiano*, ser. 2, vol. 20 (1982), pp. 45-57.

[88] Land Sen, *HM*, II. 27, *cum domnus Heribertus omnes fere iam visitasset civitatum beati Ambrosii suffraganeos, quorum gratia Italiam circuiverat...* cf, Rodolfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. J. France (Oxford, 1989), IV. ii. 5. See Violante, *La società milanese*, pp. 220-32, H. Taviani, 'Naissance d'une hérésie en Italie du Nord au XIe siècle', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 29.5 (1974), pp. 1224-52, R. I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (London, 1977), pp. 31-5. On episcopal visitations, R. Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe: 600-1200* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 141-4.

Girardo, and interrogated him about his community and beliefs. Thus he learnt about a remarkable group which prized virginity and eschewed sex, treating their wives like sisters or mothers. On hearing this Ariberto, quite reasonably, asked how they expected humans to reproduce without procreation. Girardo, drawing on a natural historical tradition which goes back to Pliny the Elder, replied that without corruption, 'the human race would be born as the bees are, without coitus.'[89] They also refused to eat meat and held their possessions in common, while their elders held a constant vigil of prayers throughout the day and the night. Furthermore, the community did not recognise the pope's authority and, despite initially invoking the Trinity, Girardo betrayed a mystical understanding of the Son and the Holy Spirit. The archbishop ordered that Monforte be raided, and the members of the community were captured and taken back to the metropolitan seat in Milan, where Ariberto's clergy attempted to convert them to orthodoxy. Elite anxiety however grew, as people from the countryside apparently came to the city to witness the heretics. If we are to believe Landolfo Seniore, a flaming pyre and a cross were set up in the city, and the group were given a choice: either to venerate the cross and confess the catholic faith, or to enter the flames. Some were saved, but most, according to Landolfo, were reduced to ashes. These were exceptional events, but they betray the practical extent of the pastoral authority wielded by Milan's metropolitans, as well as underlining their role in the province-wide definition and regulation of orthodoxy and dissent.

The Milanese church also impressed its effective leadership in the province by filling suffragan sees with their own members. Clerics from the Milanese cathedral clergy, or from the families which adhered to the archbishop's entourage, not uncommonly assumed the seats of dependent churches. We have already seen that Ariberto used the royal privilege granted to him, and physical force, to install Ambrogio in Lodi, previously a cardinal priest of

[89] *LS*, II. 27, *Si universum genus humanum sese coniungeret, ut corruptionem non sentiret, sicut apes sine coitu genus gigneretur humanum*.

the Milanese church. But physical coercion was not always necessary. From Wipo's *Gesta Chuonradi* we learn that Arderico, bishop of Vercelli, who succeeded Leo in 1026/7, was a canon of Milan's cathedral church.[90] Such appointments bound suffragans more closely to their provincial centre. Indeed Arderico, alongside the bishops of Piacenza and Cremona, was later imprisoned by Conrad after his capture of Ariberto, which suggests that he remained firmly associated with the archbishop even during political turmoil.[91] In 1067, Archbishop Guido da Velate's nephew Arnolfo, a former subdeacon of the Milanese church, became bishop of Cremona. There he faced bitter opposition from the local Patarine group, led by Abbot Cristoforo of the house of SS. Pietro and Paolo, which revolted against the bishop around Easter, 1067. Arnolfo was later excommunicated by Gregory VII on 3 March, 1078.[92]

The da Velate were among the first rank of Milan's aristocratic families, and Guido had acted as a royal chaplain before his election to the archbishopric.[93] Arnolfo was also not the only figure from a family of Milanese *capitanei* to assume the seat of a suffragan bishopric. We know that Archbishop Arnolfo II da Arsago's brother, Landolfo, was bishop of Brescia.[94] In neighbouring Bergamo, Bishop Atto (visible between 1059 and 1075) belonged to the powerful da Vimercate family, and his successor, who assumed the seat in 1077, was Arnolfo da Landriano. The vigorously anti-Patarine da Landriano played an especially visible role in Milan's city politics. Members of both Milanese families received

[90] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi***,** c. 12, p. 33, *Vir multum sapiens, [Leo] mundum cum pace reliquit, cui Hardericus Mediolanensis canonicus successit.*
[91] Arn, *LGR*, II. 12.
[92] Bonizo, *LAA*, p. 596 and 597-8, Peter Damian, *Briefe*, no. 65, Gregory VII, *Register*, V. 14a.
[93] Further on Arnolfo da Velate's family background, A. H. Allen, 'The Family of Archbishop Guido da Velate of Milan (1045-1071)', *Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia medioevale, I* (Milan, 1968), pp. 6-9 and Keller, *Signori e vassalli*, pp. 51-3, which affirms that the da Velate family belonged to the *capitanei*.
[94] *AP*, no. 21 (1006), Anselmo da Besate, *Rhetorimachia*, ed. K. Manitius, MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, II (Weimar, 1958), I.14, *Hinc Arnulfus Mediolanensis pastor egregius, cuius frater Landulfus Brisscie ipse dominus*.

lands in Bergamo as a result, at least temporarily.[95] Although we do not have direct evidence to affirm it, it is at least probable given their social profile that Arnolfo and Atto were canons of the Milanese church before they assumed their seats in Bergamo. The election of members of the da Vimercate and da Landriano to neighbouring dioceses also reflects the close relations of collaboration between Milan's military aristocracy and the emperors. Their relatives, Amizo da Landriano and Algiso da Vimercate, would later assist Henry IV's son, Conrad, in a *placitum* (a public court session) at Bergamo in January, 1088, where the notary listed them as royal vassals, alongside other Milanese *capitanei*, including Arderico da Rho and Ottone Visconti. Another da Landriano, Guido, also betrayed his close proximity to the imperial hierarchy in 1077, when he was present at an assembly in Verona presided over by the emperor's chancellor, Bishop Gregorio of Vercelli, and a *missus* of Henry IV, Odelrico.[96]

These associations underline the fact that the strengthening of Milan's metropolitan authority partially depended upon imperial support and collaboration. Indeed the importance to the sovereign of this relationship was such that, as we have seen, Henry IV was willing to provoke a break with the pope over his refusal to compromise over Goffredo's investiture as archbishop in 1073. In the first half of the eleventh century, such collaboration was partially expressed in military terms and archbishops acted as the emperor's men of war. Ariberto led in 1034 an Italian contingent of troops to assist Conrad II in his conquest of Burgundy, and would later be remembered by the imperial apologist Benzo of Alba – nostalgic for the age of warrior-bishops cut short by the Gregorians – as the 'standard-bearer of the Christian militia'.[97] More than simply being willing to serve in the

[95] See Menant, *Campagnes lombardes*, pp. 648-9, Schwartz, *Die Bestzung*, p. 101 on Atto da Vimercate and G. De Angelis, *Poteri cittadini e intellettuali di potere. Scrittura, documentazione, politica a Bergamo nei secoli IX-XII* (Milan, 2009), pp. 193-4, on Arnolfo da Landriano.

[96] *Placiti*, nos. 442 and 467.

[97] Arn, *LGR*, II. 8, Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi*, c. 32. Benzo of Alba, *Sieben Bücher an Kaiser Heinrich IV*. ed. H. Seyffert, MGH SRG. LXV (Hannover, 1996), p. 384: *Quis erit ut Heribertus in mundi planicie?* | *Fuit enim christiane*

emperor's army, archbishops articulated a consistent religious and political ideology in which cult and service towards imperial war aims were integrated. The Milanese prayerbook attributed to the court of Archbishop Arnolfo, now in the British Library, includes the words for a blessing of the war standard, which follows a prayer for the emperor. The archbishop contributed spiritual arms – as well as material arms – to the imperial army. Indeed the previous folio in the manuscript includes a miniature depicting a metropolitan bishop (identifiable by his pallium), handing a military standard to an armed and mounted sovereign. The manuscript's combination of text and image suggests the solemnity with which those in the episcopal court understood political collaboration between prelate and emperor.[98]

The city's importance to the imperial polity, and the consequent opportunities for patronage, promoted the continued adhesion of local elites towards its hierarchy. It also meant that church intellectuals were more likely to interpret local events as constituting the wider history of the kingdom as well as of the Ambrosian church.[99] When the clerical chronicler Arnolfo introduced his work, he described his history as the 'deeds done by our kings and our bishops, and our fellow citizens of Milan and beyond, as well as of our compatriots in the Italian kingdom'.[100] Arnolfo could see the sovereign and the archbishop as jointly important points of reference for understanding and giving shape to the Milanese past. In the same period, there were tentative moves to increase Milan's status as a royal city. Ariberto's episcopate saw the coronation of the king of Italy move from the traditional

---

signifer militice, | Expurgavit sortem nostram fermento malicie; cf. p. 362 on Ariberto and Arnolfo. See M. R. Tessera, '*Christiane signifer milicie*: chiesa, guerra e simbologia imperiale ai tempi di Ariberto', in Bianchi and Basile Weatherill (eds.), *Ariberto da Intimiano*, pp. 375-95.

[98] British Library, MS Egerton 3763, ff. 121v-122. Text published in O. Heiming, 'Ein benediktinisch-ambrosianisches Gebetbuch des frühen 11. Jahrhunderts: Brit. Mus. Egerton 3736, *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, VIII/2 (1964), pp. 325-435, prayers 54 (*Oratio pro imperatore*) and 55 (*Oratio ad signum bellicum benedicendum*). See D. H. Turner, 'The prayer-book of archbishop Arnulph II of Milan', *Revue bénédictine*, vol. 70 (1960), pp. 360-92.

[99] Capitani, 'Storiografia e riforma della Chiesa'.

[100] Arn, *LGR*, Preface, *gestorum narrazione, que nostri reges nostriquie tessere pontifices, nostri quoque convices in urbe Mediolano vel extra, compatriote vero nostri in regno Italico*.

royal centre of Pavia to Milan. Following the sack of the royal palace in Pavia by its citizens in 1024, the newly elected Conrad II arrived in Italy in 1026 to be crowned by Ariberto instead. Although Conrad's successors would not consistently seek separate coronation in Italy, the archbishops could be called upon to perform the ritual in the future, as happened during the rebellions of Henry IV's son, Conrad, and Conrad III (liturgical rites of coronation also survive in Milanese manuscripts of the period).[101]

The archbishops' metropolitan authority was both effective and extensive, impacting the whole region from Cremona to Turin to Genoa. To this end archiepiscopal office concentrated a wide range of instruments of power which were forcefully guarded and legitimised by pastoral activism and spiritual sanctions. In the eleventh century, it is also clear that suffragan sees became a source of high office for Milan's leading aristocratic families. The extent of metropolitan authority and its relationship with the imperial hierarchy, furthermore, helped ensure that the most powerful families continued to dominate the episcopal court, as members of the cathedral clergy and clients of the bishop. But to understand this adhesion better, we need to examine the character of episcopal government itself.

Episcopal Authority in Milan

Until the very end of this period in the 1130s, archbishops were the central figures of authority and government in the city. Eleventh-century chronicles make it very clear that they were the leading political protagonists throughout this period, even if how they gained

[101] Arn, *LGR*, II. 2. Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi*, c. 7, for the destruction of the royal palace. Land SP, *HM*, c. 3, and Bernold, *Chronicon*, a. 1093 for Conrad II's election in Milan. See Milan, MS Cap. Metrop, II. D.1.11, which has rubrics including, *order qualiter rex ordinari debet*; *consecratio sive benedictio regis*; *ordo ad reginam consecrandam*.

such a role is much harder to reconstruct. Tenth- and eleventh-century bishops in the Italian kingdom had increasingly gained possession of public jurisdictional rights and revenues, often supplanting the rank of public officers formerly supported by the Carolingian polity.[102] Royal diplomas of this period in favour of the churches of Cremona and Parma explicitly concede comital, public jurisdictions and rights associated with the state.[103] However, because of the loss of Milan's episcopal archive we are unable to examine any dispositive documents which might have been issued in favour of the archbishops. The only exception (if genuine) is the apparent grant of minting rights by King Lothar II in 949 to Archbishop Manasse, referred to in a papal bull of 1162. Furthermore, the numismatist Ottorino Murari has cautiously but convincingly made the hypothesis that coins issued by the Milanese mint under Arnolfo bore the monogram of the archbishop himself, displacing that of the king, a highly unusual and arresting claim of the archbishop's pre-eminent authority if true.[104] Otherwise it is easy to observe the *de facto* exercise of public rights, such as the imposition of, and exemption from, tolls.[105] Although their weakness can be exaggerated, the counts of Milan themselves appear as very marginal figures in both documentary and narrative sources. Two, Ugo and Azo, appear as presidents of *placita* in 1021 and 1045 respectively, but the latter date is the last time we see any reference to counts of the city.[106]

---

[102] R. Bordone, 'I poteri di tipo comitale dei vescovi nei secoli X-XII', in A. Spicciani (ed.), *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel medioevo: marchesi, conti e visconti nel regno italico (secc. IX-XII)* (Rome, 2003), pp. 103-22, S. Pivano, *Chiesa e stato* (Turin, 1908). On public powers in Milan under Ariberto, Violante, *La società milanese*, pp. 186-92.

[103] Examples of public rights ceded to the bishops of Cremona: *D B I*, no. 112 (916), *D O III*, no. 222, *D C II*, no. 251 (1037); and of Parma**:** *D C II*, no. 143 (1029), *H III*, no. 225 (1048).

[104] For the grant of minting rights, Alexander III, *Epistulae et privilegia*, *PL,* CC, no. 102., and see L. Traviani, 'La moneta milanese tra X e XII secolo', in *Milano e il suo territorio*, pp. 223-44, 230-1. O. Murari, 'Denari milanesi dell'inizio del sec. XI dell'imperatore Enrico II o dell'arcivescovo Arnolfo II?', *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, 73 (1971) and 'Le monete di Milano dei primi decenni del secolo XI. Denari di Ottone III, di Arduino d'Ivrea e di Enrico II', *Rivista It di Num*, 82 (1980).

[105] See Chapter 3.

[106] *I placiti*, nos. 308, 364-5.

The archbishop is never recorded as the president of any of our extant Milanese *placita,* unlike prelates in other cities, such as Parma, although this does not mean that he never did.[107] Furthermore, we know that even when counts presided, judicial courts sometimes took place in the courtyard of the archbishop's palace, the so-called *Broletto*. By contrast, no eleventh-century *placita* take place in the comital palace, the *curtis ducis,* as they sometimes did in the tenth century. Counts moved to associate themselves with the bishops, and the episcopal palace must have been seen therefore as a proper site for the administration of legitimate justice, something confirmed by the fact that the commune immediately began to use the *Broletto* as the site of its assemblies in the 1130s.[108] Aside from those where Ugo and Azo sat in judgement, the remaining public courts for which we have records before the Pataria were all presided over by royal *missi.*[109] However the most important evidence for the assumption of effective government in the city by the archbishop is the formation of his aristocratic entourage and the episcopal militia, which we will discuss in more detail below. Among this militia was the viscount, the office which gave rise to the Visconti family. This title probably represents the attachment of a formerly comital office (the Carolingian-era vicar of the count) and its functions to the bishop's court, or at least an imitation of it. As the eleventh century proceeded, the majority of Milan's powerful families adhered to the episcopal court in order to enjoy status and patronage. This rendered the bishop the central pole of political attraction in the city, with little space for competing centres of alternative patronage. The Patarines were only able to carve out their own independent institutions through violence and revolt.

---

[107] For Parma, R. Schumann, *Authority and the Commune, Parma, 833-1133* (Parma, 1973), pp. 150-5.

[108] *I placiti*, no. 1021 (308), is held in the *Brolito domui sancta Ambrosii*. For more on the *Broletto*, see Chapter 3. For *placiti* in Milan, A. Padoa Schioppa, 'Aspetti della giustizia milanese dal X al XII secolo', *Milano e il suo territorio*, vol. I, pp. 459-549.

[109] *Placiti*, nos. 288 (1015), Arderico da Baggio, *missus*; 302 (1018), Anselmo, *missus*; 339 (1035), Arialdo, judge and *missus*; 368 (1046), Arialdo, judge and *missus*; 379 (1048), Vualdo Lanzo, judge and *missus*; 387 (1051), Antonio, *missus*. There is then a gap until 1093 (*Placiti*, no. 473), but this too is held by two judges and royal *missi*, Otto and Ambrogio Pagano.

In addition to his jurisdictional authority, the archbishop also exercised his spiritual authority to judicial ends. A letter attributed to Grosolano, in office from 1100, addressed to the bishops and abbots of Christendom, shows the prelate consulting canon law to impose penance on a man who murdered his stepmother. The penitent was to carry this letter as he made a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, walking barefoot and fasting in silence on bread and water three days a week.[110] Thus Milan's bishops drew on the inheritance of canon law as well as public jurisdiction in order to regulate social disputes.

Episcopal authority was profoundly shaken by the crisis of the Pataria, which emerged between 1057 and 1075. But it survived nevertheless. The radicals of religious reform led by Arialdo da Cucciago and Erlembaldo did not simply reject individual officers, charged with simony and corruption. They challenged the legitimacy of kinship as a means of determining ecclesiastical office, precisely the structures which guaranteed the reproduction of archiepiscopal power as it then existed. Although the Patarines' defeat was decisive, movements and popular agitation around 1100 emerged which disrupted the aristocracy's grip on the the archbishop's seat. These instabilities were still not fatal to episcopal government, but they contributed to the slow and unsure improvisations in communal organisation which led to the crystallisation of alternative forms of consular government. At a certain point, the court of the bishop no longer promised elites the most stable route to political patronage or achieving the settlement of disputes. In the 1110s, Archbishop Giordano remained the natural focus point for authority: consuls sat in judgement at an assembly of 1117 but it was the archbishop who presided, and the author of a prelude to a poem celebrating Milan's victorious war against Como defines the period as one in which 'Giordano ruled'. But, as Paolo Grillo and Chris Wickham have recently underlined, the character and agents of political rule did fundamentally change in the 1130s. Following the

[110] Edited in A. Amelli (ed.), *Due sermoni inediti di Pietro Grosolano arcivescovo di Milano* (Florence, 1933), pp. 8-9. See Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*.

deposition of Anselmo V in 1135, the commune came to act as a fully autonomous organ of city government.[111] Archbishops remained enormously influential figures in the life of the city, but the old world of episcopal centrality was lost.

The City Clergy

In order to serve the ritual and pastoral demands of what was fast becoming the largest city in Latin Europe, the Milanese church required sizeable personnel and institutional complexity. Indeed an outsider, Bonizo of Sutri, commented that Milan's clergy was 'as innumerable as the sands of the sea.'[112] The city clergy was divided into two: the 'major order', constituted by the canons of the cathedral church, and the minor 'order of *decumani*', which united the urban clergy charged with pastoral care into a single association. In contemporary documents the two orders are referred to as the *ordo sancte Mediolanensis ecclesie* and the *ordo decumanorum sancte Mediolanensis ecclesie* respectively.[113] Membership of the minor clergy implied fixed office at a particular basilica. In this way, individual clerics bore a dual identity which acknowledged their connection to both their church and a city-wide constitution. In documentary formulae, members of the minor clergy are always

[111] Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World*, pp. 21-66, P. Grillo, 'A Milano nel 1130. Una proposta di rilettura della composizione "tripartite" del collegio consolare', in *Bulletino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo*, no. 109/1 (2007), pp. 219-234. *ACM*, no. 1 (1117), Land SP, *HM*, c. 44, Anonymi Novocomensis, *Cumanus sive poema de bello et excidio urbis Comensis ab anno MXVII usque ad MCXXVII* (ed. J. M. Stampa), in Muratori, *RIS*, V, coll. 399-458, 407, *tunc regebat Mediolanum.*

[112] Bonizo, *LAA*, VI, p. 591, *Multitudo vero clericorum, que in eadam ecclesia est innumerabilis ut harena maris…*

[113] See concise presentation in E. Cattaneo, 'Istituzioni ecclesiastiche milanesi', in *Storia di Milano*, IV (Milan, 1954), pp. 618-26. Cattaneo's hypothesis, developed from Bognetti, that the minor order of *decumani* found its origins in an imagined mission of eastern clerics sent by Rome to Milan during the clergy's post-Lombard conquest exile in Genoa must be regarded as purely speculative (if not fantastic).

identified by both the church at which they officiate and their membership of the *ordo decumanorum*.[114] We will consider the minor order first.

Two documents from different periods list the basilicas to which the minor clergy were attached. A Carolingian document, edited by Enrico Cattaneo, gives the following: S. Maria Maggiore and S. Tecla (the cathedral churches), S. Ambrogio, S. Eustorgio, S. Lorenzo, S. Nazaro, S. Nabore, S. Stefano, and S. Giorgio al Palazzo. Note that the cathedral basilicas hosted members of the *decumani* charged with pastoral care as well as the cathedral clergy, while other basilicas, such as S. Ambrogio, were shared by priests of the *decumani* as well as monastic communities. A document from 1119, which records an episcopal judgement concerning a dispute over benefices between the *decumani* (said to number 100) and an association of city chaplains, also lists the basilicas of the minor clergy. All the churches included in the Carolingian list are included, as are S. Dionigi and S. Martino, together with a number of dependent chapels.[115] Furthermore, the entire minor clergy were subject to the authority and discipline of the *primicerius presbyterorum*, who although a member of the *decumani*, was also a leading member of the cathedral court and shared some of the formal dignities of the ordinary clergy.

The 1119 document is equally interesting for revealing that the minor order was a properly corporate association, bound together by the possession of its own estates and incomes. It is impossible for us to reconstruct in any detail the quality and extent of these possessions, but glimpses of it appear in other documents. Beroldo's calendar notes that a substantial donation of lands in the mountain valleys was made by Archbishop Arnolfo II in favour of the *decumani* as well as the cathedral clergy. A series of acts in 1120 saw representatives of both the minor and major orders acquiring valley land to be divided

[114] To pick just two examples at random: *Aistulfus presbiter de ordine decomanorum sancte Mediolanensis eclesie, officiale eclesie sancti Georgii* (*AP*, no. 170); *Daibertus presbiter de ordine decomanorum sancte Mediolanensis eclesie et officialis ecclesie sanctarum Tegle et Pelaye* (*AP*, no. 352).

[115] E. Cattaneo, 'Il più antico elenco di chiese di Milano (età carolingia)' in *Notizie dal chiostro del monastero Maggiore* (1969, fasc. III-IV), and Giulini, *Memorie*, V, pp. 548-54.

between them, two fifths to the cathedral clergy and three fifths to the *decumani*.[116] One of the things that the incomes must have supported was a so-called 'common benefice' which could be used to assist clerics of the minor order. Landolfo di San Paolo tell us that when he fell into debt, the *primicerius* of the time 'solemnly received [him] in the common benefice' of the *decumani*.[117] In one revealing, unpublished document from 1141, Martino Corbo, provost of the canons of S. Ambrogio, also took out a substantial loan of £32 from the *primicerius* Nazaro, acting on behalf of the minor order, in order to pay off a debt.[118] The provision of credit for members was a common feature of professional associations in ancient and medieval Europe, but the only comparable clerical association in a contemporary Italian city, which united the urban clergy outside the cathedral, was in Rome. This was the *Romana fraternitas*, which associated the city clergy charged with pastoral care outside the papal court. With likely antecedents as a funerary confraternity, by the twelfth century it organised the disbursement of funds among its members and ran its own tribunal for internal disputes.[119]

That Milan's order of *decumani* only finds an adequate comparison in the Roman church gives some sense of the size and complexity of the city church and the city which it served. While the members of the *decumani* served in different churches, there were strong pressures in favour of cohesion and the maintenance of a group identity: collective property, credit provision, obedience owed to a *primicerius*, and shared ritual activities. This was undoubtedly one of the causes of the immense strength of Milan's ecclesiastical institutions, but equally their monolithic character may explain why when conflicts did emerge, they were all the more explosive for it. The Patarines, for example, were forced to centre their

[116] *PCapMag*, nos. 2-5 (1120).
[117] Land SP, *HM*, c. 37, *Quod cum presbiter Andreas primicerius intelexisset, solempniter me suscepit in communi beneficio presbiterorum et clericorum Mediolanensium*.
[118] ASMi, A.D. Perg. cart., 303, no. 47. The canons of Sant'Ambrogio were in debt to Pelegrino Bondaro, to whom they owed £28 1/2, and Vuifredo Anrocho, to whom they owed £3 1/2.
[119] T. di Carpegna Falconieri, *Il clero di Roma nel medioevo* (Rome, 2002), pp. 241-68.

experiments in clerical life in new institutions such as the *canonica* at S. Maria di Porta Nuova, rather than work within existing communities of the city church.

While the minor clergy was responsible for pastoral care in the city's 'mother churches' (*matrices ecclesiae*), the major order was primarily committed to the performance of the Ambrosian liturgy in Milan's two cathedrals: the summer church of S. Tecla, and the winter church of S. Maria Maggiore. Despite its smaller size, S. Maria was considered to be pre-eminent – called the 'mother of churches' in contemporary documents – probably due to its status as the winter cathedral, where the most important period of the liturgical year (from October to Easter) was held. For Landolfo Seniore, S. Maria was the 'head' of the archiepiscopate, a status sanctioned by God and ordained by Ambrose (although the latter claim is spurious). Landolfo also underlines at length the centrality of solemn, liturgical practice to the office and identity of the major clergy.[120]

The internal structure and hierarchy of the ordinary clergy is described in an important passage in Beroldo, a warden and candle-bearer (*custos* and *cicendelarius*) of the major order writing in the 1120/30s. The detail he provides can also be usefully supplemented by Landolfo Seniore's description of the bishop's court.[121] First in the hierarchy were the cardinal priests (*sacerdotes cardinales*), under the authority of the archpriest. These were followed by seven cardinal deacons, who in turn answered to the archdeacon. Following them were the subdeacons (also seven, according to Landolfo Seniore). According to Beroldo, during a procession the subdeacons should be followed by the *primicerius* of the *decumani*. Although the head of the minor order was not an member of the cathedral clergy, he is said to be 'no lesser in dignity', representing as he did the pastoral offices of the *decumani*. Indeed the obedience owed by the large association of the *decumani* to the *primicerius* made him one of the most important and influential figures in the

[120] Land Sen. *HM*, II.35.
[121] Beroldo, *Ordo*, pp. 35-6, Landolfo Sen. *HM*, II. 35.

curia and city politics. Landolfo Seniore writes in two places that he was known as the city's *coepiscopus*, and makes the claim that the office dates back to the days of Ambrose.[122] Indeed during the years of strife surrounding Grosolano's episcopate, the head of the minor order emerged as one of the key protagonists in city politics. The *primicerius* Andrea was given charge of the election process to secure a successor to Anselmo IV, after his death on crusade in 1101. According to Landolfo di S, Paolo's history, the combined efforts of Andrea, the abbot Guglielmo of Sant'Ambrogio, and Otto Visconti, among others, made it impossible for Grosolano to control the episcopate in 1110.[123] From the documents we also know of a number of special offices held by cardinal members of the clergy: the treasurer (known by its Greek term, the *cimiliarch*), the *vicedominus*, charged with administrative duties, and the chancellor. There was a tendency for at least some of these offices to be controlled by families, as will be seen.

After the priests and deacons, the order of notaries formed the next group in the clerical hierarchy of the major order. Below them were sixteen lectors, charged primarily with the reading of scripture and chant in the liturgy. The *primicerius lectorum*, however, was also know as the *secundicerius* and served as the vicar of the *primicerius decumanorum*. The *secundicerius* thus occupied a role in both the minor and major orders of the clergy, as can be seen in the case of Azo, who in 1149 acted as both the provost of the *decumani* of of Santa Tecla, and the *primicerius lectorum* of the major clergy.[124] The last level of the hierarchy was occupied by the order of wardens (*custodes*), which again, according to Beroldo, numbered sixteen. The wardens of the church were subject to the treasurer or the major order, who took the Greek title *cimiliarch* (from 1014-26/35 this office was held by the

[122] Land Sen, *HM*, I. 3 and II. 35.
[123] Land SP, *HM*, cc. 7, for the *primicerius*' role in the election, 20, where Andrea is named alongside Guglielmo and Otto as Grosolano's key opponents.
[124] Azo is described as the *primicerius lectorum* in 1115 and 1119, but in 1124 is called *presbiter ac praepositus Ecclesiae Sanctae Teglae*. Later in 1149, he appears as *prepositus ecclesiae ac canonicae sanctae Teclae et primicerius lectorum sanctae mariae de civitate Mediolani*. The 'canonica' of Santa Tecla organised lower-order clerics. Relevant documents are reproduced in Cattaeno, 'Il clero e la cura pastorale', pp. 7-10.

archpriest Pietro).[125] They were further subdivided into four 'candle-bearers' (*cicendelarii*) and four doorkeepers (*ostiarii*), whom together Beroldo calls the *custodes maiores*. These clerics were charged with the custody of the church's treasury (*iacent in secretario ad custodiendum thesarum ecclesie*), while the remaining eight *custodes minores* were responsible for the church's tribunal (*tribunali ecclesiae*). Through its complex organisational composition and untypical terminology, emphasising solemn, liturgical expression and the custody of material goods, Milan's major order reflected its extraordinary wealth and support for elaborate ritual. 'No-one would dare enter the choir without a gleaming toga [*toga*],' Landolfo Seniore said of the cathedral canons in the days of Ariberto, 'no-one would allow themselves to pronounce the office with a stutter.' The culture of the *curia* took appearances seriously, and its historian paused to eulogise the material finery of its presentation, its ceaseless dedication to liturgical celebration 'day an night', and its severe discipline - wielded by the archdeacon - which would be challenged by 'no-one... whether he was born of marquises, counts, or *capitanei*'. The latter comment is revealing of the expectations of the kinds of families cathedral canons might come from.[126]

Before examining the social composition of the cathedral clergy which Landolfo here suggests, it should also be underlined that the laity was also formally recognised within the episcopal court and its liturgy. Both Beroldo and Landolfo underline that the viscount should take up the last position in a procession, representing the laity as a formal liturgical order of the church. This formal recognition of the laity within the church's ritual order was quite exceptional for this period. Again Beroldo and Landolfo also describe an association known as the *scola sancti Ambrosii*, which appears to have been a type of confraternity with charitable responsibilities. The society included women as well as elderly laymen, and distributed bread and wine to those in need, as well as training young boys preparing to

[125] For Pietro, archpriest and *cimiliarch*, see Giulini, *Memorie*, III, p. 508, *AP*, no. 122, Ariberto, *I documenti*, no. 2.

[126] Land Sen, *HM*, II. 35.

chant in choir. Both lay aristocrats and ordinary members of the church showed concern to support the society's activities. We see evidence of this in two early eleventh-century donations, which provide for annual gifts of bread, wine, and cheese to the *scola*.[127] By Beroldo's time at least the society also had a prominent position on the urban processions which marked important feast days: their members bore a silver cross through the streets and square of the city.

With a clearer picture of the Milanese clergy's internal structures, we are now able to investigate more precisely the social composition of its membership.[128] We will examine the major order first. While prosopographic information elucidating its social origins is not always available, there remains considerable evidence that the regional elite dominated its membership and episcopal office in the eleventh century. Every one of Milan's archbishops from Landolfo da Carcano to Arnolfo III (979-1097) was elected from the cathedral clergy and until then each one also belonged to one of the city's leading aristocratic families.[129] Before the turn of the millennium we also know that members of comital families became canons of the church: in 999 the subdeacon Berengario signed a document in Pavia with his mother, the countess Railenda (herself the daughter of count Riprando).[130]

Where the families of other members of the major order are visible, they can often be identified as members of the *capitanei*. The city-based branch of the da Baggio contributed at least four of the church's canons in the eleventh century, including the future

[127] *AP*, nos. 28 (1007), authored by Fulcuino, who professed Salic law, and 122 (1022), authored by archpriest Pietro.
[128] See H. Keller, 'Die soziale und politische Verfassung Mailands in den Anfängen des kommunalen Lebens', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 211.1 (1970), pp. 34-64, id., 'Origine sociale e formazione del clero cattedrale dei secoli XI e XII nella Germania e nell'Italia settentrionale', in *Le istituzione ecclesiastiche della 'Societas Christiana' dei secoli XI-XII: diocesi, pievi e parrochie* (1977), pp. 136-86, and G. Rossetti, 'Origine sociale e formazione dei vescovi del 'Regnum Italiae' nei secoli XI e XII', in *Le istituzione ecclesiastiche*, pp. 57-84.
[129] Landolfo da Carcano, Arnolfo d'Arsago, Ariberto da Intimiano, Anselmo III da Rhò, Arnolfo III da Porta Orientale were all members of capitaneal families. Tedaldo's family is not named by contemporary sources, but Keller, *Signori e vassalli*, p. 85 makes a convincing case that he belonged to the da Landriano family (and there were two members of the da Landriano family called Tedaldo in the cathedral clergy in the early twelfth century).
[130] *CDL*, no. 955.

bishops Anselmo I and II of Lucca.[131] We know from his *Rhetorimachia* that Anselmo da Besate was a member of the major order before pursuing his career in the imperial court, and a near relation of his, Enrico da Besate, was a subdeacon of the church in 1024.[132] Members too of the powerful da Arsago, da Landriano, da Soresina, and da Rho families - to name but four - are all visible as cathedral canons in the documentary evidence and other sources.[133] The Patarine leader and member of the cathedra church Landolfo, Erlembaldo's brother, was equally said by contemporaries to have come from a capitaneal family.[134] The major clergy's importance to families of high status is also corroborated by the fact that other groups which grew in influence worked to have their members enter the order. The Rozo family of moneyers, who counted a number of masters of the city mint in their family, expressed very publicly their growing accumulated wealth and status through their 1030 foundation of S. Trinità (later in 1100 dedicated to S. Sepolcro), close to the mint itself on the forum. We learn from ordinances established for the church by the founder Benedetto Rozo that his nephew, Ariprando, was a cathedral subdeacon.[135] At the same time that this family of moneyers was able to mark the urban landscape with a striking monument to their rising status, members of the Rozo were joining the sons of the region's military aristocracy in the choir of Santa Maria Maggiore.

---

[131] Enrado, cardinal priest, was brother of the imperial *missus* Arderico da Baggio, *AP*, no. 166 (1028), and the deacon Arnolfo, was the son of another relative, Anrado, *AP*, 46 (1011). For the family's history and the background of the future bishops of Lucca, see M. L. Corsi, 'Note sulla famiglia da Baggio (secoli IX-XIII)', in *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia medioevale,* I, pp. 166-204, and Keller, 'Le origine sociali e famigliari del vescovo Anselmo', in C. Violante ed. *Sant'Anselmo vescovo di Lucca (1073-1086) nel quadro delle trasformazione sociali e della riforma ecclesiastica* (Rome, 1992), pp. 27-50.

[132] Anselmo da Besate, *Rhetorimachia*, pp. 151-2, *Le carte degli Archivi Parmensi,* ed. G. Drei, vol. 2 (Parma, 1950), no. 22 (1024). On the family's history, see Violante, 'L'immaginario e il reale. I 'Da Besate', una stirpe feudale e 'vescovile' nella genealogia di Anselmo il Peripatetico e nei documenti' in id. (ed.) *Nobilità e chiese nel medioevo e altri saggi. Scritti in onore di Gerd G. Tellenbach* (Rome, 1993), pp. 97-157.

[133] Anselmo da Arsago, priest (*AP*, no. 371 (1054); Guifredo da Soresina, subdeacon (*AP*: 514 and 520 (1070)); Tedaldo da Landriano, cleric and notary (*PCapMag*, nos. 2-5 (1120)), Tedaldo da Landriano, archpriest (Land SP, *HM*, c. 60); Anselmo da Rho, deacon (Land SP, *HM*, c. 60); Anselmo di Eriprando di Rho (*PCapMag*, no. 21 (1150).

[134] Land Sen, *HM*, III, 14.

[135] *AP*, no. 249.

A further group in the social composition of the major order is visible in the first half of the eleventh century: the families of judges and legal professionals. Pietro, the archpriest and treasurer (*cimiliarch*) of the ordinary clergy from 1014-26/35, was in his day one of the order's most prominent members.[136] He also came from a family of wealthy legal professionals: his father, Deodato, was a judge and so was his brother Ambrogio, who himself maintained active social relations with one of the church's cardinals, having acquired an estate from the deacon Adelmano before June, 1008.[137] While Hagen Keller has underlined the presence of a number of cathedral canons closely related to judges or literate laymen in the later tenth and earlier eleventh centuries, he has also noted that not one in the second half of the eleventh century appears to have been the son of a judge.[138] This was a social group whose status as major landowners suffered at this time, and with their loss of land went their access to the highest ecclesiastical offices.

The elite and socially exclusive character of the major clergy is also a major reason why the cathedral church resisted the institution of the common life, until the construction of a chapter house by the *vicedominus* (and future archbishop) Olrico, in 1112.[139] Before then, cathedral canons maintained their own households, as Landolfo Seniore noted. An apologist for the married clergy, he describes how the canons 'all used to live in their own homes', stressing that this in no way diminished their intense commitments to the demands of the liturgy.[140] As will be explored later, the institution of the common life followed the weakening of the major aristocracy's grip on episcopal office from 1097. In that year the election of a very traditional-looking candidate, the aristocratic cathedral canon Landolfo da

[136] He was the first to sign, for example, Archbishop Ariberto's decree relating to the foundation of a monastery in San Dionigi. Ariberto, *I documenti*, no. 2.

[137] *AP*, no. 122 (1022), for Pietro's father, the judge Deusdedit of Milan. *AP*, no. 31 (1008), for his brother Ambrogio, who gives an estate in Lambrate – which he in turn had acquired from the cardinal Adelmanno – to the *decumani* of S. Maria Maggiore.

[138] Keller, *Signori e vassalli*, pp. 189-90.

[139] Land SP, *HM* c. 25.

[140] Land Sen, *HM*, II. 24, *Omnes ita vivebant in domibus propriis quasi in alienis, circa divina officia solliciti, circa usus ecclesiae et suorum accuratissimi*. See also Anselmo da Besate, *Rhetorimachia*, pp. 151-2, 157-8.

Baggio, was disrupted and Anselmo da Bovisio, formerly provost of S. Lorenzo Maggiore was instead made archbishop. As an outsider from the cathedral clergy and the member of only a middling landowning family, Anselmo's election marked a radical break with the social character of the city's archbishops. The succession in 1101 of Grosolano, a complete outsider from the city, which blocked once again the appointment of Landolfo da Baggio, continued the trend.[141]

The social composition of the minor order is harder to establish, but leading aristocratic families do not appear to be represented. It is notable that the heads of the *decumani* – the *primicerius* – are not attributable at all to the city's leading families, despite their increasing weight in city politics. Again Keller's research has underlined the fact that from 1001-70 not a single priest of the minor order appears to have been the son of a judge or a notary, in contrast to the social background of the cathedral canons at the same time.[142] We have seen that Ansemlo IV da Bovisio was before his surprise election as archbishop in 1097 a member of the minor clergy and provost of S. Lorenzo Maggiore. From what we know about his family, their links with the city were recent and none of their property ownership suggests significant wealth or attachment to major patronage networks.[143] However it would be a mistake to exaggerate the modesty of the minor clergy's social makeup. The Patarine leader, Arialdo da Cucciago, was a member of the *decumani* according to contemporary witnesses, and while there is no indication that his family was aristocratic, his biography at least reveals that his family were medium-sized landowners. They owned plots of chestnut wood and vineyards near their village outside

[141] Land SP, *HM*, cc. 2 and 7. See on the politics of Anselmo IV's episcopate, Lucione, *Anselmo IV da Bovisio*. For Anselmo's family, A. Albuzzi, 'Per una prosopografia dei da Bovisio. I secoli XI e XII attraverso le pergamene di San Vittore di Meda', in G. Andenna, R. Salvarini (eds.), *Deus non voluit. I Lombardi alla prima crociata (1100-1101)* (Milan, 2003), pp. 219-32.
[142] Keller, *Signori e vassalli*, p. 190.
[143] Albuzzi, 'Per una prosopografia dei da Bovisio'.

Cantù, and there was sufficient family wealth for Arialdo to have constructed a household church by his family home, dedicated to Protasio and Gervasio.[144]

The example of Giovanni Ingezo, a member of the *decumani* who died in 1035, is instructive. Struck by a fatal sickness, Giovanni authorised a will which would transfer his personal residence – a two-storied house situated in the exclusive forum area near the public mint – to his mother, Alda. He also passed on to her credit owed to him by several people, whether 'in grain, wine, or money'.[145] Giovanni could afford to make out loans (and presumably had the social status to earn the confidence to do so), while owning a residence whose stature and location betrays not inconsiderable wealth and status. Active before the social ruptures which would increasingly impose common life and property on the city's clergy, he also acted to keep his assets circulating within his family. Members of the minor order could thus have substantial private means, but nonetheless the social stratification which divided the major and minor clergy remained stark.

Monasticism in the City

Milan's monasteries - six male and seven female - were tightly integrated into the patronage networks which radiated out from the episcopal hierarchy. Although these institutions could wield exceptional wealth and power - as was above all the case for S. Ambrogio, which controlled enormous tracts of land from the plain to the mountains - it would be a mistake

[144] For Arialdo's membership of the *decumani*, Arn, *LGR*, III. 8, Peter Damian, *Briefe*, no. 65. For his family's property, Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 9.
[145] *AP*, no. 234 (1035), the document is explicit that the house is his own residence (*casa una solariata cum area in qua extat iuris mei... que est domus abitacionis mee*) (*debitum quod mihi singuli omines dare aut reddere debent, tam granum, vinum, denarios*... Giovanni Ingezo must have died before 28 September of that same year when Alda alienates the properties, see *AP*, no. 241 (1035). Nazaro Muricola, the future *primicerius* of the *decumani*, is said by Landolfo di San Paolo to have had a *solarium*: Land Sen, *HM*, c. 40. On the significance of two-storey *casae solariatae*, see Chapter 3.

to see them as major alternative poles of political influence, as Ross Balzaretti has argued for the period before 1000.[146] While vassals of city monasteries can occasionally be identified with members of families from a wider social range - including *valvassores* and artisans, it is also the case that aristocratic families who were clients and knights of the archbishop equally joined the entourages of the major religious houses, rather than dividing into separate patronage networks.[147] Monastic traditions in our period were also relatively young, with only the female house of S. Maria Aurona having identifiable roots in the pre-Carolingian period, having probably been founded by a member of the Lombard royal household. The male houses at least were very clearly linked to episcopal initiatives. The monastic community at the ancient basilica of Sant'Ambrogio had been established by the Frankish archbishop Pietro in 789, in the wake of the Carolingian conquest of 774. Two centuries later new monasteries founded around 1000 were also all episcopal foundations: Landolfo da Carcano established a community at S. Celso in 996, Arnolfo II da Arsago at S. Vittore in 1004, and Ariberto at S. Dionigi in 1023.[148] Wherever we are able to say anything about the circumstances of the appointment of abbots in our period, archbishops were involved. A documented dated to 843 records that Archbishop Angilberto had ordained the archpriest of his cathedral clergy as abbot of Sant'Ambrogio. Goffredo I, made abbot of S. Ambrogio in the second decade of the eleventh century, had previously been archdeacon of the cathedral, while - despite Patarine opposition - Ariprando Cangelari was appointed to

---

[146] For monasticism in Milan, P. Zerbi, 'I monasteri cittadini di Lombardia', in *Monasteri in alta Italia dopo le invasioni saracene e magiare (sec. X-XII)* (Turin, 1966), pp. 234-314, 285-93. On the power and influence of S. Ambrogio, G. Rossetti, 'Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nei primi due secoli di vita: i fundament patrimonial e politici della sua fortuna', in *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel Medioevo* (Milan, 1988), pp. 20-34, and other articles in the same collection. See also R. Balzaretti, 'The Lands of Saint Ambrose: The Acquisition, Organisation and Exploitation of Landed Property in North-Western Lombardy by the Monastery of Sant'Ambrogio, Milan, c. 780-1000', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University College London (1990), and pp. 300-4 and 311-6 for suggestions about the abbot's clienteles.

[147] For aristocratic members of monastic entourages, see for example the da Vimercate, who held castles from the archbishop, but also had members who held benefices from the monastery of S. Vincenzo, *AP*, nos. 824-5 (1095). For the adhesion of *valvassores* and non-aristocratic city residents, Keller, *Signori e vassalli*, pp. 193-200.

[148] Arn, *LGR*, I.10, 20, C. Violante, 'Le origine del monastero di S. Dionigi di Milano', in *Studi storici in onore di Ottorino Bertolini*, 2 vols. (Pisa, 1972), vol. 2, pp. 735-809.

the same office by Archbishop Guido, having also enjoyed a career in the cathedral clergy. We know that Guido established another cleric as abbot of S. Celso, Lanfranco Azzo - something which the historian Arnolfo claims was 'customary' - although the Patarines successfully blocked this appointment.[149]

The subordination of the city's monasteries to the authority of the episcopal church was also clearly expressed politically and ritually during assemblies and liturgical celebrations. In a privilege in favour of his monastic foundation at S. Dionigi, Ariberto required the abbot, along with those 'from the other monasteries, to attend the cardinal clergy honourably on Christmas and Easter'. Beroldo's order of the city liturgy also confirms the presence of abbots at important moments where episcopal authority is underlined. A striking example occurred on Palm Sunday, when after the celebration of mass at S. Lorenzo Maggiore the archbishop was led on horseback to S. Ambrogio, where he gave a full branch of palm leaves to the abbot.[150] Disputes, such as those that befell Abbot Goffredo II in the 1030s, were resolved by the archbishop in the monasteries' favour at solemn assemblies of the cathedral clergy, who ratified the prelate's judgement.[151]

The Episcopal Court

The archbishop and his court was not, crucially, only the focus of the city clergy. Until the very end of this period it was also the central area of patronage and political attraction for

[149] For Angilberto's ordination, *CDL*, no. 153 (843), for Goffredo I, see Violante, 'L'arcivescovo di Ariberto (1018-145) e il monastero di S. Ambrogio di Milano', in *Contributi dell'istituto di storia medioevale*, II (Milan, 1972), pp. 608-623, 620-2. For Guido's appointments, Arn, *LGR*, III.15, *archiepiscopus… ex more provideret ordinandum*, and Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 16.
[150] Beroldo, *Ordo*, pp. 95-6.
[151] Ariberto, *I documenti*, nos. 2 (1026-35), *Die vero Natalis Domini et Paschae nostros ordinarios presbyeros et diaconos, sicut ab allis monasteriis, ab abbatte loci honorifice visitari preacipio,* and 4 (1030-5). On the act in favour of S. Ambrogio, Violante, 'L'arcivescovo di Ariberto e il monastero di S. Ambrogio', pp. 608-14.

leading lay members of the aristocracy. We owe a far deeper understanding of the aristocracy of north-western Italy to Hagen Keller's important study of 1979. Based on rigorous prosopographical investigations into the families of regional elites, Keller argued that while the military aristocracy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were often descended from the same families who held the highest public offices of the Carolingian era, their social structure changed decisively. This was the consequence of these families entering, especially from the turn of the millennium, into feudo-vassalic relations with the bishop, a process also traced in fine detail by François Menant for the ruling elites of the *contadi* east of the River Adda: Cremona, Brescia, and Bergamo. Keller insisted that this led to the creation of a clearly distinguished tripartite society of 'orders', labelled in a contemporary terminology which held recognised legal implications: the *capitanei*, the leading stratum of the military aristocracy which held benefices - especially the tithes and properties pertaining to rural baptismal churches - directly from the bishop; the *valvassores*, who in turn held benefices from the *capitanei*; and the *cives*, city-based elites who were less directly integrated into the feudo-vassalic hierarchy. Over the course of the eleventh, in a process which remains opaque, the first rank of the aristocracy was able to carve out territorial lordships in the countryside. But, for the most part, the families which built the rural *signoria* still remained at the heart of city politics and patronage networks. For Keller, the *capitanei*, alongside the other two social orders and despite first being defined by their relationship to the archbishop, joined the remaining orders of *valvassores* and *cives* to become the holders of communal government in the twelfth century. Its administration, he argued, was shared out between them according to recognised norms, with each group supposedly providing a set number of consuls at each election.[152]

[152] Keller, *Signori e vassalli*, pp. 104-35 for the rural *signoria*, pp. 220-51 for adhesion to episcopal courts, and Menant, *Campagnes lombardes*, pp. 601-51.

Keller and Menant were undoubtedly right to stress the decisive turn towards episcopal vassalage in the decades around 1000, and indeed François Menant has traced this same process in fine detail for the *contadi* east of the River Adda. However, Keller's insistence on a strict and consistent social distinction between *capitanei* and *valvassores* has been effectively criticised by Italian historians, both for its rigidity and because representations of elites outside of Milan rarely conformed to this model.[153] More recently, Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur has argued on the basis of a survey of communal elites, that a broader grouping - feudal vassals and *cives* alike - were actually far more socially and culturally homogenous, composing a military elite which cannot at all be reduced to the former vassalic entourage of the bishops.[154]

Taking these debates into account, our discussion of Milanese society before the commune fully acknowledges the process described by Keller and Menant, by which local elites turned to the episcopal court for patronage. It will not be assumed, however, that this patronage always took precisely the same form (the benefice of tithes, for example), or that it constructed such a neatly differentiated feudal hierarchy. Contemporary sources are, in fact, relatively consistent in deploying the word *capitaneus* to describe the leading members of the military aristocracy (Landolfo di San Paolo is particularly concerned to identify people in this way). But we should be prepared to imagine that this status could be constructed in more ways and more informally than modern historiography sometimes allows. This also means that it is possible to side-step some of the more arid debates which have gone on over the precise position in the feudal hierarchy of important families such as the da

[153] Bordone, *La società cittadina*, pp. 162-82, A. Castagnetti, 'Feudalità e società comunale II. *Capitanei* a Milano e a Ravenna fra XI e XII secolo', in *La signoria rurale in Italia* (2006), pp. 117-216, Grillo, 'A Milano nel 1130'. See also S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals* (Oxford, 1994).
[154] J.-C. Maire Vigueur, *Cavaliers et citoyens: guerre, conflits et société dans l'Italie communale, XIIe-XIIIe siècles* (Paris, 2004), p. 401 for key definition.

Velate.[155] What is important is not the labels themselves, but an appreciation of the relative social weight of different families, and the sources of their influence.

Although the chronology is often hard to reconstruct in Milan, the families of counts and other major lay landowners – formerly leaders in the political hierarchy of post-Carolingian Italy – at different points across the late-tenth and eleventh centuries either fell into economic decline or became integrated into the bishop's court.[156] The titular counts of Lecco (it is not clear that they wielded public jurisdictional powers), whose ancestors were beneficiaries and close relations of Guido and Lamberto of Spoleto, provide a vivid example of such a family's terminal crisis at the end of the tenth century. Shortly before his death in 975, a sick Count Atto in his castle authorised documents which mortgaged or otherwise alienated vast swathes of his patrimony, including over 80 dependent serfs. Default followed and the properties were passed on to the church of Bergamo. The family castle at Lecco itself, however, would later become an important possession of the archbishop.[157]

Where counties had defined jurisdictions, however, they did not immediately lose their significance. At a *placitum* held in Milan in 1015, the presiding royal *missus*, Arderico da Baggio, presented a letter from Henry II which recorded his right to administer public justice in the counties of Milan and Seprio.[158] These were still perceived as functional and well-defined jurisdictional unites. Private charters from the county of Seprio dating to the

---

[155] This has been the subject of some back-and-forth debate between Keller and Italian scholars, most recently in an article by Castagnetti, 'I di Porta Romana da consorti di Velate a 'capitanei' in Milano e la questione della signoria in Velate', *Studi storici Luigi Simeoni*, Vol. LIV (2004), pp. 9-44.

[156] V. Fumagalli, *Coloni e signori nell'Italia settentrionale, secoli VI-XI* (Bologna, 1978).

[157] *CDL*, nos. 759-60, for the credit operation, no. 760, for notice of Atto's death. D H II, no. 293, D C II, no. 56, and D H III, no. 200 confirm to the bishop of Bergamo properties which had been passed to church of Bergamo by Atto and his wife Ferlinda. For the castle at Lecco, see Chapter 2, below. On the family's relationships with Guido and Lamberto, V. Fumagalli, 'I cosiddetti «conti di Lecco» e l'aristocrazia del regno italico tra IX e X secolo', in *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel medioevo: marchesi, conti e visconti nel regno italico (secc. IX-XII)*, pp. 113-24, 116-18, and further on the family's collapse, C. Violante, 'Les prêts sur gage foncier dans la vie économique et social de Milan au XI siècle', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale,* 5 (1962), pp. 147-168, 437-459, pp. 446-7.

[158] *Placiti,* III, no. 288 (5 May, 1015): the document cites a letter held by the royal *missus*, which reads: *Enricus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator augustus. Universis nostris fidelibus presentibus silicet ac futuris notum esse volumus quod elegimus unum militem sancti Ambrosii..., ut sit noster inperialis missus in comitatum Mediolanensis et Sebriensis, ad difendas omnes lites et intenciones et duella... ante presencia nostri vel ante se presencia nostri palatini comitis. Quod ut curtius omnibus hieret, hanc cartam sigilli nostri inpresione infelis insigniri iussimus.* Cf. *AP*, nos. 72 and 73.

early eleventh century also attest to the working authority of the local counts, as there are notaries who act with their explicit authority.[159] As we have seen, the counts of Milan themselves, Ugo in 1021 and Azo in 1045, both exercised public justice in the city, the latter assisted by members of his own entourage.[160] In 1045, the canons of Sant'Ambrogio obtained from count Azo an agreement to extend his ban over contested properties in Assiano in their favour, an area of growing importance to the chapter's patrimony just west of the city. It is worth underlining the fact that the canons actively sought out the count's ban: despite the growing centrality of episcopal authority, they must have regarded it as still being a useful tool with which to further claims on property. Azo himself was also serious about expressing the dignity of his office: in both surviving notices issued in 1045 he left an exceptionally large sign of the cross as a signature, which occupies roughly a sixth of the document's surface area (see Image 1).

[159] *AP*, no. 58 (February, 1013), *Ego Arioaldus notarius sacri palacii per data licencia Vuifredi comes comutatu Sepriense scripsi, postradita conplevi et dedi*; and *AP*, no. 178 (3 April, 1030), *Giselbertus notarius sacri palacii per data licencia domni Uberti comes scripsi post tradita complevi et dedi*.
[160] *Placiti*, nos. 308, 364-5; no. 365 records, alongside a number of palatine judges, that Azo sat in judgement with a number of his vassals: Lanzo, his brother Benno, Adelberto da Pariana, Armano, and another Benno.

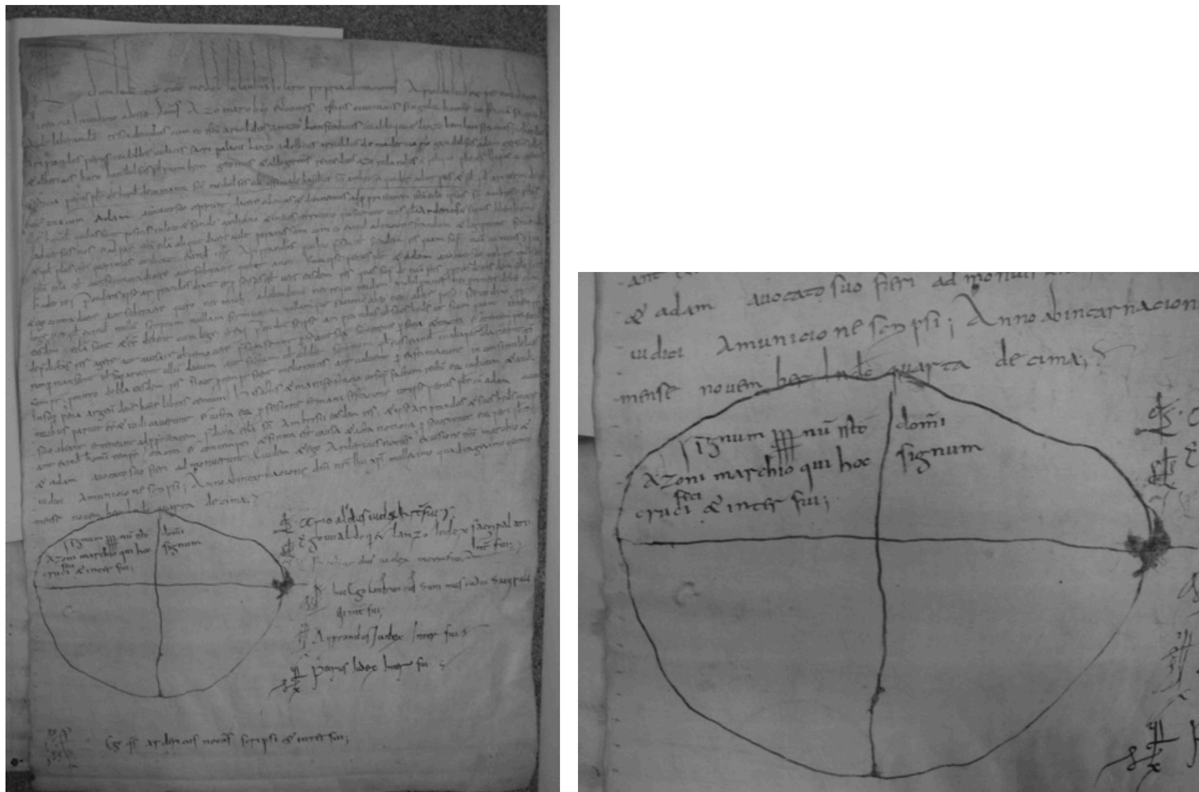


Figure 1.1. showing count Azo of Milan's signature cross on a notice of his 1045 *placitum*. (Archivio del Capitolo di Sant'Ambrogio, perg. sec. XI: 47 b.)

The records of Azo's 1045 court sessions are, however, our last surviving reference to a count of Milan. Although the fate of Milanese counts active in the eleventh-century diocese of Milan is unclear, the process by which their counterparts were integrated into the entourages of neighbouring bishops can be glimpsed. Cremona in 1037 provides a striking example. In that year count Arduino accepted from the city's bishop through lease a large set of properties, includes castles, tithes, and jurisdictional rights, on condition that one of his sons (unless he should become a royal servant) would be obliged to become an episcopal vassal.[161] As the eleventh century progressed, the bishop's *curia* became the critical

[161] Keller, *Signori e vassalli*, pp. 248-9, see also p. 104.

pole of attraction for all aristocrats who had ambitions to participate in city politics. When we do see counts after the mid-eleventh century in the Milanese region, they appear to have become socially integrated with the local stratum of capitaneal families, as was the case for Berlinda, daughter of count Rodolfo of Seprio, who had been married to Ugo da Rho prior to his death before 1102.[162]

Unlike in neighbouring regions, documents recording feudal concessions to Milanese aristocrats have not survived, or were never put into writing in the first place. At times they are indirectly attested, however. A document from 1095 reveals that the family of Alcherio da Vimercate possessed a castle in Cisano (just across the river Adda on the road to Bergamo) as a benefice from the archiepiscopal church.[163] A turning point in the expansion and stabilisation of episcopal patronage netowrks must have taken place by 1035. In this year anxiety over the stability of benefices granted by the archbishop triggered a revolt against Ariberto, led by the lesser rank of vassals. The bitter dispute was only reconciled by royal intervention. Conrad II arrived in 1037 outside Milan, where he issued an edict regulating the character of feudal relations and the rights of vassals, above all securing for their heirs inheritance of the benefices.[164] The struggles of the 1030s and Conrad's legislative action solidified still further the adhesion of local military elites to the episcopal court, but it also helped secure patrionialisation of individual families' resources and power bases. Families did not turn away from episcopal service, as later eleventh-century sources make clear, but it did entrench the private interests of individual family groups against other institutions.

[162] *PSAmbrogio*, no. 4 (23 April, 1102), *Ego Berlinda, filia quondam Rodulfi, comitis de Castro Seprio, et relicta quondam Ugonde qui dicebatur de Raude...*
[163] *AP*, no. 818 (1095), and cf. *PSSVimercate*, nos. 1-2.
[164] D C II, no. 244. For the revolt, Arnolfo, *LGR*, II.10. Keller, *Signori e vassalli*, pp. 240-4, G. Tabacco, 'Gli orientamenti feudali dell'impero in Italia', in K. Eubel (ed.) *Structures féodales et féodalisme* (Paris, 1980), pp. 219-40, Menant, *Campagnes lombardes*, pp. 589-601.

The principal office of the episcopal curia was that of the viscount, which in Milan became by the mid-eleventh century the heritable honour of the Visconti family. The Visconti came to control lands and at least some tithes in the *pieve* of Mariano, as well as a cluster of holdings south of the city.[165] The precise character and origin of the Italian viscount in this period has yet to be fully clarified in the historiography, although by the end of the eleventh century they are attested to in most northern and central Italian dioceses. There remains some confusion about whether the viscounts of episcopal entourages represent continuity with – or imitation of – the viscounts of the Carolingian period (officers who appear to have been synonymous with gastalds), or a distinct role altogether.[166] In reality all these different things could have emerged in different cities. It does seem clear that viscounts assisted their bishops with the administration of justice and other public activities which Italian prelates had inherited from Carolingian-era counts. In 962, for example, Otto I conceded to the bishop of Parma *vicedominus* (there an apparently equivilent role) the right to preside over judicial duels (a role barred to clerics because of canonical proscriptions against blood-letting). Staying in Parma, we later see that Bishop Cadalus presided over a *placitum* in 1069, and did so in collaboration with his vassal and viscount, Ingezo.[167]

In Milan, the leading administrative role of the viscount's office within the curia would help to explain both the officer's prominent role in the city's liturgical life and his particular prominence in urban politics. Landolfo Seniore, depicting the ordered functioning

[165] G. Biscaro, 'I maggiori dei Visconti signori di Milano', *Archivio storico lombardo*, vol. 38 (1911) , pp. 5-76, H. Keller, *Signori e vassalli*, pp. For the family in the twelfth century, E. Occhipinti, 'I Visconti di Milano nel secolo XII', in A. Spicciano (ed.), *Formazione e strutture dei ceti* III, pp. 123-35. Although interests around Mariano were central for the family, it is not clear in the documentary evidence (as Biscaro and others have assumed), that they acted as *capitanei plebis*.

[166] Bordone, 'I visconti cittadini in età comunale'. On Carolingian-era viscounts, A. Castagnetti, 'Lociservatores', locopositi, gastaldi e visconti a Milano in età carolingia', in P. Corrao, *Dentro e fuori la Sicilia. Studi di storia per Vincenzo D'Alessandro* (Rome, 2009), pp. 45-78.

[167] DOI, no. 239. R. Schumann, *Authority and the commune: Parma 833-1133* (Parma, 1973), pp. 151, 15-5. Menant, *Campagnes lombardes*, pp. 716-17. *Placiti*, no. 472, *Otto vicedominus et clericus de Laude*. Note that in two 1091 *placita* in Bergamo, Maginardo is called both *vicecomite* (*Placiti*, no. 470) and *vicedominus* (no. 471) of the church of Brescia, confirming that the titles could be interchangable.

of the Ambrosian church before the turmoil of the Pataria, describes how within the church the viscount wielded lay authority over the lay order alongside the heads of clerical orders.[168] Such a role is confirmed by the liturgical records of the liturgical *Ordo* of Beroldo, where the viscount is said to represent the order of the laity in city processions: he assumes the last place in the processional hierarchy of the liturgy as the *laicalis ferula*, while also being charged with clearing the way for the archbishop on certain feast days.[169] On Christmas and Easter morning, the officiating doorkeeper was also to visit the viscount's residence at dawn in order to lead him by lamplight to the cathedral complex, where he was greeted by the archbishop together with the cardinal priests and deacons. After the exchange of kisses, the prelate handed to the viscount a pair of gloves and a staff (*ferula*) representative of his lay authority.[170] Later in the day, he was to dine at the prelate's table. The viscount's pre-eminent political position within the episcopal curia is also suggested in an episode in Landolfo Seniore: Anselmo *vicecomes* is said to have traveled to Rome in order to defend Archbishop Guido against Pope Alexander, and to denounce the false accusations of the Pataria which were fuelling civil war in the city.[171]

This introduction to the city's political players has emphasised the powerful ties of institutional attraction which bound both the complex corporation of the city clergy and the court of the region's leading military aristocrats to the figure of the archbishop. The successful adhesion of these groups maintained a very powerful city government indeed, which we have seen was able to project its influence and control well beyond the boundaries of its sizeable diocese. This was not an impenetrable edifice, however. A shifting of the socio-economic relations of power had the potential to expose episcopal government

---

[168] Landolfo Sen., II. 35, *In eadem denique ecclesia ferulae decem ... a magistris studiose regebantur; quarum duae extra chorum manentes, a magistro beati Ambrosii scolae et a vicecomite, laicus laicos et ipse regens, tenebantur.*
[169] Beroldo, *Ordo*, p. 36.
[170] *Ibid*, pp. 78 and 109, pp. 22 and 33.
[171] Landolfo Seniore, *HM*, c. 20.

to crisis, expressed simultaneously in social and religious terms. We will now follow how those social shifts took place, first in the countryside, then - in Chapter 3 - in the city.

2.

THE COUNTRYSIDE: EPISCOPAL POWER AND MARKETS

This chapter investigates how rural society and power relations changed in the long eleventh century. The most visible challenges to regional authority in this period - and certainly the most dramatic - took place in the city. But changes in the city depended on transformations in the countryside. The great majority of regional elites may have chosen to base themselves in the city, but their power and influence above all depended on their control of landed resources. The first part of this chapter will therefore examine the reach of episcopal power into the countryside from two vantage points: the castles of the church and rural parochial centres, known in the Italian kingdom as *pievi*. Local churches and their incomes were at the start of this period controlled by aristocratic families but, as will be emphasised, this did not necessarily imply a dysfunctional relationship between lay families and the city church.

What did, however, put pressure on local social relations and the power structures which they supported was the increased pace of agrarian change around the middle of the eleventh century. We will follow, in summary, evidence for landscape change at this time, and draw attention to the increased extension of market relations into the countryside. Active commercial exchange was not foreign to Milan at any point in this period, as will become clear when we turn to look at the urban economy. But what did change, at different rates in different places, was the intensity with which city markets had a direct effect on social relations and exploitation in the countryside. Rural cultivators came increasingly into

contact with money and debt. The story of how these changes transformed people's perceptions of religious cult lies at the heart of this discussion.

The Geographical Setting

Milan, unusually for a major city, did not lie on a major water course, although both its Roman and late-medieval masters worked intensely to build a network of navigable canals, which would better plug the city into the region's great transport system: the Po river and its tributaries. The territorial extent of the archdiocese was naturally bounded east and west by the flow of two major rivers: to the west, Lake Maggiore drained into the river Ticino, which met the Po just south of Pavia; to the east, waters from the right arm of Lake Como passed Lecco into the river Adda. Both rivers were key markers of space in the contemporary imagination. The author of the *Libellus de situ Mediolani* suggested that the etymology for Milan (*Mediolanum*) derives from its harmonious location at the centre of the plain, equidistant from the Ticino and the Adda.[172] The jurisdiction of the diocese, however, also extended to certain outposts consolidated across these waters, such as the area around the castle of Cisano across the Adda on the road towards Bergamo, or Arona on the Novara side of Lake Maggiore. Diocesan boundaries north and south were much fuzzier, and determined by regular conflict with Pavia and Lodi to the south, and Como in the north. It also had major claims on lands in the pre-Alpine valleys, which, as we shall see, were jealously guarded by the church.

[172] *Libellus de situ Mediolani*, p. 13.

The long north-south axis of Milan's diocesan territory gave it control over a remarkably diverse physical landscape, stretching from the low plain of the Po valley, across the hills, to the mountains of the pre-Alps. South of Milan, where the plain rose less than 100 metres above sea level, cultivators of our period managed a wet zone, which was subject to extensive drainage projects from the mid-twelfth century and onwards, unleashing the fuller potential of the land's abundant fertility. The plain north of the city was dryer, more immediately amenable to cereal cultivation, and gave way to the foothills which surrounded Lakes Como and Maggiore. Here winters kept mild by the lakes' waters made it possible to grow that typically Mediterranean fruit, the olive, as well as vines. As the hills rose further north still there were opportunities for the exploitation of seams of iron and silver, and herders produced cheeses which also filled the storehouses of city churches.

A final word on political boundaries. County jurisdictions, the civic geography inherited from the Carolingians, were not coterminous with diocesan boundaries, and are also very hard to reconstruct based on our evidence. The county of Milan extended over much of the plain, but there was another county seat in Seprio, nearly 40 km north-west of the city. This must have been at one time a major centre, as the brief existence of a Carolingian-era mint, and the exceptionally rich, ninth/tenth-century frescoes of Santa Maria outside Castelseprio suggest. However, although we have seen that its jurisdictional integrity was recognised, there are few documents which shed much light on it.[173] As we have seen, however, by the mid-eleventh century comital authority had largely been eclipsed by the reorientation of local elites towards the archbishop.

Episcopal Castles and Political Geography

[173] Riboldi, 'I contadi rurali del milanese'. For the mint at Castelseprio, see A. Rovelli, '774. The Mints of the Kingdom of Italy', in ead. *Coinage and Coin Use*, pt. XIV.

Milanese documents do not lend themselves well to the writing of the kind of detailed histories of *incastellamento* which have so powerfully driven research into other regions of Italy in this period, particularly in Tuscany and Lazio. The telegraphic appearances of *castella* in the charter evidence are rarely eloquent about the processes by which they were constructed and managed, let alone their precise juridical consequences - a reflection of the fact that, unlike in central Italy, these rarely became major settlement centres.[174] However, when the players who controlled them are visible, their testimony can help us to reconstruct the political geography of power in the countryside. Drawing on the fragmented evidence for the episcopal control of castles affords important insights into how the archbishop's authority was rooted physically in the regional landscape. Particularly, it reveals an infrastructure which secured control over the region's networks of communication and exchange, as well as a probable relationship between episcopal resources and those previously developed by the state. Revealing the history of the bishops' castles and their distribution also provides a context for our understanding of local social and political geographies, as we will explore later. The following builds on previous work on the archbishop's castles by Pietro Zerbi, who first gathered many of the important pieces of evidence together.[175]

Castles, particularly those securing the pre-Alpine and mountain paths in the north of the diocese, were vital for the extension and reproduction of episcopal power. Rural fortifications, directly administered by the archiepiscopate, secured territory and rights of

[174] But see A. A. Settia, *Castelli e villaggi nell'Italia padana* (Naples, 1984), and Menant, *Campagnes lombardes*, pp. 409-24. Contrast to the rich detail presented by Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiéval*, pp. 303-447, and R. Francovich and M. Ginatempo (eds.), *Castelli: storia e archeologia del pot ere nella Toscana medieval* (Florence, 2000).
[175] P. Zerbi, "'Ad solita castela archiepiscopatus exivit'", in id., *Tra Milano e Cluny. Momenti di vita e cultura ecclesiastica nel secolo XII* (Rome, 1991), pp. 257-83.

exploitation, and provided military and political defence for the bishop in times of crisis. Their fundamental role in supporting the archbishops' regional leadership is also betrayed by the fact that their opponents fought hard and strategically to undermine this control. During the Patarine leader Erlembaldo's struggle against Goffredo, Landolfo Seniore tells us, he sought to wrest control from him of 'all the villages, castles, fortresses, and revenues of the archiepiscopate.' Arnolfo's chronicle similarly describes the campaigns against Goffredo in the countryside.[176] Later, in the twelfth century, Landolfo of San Paolo described Archbishop Grosolano's fall from office, noting that he no longer held on to 'his seat nor a single one of the archiepiscopate's castles'.[177] Here Landolfo suggests that castles were fundamental as a basis for effective episcopal authority.

The beginnings of episcopal castles, and who first built them, are hard to trace. At least some of them seem to have originated in concessions from the royal fisc. Landolfo's *Historia* claims that Otto I, on his imperial coronation in Rome in 962, rewarded Milan's archbishop Walperto for his support against the kings of Italy by making a substantial concession of a number of 'royal castles'.[178] While Landolfo's account is mostly apocryphal, Adalbert of Magdeburg, in his continuation of Regino of Prüm, does say that one of the archbishop's future castles - Valtravaglia - was among the final strongholds held by King Berengar II's family during their resistance against Otto I in 962.[179] The castle, some 20 km north-west of Varese, on the shores of Lake Maggiore, must then have passed from the fisc to the bishop at some point between the Ottonian conquest and Guido da Velate's episcopate. Both Landolfo Seniore and pro-Patarine sources agree that Valtravaglia and other castles had been entrusted by Guido to members of his own family. It was here in

[176] Land Sen, *HM*, III. 18, Arn, *LGR*, III. 20, *Contra quem* [Goffredo] *etiam per vicos et castella multorum exaggerat sacramenta*.

[177] Land SP, *HM*, c. 20, *Grosulanus vero... nec sedem nec aliquam munitionem archiepiscopatus post legem ipsam, a presbitero factam, sive restitutionem, a synod celebratam, habuit.*

[178] Land Sen, *HM*, II.16.

[179] *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, MGH, SSRG, 50 (Hannover, 1890), an. 962, p. 171: *Willa in lacu Maiore in quadam insula, quae dicitur ad Sanctum Iulium, se inclusit. Filii vero eorum... munitiones cum suis sequacibus adhuc possiebant, hoc est Gard castellum et Travallium et insulam in lacu Cumano.*

1066 that Guido's niece, Oliva, brought and concealed Arialdo's corpse.[180] But it should also be noted that as well as being an organ of coercive power, the castle also occupied a commanding position over routes of communication: both across the lake (which flowed into the Ticino and thence the Po) and the public roads which ran alongside the waters, linking the Po valley to the Alpine passes.[181]

Indeed the strategic need to secure the traffic routes which bound Milan to transalpine Europe – particularly after the Carolingian and Ottonian conquests – must have determined the location and importance of all the episcopal castles in the diocese's north-west. Some 14 km south of Valtravaglia (and 13 km west of Varese), the fortress at Brebbia also overlooked the roads between plain and mountain, and emerged as an important centre for the political defence of the bishops of the later eleventh and twelfth centuries. The castle is first recorded in 1034, although it may have been erected before this. Certainly the site itself was under tight episcopal control by at least the end of the tenth century: a document of exchange from 22 June, 999 records a substantial transfer of properties belonging to the *pieve* church of San Pietro at Brebbia in return for lands owned by the monastery of Arona on the opposite shores of Lake Maggiore.[182] The author of the act, however, is not (as was typical practice) a local member of the *pieve* but archbishop Arnolfo himself, who acts explicitly on behalf of the church of San Pietro, described as *sub regimine et potestate sancti Ambroxi et archiepiscopati*. The Milanese church therefore exercised an exceptionally direct jurisdiction over the *pieve*, its territory, and properties, at a site very distant from the city.

[180] Land Sen, *HM*, III. 30, pp. 95-6, *iubente eadem Oliva, ne a suis mortuus vel vivus inveniretur et ab Herlembaldo durissime ipsa obsideretur, in arce Trevali in apotecha ... humaverunt defunctum*. Presbitero Syrus, in Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, p. 1073, *quod in Travallia arce inexpugnabili occulte detineretur*.
[181] On the systems of passes in the Alps in this period, J. E. Tyler, *The Alpine Passes: The Middle Ages (962-1250)* (Oxford, 1930). M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce*, A.D. 300-900 (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 397-99 and 679-87, on the increasing importance of the valley passes for commerce and communication after the Carolingian conquest.
[182] *CDL*, no. 964 (999), *AP*, no. 216 (1034), which is redacted in *castro Brebla*.

Direct episcopal administration of the *pieve* explains the acute level of local control which the city church could exercise in the area. In December, 1005, a modest landowner named Biado from Comabbio (a village within the jurisdiction of Brebbia's *pieve*) traveled the not inconsiderable distance to Milan. His possession of property must have been insecure, as once there he submitted his land under the direct protection of the archiepiscopate and the 'palace of St. Ambrose' (*domui sancti Ambrosii*). Biado retained direct possession for himself and his heirs, in return for a recognitive, annual rent of 1 *denarius*, to be paid on Ambrose' feast day at the church's altar.[183] Thus the agreement not only extended the local property rights of the stewards of St. Ambrose's palace, but also intensified ritual recognition of Milan's patron saint – in a zone over 50 km away from the city. Moreover, that an apparently modest landowner, like Biado, could enter into such a direct relationship with episcopal authority reveals the acute level of control that the cathedral church exercised here, whether the castle at Brebbia had been built yet or not.

This framework of close control supported by the centre at Brebbia is revealed more clearly still by the consecration of a church dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre during the first years of Ariberto's episcopacy, recorded in a written notice before March, 1025.[184] It was built within the *pieve*'s jurisdiction by the banks of lake Comabbio and on the road between the small villages of Comabbio and Ternate. Strikingly, San Sepolcro was established by a Frankish native of Orléans, Ansegiso, who with his brother lived on the same site as the church. His immigrant origins from across the Alps (and perhaps his church's dedication to the great pilgrimage site of the Holy Land) are a witness to the social character of a zone shaped by the traffic routes carrying merchants and pilgrims between the Po Valley and Europe beyond the mountains. When Ariberto arrived at the site to carry

[183] *AP*, no. 15. ... *in iura et potestatem eiusdem domui sancti Ambrosii et archiepiscopati eiusdem sancte Mediolanensis ecclesie, eo tamen hordine ut ego vel meis filiis, filiabus et abiatici et dum fuerit de mea progenia in oc seculo predictis rebus detinere debeamus...*

[184] Ariberto, *I documenti*, no. 1 (1018-25). On S. Sepolcro, see A. Lucioni, 'La cella di S. Sepolcro di Ternate e il monastero di S. Ambrogio' in *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel medioevo*, pp. 395-412.

out the consecration, the founder organised a solemn translation of relics (a lacuna in the texts unfortunately means their identity remains a mystery). After this, according to the document, the site erupted with miracles, as 'the Lord saw fit to reveal such a number of signs', drawing a rush of locals who offered alms to Ansegiso.[185] Ariberto was evidently committed to signifying the importance of the foundation and making it public: he sanctioned the founder's institutes, on pain of anathema, before an assembly he had summoned of the cardinal priests and deacons of the city church, and requested that their proceedings be committed to written memory.[186] This publication not only gave weight to Ansegiso's institutes. By associating Ariberto's intervention in the local area with signs of the sacred, it also served rhetorically to dramatise the effective presence of episcopal authority in a strategically important but distant landscape. Ariberto's consecration successfully subjected San Sepolcro to episcopal control over the following decades: all surviving private charters recording donations to the church between 1025 and 1065 identify the basilica's direct dependence on the Ambrosian church (again, *sub regiminam potestatem domni sancta Ambrosi archiepiscopati*). At a later date, between the last date and 1148, the church was transformed into an estate centre for the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio.[187]

The critical importance of Brebbia and neighbouring castles to the security of episcopal rule is also thrown into relief at moments of crisis. Goffredo – whose government in 1070/1 was extremely precarious in the face of Patarine resistance – strove immediately after his consecration at Novara to occupy 'some of the castles of the church', and succeeded in holding Brebbia at least. Indeed, Arnolfo claims, Brebbia was where Gotefredo

---

[185] Ariberto, *I documenti*, no. 1, *tanta illic signa Dominus ostendere dignatus est ut multi fideles Dei ibi...*
[186] *Ibid*,
[187] *AP*, nos. 135, 143-4 (1025), 146 (1026), 152 (1027), 185 (1030), and 462 (1065). In 1148 San Sepolcro is mentioned among a list of possessions in a diploma issued by Archbishop Oberto in favour of the monks of Sant'Ambrogio, the church having become a *cella* of the monastery. A document dated to January 1030 (*AP*, no. 176), which describes San Sepolco as being under the jurisdiction of the monastery is an evident interpolation in a twelfth-century copy, the context of which is discussed in A. Lucioni, 'La cella di S. Sepolcro di Ternate'.

'usually' resided.[188] Anselmo V also took refuge in Brebbia during moments of urban tension (and the crisis of 1128 in particular).[189]

Angera (or *Stationa* in eleventh-century and earlier sources) became yet another episcopal castle which extended control over the roads and waterways in this area. Towards the southern point of Lake Maggiore, it was already an important centre by virtue of being the seat of the county of Stazzona and the *pieve* church of SS. Sisinnio, Martirio e Alessandro.[190] The site was particularly important for controlling regional viability, descending as it did from a Roman settlement whose toponym – *Stationa* – points to its ancient role as a station post on one of the region's most important water routes. Close to the southern point where the lake drains into the river Ticino and onwards to the Po, archaeological excavations of the first to fourth-century settlement have revealed the remains of a harbour as well as a forum area.[191] The area's long-standing vitality as a nucleus of networks of communication and exchange has also been revealed by a strikingly evocative archaeological find: the fourth- or fifth-century marble epitaph of an eastern Christian named Maraotes, who had come from as far as the small Syrian village of Kaprotabis.[192] The area around the mouth of the lake was evidently still important for traffic in the late Carolingian period; in 892 a charter betrays the existence of a market at Sesto Calende, situated on the bank of the Ticino just a little more than 5 km south of Angera.[193]

During the later ninth and tenth centuries, Stazzona is identified as a county, although it was apparently often administered directly by the king or the emperor,

---

[188] Arn, *LGR*, IV. 3, *Exinde Gotefredus aliqua ecclesie studet occupare castella, uni eorum presidens, quod nominatur Brebia*, and IV. 5.

[189] Land SP, *HM*, c. 53.

[190] Riboldi, 'I contadi rurali del milanese', ii, *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, vol. I (1904), pp. 258-275, and 'Arona e gli esordi del monastero dei SS. Felino e Gratiniano (secoli X-XII)', in P. Frigerio (ed.) *Arona: tra Medioevo ed età moderna* (Verbania, 1998), pp. 19-78, 19-23.

[191] G. Sena Chiesa and M. P. Lavizzari Pedrazzini (eds.), *Angera Romana: scavi nell'abitato 1980-1986* (Rome, 1995), pp. xlix-li.

[192] M. David and V. Mariotti, 'Da Kaprotabis ad Angera. L'epigrafe funeraria di un Siriano ai piedi delle Alpi', *Syria* (2005), vol. 82, no. 1, pp. 267-78. The excavation took place in 2001.

[193] *CDL*, 357, *Actum in Sexto mercado*.

suggestive of the site's importance for the region's territorial coherence.[194] At what point the medieval centre came under direct episcopal control is not too clear. The count of Stazzona was still an important and effective local authority in 1030, as a notary in Arona (situated within the county's jurisdiction) acts with the explicit licence of Count Uberto; we might at least expect that such an intervention predates the period in which the bishops took over direct control of the castle at the country seat in Stazzona.[195] Describing the events of Arialdo's martyrdom in 1066, however, Andrea da Strumi refers to *Stationa* as one of the residences of Oliva, Guido da Velate's niece.[196] It seems probable then that the lakeside castle became an episcopal possession sometime between 1030 and 1066.

Lying across from Angera on the opposite shore of Lake Maggiore, the castle of Arona was also originally under comital control. It was here that the monastery of SS. Gratiniano and Felino was founded in the later tenth century.[197] An epitaph and a brief hagiographical record relate that Count Amizo of Stazzona and Seprio, who served in the armies and retinues of both Otto I and Otto II, built this church, and brought the relics of the martyrs Gratiniano and Felino to Arona between 964 and 979.[198] He had pledged to establish a monastery under the Benedictine Rule as an act of contrition for setting fire to a church in Rome, presumably while accompanying Otto I in his 964 occupation of the city. To this end, he and his soldiers traveled to Perugia and in secrecy stole the holy bodies of Gratiniano and Felino. After divine intervention had struck blind their pursuers, the count

---

[194] Riboldi, 'I contadi rurali', pp. 265-7.

[195] *AP*, no. 178 (3 April, 1030): the notary's signature reads, *Giselbertus notarius sacri palacii, per data licencia domni Uberti comes scripsi post tradita complevi et dedi*.

[196] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 21, *Supra cuius enim dum incederem litus et Stationi, ubi parentela mali Widonis habitabat*. and c. 22.

[197] Lucioni, 'Arona e gli esordi del monastero dei SS. Felino e Gratiniano'.

[198] F. Zaccaria, *De' Santi Martiri Fedele, Carpoforo, Gratiniano* e *Felino* (Milan, 1750), pp. 84-5 for the epitaph, 85-6 for the *translatio* text: *accidut ut comes Amizo, Stationensis ac Sepriensis comitatuum incola*.

and his followers made it safely to the shores of Lake Maggiore, the *Dei dilecta loca* where Amizo would found his monastery in their honour.[199]

Amizo's establishment of a monastery and a martyrs' cult was no doubt an attempt to integrate the fortress and its territory more securely into a patrimony which extended across both sides of the lake and its waterways. However (and despite a rather bold claim made on the castle by Bishop Leo of Vercelli in 999), from around the turn of the century the castle moved increasingly into the orbit of the archiepiscopal church.[200] Arona's abbot, Lanfredo, entered into a major exchange of properties with Archbishop Arnolfo in 999 (as we have seen), and in 1014, a client of the suburban monastery of San Vittore, Marino of Milan, leased to Arona for twelve years half of an estate in Ossola, which he held in benefice from S. Vittore.[201] By November, 1023, the house was formally identified as being subject to the control of the Ambrosian church.[202] As an archiepiscopal castle, Arona proved to be an important buttress to the bishop's authority. Archbishop Guido da Velate once again entrusted this castle to his niece, Oliva, and it was Oliva and her retainers who captured Arialdo in 1066 after his flight from the city, and first imprisoned him in Arona.[203] In 1085 Archbishop Tedaldo, having been forced to leave Milan, took refuge there and died in Arona on 15 May.[204] Landolfo di San Paolo would also identify the place as a 'most fortified citadel of the archiepiscopate' in the time of Grosolano's episcopate (1102-1112).[205]

Lecco in the north-east of the diocese (at the bottom of the eastern finger of Lake Como) was, as we have seen, the residence in the tenth century of a titular count. Atto of

[199] Ibid. On the rhetorical functions of narratives of 'holy theft', see P. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978).

[200] Leo included Arona among his possessions in a diploma he petitioned Otto III for on 7 May, 999: D O III, no. 323.

[201] *CDL*, no. 964. (999), *AP*, no. 68 (1018), which states that Marino held the land *in benefitio... de parte domni et seniori sui Alterami abbas ipsius monasterii sancti Victoris*.

[202] *AP*, no. 129, *monesterium ipsum cum omni sua pertientia pertinere videtur de sub regimine et potestate arhiepiscopio sancte Mediolanensis ecclesie, ubi donus Aribertus arhiepiscopus preordinatus esse videtur preordinatus esse videtur*.

[203] Land Sen, *HM*, III. 30.

[204] *Catalogus*, p. 104.

[205] *LSP*, c. 25, p. 31: *quod Grosulanus Aronam, arcem munitissimam archiepiscopatus, possidet.*

Lecco's family had first been been conceded the estate in royal grant of 892.[206] Until his death in 975, Atto was authorising acts in the castle at Lecco.[207] Like the fortified sites near the mouth of the Ticino in Lake Maggiore, Lecco was also located at a pivotal point between the tributaries of the Po and the valleys of the mountains.

Again like the fortifications in the north-west of the diocese, the castle at Lecco was under effective episcopal control by the years of the Pataria, and was comparably important for exercising coercive power. When archbishop Guido ordered the arrest of two clerics from Monza, who had renounced their wives and pledged support to the Patarine leader Arialdo, they were taken to be imprisoned in the castle at Lecco.[208] Guido's successor Goffredo had also prioritised occupying Lecco during his strained efforts to consolidate his government, but was violently expelled by a group of knights who opposed him.[209] Other archbishops too made their way here at crisis moments. Landolfo di San Paolo, relating the trials of Anselmo V da Pusterla, notes the archbishop's flight to Lecco on a number of occasions and goes on to state that it was one of the 'usual' castles in which Milan's prelates took refuge.[210] Archbishop Robaldo as well, as Piero Zerbi has stressed, withdrew from the city to Lecco in September 1144, during a politically delicate moment in the dispute between the monks and canons of S. Ambrogio. Here he authored a diploma in favour of the chapter of S. Ambrogio and its provost Martino Corbo, issued from the 'palace' of

---

[206] Fumagalli, 'I cosidetti <<conti di Lecco>>', p. 116, Riboldi, 'I contadi rurali', ii., pp. 250-57.
[207] *CDL*, 758 (6 April, 975).
[208] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 19, *Haec ut Wido audierat, saevos illuc protinus apparitores mittens, eos capere iussit atque in Alpes ad castrum quod dicitur Leucum deportari. Ibi namque in tam dirum carcerem sunt missi.* Note also the episcopal claim on *Lecco cum comitatu* in 1162, confirmed by Pope Alexander III to Archbishop Oberto, Alexander III, *Epistulae et privilegia*, *PL*, CC, no. 102. See G. Bognetti, 'Le miniere di Valtorta e i diritti degli arcivescovi di Milano (sec. XII-XIV)', *Archivio storico lombardo*, vol. 53 (1926), pp. 281-308.
[209] Arn, *LGR*, IV. 3.
[210] Land SP, *HM*, cc. 52-3, 59; c. 59: *Anselmus autem ille, quasi a cuncto clero et populo abiectus et expulsus, ad solita castela archiepiscopatus exivit, in quibus qualemcumque requiem suscepit.*

Lecco, a detail which betrays the existence of what must have been a developed episcopal residence with – presumably – a household and estate centre capable of supporting it.[211]

We have considered those episcopal castles most visible in the surviving evidence, but this is not an exhaustive overview of the archbishop's possessions. Castles also, it bears repeating, constituted among the most valuable benefices granted to the bishop's military vassals. We see, for example, that members of the *capitaneal* da Vimercate possessed the castle and estate of Cisano, just across the crossing of the river Adda on the road towards Bergamo.[212] But considered together these castles reveal important elements of regional political geography. We have continually emphasised that these centres most often highlighted in the sources were situated at key sites securing the connections between the region's main navigable rivers, public roads, and the Alpine passes. Such strategic distribution of fortifications must have served to preserve the territorial integrity of the archbishop and the city's authority within the diocese, as well as allowing control over the profitable traffic routes which bound the heartlands of the Italian kingdom to transalpine Europe.[213] These concerns also draw attention to the fact that the bishops appropriated, however obscurely, parts of the strategic infrastructure and properties of the state, which had been well developed in this area since the Carolingian period, in order to sustain the coherence of polities extending either side of the mountains. We saw that Valtravaglia, alongside other pre-alpine castles among the region's great lakes, had been a royal castle before the Ottonian conquest. We know that Frankish aristocratic families were settled in the same area in the ninth centuty.[214] The estate at Lecco had originally been a royal estate and

---

[211] ACSA, carte sec. XII-68, edited in Zerbi, ' "*Ad solita castela archiepiscopatus exivit*"?', pp. 282-3, *Actum est hoc a domno Robaldi Dei gratia venerando archiepiscopo in palatio de Leuco*.
[212] *AP*, no. 818 (1095), and cf. *PSSVimercate*, nos. 1-2.
[213] The economic benefits of this become much clearer in the twelfth century, but must have still been highly significant before that. See P. Grillo, 'Vie di comunicazione, traffici e mercati nella politica intercittadina milanese fra XII e XIII secolo', *Archivio storico italiano*, 159.2 (2001), 259-88.
[214] Note the history of a family of trans-alpine, ninth-century aristocrats active within the jurisidiction of the *pieve* of S. Stefano at Leggiuno, between Valtravaglia and Brebbia: A. Castagnetti, *Una famiglia di immigrati nell'alta Lombardia al servizio del regno (846-898)* (Verona, 2004).

Stazzona was a county seat. Arona was also first developed under the authority of local counts, who endowed the site with a monastery. We also saw in Chapter 1 that some of the few visible estates owned by both the cathedral chapter and the order of Milan's minor clergy were located in the mountain valleys. The monastery of S. Ambrogio, whose interests were closely linked to that of the archiepiscopate, also owned valuable lands up in the valleys, which among other things rendered good cheeses to the monks.[215] We know from an early-twelfth-century dispute between the same monks and a group of lords that access to roads in the hills mattered, and were contested.[216] The bishops' castles helped keep the doors open to the exercise of direct administration and exploitation of sites at great distances from the city.

Episcopal castles not only then gave the archbishops control over the chief nodes of regional and trans-regional traffic and communication. They also helped shape the political and social geography of the diocese. In particular, the arc of fortified centres which follow the curves of Lake Maggiore surrounded the heartlands of the families which formed the episcopal church's most important members and clients – particularly in the uplands around Varese and Velate. The families of archbishops Arnolfo d'Arsago, Guido da Velate, Goffredo da Castiglione were all rooted in this area. Goffredo we know drew support from his own armed followers in an exceptionally well-fortified stronghold in Castiglione d'Olona, just south of Varese, which his opponents struggled to invade.[217] More broadly, as Hagen Keller's extensive research into the twelfth-century documents of S. Maria del Monte Velate have shown, the lands around Lake Varese were exceptionally dense with the holdings of leading

---

[215] Lucioni, 'Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano nelle terre settentrionali. Due brevia de fictis dei secoli XI-XIII' *Aevum*, 59 (1985), pp. 208-31, Balzaretti, 'The Lands of Saint Ambrose', pp. 236-40.
[216] *CSAmbrogio*, no. 38 (1135).
[217] Arn, *LGR*, III. 21 and Land Sen, *HM*, III. 29.

episcopal vassals and clients, including the da Porta Romana, the da Porta Orientale, the da Rho, the da Busti.[218]

It is important for this reason to underline that castles did not just serve ends of political defence or coercion, tools with which the bishops reproduced their power, although this was particularly important in a period in which political consensus in the city was so frequently destabilised. They also underpinned the social networks which bound the bishops and the metropolitan clergy to their clients and supporters. As we will see, those parts of the countryside where such networks of power and patronage were weaker or more complicated were more likely to see groups and individuals situate their activities in alternative social and political frameworks. We now turn to examine the other important – and much more complicated – network of vectors of episcopal power: the rural baptismal churches.

The Pievi

In the Summer of 1007, extensive reconstruction works at the *pieve* church of S. Vincenzo in Galliano, near Cantù in the north of the diocese, revealed the stone sarcophagus of an obscure local saint named Adeodato, who had died in the sixth century. His body was found together with other relics: those of Manifredo the priest, Savino the deacon, and Ecclesio, whose remains were marked by running blood. The discovery occasioned the composition of a lost hagiographic text, an *Inventio* later described in the *Liber notitiae sanctorum*

[218] Keller, *Signori e vassali nell'Italia delle città* (Turin, 1995), pp. 44-5 and 46-56, E. Salvatori, 'I presunti «capitanei *delle porte*» di Milano e la vocazione cittadina di un ceto', in A. Castagnetti (ed.), *La vassallità maggiore del Regno Italico*, pp. 35-94.

Mediolani.[219] A stone inscription was also installed in the church to celebrate the rededication of the church and to memorialise the bodies' discovery and their solemn translation on 2 July. Their bones, the inscription tells us, were laid to rest in S. Vincenzo during the reign of king Henry and in the time of Ariberto da Intimiano, who was at that time both 'subdeacon of the Milanese church and custodian of this church'.[220] This celebration of the local community's sacred history thus explicitly located its own monuments within the wider settings of both the local church and the kingdom.

Ariberto, future pugnacious archbishop of Milan, had sponsored the reconstruction and rich adornment of the *pieve* of San Vincenzo, whose vivid and complex contemporary fresco cycles survive to this day. Scenes from Genesis and the life of Vincenzo are juxtaposed next to a striking portrait of Ariberto as patron. The new structure and its wall paintings stand as graphic witnesses to the potential vitality of the Milanese *pievi* as centres of religious authority and institutional creativity. Ariberto's dual identity in the inscription – as local church officer and member of the city's cathedral clergy – is also suggestive of the role of the *pieve* in focusing interconnections between city and countryside. As a subdeacon of Milan's major clergy since at least 998, Ariberto was already well set on an urban career which would see his election to the archiepiscopate in 1018.[221] And yet he remained an authority and active protagonist within the institutional structures of a rural baptismal church. Ariberto's extensive interest in the material fabric and spiritual authority of S. Vincenzo reflects simultaneously the concerns of family and the city church. The da Intimiano family's local power-base was situated in neighbouring Intimiano, with dense

[219] The original sarcophagi and their epigraphy, dating from between the fifth and seventh centuries, have also survived. See P. Tomea, 'L'agiografia milanese nei secoli XI e XII linee di tendenza e problemi', in *Milano e il suo territorio in età comunale* (Milan, 1989), vol. 2, pp. 623-88, 668–70, and M. Sannazaro, 'Il complesso religioso di Galliano prima di Ariberto', in Binachi and Basile Weatherill (eds.) *Ariberto da Intimiano*, pp. 71-85, 74-5.

[220] ANNI DOMINI DDVIII INDICTIONE V TEMPORE DOMNI ARIBERTI DE ANTIMIANO ET SVBDIACONI SANCTE MEDIOLANENSIS ECLESIE ET CVSTODOS ISTIVS ECLESIE SEV TEMPORE HENRICI. The most recent edition of the epigraph, M. Petoletti, 'Voci immobili: le iscrizioni di Ariberto', in *Ariberto da Intimiano*, p. 124.

[221] *CDL*, no. 969.

property holding in the wider area.[222] A number of Ariberto's relatives we know were also buried or commemorated with epigraphs at the church, giving it something of the character of a family mausoleum. But equally the ambitious cleric attempted to extend the presence of the city church, asserting the reach of the Milanese church near the borders of the *contado* of Como.[223] After Ariberto's episcopate, the da Intimiano largely kept away from city politics and institutions. During the time of Ariberto's career in the years around and after 1000, however, family and church did not face each other with opposed interests.

The network of rural baptismal churches – or *pievi* – in the early eleventh century was fundamental for the projection of the Milanese church's power into every reach of the countryside. In contrast to parish centres in Europe north of the Alps, *pievi* were the centres of extensive, well-defined ecclesiastical jurisdictions, each with a whole network of strictly dependent chapels or oratories entrusted - according to legislative norms - to the archpriest or *plebanus* of the baptismal church.[224] *Pievi* were intended to be the only baptismal churches outside the city, and bore the devolved authority and functions of the episcopal church in the diocese's countryside. Within this territory, the *pieve* held a monopoly on the exercise of particular spiritual rights but was also expected in law to have exclusive control over tithes. Since the introduction of Carolingian legislation which extended the universal obligations of producers to pay tithes, these had the potential to secure a truly substantial transfer of surplus from the peasantry over to the institutions or groups which controlled them. It is no wonder, then, that this privilege in particular made the rights and incomes of the baptismal church subject to intense competition. To

[222] On Ariberto's family and its relationship with San Vincenzo, see M. Basile Weatherill, 'Una famiglia 'longobarda' tra primo e secondo millennio: i 'da Intimiano'. I parenti e la proprietà di Ariberto', in Bianchi and Basile Weatherill (eds.), *Ariberto da Intimiano*, pp. 311-33, and C. Manaresi, 'Notizie sulla famiglia dell'arcivescovo Ariberto da Intimiano', *Archivio storico lombardo*, 49 (1922).

[223] *CDL*, no. 422 (13 May, 907): *ego Gudepertus faber filius quondam Martini, qui abitare videor in loco Galiano finibus comensibus*. Weatherill, 'Una famiglia 'longobarda' tra primo e secondo millennio: i 'da Intiminao'. I parenti e la proprietà di Ariberto', in E. Bianchi, M. B. Weatherill, M. R. Tessera and M. Beretta (eds.), *Ariberto da Intimiano: Fede, potere e cultura a Milano nel secolo XI* (Milan, 2007), p. 312.

[224] S. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 66-7.

understand the place of the *pieve* in Milanese society in our period, a sense of the institution's prior history in northern Italy is essential. Its centrality to the social and religious life of the countryside has naturally made the *plebs* the subject of much debate in Italian historiography. A summary of this history also therefore suggests certain critical points about aspects of the modern historical narrative, which John Eldevik too has recently discussed in his book on tithes in Germany and Italy.[225]

*

Charlemagne's Heristal capitulary, issued in 779, imposed the compulsory render of tithes to the diocesan administration on the entire population of the realm, legislation which was repeated by Italian kings in 781 and the early ninth century. These articles continued to recorded in the eleventh-century collection of laws effective in the kingdom, the *Liber papiensis*. The norms envisaged close supervision at collection times and tough sanctions for non payment.[226] Rendering of tithes thus became not just a religious duty but an obligation in civil law. Furthermore, because the church in which a person was baptised determined, theoretically at least, where they paid their tithe, *pievi* defined simultaneously a spiritual and economic community.

Much of what we know about the *pieve*'s institutional character derives from these same Carolingian and post-Carolingian legislative sources, and the normative character of this evidence must be borne in mind. A mid-ninth-century council at Pavia (c. 845-50), for example, defines the *pieve* (*plebs* in Latin) as the centre of a group of minor churches

[225] For the most important accounts of the *pieve* and tithes, C. Violante, 'Pievi e parrochie dalla fine del X all'inizio del XIII secolo', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della* <<societas christiana>> *dei secoli XI-XII. Diocesi, pievi e parrochie*, pp. 643-799, A. Settia, 'Pievi e cappelle nella dinamica del popolamento rurale', in *Settimane di studio del CISAM*, XXVIII (1981) pp. 445-89, C. E. Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy: The Historical Roots of a Modern Problem* (Ithaca, 1952), and now J. Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and the Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire: Tithes, Lordship and Community, 950-1150* (Cambridge, 2012).

[226] MGH Cap, I, no. 20, p. 47-50, MGH Leges IV, pp. 485-6, for the *Liber papiensis*.

(*minores tituli*), headed by an archpriest tasked with the supervision of the local clergy.[227] As the basic unit of religious jurisdiction in the countryside, the *pieve* was expected to remain under the control of local ecclesiastical authorities. Capitularies and synodal decrees repeatedly denied the right of lay proprietors to hold or control baptismal churches. Pipin, after the Frankish conquest, stressed that the priesthood alone should govern baptismal churches, while Louis the Pious decreed in Corte Olona (in 822/3) that it was illegal for *pievi* to be alienated whether willingly or by force.[228] Naturally, the comprehensive subordination of churches within a *pieve*'s territory was resisted by both lay proprietors of chapels and by monasteries. Patrimonial interests, partly represented by household estate churches, competed over lands and privileges understood by the archpriest to be reserved to the baptismal church. Monasteries, often under the protection of bishops and kings, were often formally supported by properties and tithes transferred from the *plebs*. In the case of lay church-owners, chapels often *de facto* exercised rights which were supposedly exclusive to the baptismal church, particularly chapels located in estate centres that may have acted as natural foci for local populations and dependents.[229] Although distinctions between such chapels and *pievi* were preserved, pragmatic compromises were presented by legislators. A capitulary, for example, issued either by Louis II or Lothar conceded that lay lords who maintained chapels in their own estates (*curtis*) could reserve the tithes which they owed to support their foundations. But nevertheless, the same chapter insists that a lord's dependents were not similarly exempt, but should continue to pay their tithes to the baptismal church.[230]

[227] J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, XIV, col. 935.
[228] MGH Cap, I, no. 97, p. 200: *De ecclesiis baptismalibus ut nullatenus eas laici homines tenere debeant, sed per sacerdotes fiant, sicut ordo est gubernatae*; and MGH Cap, I, no. 157, p. 316.
[229] Although, as Settia has stressed, it is difficult to find a unified pattern to relations between settlement and rural churches, 'Pievi e capelle'.
[230] MGH Cap, I, no. 168, p. 336, *Statuimus de decimis unde iam inter episcopos seu reliquis sacerdotibus et comitibus et vassis et reliquis fidelibus nostris multa audivimus intentiones: sed si edem sive in sua proprietate habeat, … ipsa decima de sua domo cultile rebus in eadem ecclesia concedimus. … Statuimus de suis manentes qui in eadem parohia comanentes sunt, ipsa decima a plebe donetur.*

As long as Carolingian legislation survived in Italy, norms defining the institutional character of the *plebs* continued to be articulated. Lambert of Spoleto (claimant to the Italian throne between 891-8), at a council in Ravenna, forbade the proprietors of household chapels from receiving the tithe of their territory, owed to the *pieve* alone. Nor was the *plebs*, Lambert decreed, to become a benefice of laymen, even those who were public officials or members of the bishop's entourage.[231] The consistent repetition of such norms in legislation, however, is not an uncomplicated guide for contemporary social practice. Patterns of ownership over baptismal churches by no means consistently conformed to the word of the law.

The dependency of these local centres on the episcopal church was originally regularly emphasised by the legal and ritual ordination of new archpriests by their bishop. Charters recording such ordinations are preserved in the archive at Lucca. According to the Lucchese documents, in the earlier ninth century the candidate was invested by the bishop himself at a ceremony in the baptismal church. Here in return for the right to manage the church and its property the archpriest agreed to render a small and symbolic annual rent, and to offer among other obligations hospitality to the bishop during pastoral visits. Gradually over the course of the ninth century – in Tuscany at least, where such evidence survives – documents of ordination were replaced by *libelli,* in which the bishop directly leased the properties and churches belonging to a *pieve* to both clerics and laymen, in return for what were now accordingly substantial rents.[232] While the *libellus* ceded further rights over the churches and its properties, these documents still stress that they were the bishop's gift to give, and need not have been permanent alienations.[233]

Particularly from the 930s, surviving documents (again chiefly from Lucca and Tuscany) increasingly reveal bishops alienating the properties and tithes of *pievi* to major lay

[231] MGH Cap, II, no. 225, p. 110.
[232] See Violante, 'Pievi e parrochie', pp. 659-60 and Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform*, pp. 145-65.
[233] See Wood, *The Proprietary Church* p. 86.

families of the region. Towards the end of the tenth century, *libelli* authored by the bishop in favour of lay families were more often conceded indefinitely, making more explicit the heritable character of the church property.[234] In the eleventh century, especially with the legal sanction of Conrad II's 1037 edict guaranteeing the heritability of feudal concessions, the patrimonial character of tithes is likely to have been accentuated still further, as Eldevik has also recently stressed.[235] These documents became the subject of intense condemnation by eleventh-century reformers, who were probably reacting to the more intense patrimonialisation of ecclesiastical possessions. Thus Humbert of Silva Candida denounced concessions as 'diabolical *libelli*'.'[236] In the view of twelfth-century lawyers and many modern historians, these acts also marked the constitution of the class of *capitanei*, the leading vassals of the bishops infeudated with the properties and tithes of his *pievi*.[237]

Modern historians, if not (always) sharing Humbert's levels of moral indignation, have often repeated the judgement that concessions undercut the effective authority of the episcopal church and its capacity to sustain its own institutions. Cinzio Violante, for example, summarised his narrative history of the *pieve* – still the most substantial – by contrasting a period from the tenth until the mid-eleventh century characterised by the institution's decline in step with the attenuation of episcopal control over diocesan territories, with a period of restoration of episcopal authority and the revival of the independent *pieve* in the decades around 1100.[238]

First it is worth underlining that in cultic terms at least the relationship between the baptismal church and the cathedral was actively recognised and policed. Dependence on the episcopal church was expressed ritually, indeed powerfully so. A Ravenna synod forbade

---

[234] Violante, 'Pievi et parrocchie', pp. 660-4.
[235] Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform*, p. 143-5.
[236] Humbert of Silva Candida, *Adversus Simoniacos libri tres,* II, 36, ed. F. Thaner, MGH LdL (Hannover, 1891), I, p. 184, and see Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform*, pp. 139-40.
[237] Keller, *Signori e vassalli*, p. 3-6. See the critique of historiographical readings of twelfth-century feudal law in Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, pp. 48-75 and 215-40.
[238] Violante, 'Pievi e parrocchie', pp. 653-4. Cf. Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes*, pp. 87-102. For a different view, Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform*, pp. 140-1.

archpriests to consecrate the chrism themselves, as this remained an episcopal right.[239] Thus baptism was performed in rural churches using oil which had been made holy in the episcopal church. Anointment with consecrated oil, which charged and made Christian initiation effective, expressed the catechumen's entrance into a wider community, one headed by the bishop.[240] In the eleventh century, the prelate's spiritual fatherhood over not just the urban faithful, but the whole population of his diocese, was stated in striking terms by Peter Damian. He accused sexually incontinent bishops of *de facto* incest, since baptism meant that their partners 'must be ascribed to you [the bishop] as your children', Damian prepares a response to a probable counterclaim. 'Perhaps you object,' he wrote 'that she was baptised not in the cathedral church but in one of the *pievi*... as if every one of your parishes was not your church.'[241]

Reviewing the Milanese evidence confirms that the standard account of decline needs revision. First of all, as will be demonstrated, there is strong evidence that the Milanese church remained very closely involved with the *pievi* throughout the first half of the eleventh century. The Milanese *pievi* remained key centres for the projection of episcopal influence and urban culture into the countryside. And second, it would be a mistake to read the interests of family and episcopal church as inherently competitive, something also underlined by Eldevik, who stresses how concussions could emphasis mutual social bonds.[242] Furthermore, if in Milan the tithes of the *pieve* came under the control of the families of the *capitanei*, it is equally the case that it was these same families who provided the leading cadre for the cathedral church, including its archbishops. The Ambrosian church was far from unique. In Volterra (and there are parallels in other Tuscan cities) this can be seen

[239] *Italia Sacra* (Venice, 1717-22), II, p. 360.
[240] On oil as the representation of holy spirit, see B. Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 27-31.
[241] Peter Damian, *Briefe*, no. 61, *Sed fortassis obicias... vel non in episcopio, sed in aliqua sit plebium baptizata, tamquam tu eorum tantummodo, ... et omnis parroechia tua non sit aecclesia tua.*
[242] Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform*, pp. 143-5.

very clearly, as bishops can be seen transferring the properties and tithes of *pievi* to kin-members and even their sons.[243] Transfers of rural churches and their incomes did not represent a fatal undermining of episcopal influence. Before the mid-eleventh century, episcopal power in Milan and other dioceses was characterised by mutual relationships of collaboration between families and the institution of the local church. Lay families managed ecclesiastical benefices for the benefit of their own relatives in the church, who we have seen lived - until the imposition of common life and property - in their own private households. In return, the church's authority legitimised the power of local aristocracies and granted them access to political patronage as well as incomes. The rights and responsibilities recorded in each redaction of a *libellus* thus revived ties of interdependence between family and church.[244] As we will see, lay families made specific interventions around local churches which simultaneously furthered the interests of the episcopate and their own kinship groups.

This also restores the radicalism of the eleventh-century reform's challenge to lay control over baptismal churches, their lands and tithes. The more assertively patrimonial character of family possessions of ecclesiastical goods (especially after the law of 1037), rendered the perception of previously-functional relationships between kinship groups and church much more problematic. Although radical reformers such as Humbert and Peter Damian deployed the rhetorical vocabulary of a return to a canonical state before the institution's decline, they were nevertheless proposing something new. In a letter denouncing clerical marriage to the bishop Cuniberto of Turin, Peter Damian acknowledges that in the Old Testament it was necessary for the Levites to transmit sacred office through blood. However, the letter goes on to argue that times have changed, because in the world

---

[243] G. Rossetti, 'Il matrimonio del clero: evoluzione della dottrina, della normativa, della disciplina ecclesiastica e della reltà del clero coniugato nella società altomedievale', in *ead. Percorsi di Chiesa nella società medioevale* (Pisa, 2008), pp. 358-9.

[244] See for an approach to the social significance of property, B. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of St. Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca, 1989).

of universal religion, 'a priest is selected from the Christian people at large' and 'no distinction of race is sought.'[245] The reformers' response to the anxiety around patrimonialisation of ecclesiastical properties was not a return to a previously functional relationship between kinship groups and churches, but to reject the role of kinship altogether.

In considering Milan itself, we need to at least ask exactly how family control of *pievi* worked locally, even if we can inevitably only find very partial answers. Possession of the substantial incomes of tithing demonstrably was controlled by aristocratic families, and their clients. Most of our evidence for this is late, from the twelfth century, although a letter discussed below shows that the da Baggio controlled tithes in the 1050s. Hagen Keller has tracked several aristocratic families, including the da Porta Romana, da Porta Orientale, and da Velate, possessing or conceding tithes around Lake Varese and Velate.[246] The da Castiglione Olona, family of Archbishop Goffredo, held alongside other benefices from the episcopal church tithes in Vedano, close to the family seat just south of Varese. Ugone di Ottone conceded these to a lay client.[247] We can also catch glimpses of what appear to have been the very substantial tithes controlled by the da Vimercate, in the area around Vimercate itself, held from them in benefice by numerous families.[248] The da Vimercate also acted as the advocates of the *pieve* church of S. Stefano in documents from the 1130s, and advocacy may indeed have been enjoyed more widely by members of the *capitanei*.[249] We might also imagine that formal concessions of rights to invest or elect priests in the church were made, although it is harder to find them recorded.[250]

---

245 Peter Damian, *Briefe*, no. 112.

246 Keller, *Signori e vassalli*, pp. 49-53. See *PSMVelate*, no. 61 (1105) for the da Velate's vindication of tithes in Ternate and against in the da Rho.

247 *PSVVarese*, nos. 40-1 (1120).

248 See *PSSVimercate*, nos. 32 (1140), 33 (1142), 41 (1147).

249 *PSSVimercate*, nos. 29-30 (1137), 34 (1142).

250 The *capitaneal* da Sesto family in 1118 reserved advocacy and the right to elect with the *vicini* of Sesto priests to the local churches of S. Salvatore and S. Michele, if there was a vacancy of over half a year, but these were not baptismal churches. Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, perg. cart. 6. no. 83 (A).

We know as early as c.1054 that the da Baggio held tithes associated with the *pieve* of Cesano Boscone. Since the ninth century, ancestors of the family maintained privileged relationships with the archbishop and the abbot of Sant'Ambrogio, and the formal status of members as episcopal vassals is confirmed as early as 1015. In this year a member of the group, the imperial *missus* Arderico, son of Tazzone, presided over a *placitum* where he held a sealed letter from the emperor, identifying him as a 'knight of St. Ambrose' (*miles sancti Ambrosi*).[251] In the mid-eleventh century, their possession of tithes near Cesano Boscone brought the da Baggio into conflict with the monastery of San Vittore al Corpo, which also claimed to have been endowed with the lands and tithes of a village in the area. Their abbot Arderico wrote a rhetorically forceful letter around the year 1054 to Emperor Henry III, in which he recalls the sovereign's religious duties and pious ancestors, and asserts the house's legal entitlement to the disputed tithes. Arderico also stressed the economic conditions which were necessary to maintain monastic life, writing, 'We are ignorant of agriculture, and we blush to go begging.' He then accuses the brothers of Baggio of devastating the monks and their property, 'because of the *pieve*, and the many great estates which they have nearby'. First among these fellow-citizen sowers of 'abominable discord', the abbot claims, is Anselmo, 'cardinal priest of our [the Milanese] church', and the future Pope Alexander II.[252]

The letter reveals something of the nature of the da Baggio's control of the *pieve*, Arderico's letter is an important witness to the character of the families of Milan's episcopal vassals. Groups which received *pievi* and tithes from the archbishops did not, as we have suggested, stand in opposition to the city church – despite moments of open dissension and competition with monasteries such as San Vittore. The da Baggio controlled church

[251] *CDL*, no. 256 (873) and *I placiti*, I, no. 101 (892), *I placiti*, III, no. 288 (1015). For the da Baggio family, Corsi, 'Note sulla famiglia da Baggio', and Keller, 'Le origine sociali e famigliari del vescovo Anselmo'.

[252] Giulini, *Memorie*, vol. III, pp. 538-9. 539, *Et tamen praeter innumerabilis mala, quibus undique premimur, die noctuque, ex ipsius villulae decima ammirabilis, et nefaria surrepsit discordia inter nos, atque concives nostros, scilicet Anselmus presbiterum nostre ecclesie ordinarium, et fratres eius de Badaglo. Qui propter plebem, et praedia, quae multa et magna habent circa, sunt conati devastare nos et nostra. ... Agriculturam ignoramus, mendicare erubescimus.*

properties and incomes, but simultaneously one of their members, Anselmo, was a cardinal priest in the cathedral church. Like the da Intimiano in Galliano, pursuing family interests went alongside positive participation in the city church. These were not rapacious aristocrats invading ecclesiastical lands. Rather these appear to have been essentially functional relationships within a complex but ultimately stable structure of collaboration between aristocratic families and the city church. It was only with the permanent fixing of tithes and properties to patrimonies, sanctioned by imperial law in 1037, and the blockage of more regular circulation of possessions between families and church that their respective interests would have come into greater tension. This is a turning point which John Eldevik has also recently emphasised - although it is worth noting too that the process remained was a partial and incomplete for some time.[253] Aristocratic families were still capable of pursuing strategies to further the interests of kin and city church simultaneously.

We know then, at least, that Milanese aristocrats held the incomes of tithes attached to *pievi*, and conceded them themselves to their own clients, and at least some of them could act as advocates for the church. But these areas of control did not exclude the bishop and his representatives from close participation in other aspects of the institutional control of baptismal churches. A clear illustration of the active link between episcopal authority and the institutional organisation of *pievi* can be found in the fact that, before the mid-eleventh century, members of the city church's major clergy could simultaneously hold office as wardens (*custodes*) of a *plebs*. On 31 May, 1018, a cardinal priest of the Milanese church, Odelrico, was in the castle of Brivio, north-east of the city on the river Adda. Here he authored a significant exchange of property in favour of Brivio's baptismal church, S. Alessandro, and one of its dependent chapels, S. Maria in Robbiate. He was identified not

[253] Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform*, pp. 140-1.

only as a priest of the major order of the city church, but also as the *custus* of the *pieve*.[254] This is a title that appears to have referred to a clerical administrative officer within a local church - acts in favour of San Giovanni in Monza were often carried out by its *custos* - and thus marks a striking presence of the episcopal church, at a site some 35 km away from the city. Nor was this new, as we see exactly the same dual-office holding at Brivio in the tenth century: two documents of 966 and 968 reveal the same situation, where again a cardinal priest of the Milanese church, Adelgiso, had also been the custodian of S. Alessandro and authorised property exchanges on behalf of the *pieve*.[255] Earlier, we saw that Ariberto da Intimiano also simultaneously held office in the city church and was *custos* of the *pieve* of Galliano.

The *pieve* of Varese, S. Vittore, and its dependent churches, where we have seen several *capitanei* enjoyed tithing rights, also still saw episcopal control exercised in other areas. Such supervision was close from an early period. As early as 942 a document explicitly defines San Vittore as *sub regimen et potestatem domui et archiepiscopate sancte Mediolenensis eclesia*, and a number of tenth-century exchanges made by the dependent chapel of Santa Maria in Velate (just 5 km north of Varese) are evaluated by clerics said to be representatives (*missi*) of the archbishop.[256] But episcopal oversight of exchanges at Velate continued in the later eleventh century. After his election, archbishop Guido took a strong interest in the church, which evidently was closely intertwined with his own family. Indeed in 1064 Guido's nephew, Arnolfo, appears as the 'archprovost'. Exchanges in favour of Velate and San Pietro in Bosto, another of Varese's dependent chapels, carried out by

[254] *AP*, no. 93, *Oldericus presbiter de ordine sancte Mediolanensis eclesie et custus eclesie et plebe sancti Alexandri sita loco Brivio*. The document was drawn up in the *castro Brivio*.

[255] *CDL*, nos. 693 and 706: *Adelgisus venerabilis presbyter de ordine sancte mediolanensis ecclesie, et custos ecclesie plebis sancti Alexandri sita Brivio.* The document of 968 also reveals that the castle at Brivio already existed at that point.

[256] *PSMVelate*, no. 3 (942), for the *sub regimen* clause, and nos. 5 (959), 8 (976), 9 (979), for episcopal *missi*.

Guido in 1061 and 1064 were still evaluated by Goffredo, subdeacon of the cathedral church.[257]

The evidence only allows a very fragmentary reconstruction of the precise character of episcopal control but it does seem clear that, in different ways at different times, the city church and lay families could simultaneously manage different areas of the life of the local church. Even where tithes were controlled by families, representatives of the cathedral still could be involved in ensuring the integrity of a *pieve's* property, through the assessment of exchanges and the office of the *custos*. Exchanges in particular are worth considering in more depth. This is both because of what they tell us about the archbishop's ability to project power deep into the countryside, and because of what they say about contemporary economic changes and the rise of monetisation.

Exchanging Land and Debt

Acts of exchange, as regulated by the legislation of the Italian kingdom, required three (or sometimes two or four) *estimatores* to determine the value of the properties involved, usually under the direction of a *missus*. In high-profile cases before the twelfth century, the *estimatores* tended to be judges or other legal professionals. They were therefore representatives of public justice, and their activity in this role was clearly defined by legal norms and common practice within the kingdom of Italy.[258] Meanwhile, the *missus*

[257] *AP*, nos. 427 (1061) and 450 (1064). For Arnolfo as Guido's nephew, see A. Allen, 'The Family of archbishop Guido da Velate'.

[258] On the formal features of acts of exchange in the Italian kingdom, F. Bougard, '*Commutatio, cambium, viganeum, vicariatio:* L'échange dans l'Italie des VIIIe-XIe siècles', in I. Fees and P. Depreux, *Tauschgeschäft und Tauschurkunde vom 8. Bis zum 12. Jahrhundert / L'acte d'échange, du VIIIe au XIIe siècle* (Cologne, 2013), pp. 65-92.

who accompanied them represented the authority of the cathedral church, a monastery, or the king, and together these assessors were tasked with visiting and walking through properties proposed for exchange and estimating their value before they confirmed that the exchange would be in the interest of the ecclesiastical or 'public' institution involved. We know that such evaluations were at least capable of being extremely thorough and sophisticated, as suggested by an exceptionally revealing description of the process which has been highlighted by François Bougard. Adelard of Corbie evaluated an exchange between the churches of Brescia and Nonantola in 813. He assessed not only the surface area of the land in question, but also its different agricultural uses, productive quality, and market value.[259]

Until the decline of the practice, the *missus'* role was crucial to the act's legitimacy. Lombard legislation, and in particular King Aistolfo's seventh novel of 755, determined that exchanges were irreversible provided a royal or episcopal *missus* was present and the transfer benefited the ecclesiastical institution.[260] The continued implementation of this law is not only confirmed by the established formulae used to describe the activities of *estimatores* in tenth- and eleventh-century charters of exchange; it is also illustrated in one of the formularies which travelled with eleventh-century Italian legal collections. The Lombard *Cartularium* includes a notice on drawing up documents of exchange (*cartae commutationis*):

> When an exchange of property is to take place, let the *missus* of the bishop or the abbot or abbess go (or if it is a metropolitan or indeed a royal monastery, the *missus* of the king or monastery) with three good *estimatores* to the property which the church ought to receive.[261]

---

[259] F. Bougard, 'Adalhard de Corbie entre Nonantola et Brescia (813): *commutatio*, gestion des biens monastiques et marché de la terre', in E. Cuozzo, V. Déroche, A. Peters-Custot, V. Pringent (eds.), Puer Apuliae, *Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin* (Paris, 2008), 2 vols., vol. 1, pp. 51-67.

[260] *Leges Langobardum*, MGH Leges IV, Aistulf, no. 16, p. 201-2.

[261] 'Additio Tertia: Cartularium', MGH Leges IV, no. 15, pp. 598-9: *Cum commutatio esse debet, vadat missus episcopi seu abbatis et abbatissae – si est pontificium, si vero abbatia regalis est, missus regis et abbatiae – et tres boni extimatores super terram quam debet accipere eccelsie.*

This visitation – according to the *Cartularium* – should then be followed up by a report from the *missus* and the *estimatores* to inform the drawing up of the relevant documents and their specification of the ownership and boundaries of the property. Before the documents are composed the *estimatores* must be interrogated ("'Martin,' a gloss to the formula reads, "'did you visit this property?" "I did." "Should this exchange take place?" "It should.")[262]

Enforcing disparity of exchange values remained a key part of the law. Legal commentaries appended to the eleventh-century *Liber papiensis* illustrate that landholders could be accused of illegal occupation (land held *malo ordine*), if it was proved that in an exchange they acquired property more valuable than that received by the church.[263] The efforts of legislation and lawyers to regulate exchanges in this way show that bishops continued to sustain legal mechanisms which guaranteed episcopal or public control over land.[264] Although the great majority of our evidence reveals how ecclesiastical authorities worked to guarantee the viability of exchanges, it is worth noting that public officers were also still called upon to do the same. In 989, the archbishop of Piacenza and the abbot of Nonantula exchanged properties with Gundefredo Azo, master of the Pavese mint. Although not involved in the exchange, the count of Modena, Teodaldo, sent his *missus* to assess the lands, 'as the order of the law requires'.[265]

Let us turn to Milan itself. Of all the types of private documents in this period, exchanges most obviously emphasise the social role of property transactions in building and

---

262 *Ibid*.
263 *Liber papiensis*, MGH Leges, IV, p. 481: one gloss reads, *Petre, te appellat Martinus, quod tu tenes terram malo ordine in tali loco ad partem episcopii sancti Syri, unde ipse est advocatus... Si dixerit, mea propria est per commutationem, tunc advocatus probet, quod ecclesia accepit peioratam rem, aut dicat cartam fasam*. Cf the ext of the *Expositio* on the same novel, found at the previous citation.
264 Compare to Frankish attempts to institute royal control over exchanges of ecclesiastical property; see P. Depreuz, 'Le souverain, maître de l'échange?', in *id.* and I. Fees, *Tauschgeschäft und Tauschurkunde vom 8. Bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, pp. 45-64.
265 *CDL*, no. 847.

affirming mutual relationships and alliances.[266] They also typically allowed one or both of the parties to consolidate and nucleate landholdings. Boundary descriptions often show that lands received were adjacent to properties already owned by one party. When Archbishop Arnolfo contracted an exchange with Alteramo, abbot of the new foundation of San Vittore, in 1005, the monastery acquired extensive properties in Lorenteggio and Ronchetto from the 'palace of saint Ambrose'.[267] These areas were just west of the monastery, towards the da Baggio heartlands of Cesano Boscone, where we have seen the house would later be in competition with that family. Given this, and the fact that thirteen of the fourteen properties in Lorenteggio already bordered lands of San Vittore, the act must have been important in making coherent the house's core properties. Meanwhile the archbishop received a substantial number of fields and other lands in Uboldo, between the city and Varese. The exchange was in the economic interests of both parties, but was also a moment of gift exchange between the monastery and its founder. Arnolfo had established the monastery at San Vittore in 1004, richly endowing it with lands, and would be buried there on his death in 1018.[268] This act was therefore an occasion in which social links between the bishop and the monastery (and its saintly patron) could be reaffirmed. Furthermore, the lands were evaluated by Pietro, Arnolfo's *missus* and a cardinal priest, accompanied by two palatine judges and another judge as *estimatores*. This was also, then, a moment to demonstrate the episcopal church's right to determine value.

Especially in the decades before 1030, members of the major order acted as the archbishop's representative in evaluating properties exchanged not only by the prelate himself, but also by the city's other basilicas and monasteries. The practice is regularly

[266] See again Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*, and see pp. 78-88 for documents of exchange, which are actually rare in the Cluny of this period. See also articles in W. Davies and P. Fouracre (eds.), *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010).
[267] *AP*, no. 13.
[268] Arn, *LGR*, I. 20, *Hic etiam fundavit cenobium sancti Victoris martyris in magno honore et copia frugum, in quo requiescit in pace sepultus*. *Catalogus*, p. 104.

attested by exchanges carried out by the monastery and the chapter of S. Ambrogio, by the basilica of S. Giorgio al Palazzo, and by some of the female convents of the city.[269] We also know that members of the cathedral church in neighbouring dioceses were deployed in the same way.[270] More striking, however, is the fact that in Milan exchanges authorised by *pievi* and other rural centres were also assessed and sanctioned by the archbishop's representatives in this period. Between 991 and 1030, we have quite a number of documents recording such acts. In the 1018 exchange authored by Odelrico on behalf of the *pieve* of S. Alessandro in Brivio, the value of the fields, vineyards, and chestnut woods was assessed by Adelberto, subdeacon of the Milanese church and *missus* of archbishop Ariberto.[271] Two exchanges between the *pieve* of SS. Protasio and Gervasio in Seveso (near Meda, some 20 km North of the city) and different monasteries in 1003 and 1014 were similarly overseen by episcopal *missi* who were also cardinal priests.[272] (The latter document was cited in the *pieve*'s favour during a *placitum* held in Milan the following year).[273] Exchanges authorised by the female convent of S. Vittore in Meda between 1002 and 1021 were also supervised by the archbishop's agents – again members of the cathedral church – in the same way.[274] This is all the more notable, as the house's mid-tenth-century trades of land were licensed instead by a *missus* of the abbess. The change suggests therefore that the

[269] See e.g. *AP*, no. 4 (1002), when the *decumani* of S. Ambrogio make an exchange with Pietro, priest of Abbiategrasso, *AP*, no. 29, where the *decumani* of S. Giorgio al Palazzo make an exchange with a layman, or *AP*, no. 175 (1029), when Guido, abbot of S. Ambrogio, makes an exchange with a silversmith.

[270] E.g. in Bergamo, M. Cortesi and A. Pratesi (eds.), *Le pergamene degli archivi di Bergamo, 1002-1058* (Bergamo, 1995), no. 87 (1029), or Como, *AP*, no. 177 (1030).

[271] *AP*, no. 93. Documents of exchange were similarly assessed by cardinal members of the city church in 966 and 968 (*CDL*, nos. 693 and 706).

[272] *AP*, nos. 8 (when the *missus* was Landolfo, subdeacon of the city church and *missus* of Arnolfo) and 66 (supervised by Arderado, priest of the Milanese church and also *missus* of Arnolfo).

[273] *I placiti*, III, no. 288.

[274] Between 1002 (*AP*, no. 5), Landolfo, subdeacon of the city church, and 1021 (*AP*, no. 115), supevised by Guiberto, cardinal priest of Milan.

bishop successfully extended his influence over the centre before the very beginning of the eleventh century.[275]

Exchanges also allowed for S. Giovanni in Monza both to increase the size of its property and to consolidate the coherence of its holdings around Monza and other dependent centres. An exchange in 999, for example, saw Monza's archpriest give away part of a more distant estate to a Milanese merchant, in return for large fields and a meadow outside of Monza, which also bordered other properties belonging to San Giovanni. The church received lands just over 30% larger than what they gave away.[276] Several of San Giovanni's exchanges were also with members of its own clergy. In 1008, archpriest Adalberto exchanged dwellings in the town with a priest and a deacon of the church for a vineyard and a field respectively, and in 1014 he traded a servile priest with one of his deacons in return for two fields.[277] San Giovanni thus acquired productive properties to its benefit, but these acts also demonstrate how exchanges served to intensify mutual social relations between the church and its own members. Given that the Monzese church had a large congregation of 32 clerics, but who apparently also lived on private property and often with families, such exchanges of property must have been important in cohering a shared identity among the local clergy.[278]

Until the 1030s, therefore, even modest property transactions by local and rural churches were regularly being closely evaluated, and having their legality confirmed, by members of the cathedral church and representatives of the archbishop. Such close involvement with local property administration again underlines the striking ability of the

---

[275] Exchanges from April, 966 and February, 968, were evaluated by Adamo and Andrea respectively, priests who officiated at the monastery church and the abbess' *missi*. A. Albuzzi, 'Pergamene inedite dei secoli X e XI nell'archivio privato Antona Traversi di Meda', *Aevum* (1996), Vol. 70, pp. 193-211, nos. 1-2.

[276] *CDL*, no. 970; cf. *AP*, no. 99 (1019), where similarly S. Giovanni acquires fields outside Monza while giving up fields a little further away; the lands it receives in this case are over 100% bigger.

[277] *AP*, nos. 30, 34, 65.

[278] The size of the congregation is mentioned in tenth-century diplomas (e.g. D B I, no. 125), and *AP*, no. 80 (1016). For families, see below and Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 19. It is likely that the houses exchanged were for the clerics' residential use.

episcopal church to project its power deep into the countryside. (And at fair distances from the city; of the sites discussed, the *pieve* of Brivio lies over 35 km from Milan.) However, the economic development of local institutions and the likely rise of liquidity in the local economy led to the abrupt eclipse of property exchanges, undermining this ability of the episcopal church to intervene in the everyday transactions of rural institutions. No documents of exchange survive at all from the 1030s. We have very few from the 1040s onwards, and when we do the presence of the episcopal *missus* is inconsistent.[279] Exchanges in the twelfth century are even rarer, and in the few examples carried out by *pievi* such as Santo Stefano in Vimercate and San Vittore in Varese, *missi* of any kind have disappeared; the evaluation is carried out by two or three local laymen alone.[280]

At the same time as ecclesiastical institutions were turning less and less to exchanges as methods of land acquisition, they were engaging more and more with the land market as well as providing credit. The proportion of exchanges authorised by churches compared to other operations declined significantly each decade from the 990s to the 1020s. No exchanges were carried out in the 1030s, and thereafter their number is extremely negligible. Individual case-studies allow us to uncover the shift in more detail. It should still be recalled that – throughout this entire period – gifts remained the most frequent means by which property entered church patrimonies. Nevertheless, contrasting the recourse of church institutions to exchange or purchase reveals an important story about the nature of ecclesiastical resources and shifting economic relations in the region.

While the broad pattern of the decline of acts of exchange is shared throughout northern Italy in the eleventh century, precise chronologies diverged. In nearby Bergamo

[279] So, for example, while an exchange by the monastery of S. Dionigi in 1067 (*AP*, no. 485) is assessed by a deacon of the city church and Guido's *missus*, when the twelve *decumani* of Sant'Ambrogio make an exchange in 1063 (*AP*, no. 440), no *missus* accompanies the *estimatores* at all.
[280] E.g. *PSSVimercate*, no. 29 (1137), *PSVVarese*, nos. 62 (1145), 64 (1146).

and Piacenza, for example, churches were still exchanging vigorously in the 1050s.[281] The decline of the practice from the 1020s and 1030s in the diocese of Milan is therefore precocious, arguably an indicator that Milan witnessed greater levels of monetisation and an expansion in liquidity then its neighbours in the same period. It also coincides with a level of increased activity in the local land market recorded for the second quarter of the eleventh century in those years sales make up over half of our surviving documentation, declining marginally after the mid-century.[282] The greater availability of cash or capital to such institutions meant that churches had increasingly less incentive to develop their patrimonies through exchange.

From the 1020s churches and cloisters - the chapter of S. Ambrogio, with particular visibility - increasingly had the accumulated capital to be able to acquire lands through purchase, or as defaulted pledges on loans, rather than exchange. The importance of credit in the Milanese economy has been familiar to historians of Milan since a number of foundational studies by Cinzio Violante in the 1950s and '60s.[283] Violante established various formal typologies of documents which recorded loans made against mortgaged properties in tenth and eleventh-century Milan and northern Italy. Often these operations look complex to modern eyes, as they required the redaction of several documents. Most typically, the debtor would authorise a charter of sale, in which she or he transferred what was effectively mortgaged property as a pledge to the creditor. Sometimes the creditor enjoyed the pledged property in usufruct until the debtor redeemed the loan; in this case the debtor authored a *chartula promissionis* on the same day as the sale committing to paying the debt within a set time, in which case the document of sale would be destroyed. More often, however, and again usually on the same day as the debtor's initial's sale, the creditor ceded

[281] Bougard, '*Commutatio, cambium, viganeum, vicariatio*', p. 92.
[282] E. Occhipinti, 'L'economia agraria in territorio milanese fra continuità e spinte innovative', in *Milano e il suo territorio*, p. 245.
[283] C. Violante, 'Prestiti simulati', and 'Les prêts sur gage foncier dans la vie économique et sociale de Milan au XIe siècle', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, Vol. 20, 2 and 3, pp. 147-168 and 437-459.

the same land *back* to the debtor to enjoy in usufruct until the debt was redeemed. Note that this means than when documents recording mortgaged properties have survived, we assume that the original owners defaulted, otherwise the charters would not have been preserved - this is at least what the legal norms required, and what some documentary formulae prescribed.[284] Violante and his students defined these operations as 'disguised loans' (*prestiti dissimulati*), on the assumption that churches sought to avoid transgressing canonical interdictions against usury.[285] However, there is no positive evidence at all that the character of credit operations was deliberately masked, and indeed the language used can often be perfectly explicit, including records of interest to pay. More simply, contemporaries believed that existing diplomatic tools – the formal qualities of charters of sale, obligation, and judgement – were perfectly adequate to achieve loans and secure guarantees.

Violante argued that levels of monetary circulation and credit rose substantially from around the 1020s to the middle of the century. This marked a quantitative increase but François Bougard, in a study of loans in western Europe from the eighth to the eleventh centuries in western Europe, has recently sought to challenge the notion that it meant a qualitative shift in levels of credit. He has argued instead that documentary practice from the centuries before 1000 reveals that credit was a universal phenomenon, uninhibited by ideological censures or social underdevelopment.[286] Bougard is undoubtedly correct, and it is also true that there is an element of teleology in Violante's model of economic development, relying as it does on an unvoiced assumption about the emergence of a

[284] For the law, see *Cartularium Langobardicum*, ed. Boretius, MGH Leges IV, p. 597. See also A. Sennis, 'Destroying Documents in the Early Middle Ages', in Jarrett and McKinley (eds.), *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters*, pp. 151-69.
[285] Violante, 'Les prêts sur gage foncier dans la vie économique et sociale de Milan au XIe siècle' p. 147, and cf. Rossetti, 'Motivi economico-sociali e religiosi in atti di cessione di beni a chiese del territorio milanese nei secoli XI e XI', in *Contributi*, I pp. 349-410.
[286] F. Bougard, 'Le crédit dans l'occident du haut moyen âge: documentation et pratique', in J.-P. Devroey, L. Feller, R. Le Jan, *Les élites de la richesse au Haut Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 439-78.

universal economic rationality in the eleventh century.[287] But we can still appreciate the effects of moments of significant expansion in credit - which in Milan seems to have occurred among major landowners in the second quarter of the eleventh century, and while more coercive debt relations appear to have been extend to smaller landowners in the middle of the century, as we will shortly see.

The credit operations we are able to follow in the second quarter of the eleventh century were conducted by large property owners, it should be noted. Furthermore it does not look like these owners were necessarily defaulting on all their property, so these charters need not be indicators for economic collapse. We find an example in 1031. Adelgiso di Ariberto, a wealthy judge, and his wife Frassia di Todelmo, pledged an enormous number of properties - valued at £60 - to the canons of S. Ambrogio, represented by the chapter's priest, Otto Bezo. Adelgiso and his wife lost this property, but the boundary clauses listed in the territory equally reveal that there was a lot of land which they still owned regardless.[288] If we are witnessing increased liquidity from the 1020s, we would also expect an expansion in demand to follow, especially among city consumers. Indeed landscape changes from the mid-eleventh century do suggest precisely this kind of pressure from city markets, and in the following discussion we will trace some of their expanding effects on rural society.

A changing landscape

[287] Other historians have expressed such assumptions quite explicitly. See especially, D. Herlihy, 'The Agrarian Revolution in Southern France and Italy, 801-1150', *Speculum*, vol. 33.1 (1958), pp. 23-41, esp. pp. 34-5, where successful landowners in the eleventh century are compared to examples of modern economic actors following the rational logic of the market. Compare also to Little, *Religious Poverty*.

[288] *AP*, nos. 188-9 (1031), and see Violante, 'Les prêts sur gage foncier', I. pp. 160-1.

Thanks to the pioneering syntheses of Europe's medieval landscape history – including not least studies by Marc Bloch, Georges Duby, and Robert Fossier – we are used to recognising in the (very) long eleventh century a turning point in the history of the human management of the countryside.[289] An increased tempo in the rhythm of land clearance, drainage work, and the promotion of cereal cultivation all marked a qualitative shift in the relationship between people and landscape, making possible larger populations and increasing economic complexity. This 'progress' need not demand celebration, meaning as it also did the destruction of earlier rural cultures and ways of living with the land. But, despite how elusive any precise chronology of agrarian change in this period must remain, the changes themselves need to be recognised. Italy and the Po Valley were no exceptions to these Europe-wide transformations, and indeed the comparative richness of documentary evidence from the region has often allowed historians to track in closer detail the rhythm and character of rural changes from the tenth to the twelfth centuries.[290] Milan's hinterland between the Ticino and the Adda too was transformed, gradually and in fits, as owners and cultivators made new choices about how to manage the lands, woods, and waters around them. Here we largely depend on the invaluable research of Anna Rapetti, who has summarised the evidence for landscape change in Milan's immediate hinterland, based on a comprehensive survey of the property and place-name evidence contained in the relevant private charters from the ninth to the twelfth century.[291] I have also, less systematically, looked at some of the evidence outside of Rapetti's area of inquiry - which does not for

[289] M. Bloch, *French Rural History: An Essay on its basic characteristics*, trans. J. Sondheimer (London, 1966), G. Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*, trans. C. Postan (London, 1968), and R. Fossier, *Enfance de l'Europe: X^e-XIIe siècles. Aspects économiques et sociaux* (Paris, 1982), 2 vols. See also, C. Wickham, 'European forests in the early middle ages: landscape and land clearance', in id., *Land and Power*, pp. 155-200.

[290] See for example the important studies of Toubert, *Les structures du Latium*, Menant, *Campagnes Lombardes*, Fumagalli, *Coloni e signori*, and M. Montanari, *L'alimentazione contadina nell'alto Medioevo* (Napoli, 1979). Useful archaeological data for this question in the north west of Italy remains modest, but see F. Salvadori, 'Gli animali nell'economia e nell'alimentazione in Italia', in *Italia, 888-962: A Turning Point* (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 301-40.

[291] A. Rapetti, *Campagne milanesi. Aspetti e metamorfosi di un paesaggio rurale fra X e XII secolo* (Milan, 1994). E. Occhipinti, 'L'economia agraria in territorio milanese fra continuità e spinte innovative', *Milano e il suo territorio*, pp. 245-63. L. Chiappa Mauri, *Paesaggi rurali di Lombardia, secoli XII-XV* (Rome, 1990), for the twelfth century and afterwards.

example include the *contado* north of Monza, an area important for our discussion. For these areas the data reflects a similar pattern. A brief rehearsal of this evidence will allow us to frame better the radical social changes which so strongly marked Milan's eleventh century.

Noting references both to changed land use and to clearances in the documentary evidence (typically called *runchi* or *novalie*), Rapetti identified two movements of more intensive expansion of cleared and arable land. It must be noted that dating clearances is difficult, as in most cases the charters only attest to the existence of completed clearances, rather than record the activity itself. Nevertheless, it is possible to glean at least an impressionistic sense of periods of landscape change. The first, visible especially in the upper plain, took place in the ninth and tenth centuries, while the second, more intense phase began perhaps around the mid-eleventh century (and certainly before the 1080s) until some time around 1190.[292] The fact that a substantial phase of land clearance took place in Milan before 1000 marks the region out: it reflects a set of economic movements which often only began a century later in the hinterlands of other cities. Indeed clearance is particularly precociously attested, sometimes as early as the ninth century, near sites including the developed settlement centres of Monza and Cologno, or at Concorezzo, towards Vimercate.[293] Indeed in Cologno, which is particularly well documented during the tenth century, a relatively complex level of agricultural exploitation is already visible before 1000.[294] References to clearances are less common after the first decade of the eleventh century, but from the 1070s they reappear, and are described more precisely by notaries in a way which suggests there was a need to distinguish a particular, local *runco* among many. In this period deforestation and land improvement continued in the upper plain but is also

[292] Rapetti, *Campagne milanesi*, pp. 83-92.
[293] Cologno: *CDL*, nos. 862 (22), 923 (502), 943 (573), 956 (618), 962 (659); Monza: *CDL*, no. 407 (903); Concorezzo, *CDL*, no. 352 (892).
[294] See further, Rossetti, *Cologno monzese*.

more visible in the hitherto less cultivated zones of the wet – often marshy – lower plain at sites such as Villamaggiore, Rosate, Gudo Visconti, and Besate. In this case, however, we need more caution, as the archive material for the lower plain, with a few exceptions, appears later.

The impression that the later eleventh century was an increasingly intense period for the expansion of cultivated land is also confirmed by the substantially reduced size of tracts of woodland circulating in the period. Anna Rapetti has calculated that the average size of such tracts in her area of study measured 29,657 m^2 in the period 850-1000, 17,609 m^2 in 1001-50, before reducing by as much as two thirds to just 6,145 m^2 in 1051-1100, and lowering again to 2,689 m^2 in 1101-1150.[295] The value in metres represents a very arbitrary interpretation of the contemporary measurements, but nevertheless the stark change is clear. From the tenth century onwards, woodland that was preserved or adapted increasingly privileged coppice trees (*silvae stellarae*), an index of greater human management of the woodland, and of growing demand for fuel for the plain's growing population centres.[296] While meadows, vineyards, and other types of cultivation all supplanted these woodlands, it was cereal cultivation which succeeded the forest above all.

One tree in particular which lost its favour among Milanese cultivators in the eleventh century was the chestnut, *castanea sativa*. Again we may take advantage of data collected by Rapetti, whose calculations of the average, documented size of chestnut woods in the period reveal that in the eleventh century they measured as little as 10% of the mean size of tracts recorded between 850 and 1000.[297] This is more surprising, given that chestnut trees were much valued for their reliably produced, nutritious fruit, as well as the versatility of its wood. Indeed, in other parts of Italy, Tuscany and Lazio included, and for long into the

[295] Rapetti, *Campagne milanesi*, pp. 61-8, 144-5.
[296] On coppice and woodland use, Montanari and Wickham, 'European forests', pp. 184-7, 189-90, Montanari, *L'alimentazione contadina*, pp. 34-46, esp. 43-4.
[297] Rapetti, *Campagne milanesi*, pp. 53-9, 143. Average size of chestnut woods in 850-1000: 10,672 m^2, and in 1001-1100, 1,265 m^2.

later middle ages, chestnut cultivation was a favoured form of land improvement as a complement to cereal production.[298] The turn away from *castanea sativa* after 1000 in Milan's hinterland, therefore, demands further explanation.

Happily, an innovative recent study of the chestnut and its place in the social landscape of early medieval Italy by Paolo Squatriti allows us to suggest a context for these changes. Given that the chestnut relies on deliberate human intervention to reach a wide diffusion (especially in soils below an elevation of 300 metres), Squatriti seeks to explain the rise of the tree in Italy during the third to seventh centuries, a period of extensive depopulation and economic simplification.[299] His highly plausible answer is that the tree's relatively low labour requirements and productive versatility – yielding useful fuel and timber as well as food – would have been exceptionally well adapted to the less hierarchical, economically self-sufficient societies of the post-Roman world. Early medieval people therefore selected chestnuts over oak trees, which by all indicators suffered sharp decline during the first millennium, and in their place chestnuts also better supported pastoral cultures based on goat- and sheepherding.[300]

With this in mind, we are better able to understand how land management changes in eleventh-century Milan had deep implications for the character of peasant life. If before 1000 there were more Milanese peasants partially subsisting on pastoral strategies of resource management among chestnut groves and other types of land, during the eleventh century a rapidly increasing number must have been drawn into much more labour-intensive cereal production (mostly rye), which was capable of producing greater surpluses for elite consumption and the market. A confirmation of the fact that contemporaries were not

[298] E.g. Toubert, *Les structures*, p. 62, shows chestnuts were often actively being planted in cleared land in Lazio. For chestnut cultivation in the mountainous Ligurian landscape, R. Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria: Regional Identity and Local Power, c.400-1020* (London, 2013), pp. 57-9. See more broadly, Montanari, *L'alimentazione contadina*, pp. 296-301.

[299] P. Squatriti, *Landscape and Change in Early Medieval Italy: Chestnuts, Economy, and Culture* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 60-73, and for the Po Valley in particular, 168-80.

[300] *Ibid*, pp. 70-2 and 74-6. On pig rearing in late antiquity, S. Barnish, 'Pigs, Plebeians and *Potentes*: Rome's Economic Hinterland, c. 350-600 A.D.', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 54 (1987), pp. 157-85.

interested in commercialising chestnut renders can be found in the archive of Santo Stefano in Vimercate. This was an institution which from the mid-eleventh century was intensely involved, as we shall see, in the marketisation of cereals, but in the few cases where its tenants held chestnut woods it ordered the payment of cash rents.[301] We also know that other *castanea* trees around Vimercate had already been supplanted by cereals, as several large fields in the 1050s and '60s were located at a site known as *Castenadelia*, outside the town in Oreno, a toponym pointing to a previous association with chestnut growing.[302] The same can be seen in San Giovanni in Monza. The church would also begin to commercialise its rents before 1100, but again chose to receive an annual render of 12 *denarii* off a chestnut wood in the first decade of the twelfth century.[303] It is important therefore to emphasise the cultural choices involved in land 'improvement' and agricultural specialisation, the pressures of which, for example, could see a chestnut wood attested in Novate in 1040 replaced by a large, 32-*pertica* field within the space of a few decades.[304] The particular dynamics of clearance in the eleventh-century Milanese hinterland, with an aggressive promotion of arable land management, are an indicator of the precocious impact market relations between humans had on the surrounding landscape and social stratification more broadly. Even in the hills of Varese, which rising above 300 metres above sea-level were the ideal altitude and environment for their cultivation, the size of chestnut woods were reduced substantially. A count of the mean size of plots recorded in documents with measurements reveals an average of 36.875 *tavole* for the years 951-1000, and 12.33 *tavole*

[301] *AP*, nos. 477 (1067), where tenants are obliged to pay a 12 *denarii* rent for a four-*perch* chestnut wood, 528 (1072), and 774 (1092), where a field and a chestnut wood is pledged, but only cereal renders are requested.
[302] *AP*, nos. 355 (1052), 408 (1059), 456 (1064).
[303] ASMi, Perg. cart., 587 (Fondo S. Giovanni di Monza), no. 6.
[304] *AP*, nos. 276 (1040) and 736 (1089).

for 1001-1100.[305] The Varese hills also became an increasingly specialised area for vineyard cultivation in the eleventh century, as well as for arable crops.

For the remainder of this chapter we will trace the further effects of markets on rural society, and on the relationships between cultivators and local institutions. This discussion will focus on the northern plain, where the economic effects of these changes appear to have emerged earliest and most visibly. But some other important points, albeit briefly, need to be made about the other important geographical zones of the diocese, namely the hills and the mountains, and the southern plain towards the Po. This will draw out the distinctiveness of the northern plain, and especially the *borghi* of the northeast, which also provides the direct social context for those groups which most visibly adhered to the mid-eleventh century reform movement.

The Mountains and the Hills

The character of life and society by the great lakes and in the pre-Alpine hills and mountain valleys was different to that of the plain. We have seen already that the political geography of episcopal power extended very intensely across this terrain and, especially, the north-west hills to the east of lake Maggiore. The power centres of the archbishop and his clients in this environment were consequently also based on a different set of resources, and consequently on different relations between people. One of these was mineral extraction. Iron and silver mines were being sought out and exploited across this period, tapping into the veins of base and precious metal which extended from the mountains around lake

[305] 951-1000: *PSMVelate*, nos. 8 (976), 9 (979), 11 (993); 1001-1050: *PSVVarese*, *PSMVelate*, nos. 29 (1045) 38 (1064). There are a small number of other chestnut woods recorded in the eleventh century, but without measurement.

Como towards lake Garda. Metalwork in Lombardy would become an industry of Europe-wide importance from the thirteenth century, but even from the tenth century urban institutions showed special interest in securing centres of ore extraction. These also must have secured the development of what was by the mid-eleventh century a comparatively specialised, metal-working artisanate in Milan, particularly in arms production, as we shall see.[306] Thus we see that a court case in 905 secured for the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio an annual render of 100 lbs of iron from its estate on lake Como, Limonta, despite the tenacious resistance of the peasants there. Indeed exploitation of minerals partially explains the monks' intense interest in its lakeside estates.[307] The archbishops controlled iron and silver mines in the Valtorta by at least the late thirteenth century, the possession of which plausibly dates back much earlier given what we know about the church's control of neighbouring valleys.[308] Certainly the better-documented, neighbouring bishops of Bergamo were acquiring iron and silver mines in the 1070s.[309]

Another highly prized product of the area was the olives of the groves which grew by the lakes. Cultivation was made possible by the mild lakeside winters, and was all the more valuable in a region of Italy where otherwise the fruit did not grow, and was much fought-over as a result. The best-attested olive groves are in the diocese of Como, especially on Isola Comacina, but both the archbishop and the monks of Sant'Ambrogio also held estates by the lakes in order to harvest olive oil – another of the reasons why the monastery's Limonta estate was so important. Indeed so valued were Limonta's olive

[306] F. Menant, 'Pour une histoire médiévale de l'enterprise minère en Lombardie', *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*. 42.4 (1987), pp. 779-96. See more broadly I. Blanchard, *Mining, Metallurgy and Minting in the Middle Ages*, vols. 1-2 (Stuttgart, 2001). On the pre-eminence of later-medieval Milan's metal industry, Grillo, *Milano in età comunale*, pp.222-4 and P. Mainoni, 'La politica dell'argento e del ferro nella Lombardia medievale', in *La sydérurgie dans les Alpes lombardes* (Rome, 2001), pp. 417-53.

[307] *I placiti*, no. 117. On the resistance of the peasants of Limonta against Sant'Ambrogio's intensifying monastic lordship in the tenth century, R. Balzaretti, 'The monastery of Sant'Ambrogio and dispute settlement in early medieval Milan', *Early Medieval Europe*, 3.1 (1994), pp. 1-18.

[308] Bognetti, 'Le miniere di Valtorta e i diritti degli arcivescovi di Milano (sec. XII-XIV)', *Archivio storico lombardo*, vol. 53 (1926), pp. 281-308, esp. 300-8.

[309] Menant, 'Pour une histoire', p. 782.

groves, that in the late twelfth century clerics of neighbouring Bellagio would arrive with clubs to seize the tithe from Sant'Ambrogio's olive pickers.[310] These renders were essential for providing superior lighting to illuminate the intensive liturgical commitments of the churches of the city and, as we will see, rural churches too would use profits from the market to acquire oil for the same purposes.

As was always the case in this period, arable cultivation also took place on the hills around Varese, and even near the shores of the lakes, and so too did viticulture. But cultivators in the hills and mountains were managing a much more diverse landscape then their counterparts in the plain. Fields in the hills were interspersed with vineyards especially, as well as chestnuts and other woods. Here, and even more as the terrain ascends into the Alps, the landscape implied a greater degree of pastoral culture than on the more cultivated plains, and indeed we know that large renders of cheese were reaching the city from the northern valleys.[311] As a consequence common lands are more visible too.[312] In the early eleventh century, tensions are clear between those involved in pastoral land management and local institutions concerned with fixing property boundaries. We see in 1017 that an association of villagers in Velate (*vicini et consortes*) was forced to acknowledge the exclusive rights of the local church of S. Maria over mountainous woodland and pasture. The *vicini* recognised the archpriest's legal ownership of large tracts of land on Monte Velate, some of it built on, where the church was tending gardens and had begun to clear woodland. But they also renounced collectively any claim on Monte Velasco, with its mixture of oak, beech, and chestnut, and their rights to pasture and coppice there. Cut wood was destined to fuel the archpriest's oven and kitchen (*ad fucum sue pristine et a cucina*), while inhabitants of the

[310] *CDL*, no. 287 (879) for archbishop's olive groves. Cf. also *AP*, no. 367 (1054). *CSAmbrogio* II, no. 18 (1184), for the Bellagio clerics' armed seizure of the olive tithes. For olives in the Po Valley, A. Pini, 'Due colture specialistiche del Medioevo: la vite e l'olio nell'Italia padana', in V. Fumagalli, (ed.), *Medioevo rurale. Sulle tracce della civilità contadina* (Bologna, 1980), pp. 119-38.
[311] See texts in Lucioni, 'Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano nelle terre settentrionali'. Montenari. *L'alimentazione contadina*, pp. 244-50.
[312] On rural commons, G. P. Bognetti, *Studi sulle origini del comunale rurale* (Milan, 1978).

mountain were allowed to gather fallen twigs.[313] Another example of such frictions is visible further north in a case from 1010. This concerned land claimed by Sant'Ambrogio's estate centre of Sen Zenone of Campione, nearly 60 km from the city on the shores of Lake Lugano. The men of neighbouring Arogno were confronted by the monastery's advocate and a representative of the archbishop, bearers of very different cultural norms from the city. Surrounded by a retinue of the abbot's vassals (armed, one suspects), the villagers were forced to renounce in writing their claim to mountain and valley land, which was defined not according to boundaries with other properties, but rather by natural markers. Residents ordered space according to 'the great tree' or 'the tree of a hundred roots', rather than the boundaries associated with property owners that lay between lands divided into fields and meadows on the plain.[314]

In the 1060s and '70s, shares of pasture land and commons (*vicanalia*) on the mountains around Velate were on a number of occasions exchanged for cash.[315] This is a helpful reminder that even if frictions between land owners and those dependent on common lands remained, pastoral cultivation was always tied in to the wider economic realities of the region, cash exchange included. This was all the more true given the dense relationships between city aristocrats and the area around Varese and Velate, and their links with the *pieve* church of S. Vittore and S. Maria of Velate. It also needs stressing that the hills between the lakes supported complex social centres. Varese itself was a walled settlement as early as 1015, and by the early twelfth century we are able to see glimpses of an increasing division of labour with the appearance of a local artisanate, in trades such as dyeing and metalwork.[316] Rents in kind, which as will be discussed below were often in this

[313] *AP*, nos. 19-20.

[314] *AP*, no. 40 (1010), *de montibus et collibus seu vallibus sicut decernitur Saxello... in Palaoni desuper arbore grande et inde percurrit a Scalugia... venit ad faum, qui nominatur Centum Radices, et usque ad plodario de...*

[315] *AP*, nos. 508 (1069), 554 (1075), 563 (1076), 565 (1076).

[316] E.g., *PSVVarese*, nos. 34 (1114) and 52 (1130), for Martino Ferrario; 53 (1130), for Pagano Ferrario; 57 (1139), for Guido Tintore; 70 (1150), for Pietro Tintore.

period demanded by institutions in order that the received produce could be placed on the market, appear for the first time in 1088 and more often form the 1120s, later than they do on the plain.[317] Varese appears, then, to have been an increasingly complex rural centre by the turn of the twelfth century, even if, as we shall see, the *borghi* of the northeastern plain were more precocious. It is to these that we now turn.

The borghi *of Brianza: The Invasion of the Market*

The early social effects of the extension of market relations into the countryside are nowhere more visible than in Milan's north-eastern plain and foothills, modern-day Brianza. Leaving the city's Porta Nuova, the old Roman road ran through Sesto San Giovanni, not far from Cologno, to Monza on the river Lambro. From here, the increasingly bustling town of Vimercate stood only eight km north-east, and around it were heavily exploited rye fields on the low-lying plain west of the Adda. Further northwest of Monza, important settlement nuclei such as Meda and Cantù began to climb the foothills towards Como and the lakes.

Vimercate appears to have developed rapidly during the eleventh century. A walled settlement (*castrum*) before 1053, it was labelled a *burgus* for the first time in 1079 and references to town gates appear soon after.[318] The *pieve*, S. Stefano, was a wealthy and prestigious religious centre which had attracted substantial donations since at least the Lombard period in 745, when the church first appears in the documentary record.[319] Its triple nave, constructed in the tenth century and developed further architecturally in the

[317] E.g., *AP*, no. 720 (1088), *PSVVarese*, no. 44 (1122).
[318] *AP*, nos. 360 (1053), 591-2 (1079), *non multum longe ab ipso burgo*; 700 (1087) and 777 (1092) both locate a house which is next to the *porta que vocatur sancti Damiani*.
[319] *CDL*, no. 9.

eleventh and twelfth centuries, makes it (at 39.7 by 23.9 metres) the largest and most physically imposing *pieve* in the diocese for which material evidence remains.[320] The name of the town itself, meanwhile, suggests that *Vicus mercati* must have had a long history as a rural exchange centre, and indeed in the second decade of the tenth century we see that Berengar I conceded part of the market rights associated with the town to a count Grimaldo.[321] This makes it less surprising that we find a family of Vimercate merchants who own property in the area in the mid-eleventh century. The merchant brothers Umfredo and Reginzo Trolia were, however, in economic decline in the 1050s and '60s. We find them forced in these years to alienate freehold properties to S. Stefano and one of Vimercate's local chapels, holding them henceforth as rent-paying tenants from the church.[322]

The changing economic fortunes of the Trolia brothers unravelled in a wider context, however. Mid-eleventh-century Vimercate saw the initiation of an intense period of property accumulation for S. Stefano, which lasted over several decades at the cost of local, small landowners. Juridically, these transfers were achieved through *cartae iudicati*, which assigned properties to the church while typically retaining tenancy for the original owner and their heirs or their relatives in return for the payment of an annual rent. Surviving documentation shows that Santo Stefano gained by this means property rights over 150 *perticae* of land from 1046 to 1092. While formally similar, these acts reflect a range of different social transactions, as Gabriella Rossetti has also noted.[323] A number, because of the presence of intermediaries, can be identified as defaulted mortgages which had been pledged as collateral for credit. More still were precarious grants of land which affected the agents' social status, making them rent-paying tenants of the church or even (particularly in

[320] G. A. Vergani, 'Da Galliano alla Martesana. Aspetti costruttive e decorative della pieve di Santo Stefano a Vimercate nel medioevo', *Arte Lombarda*, NS, 156.2 (2009), pp. 86-95.
[321] D B I, no. 104 (c. 911-15), Berengar concedes *quicquid ad comitatum Laudensem pertinet de mercato quod dicitur de Vicomercatum cum teloneo vel censu aut redibitionibus cum omni curatura sua, et terram que ad eundem mercatum aliquo modo pertinet simul cum mansionibus et omnibus ad se pertinentibus*.
[322] *AP*, nos. 355 (1052), 393 (1057), 408 (1059), 456 (1064), 499 (1068).
[323] G. Rossetti, 'Motivi economico-sociali e religiosi in atti di cessione di beni a chiese del territorio milanese nei secoli XI e XII', in *Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Medioevale. I*, pp. 349-410.

the twelfth century) reducing them to dependents subject to its lordship (*massari*).[324] Indeed there was visible anxiety among some producers that they might fall into further dependency. Thus two acts explicitly stipulate that tenants should not owe – apart from their rents – any other service or obligations (*sine servicio aut alia scubias*) to the church.[325] Socio-economic instability in these decades had led to a crisis among a number of small landowners in the area, leaving them in debt or otherwise coerced into alienating their property to avoid losing possession entirely. Judging by the generally small size of the properties in question, these appear to have been mostly freeholding peasants of modest means (unless they were holding much more property than we can see), but the example of the merchant Trolia brothers reveals clearly at least that those further up the social scale were also subject to economic distress.

The character of the obligations demanded of Santo Stefano's tenants provides us with a clue as to the nature of the forces which were destabilising local property relations. In 1046, a widow named Tuniza transferred a small field in the neighbouring village of Arcore to the *pieve*, with the stipulation that after her death her cousin and his heirs should be able to hold the land and work it without owing any services, apart from a modest 2 d. rent to be paid every year to the church's altar on the patron's feast day.[326] Failure to pay the rent saw the property pass into the full ownership of the *pieve*. Less then ten years later two similar acts took place, when Umfredo Trolia transferred a field to the Vimercate chapel of San Giovanni Evangelista in 1052 and a small allod holder, Pietro di Pietro, did the same to Santo Stefano in 1053.[327] In both cases the agents pledged to pay an annual rent, on

[324] For *massari* of the church, *PSSVimercate*, nos. 3 (1104), 6 (1107), 8 (1112), 9 (1113).
[325] *AP*, nos. 324 (1046) and 360 (1054). See also Rossetti, 'Motivi economico-sociali', pp. 362, although Rossetti's notion that because the church elsewhere exercised *conditiones*, and Vimercate was called a *castrum*, we should regard S. Stefano as exercising 'public' rights seems doubtful.
[326] *AP*, no. 324 (1046).
[327] *AP*, nos. 355 (1052) and 360 (1053).

pain of the churches acquiring full property rights over the land, but now they were owed in kind: bushels of rye (*secale*) in August and panic grass (*panicum*) in November.

The fact that the officials of the *pieve* and one of its local chapels actively decided at this time to stop demanding rents in cash to start demanding rents in kind suggests an interest in commercialising surplus cereal produce. It implies that these institutions were able to realise more value by selling on agricultural produce at the market than they would receive from money payments. The turn towards commercialising rents in this period has elsewhere been emphasised by Liubov Kotelnikova and others in regional studies of medieval Italy as a marker of growing markets, especially city markets, and their increased capacity to impact upon social relations in the countryside. As Violante and Rossetti have noted before, the growing concentration of exchange in city markets, at the expense of local emporia, would have increasingly blocked access for small producers to sell their products.[328] This provides likely context to the economic crisis suffered by modest landowners in Vimercate from the middle of the eleventh century, and perhaps too explains the decline of merchants based in the town rather than the city. After 1053, as the pace of S. Stefano's accumulation of properties intensified, 23 surviving documents up to 1140 record rents in kind paid to the church, with a particular cluster from the 1050s-'70s.[329] All renders were made up of cereals, except one act in 1059, where Arduino of Cavenago was obliged to turn over half the wine harvest of a vineyard to S. Stefano.[330] As we have seen, there was no interest in marketising the fruits of chestnut woods, where the canons accepted money instead. One indicator of the growing impact of the urban market on local surplus extraction is that from 1067, the Milanese measurement of grain volumes began to

[328] L. A. Kotelnikova, *Mondo contadino e città in Italia dall'ix al XIV secolo* (Bologna,1975), C. Violante, 'I vescovi dell'Italia centro-settentrionale e lo sviluppo dell'economica monetaria, *Studi sulla cristianità medioevale* (Milan, 1972), pp. 325-47, 33-6, Rossetti, 'Motivi economic-sociali', pp. 388-90.
[329] *AP*, nos. 387 (1056), 393 and 395 (1057), 406 (1059), 456 (1064), 476 and 482 (1067), 493 and 499 (1068), 510 (1069), [566 (1076)], 597 (1079), 604 (1080?), 615 (1080), 624 (1081), 774 (1092); *PSSVim*, nos. 3 (1104), 4 (1106), 8 (1112), 9 (1113), 14 (1117), 16 (1122), 26 (1136), 35 (1142).
[330] *AP*, no. 406 (1059) for the vineyard.

be used in addition to local measures.[331] The apparent specialisation in cereal production in the area, and the concern with its commercialisation, provides greater context for the kinds of choices being made locally which led to the profound changes in the contemporary management of the landscape.

Vimercate's changing social world betrays another phenomenon: the abrupt extension of the monetised economy and debt into this part of the countryside. We saw earlier that the second quarter of the eleventh century saw an expansion in (although not the novel introduction of) the use of credit in Milan, but these cases primarily concerned large owners and city residents. As we have seen, those documents recording grants of mortgaged property (identifiable by the presence of intermediaries and schedules of repayment) which survive can be assume to have been defaulted. The Vimercate documents demonstrate both that the church had accumulated enough wealth to act as a lender by the mid-eleventh century, and that peasants were facing indebtedness. Whether small producers were forced to mortgage their property with the hope of redeeming it later, or had become economically dependent on bringing surpluses to markets the access to which could no longer be secured, both cases reveal that peasants in the territory of Vimercate had become implicated in a monetary economy with potentially sharply destabilising effects. As David Graeber has recently emphasised, monetisation has often appeared as an important moment in the construction of coercive and hierarchical credit-debt relations.[332] The fixing of debts according to monetary values, to units of account which were publicly regulated, weakened the social character of negotiations around credit, and empowered the creditor to demand significant recompense or impose bonds of dependency. The extension of debt relations among rural producers, from the 1050s, also occurred precociously in Milan's hinterland, compared to other regions. A series of transactions in which modest landowners pledge

---

[331] *AP*, no. 476 the first to do so.

[332] D. Graeber, *Debt: the First 5,000 years* (New York, 2011).

small property to guarantee credit appears a later in Bergamo's territory after 1078, while indications of debt among rural producers in other parts of Lombardy only emerge clearly in the twelfth century.[333]

A similar, but not identical, process can be seen to have taken place in Monza, 15 km from the city. Even at the turn of the millennium this was a centre of considerable social and economic complexity, in part a consequence of medieval Monza's origins in the royal palace and chapel founded by the Lombard queen Theodelinda, whose memory continued to be cultivated stridently by the local church. While S. Giovanni Battista acted as the local baptismal church, its special wealth and prestige, secured by the inheritance of royal estates which provided for a large, 32-strong clerical body, set it apart from the diocese's *pievi*.[334] Monza's economic expansion also appears to have predated other rural settlements (although Vimercate cannot have been too far behind). As we have seen, early land clearances around Monza and nearby Cologno took place as early as the ninth century or shortly after, and in the decades around 1000 its walled settlement was home to merchants and artisans, especially in the cloth trade. Tailors, mercers, craftsmen, and merchants can all be seen moving in the same social circles as very wealthy church officials, although members of both groups are only rarely seen owning much property (unlike their counterparts, especially merchants, in Milan).[335] But within the walls, rising house prices and the occasional appearance of two-storey houses (*casae solariatae*) – the emblematic homes and workshops of the medium elite – in the first years of the eleventh century parallel contemporary economic development in Milan quite closely. It is not surprising, therefore, to find notaries

[333] *Le pergamene degli archivi di Bergamo, aa. 1059(?)-1100* (Bergamo, 2000), nos. 86 (1078), 95 (1080), 119 (1083), 132 and 137 (1084), 146 (1085); see J Jarnut, *Bergamo, 568-1098*, p. 235. Menant, *Campagnes lombardes*, p. 301.
[334] Paul the Deacon, *HL*, IV. 21-2. Note interpolations made by Monzese writers in the manuscript tradition at this point of the narrative, and at V. 6. D B I, no. 125, for the reference to S. Giovanni as *baptismalem ecclesiam*.
[335] For Monza's artisans, Magone *faber*, *CDL*, no. 908 (982); Agostino, son of Andrea, and Guntero, *sartores*, *AP*, nos. 6 (1003) and 80 (1016); Adamo, son of Lanfranco, *mercelator*, *AP*, no. 329 (1048). A tailor in nearby Cologno is also attested in 1043 (*AP*, no. 307). For Monza's merchants: CDL, no. 809, 900, and see no. 970, for a Milanese merchant who deals with S. Giovanni.

refer to Monza as a *burgus* as early as 1048, and a permanent market place within the walls in 1054.[336] As well as San Giovanni, the town supported several dependent churches and chapels, whose clerics in imitation of the city church declared themselves to be members of the Monzese 'order of *decumani*'.

San Giovanni Battista would, like Santo Stefano in Vimercate, take an interest in commercialising rents in kind but – despite the precocity of other indicators of market development in Monza – it would do so later. In the 1060s, San Giovanni was still demanding cash rents off small owners who were forced to contract tenancy agreements with the church through *cartae iudicati*. Amizo Vuico, for example, alienated a small field in Monza in 1061, with the guarantee that his sons and heirs could retain possession of the property and work it in return for an annual payment of 12 d. Failure to do so, just like in the equivalent acts we saw in Vimercate, would lead to the land coming under San Giovanni's full control.[337] Over a decade later in 1082, Lanfranco, son of Ingizano, transferred property to the church in the same way, but this time with the stipulation that his heirs work the land and render to the church in kind.[338] San Giovanni was at the same time (like Santo Stefano) also extending credit to small producers, and debtors too were now enjoined to make annual payments in produce. Such was the case for Giovanni Gardo, son of Garebaldo, who through a clerical intermediary from the *pieve* of Mariano mortgaged three fields in Brenno, owing an annual payment of a bushel and a half of rye and a bushel and a half of panic grass.[339] Furthermore, the canons of San Giovanni received the renders produced by a number of the many watermills which were powered by the course of the river Lambro, as can be seen by precarial grants made by Oldo, son of Vitale of Monza, in

[336] *AP*, nos. 329 (1048) and 375 (1054).
[337] *AP*, nos. 436 (1061) and 463 (1065).
[338] *AP*, no. 632 (1082).
[339] *AP*, no. 681 (1086).

1088, and Andrea Theodelinda in 1107.[340] Oldo's act is all the more interesting, as it tells us more specifically how the milled grain from his portion of the watermill should be assigned. One *modium* was to go to the canons of San Giovanni, another to the *pauperes*, and a third to supply the church's great chandelier (or *corona*), which a later document shows was lit with oil. This last detail confirms that Monza's grain rents were intended for the market as, unless Oldo was stuffing S, Giovanni's light fixtures with flour, the necessary oil must have been procured from the profits of their sale. Indeed, from the late eleventh century onwards, lighting and other liturgical provisions were also increasingly supported by grain rents in Vimercate and elsewhere.[341] Especially as oil would have had to have been brought from the lakeside hills where olives could be grown, the canons' liturgical supplies reflect a world increasingly bound together by exchange. Rents in kind continued to be paid to San Giovanni – and other Monzese institutions – into the twelfth century.

Given early indicators of economic specialisation and commerce in Monza it may seem surprising that San Giovanni appears to have turned towards marketising its rents years later than Santo Stefano in Vimercate. One reason for this may have been that San Giovanni already enjoyed the endowments of several royal estates, and jealously guarded its patronage over local churches outside its territory. In 920, Berengar I had intervened to support the church's 32 canons – beset, the diploma says, by 'wicked administrators' – by assigning the church three *curtes* which lay to the north in the foothills, close to the Lambro's upstream course towards the lakes Alserio and Pusiano. Bulciago, Cremella (including the monastery of S. Pietro), and Calpuno were evidently crucial to the social reproduction of the church, as its officials petitioned sovereigns to confirm their control

[340] *AP*, no. 728 (1088), ASMi, Perg. cart., 587, no. 7 (1107). On watermills in Milan, L. Chiappa Mauri, *I mulini ad acqua nel milanese (secoli X-XV)* (Rome, 1984), and more generally P. Squatriti, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy, AD 400-1000* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 126-159, and M. Bloch, 'The Advent and Triumph of the Watermill', in id., *Land and Work in Medieval Europe* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 136-68.

[341] *AP*, nos. 528 (1072), 837 (1097), 856 (1098), *PSSVimercate*, no. 26 (1136).

over them.[342] Bulciago was a source of unfree labour in the years after the turn of the millennium, when S. Giovanni's archpriest traded a female slave from the estate for land.[343] Residents of the estates can also be seen to have been subject to signorial conditions in the early twelfth century. In 1111 one of San Giovanni's clerics travelled on the community's behalf to Luzzana, a site near the three estates, in order to exact written pledges from two consortia of castellans at nearby Casletto and Rogeno. In two separate acts these groups promised not to extract renders or impose their lordship over the inhabitants of the estates, as well as to ensure that any of the church's dependents who might settle in the castle should still be liable to make amends for any transgressions according to local customs.[344] San Giovanni's patronage over other churches also extended beyond the boundaries of its own territories, with Cologno's *pieve* church of San Giuliano first being noted as a dependent of Monza's in 956.[345] San Giovanni's estate labour and other incomes must have supported the church's substantial size and wealth, and may therefore have delayed the church's developing interest in the bringing cereals to the city market. Nevertheless, it should still be underlined that Monza's extraction of rents in kind in the 1080s is early in a comparative view, even if Vimercate was earlier still.

While their activities are less visible, lay families in the region were also interested in bringing cereals to the market. There is a revealing case in Sesto San Giovanni. Mauro di Angelberto of Sesto and his nephews possessed land there on the river Lambro which they held off both the monastery of S. Dionigi and the Monzese church. In 1086 they invested in the land by signing a contract with the local resident Girardo. Both parties agreed that

[342] D O III, no. 377 (1000).
[343] *AP*, no. 16.
[344] ASMi, Perg. cart., 587, nos. 11-12, both documents have lacunae, but collated read: the authors should not have *potestas agendi, requirendi, tollendi hominibus pertinentibus eidem ecclesie sancti Iohannis habitantibus... in curtibus de Cremella, Biolciago seu in Calponi, nominative pastos, atractos, covas, mannas, ligna, fenum, pullos, ova, albergariam, districtam neque ullam aliam super impositam... Extra anteponimus si aliqui homo ipsius ecclesie de ipsis locis infra castrum de ipso Castelleto et fecerit offensionem infra ipsum castrum quod emendere debeat per nos ipsam offensionem secundum consuetudinem ipsius loci et insuper facere illud amiscere de ipso castro quod solet facere castellantia de ipso castro secundum usum ipsius loci.*
[345] *CDL*, no. 618.

Girardo would construct a mill on the site with all the necessary appurtenances, while paying two *modia* of ground millet and rye annually. The construction of a mill was an expensive undertaking, and it is suggestive to see lay parties investing in the expansion of this machinery at this time. They must have believed that the opportunity for profit was there, responding to increasing demand from an expanding city.[346]

Particularly from the end of the eleventh century, we are able to witness increasingly complex local societies in the Brianza *borghi*, developments supported by changes in the agrarian economy. In Vimercate, for example, we find growing signs of division of labour. A professional baker named Adamo was able to obtain a lease on church land in 1098, and bakers regularly appear as both property owners and witnesses in Vimercate from the 1130s.[347] That it was possible to pursue baking as a profession outside of the city, and to move a degree of activity outside of private households, implies that market demand and buying power were reliable enough to offset the risks of economic specialisation. Vimercate also appears to have been a centre for textile works at every stage of the production cycle. A tailor who lived just outside the town walls in Oreno had been able to acquire two large fields by 1067, although he was forced to make a precarial grant of them to S. Stefano in that year. Fullers and especially dyers become visible later, from around 1130. The presence of professional fullers may imply the existence of fulling mills in the area, although none are attested explicitly; but certainly mills would have benefitted from the many water courses in the area, which must have been a factor in the industry's expansion in Brianza.[348] The case of the dyer Pietro *Tinctor*, son of Marchisio, who bought agricultural land for the not insignificant sum of £5 and entered into an exchange with the provost of S. Stefano, shows

[346] *AP*, no. 682 (1086); Chiappa Mauri, *I mulini ad acqua nel milanese*, pp. 20-1, on high value of contemporary water mills. See Bloch, 'The Advent and Triumph of the Watermill', in id., *Land and Work in Medieval Europe* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 136-68.
[347] *AP*, nos. 856-7, *PSSVimercate*, nos. 24 (1135), 27 (1137), 35 (1142), 54 (1153), 58 (1156).
[348] P. Malanima, *I piedi di legno. Una macchina alle origini dell'industria medievale* (Milan, 1988), for the origins of fulling mills and their diffusion.

that it was certainly possible to accumulate both economic and social capital out of the trade at this time.[349] A highly suggestive document from 1138, allowing a rare glimpse of a business investment in Milan, also hints at the town's relationship with the wider textile trade of the region. Ambrogio Fregatosa was a Milanese resident who left properties in Vimercate to his creditor as a surety for a £4, 19 *solidi* loan he took out to buy cloth (*pannis tirlixis*) – a significant sum for movable goods.[350] The canonical community at S. Stefano's wealth grew greatly too in these same decades after 1100. It was in this period that the church had accumulated the capital to erect a large and imposing campanile, to patronise hospitals, and to recuperate many of the tithes of its territory (a subject we will return to later).[351]

Looking beyond our period, it is also worth stating that Monza and other Brianza settlements had by the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries developed into centres of industry of interregional significance. Examining the thirteenth-century notarial records of Milan's nearest port, Genoa, Paolo Grillo has shed light on Monzese merchants and artisans involved in the wool and cloth industry who had come to buy and sell at the port. The same documents reveal industrial production, especially iron- and steelwork, in Cantù in the foothills of Brianza.[352] Cantù is unfortunately barely visible in the documents of our period, although it is referred to as a *burgus* in a document of 1106, so it is fair to imagine that this too was a centre of some social complexity by the end of the eleventh century.[353] Ironwork was probably already an important part of this development during the central middle ages, and Cantù's location pivoted between the Brianza plains and the mining enterprises of the

[349] For Ambrogio *sartor*, *AP*, no. 476 (1067); Giovanni and Trigerio *follo*, *PSSVimercate*, nos. 18-19 (1131) and 38 (1143); Lanfranco *Tinctor*, *PSSVimercate*, no. 25 (1136), Pietro *Tinctor*, son of Marchisio, nos. 28 (1137), 30 (1137), 40 (1147), 56 (1155), Giovanni *Tinctor*, no. 65 (1161).

[350] *PSSVimercate*, no. 31. Among the properties pledged was a *sedimine uno cum casis* within the walls of the *burgo de Vicomercate prope eccleisam Sancti Stephani*. It is tempting to think that the *sedimen* had something to do with the trade. Unfortunately neither party can be traced elsewhere.

[351] Vergani, 'Da Galliano alla Martesana, for the campanile; *PSSVimercate*, no. 16, for the hospital.

[352] Grillo, *Milano in età comunale*, pp. 224-8. The notarial documents also reveal metal production in Carate, and one individual from Garbagnate can be seen to have been involved in commerce in Genoa.

[353] *PSSVimercate*, no. 5.

pre-Alps. Indeed as early as the beginning of the tenth century Godeperto, a professional blacksmith and dependant of Nonantula from Galliano (Cantù's *pieve*), was obliged to render fifteen iron scythes to the monastery's *cella* in Pavia.[354] Even our very fragmentary evidence, therefore, suggests that Cantù joined Monza and Vimercate as a major rural production and population centre. Together they marked out the north-eastern plain and foothills of the archdiocese as the rural area most subject to the quickening pace of landscape and market change in the eleventh century.

* * *

This chapter has been concerned both with the geography of power in Milan's *contado* and the effects of market relations which penetrated deeper into the countryside. From this we are able to sense the reach of the archbishops' power into the wider region, whether through their possession of castles, or their oversight of the diocese's network of *pieve*. Furthermore, these sites of power framed points of interconnection between the archbishop and his aristocratic entourage. Lay families enjoyed the substantial surpluses transferred through tithes and, at least sometimes, advocacy rights over rural churches. Their kinsmen in the cathedral church, meanwhile, continued to exercise active oversight over institutional aspects of a number of *pievi* - often at great distances from the city, and until the mid-eleventh century at least supervised the integrity of their properties. Evidence for exactly how tithes and *pievi* were managed in the eleventh century is very fragmentary, but there is no reason these relationships of collaboration and exchange between family and church were inherently dysfunctional, at least at the beginning of our period. Increased

[354] *CDL*, no. 422, *Gudepertus faber filio quondam Martini*, who among other renders owed annually *falces prataricias bonas quindecim cum* [...] *ferreas earum* [...] *sicut necesse est segandum.*

patrimonialisation of church possessions however, especially after 1037, locked goods fixed patterns of circulation through inheritance. As we have suggested, by blocking the freer circulation of goods between different clients and institutions of the church, this may have been an important factor driving new ideas about the relationship between clerical office and kinship, which were articulated by reformers in the following decades.

An apparent, and regionally precocious, expansion in credit and monetisation in the second quarter of the eleventh century saw the demise of property exchanges, and with it the mediating role of episcopal representatives during land transfers. It was perhaps this same increase in liquidity that allowed the urban market to centralise further commercial exchange in the city. Increased demand for cereals especially stimulated a more rapid rate of change to landscape management, and from the 1050s saw the further extension of market relations among rural producers, especially in the Brianza plain and around Vimercate.

This leads us to a final comment on the political geography of the archdiocese. We have commented already that the Varese hills constituted the major heartland of episcopal power, studded with castles and places of political refuge, as well as being the economic base for many of the most influential *capitaneal* families, including so many of the families of archbishops themselves. The north-east plain was different. Major aristocratic families still had roots in the region, and branches of the powerful da Vimercate possessed two castles on the area's edge, Airuno and Cisano on either side of the Adda crossing at Brivio. But the framework of epsicopal patronage appears less intense, and in the same area we can locate the formation of alternative political and religious movements. Indeed, our study reveals that the roots of Milan's movement for religious reform were here.

First of all, Brianza's economic development enabled new modes of religious life. Within three years of S. Stefano of Vimercate's first recorded commercialised rents, the church is first recorded in 1056 as a *canonica*, that is, a community adhering to the principles

of common life and property. Indeed this is the first *pieve* in the archdiocese in which the common life is attested. The next baptismal church to be defined as a *canonica* in 1067 was S. Stefano of Appiano, which also lies in Brianza (west of Cantù) and likewise in this year received rents in kind. A 1068 charter in favour of S. Stefano of Mariano in Brianza (between Monza and Cantù) also suggests at least a degree of common living among the deacons and priests of the 'order' of the *piece* church[355]. Economic specialisation and the growing surpluses which accompanied the turn towards the market in Brianza can be seen, therefore, to have made possible the formation and sustenance of the common life among the parish clergy. It was this same area, furthermore, that gave birth to some of the most visible representatives of reform. Cucciago, outside of Cantù, was the birthplace of the Pataria's first leader, Arialdo. It was also the site of SS. Gervasio e Protasio, the church he founded to foster the common life, before beginning his campaign in the city in 1057. The evidence for the emergence of reform in the countryside in the mid-eleventh century, at sites where the invasion of the market was most acute, will be rehearsed fully in Chapter 4, but the importance of the argument means it is worth stressing at this point too. Although Milan itself had had an active commercial life for a long time before the eruption of the Pataria in 1057, the countryside was newer to the process; and, as we will see, it was the countryside where the Pataria emerged from. Before we consider these issues in greater depth, however, we need to look at how the city, always the central stage of political conflict, was itself transformed as a consequence of these changes which we have discussed in the countryside.

[355] For S. Stefano of Vimercate, *AP*, nos 387 (1056), for Appiano, 480 (1067), for Mariano, 496 (1068).

3.

THE CITY: THE GROWTH OF AN URBAN WORLD

The agrarian transformations discussed in the last chapter were the precondition for the expansion of the city and its increasing social complexity in this period. But the centrality of the city for regional elites and organising the distribution of political power was not new, and indeed was a constant fact of early medieval Italy as a whole. In contrast to other regions of the former western Roman empire, cities remained the leading centres of civic and religious administration, and the residences of at least a section of the aristocracy.[356] If this was true for other cities it was especially true for Milan, and the eleventh century saw an increasing number of aristocrats seek patronage in urban church clienteles and take up residence here. Cities in Italy had also for long tended to be at the top of regional hierarchies of exchange, and as we saw in the last chapter, the concentration of markets in the city at the expense of local centres only increased in this period.

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the expansion of Milan's urban society from the end of the tenth century until the early twelfth century. Discussion will approach this problem from three angles: the articulation of urban space, the chronology of economic change, and the evidence for demographic growth. Close attention to Milan's topography not only helps us frame the context and meaning of other events in the city. It allows us a partial view of the ways in which increasing social complexity constructed a growing

[356] On the continuing relevance of urban centres in early-medieval Italian politics and society, G. P. Brogiolo, *Le origini della città medievale* (Mantua, 2011), C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford, 2005), 591-692. P. Jones, *The Italian City-State: From Commune to Signoria* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 74-88.

differentiation of city space, both economically and socially. Having this in mind will then make it easier to interpret the evidence for economic expansion in the same period. Finally, assessing evidence for demography is important if we are to assess whether Milan's religious and political turmoil really did depend on the crowding of human bodies in the city.

* * *

The city was bounded by the antique circuit of walls erected by Emperor Maximian in the late third century, punctured by six major gates: the Porta Comacina, the Porta Vercellina, the Porta Ticinese, the Porta Romana, the Porta Orientale, and the Porta Nuova. The late third century, when Milan became an imperial capital, also saw the whole western quarter of the city between the Porta Vercellina and Porta Ticinese given oven to an enormous palace complex. In imitation of the Roman Palatine, this included a circus which lay parallel to the city's western wall. Although we rarely know how, at least some of palace structure was reused in the medieval period.[357] Crucially for a major urban centre not built on a river, navigable water courses and Roman-era canals connected Milan to the major flows of the Ticino and the Adda, which went on to join the Po. Although we hear little of their history in this era, maintaining navigable water routes must have been essential in order to preserve the city's centrality in regional exchange networks. According to Landolfo Seniore, one of the Roman-built canals, the Vettabia, had once conveyed rich commodities into Milan from beyond the sea, via the Po and the river Lambro.[358] We also know that the course of the Olona in this period ran close to the basilica of San Lorenzo, south of the city walls, and the city was sufficiently well fed by waters to be struck by serious flooding in

[357] For the ancient walls and palace, S. Lusuardi Siena, 'Milano: la città nei suoi edifici', in *Milano e i milanesi*, pp. 209-40, 211-22, A. Ceresa Mori, ' "*Palatium duabus turribus sublime…*" Il palazzo imperiale di Milano nel quadro delle indagini recenti', in *L'editto di Milano e il tempo della tolleranza: Costantino, 313 d.C.* (Milan, 2012), pp. 22-8, and in general, *Milano capitale dell'impero romano, 286-402 d.C.* (Milan, 1990).
[358] Land Sen, *HM*, II.24.

October, 1111.[359] As we shall see, the eleventh century witnessed the formation of more clearly defined suburban settlement, but land immediately outside the walls was still – unsurprisingly – subject to cultivation. To the north of the city near S. Simpliciano, for example, lay a large pasture land known as the Prato Maggiore surrounded by fields, and plots of farmland are visible elsewhere around the city's circumference.[360]

Within the walls, although there were open spaces, much of it was enclosed and divided among plots of housing. In common with other Italian cities of the time, contemporary charters reveal that Milan's material fabric consisted of a patchwork of enclosed gardens and courtyards attached to houses and churches. Bonvesin de la Riva's thirteenth-century eulogy to the city reveals the rich variety and abundance of vegetables, herbs, and flowers grown in Milan's medieval gardens: these included cabbages and squash, chard, lettuces, fennel, dill, chervil, garlic, leeks, and parsnips; mint, basil, marjoram; roses, violets, and strawberries.[361] Even if Milanese tastes had changed in the intervening years, this list still gives us an idea of the potential range of produce which could have been grown in the city's gardens. Such crops probably served single households or communities, but on at least one occasion there is the suggestion that a sizeable *ortum* in the city could yield larger profit.[362] In 1083, four brothers of the de Veglinari family, clients of the convent of S. Maria Gisone, petitioned the abbess for a lease for a large garden (8 *tavole* and 10 feet) at the not insubstantial rent of 12 *denarii* a year. It is striking that the brothers were willing to pay for a garden on its own, but the charter also contains a clause in which it is stipulated that if the property is subleased, the abbess must receive a higher rent of 18 *denarii*.[363] This suggests

---

[359] AP, no. 136 (1025), suburban property is bordered by *fluvio Ollonna*. Land SP, *HM*, c. 30: *Octubri vero mense sequente flumina per continuam pluviam in tantum creverunt, quod non solum villas set ipsam civitatem in mirum modum perturbarent.*

[360] *AP*, no. 454 (1064). See also, e.g. *AP*, no. 59.

[361] Bonvesin de la Riva, *De magnalibus Mediolani*, IV. 5.

[362] Forthcoming work by Caroline Goodson will argue that early medieval urban gardens were probably for personal provision, and should be considered as a positive use of city space, rather than symptoms of ruralisation.

[363] *AP*, no. 644 (1083),.

that the community recognised the potential for commercial investment in the property, if it came into the right hands, and was concerned to receive a share of the profits in case this was realised.

Open space in the city did not, then, necessarily look 'un-urban'. This is clearer still because beautiful and spacious gardens and courtyards were markers of social status in an urban world, not least because they could accommodate a patron's entourage. Landolfo Seniore suggests as much in a story he tells us about Erlembaldo the Patarine leader. As his power and authority in the city grew, Landolfo claims that Erlembaldo grew dissatisfied with the size of his house. There he set himself up somewhere he felt was more suited to the dignity of his status and influence: a large, palatial residence near the Porta Orientale with a 'courtyard and a wonderful, delightful garden', where he could receive his supporters and shelter his mules and horses.[364] As was the case in other Italian cities from Rome to Verona, eleventh-century court cases were sometimes held in the courtyards of a judge's house.[365]

Contemporaries were also conscious of the city's classical past, which they extolled with pride. The anonymous author of the late tenth-century *Libellus de situ mediolanensis* eulogises Milan's fertility and temperate climate, before memorialising the city's public buildings constructed by Roman emperors. They left 'an extraordinary palace, a theatre, latrine, baths and an arboretum'. No wonder, the author suggests, that the emperors made the city their seat.[366] A century later Landolfo Seniore would use and expand this same text in order to highlight Milan's classical inheritance, claiming that the Romans adorned the walls with a tower for every day of the year. For him the arboretum was likened to a 'Paradise of God', while in the finely-built arena the entire soldiery of Italy could assemble and still hear

---

[364] Land Sen., *HM*, III.21, *Quin etiam Herlembaldus, cum domum non haberet tam amplam, ut suos recipere posset, domum palatinam magnam cum curte admirabilique viridario et delectabili, quae ante ecclesiam sancti Victoris 40 martyrum morabatur, ut suos reciperet consentientes, ut etiam equos et mulas foveret, criminose invasit.*

[365] E.g., *Placiti*, III/I nos. 364-5, *in laubia solario propria abitacionis Arioaldi iudex, per eius data licencia*.

[366] *Libellus de situ*, pp. 9-10, *locantes in ea, more patrio, eximium Augustorum dignitati pallatium, theatrum, aumatium, thermas et viridiarium atque alia quecumque imperiali stemati complacitura forent. Ob quam causam sepissime ab eisdem postmodum Augustis frequentari cepit et incoli...*

the voice of a single speaker.[367] It is not always clear how much of the material legacy of Roman public building (as opposed to its churches) survived into the long eleventh century.[368] Certainly the sites of the circus and theatre were remembered, as they emerge in place-names, and the theatre may still have been used for public assemblies. As will be discussed, the fourth-century ceremonial architecture around the Porta Romana, especially the triumphal arch which still survived, had a continuing impact on the city's ritual geography. We now turn to examine the urban landscape in more precise detail.

Urban Space and Topography

The city's social and economic life was focused on two central places: the *campo santo*, dominated by the two cathedrals and the episcopal complex, and – just to the south-west – the ancient Roman forum, which still formed Milan's commercial heart in the long eleventh century. We will begin by examining the forum area. Until the mid-eleventh century, this space was associated by contemporaries with what must have been the imposing structure of the public mint, which possibly occupied the same site as its ancient predecessor, and whose location on the forum is made explicit in the charter evidence.[369] The *Moneta publica* was used as a toponym to identify the location of property until 1037, after which year it does not reappear in records (perhaps because the site of the mint had already changed). The forum was also most likely the location of the butcher's market, referred to as the

[367] Landolfo Sen., *HM*, II.2.
[368] For an overview, S. Lusuardi Siena, 'Milano: La città nei suoi edifici. Alcuni problemi', in *Milano e i milanesi prima del mille*, pp. 209-40.
[369] For the ancient mint, *Milano capitale dell'impero romano, 286-402 d.c.* (Milan, 1990), pp. 103-4, and A. Ceresa Mori, 'Dal foro romano all'Ambrosiana', *Studi Ambrosiana*, 4 (2010), pp. 91-113.
AP, no. 261 (1037).

macellum in a 992 charter and the *becaria maigiore* in 1043.[370] Archaeological excavations of Piazza S. Sepolcro (the modern-day site of the forum) have revealed a structure on the east side of the forum which has been interpreted as a Roman-era *macellum*, and close to the present day ground level, which may be a sign of continued occupation. Anna Ceresa Mori has also noted thirteenth-century references to the *Becharia Magiore* occupying the same site.[371] The 1043 charter implies that the *becaria* was an enclosed space, and the opportunity for profit inside must have been substantial: just nine square feet within the space was sold for the exceptionally high price of £3.

In the open space of the forum land for hosting market stalls was also highly valued. An eleventh-century copy of a diploma, allegedly issued by Otto I in favour of the monks of S. Ambrogio, records the concession of royal property in the 'public market' (*ubi publicum mercatum extat*) where merchants owned their own stalls (referred to as *stationes* and *banculae*). The same document leaves the impression of a crowded and bustling urban space, which must have focused a wide range of social interactions: as well as stands and covered markets it also notes the public well, which would have drawn a constant flow of poorer people satisfying their needs for water.[372] In 1100, when Archbishop Anselmo IV instituted a market to coincide with the new liturgical celebration of the 1099 liberation of the Holy Sepulchre, the intensity of market activity in the forum appears to have grown much further still: prescriptions had to be issued to regulate and protect the equitable distribution of

[370] *CDL*, no. 868 (992), *AP*, no. 302 (1043), *pecia una de terra iuris mei, reiacente intra suprascripta civitate, infra becaria maigiore*.
[371] Ceresa Mori, 'Dal foro romano'. A *becaricia* is also recorded on the forum at Pavia in 967, Manaresi, *Placiti*, II.1, no. 158, see D. A. Bullough, 'Urban Change in Early Medieval Italy: The Example of Pavia', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 34 (1966), pp. 82-130, 111. A *becaria* is also recorded on Verona's forum by 1107, see G. M. Varanini, 'L'area del *Capitolium* di Verona nel medioevo e in età moderna', in G. Cavalieri Manasse (ed.) *L'area del* Capitolium *di Verona: ricerche storiche e archeologiche* (Verona, 2008), pp. 15-47, 25.
[372] D O I, no. 145. Violante, *Società milanese*, p. 65 already noted that there are doubts about the diploma's authenticity, but if the document was an eleventh-century forgery, the concern betrayed to validate the monastery's claims would still demonstrate the high value of the land in the market place. On the social significance of wells and who controlled them, Squatriti, *Water and Society*, pp. 28-32.

market stalls.[373] Furthermore, Anselmo sought to make the S. Sepolcro market a powerful point of economic and spiritual attraction for the wider region. A sixteen-day peace was declared to encourage safe passage to the feast day, and – extraordinarily – the archbishop declared that those unable to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem itself, could still receive powerful penance if they journeyed to the Holy Sepulchre's likeness in Milan.

Such indicators of heavy traffic and commercial competition substantiate the economic centrality of the forum area which was first indicated by Violante in 1953, and often noted by historians since. Violante highlighted the rapid rise in house prices in the city, and especially around the mint, in the decades around the turn of the millennium. Multi-storey houses on the forum, of approximately the same size, were valued at £5 in 1000, £6 in 1012, and £10 in 1035.[374] Late tenth- and early eleventh-century charters also reveal that many of the house-owners around the forum were moneyers, merchants, and artisans – including cobblers, bakers, and other craftsmen, drawn to the space of their profits and professions. Most of the houses recorded in the area rose above a single storey, buildings referred to as a *casa solariata* or a *solarium*, and this too is suggestive of a more intensive level of commerce and industry. In early medieval Italy, the two-storey *casa solariata* was the signature residence of the urban elite, who valued the functional separation of house space into living and shop quarters, an articulation of space wholly absent in lower class housing. A second floor, raised above street level, provided residents with more prestigious and dignified sleeping and dining quarters (the *piano nobile*), separated from kitchen, workshop, and stock-keeping spaces on the ground floor. In the eleventh century, this model of housing began to diffuse downwards towards the middle social strata of city populations, extending in the process the number of specialised shop spaces.[375]

---

[373] Puricelli, *Ambrosianae Mediolani basilicae et monasterii*, no. 289, pp. 481-5.
[374] Violante, *Società milanese*, pp. 109-10. *CDL*, no. 968 (1000), *AP*, nos. 51 (1012) and 241 (1035).
[375] R. Santangeli Valenzani, *Edilizia residenziale in Italia nell'altomedioevo* (Rome, 2011), pp. 75-89 and 142.

The precise sorts of artisanal production taking place in the workshops around Milan's forum can occasionally be glimpsed. By 1000 there was certainly leatherwork: Madelberto was making shoes here, and in 992 there is a reference to a whole shop area devoted to shoemaking (*calegaria*). There was also perhaps metalwork of some kind, carried out by *fabri* such as Gisederio, but the term is very generic and could refer to other kinds of craftsmen[376]. A merchant, who lived on the forum's edge, and his family owned a two-storey house just east of the square with a bakery attached, which he was forced to mortgage in 993.[377] And in 1066, we see that the abbot of Sant'Ambrogio rented out property near the forum which was bounded on two sides by a whole neighbourhood of tenant swordsmiths (*spadari*). Metal ore extraction in the mountain valleys was a key concern of city institutions, as we have seen, and fed industries such as these. It is also worth noting that metalwork, and weapons manufacture in particular, later developed into one of late medieval Milan's key trades.[378] This cluster of *spadari*, all working in the same zone, especially if considered together with the shoemaking shop, is also suggestive of a degree of economic specialisation at the time which may have been more widespread than our sources indicate explicitly. Bringing all this evidence together, Milan's marketplace emerges by the mid-eleventh century as a crowded and busy centre of traffic and shop activity. It is no wonder then, that when the Patarines launched their campaign against the city clergy, they came to the *forum* in 1057 to raise the crowds (*turbis*).[379]

The 1030s also witnessed a transformation in the physical space of the forum, and the development of its prestige thanks to the foundation of the church of the S. Trinità – later in

---

[376] For Madelberto *calegario* and Gisederio *faber*, *CDL*, nos. 766 (975) and 800 (980). For the shoemaking shop area, *CDL*, no. 868 (992), in reference to a house located *alloco ubi Calegaria dicitur*.

[377] *CDL*, no. 880 (993), *casa una solariata et sala quod est pristinum*.

[378] AP, no. 467 (1066), in the boundary clause, we are told that swordsmiths are tenants (*tenent spadari*) on both the land east and north of the property in question. It is tempting to make a link with the modern Via Spadari, which does indeed run between the northern point of the former forum and S. Satiro, Sant'Ambrogio's urban *cella*. See Chapter 2 above for mining and the important of late-medieval Milan's metalworking and arms industry.

[379] Arn, *LGR*, III.10.

1100 consecrated as S. Sepolcro – by Benedetto Rozone, the scion of a family of masters of the mint.[380] The structure stood as a monument to the wealth of one of the neighbourhood's richest families, who were able to convert the profits of their profession, tied to an increasingly monetised market, into a bricks-and-mortar monument to their social success.[381] But S. Sepolcro's structural complex was also intended to express something ritually and symbolically ambitious. On its foundation as S. Trinità, its monumental space was designed to integrate a whole series of altars and sanctuaries dedicated to the physical places of the Holy Land and the historical experiences of Christ's life and passion. As Schiavi has argued, the complexity of this design suggests a degree of episcopal collaboration before the church's foundation and, as we will see, S. Sepolcro was decades later given a central function in the wider city liturgy by Anselmo IV da Bovisio. His privilege of 1100 also confirmed the church's incipient parochial rights over the neighbourhood. S. Sepolcro's establishment and early history, therefore, can be seen as a series of acts which responded to the growing social importance and status of the forum in the eleventh century, endowing it with sacred spaces and ecclesiastical officers. The Milanese built Jerusalem in their marketplace.

Pivoting between the central commercial area of the forum and the religious centre of the cathedrals was S. Satiro. Dedicated to Ambrose's brother, this was a dependent monastic centre (*cella*) belonging to the monks of S. Ambrogio (and it still stands today, between Via Torino and Via Falcone, where arresting Carolingian-era frescos still survive). Gifted to S. Ambrogio by Archbishop Ansperto in 879, S. Satiro projected the suburban monastery's social influence into the heart of the city, facilitating its direct participation in the most exclusive area of the urban property market and allowing it to develop rich

[380] L. C. Schiavi, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Milano: da Ariberto a Federico Borromeo: genesi ed evoluzione di una chiesa ideale* (Pisa, 2005), AP, no. 249 (1036).
[381] See above, Chapter 1.

clienteles on the valuable land it owned nucleating around the church.[382] The boundary clauses of leases reveal a social landscape in which whole clusters of laymen held land from S. Satiro and the monastery's abbot (land described as owned by the church but held by the tenant: *ipsius ecclesie, qui detinet…* or simply *detinet…*). The church's physical presence in the area was made more visible and imposing to its clients and neighbours when a campanile was raised in the early eleventh century – precisely the period in which its property appears to have been particularly attractive to leaseholders.[383] Its property allowed S. Ambrogio to attract a crowd of merchants, moneyers, and other laymen, who actively petitioned the abbot to acquire 29-year leases on buildings and plots of land on the forum's eastern edge at fairly substantial rents. In 1030, for example, the merchant Rolando rented a house for 3½ *solidi* a year, the same rate paid by both Maurone son of Bonizo in 1036 and Beno son of Stefano in 1066. A moneyer in 1036, named Andrea Otto, requested a lease for only 4 *denarii* less.[384] The terms of one of these leases imply that at least some of these plots were intended for specifically commercial purposes. Two merchant brothers, Rolando and Lanzone, asked in 1017 for a tenancy contract for land right next to the forum, by the dependent chapel of S. Maria Beltrade, close to where the *becaria* likely stood. The document stipulates that the brothers had to remove any structures – temporary ones, adapted for commercial purposes, one presumes – belonging to them at the end of the contract.[385] If the land and activity around S. Satiro and the forum's eastern edge do not appear to have been quite as valuable as that on the forum itself and around the mint, the monks of S. Ambrogio nevertheless controlled property in the city centre which made possible the construction of a social network of rich, commercial actors.

---

[382] V. Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, III, no. 268, pp. 205-6.

[383] E. Arslan, 'L'architettura romanica milanese', *Storia di Milano*, vol. III, pp. 395-521.pp. 503-5 discusses the structure and its dating.

[384] AP, nos. 123 (1023), 187 (1030), 245 (1036), 251 (1036), 467 (1066). Cf. no. 382 (1056), for a large plot of *solariata*, leased to Arduino Amizo of the Porta Ticinese, for 5 *solidi*.

[385] AP, no. 85: *ad expleti libelli licanciam abeamus nos petitores cum nostros heredes omnes edificias et alias nostras causas foras inde tolendum sine contradicione*.

Just north-east of the forum and S. Satiro lay the cathedral complex and *campo santo*. Two cathedral basilicas of late fourth/fifth-century foundation stood one in front of the other, along a west-east axis. The summer cathedral, S. Tecla, stood just in front and slightly to the north of its winter counterpart, known as S. Maria Maggiore or Iemale. Before the facade of S. Maria stood the baptistery of S. Giovanni, built in Ambrose's own time and the site of the waters in which Augustine had been immersed and baptised, while a second, even older baptistery – dedicated to S. Stefano – lay behind the winter basilica to the east.[386] Meanwhile, the bishop's palace with its system of chapels, baths, halls, and courtyards stood to the south of Santa Maria, known in this period as 'the house of Saint Ambrose' (*domus sancti Ambrosi*).[387] The cathedral square thus formed the liturgical nerve-centre of the city, something that will be discussed at length in Chapter 6. However it is worth emphasising here that the ritual dramas played out in this space attracted violent conflicts over their meanings, set against the backdrop of these basilicas and their fonts, especially during the years of the Pataria. The bishop's effective leadership of city government also focused the square's political centrality. While tenth-century judicial assemblies, especially those presided over by the count, often took place in the *curtis ducis* (probably north of the forum, to judge by the modern toponym Cordusio), it is striking that in 1021, Count Ugo sat in judgement in the open space of the bishop's palace, known as the *broletto*, next to the episcopal baths.[388] Indeed the *broletto* would become the natural centre of communal politics in the twelfth century. From its very beginnings in the 1130s the commune continued to host courts and assemblies there, and even raised a modest court building, until the *podestà*

[386] The architectural history of the episcopal complex is much debated. For latest findings and dating hypotheses, and for an account of previous discussion, E. Neri, E. Spalla, S. Lusuardi Siena, 'Il complesso episcoaple di Milano: dall'insediamento romano al duomo visconteo. Una problematica sintesi diacronica', *Hortus artium medievalium*, vol. 20 (2014), pp. 192-204.
[387] Remains of a large building to the south of S. Maria, dated to the late fourth century, have been interpreted part of the episcopal palace in Ambrose's time, see *ibid*., p.194. For episcopal palaces in Italy, M. C. Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, 2000).
[388] *Placiti*, no. 457 (1021) *Brolito domui sancti Ambrosii in caminata maiore, prope baneum dicitur Stuva.* This judgement took place on the authority (*licenciam*) of Archbishop Ariberto.

Alfredo da Concesio di Brescia finally translated the communal palace off episcopal land a few hundred metres west to the *broletum novum* in 1228.[389]

Unfortunately, we lack almost any documentary records about the urban space around the cathedrals in our period, because of the loss of the episcopal archives. However, the most important archaeological data pertaining to earlier medieval Milan uncovered so far – deriving from 1982-90 excavations during the construction of the Metropolitan Line 3 – relate to the area to the south of S. Tecla.[390] The excavations revealed two units of a series of narrow, rowed houses of eighth- to tenth-century construction, with the walls substantially reconstructed in herringbone stone in the tenth/eleventh century. Each unit measured around 12 metres in length and only 3 metres in width where facing the road. The thickness of the walls is such that it implies a second floor, and trenches some two metres deep between the walls of the houses reveal the presence of cellars or other spaces for stock storage. A later eleventh/early-twelfth-century phase saw the houses undergo further reconstruction work, as well as the probable erection of porticos on the adjacent roadside. Dated to this same phase is a fireplace and a crucible, so a specialised workshop, perhaps dedicated to metalwork, must have been active in this period.[391]

These structures can be identified as examples of the two-storey houses known as *casae solariatae* in the charter evidence, which we have seen were important markers of higher social status. The MM3 archaeologists noted two local documents which describe houses of similar narrow dimensions, and contemporary private housing of comparable type has emerged in the material evidence of other Italian cities.[392] That the houses were rowed,

[389] Grillo, *Milano in età comunale*, pp. 56-8.

[390] D. Caporusso (ed.), *Scavi MM3. Ricerche di archaeologia urbana a Milano durante la costruzione della linea 3 della Metropolitana, 1982-1990* (Milan, 1991), 4 vols. Vol. 1, pp. 351-8 for the project's overarching interpretation of the excavation's historical significance.

[391] D. Andrews, 'Lo scavo di piazza Duomo: età medioevale a moderna', in Caporusso (ed.), *Scavi MM3*, vol. 1, pp. 163-209, 163-176, and 173 for the fireplace and crucible.

[392] Ibid., p. 169. See *AP*, nos. 6 (1003) and 60 (1013). On residential building in the earlier middle ages in general, Santangeli Valenzani, *Edilizia residenziale*, and P. Galetti (ed.), *Edilizia residenziale tra IX-X secolo: storia e archeologia* (Florence, 2010). For points of comparison with housing from other cities, F. Doglioni, C. Merli,

a form of construction unattested archaeologically in Italy before the late tenth century, reflects a level of demographic pressure on the use of space in this area. The presence of what look like storage cellars and an industrial workshop also provides an important indication of the cathedral square's status as a commercial and artisanal centre in the city. This developed especially in the area around S. Tecla, where a market certainly existed by 1126: a stall (*banca et stallo de mercato*) by the summer cathedral was acquired in that year for as much as £4.[393] Indeed commercial activity only grew in this area, thanks in part to investments made by the minor order of the city clergy, and in the late twelfth century a fish market and a covered leather shop stood in S. Tecla's shadow.[394] Indeed the twelfth century saw a shift in the city's centre of commercial gravity from the forum to the south and west of the *campo santo*, which would become the economic heart of late-medieval Milan.

The MM3 excavations at the Piazza del Duomo also yielded a number of isolated coin finds from this period, marking an apparent expansion in the local money supply after an absence of any earlier coins dating from after the fifth century. We then find two *denarii* issued under either Otto II or III, and a third identified as a tenth- or eleventh-century imperial issue. These are followed by one *denarius* issued under King Arduin and six from the reign of either Henry IV or V (1039-1125). Although this is a modest number of coins, it is still substantially more than what excavations have turned up in other Italian cities for this period, and is all the more significant given that casual losses of high-value silver coinage were rare. A later-eleventh-century Byzantine *follis* (a low-denomination bronze coin) was also found in the same area, an indication of the area's integration into long-distance

---

and S. Storchi, 'Prime osservazioni sul ritrovamento di parti superstiti di costruzioni a struttura lignea in edifici del centro storico di Parma', *Archaeologia medievale*, 14 (1987), pp. 505-516, and S. Gelichi and M. Librenti, 'Edilizia abitativa tra IX e X secolo nell'Italia settentrionale: stato della questione', and A. Augenti, 'Tutti a casa. Edilizia residenziale in Italia centrale tra IX e X secolo', in P. Galetti (ed.), *Edilizia residenziale*, pp. 15-30 and 127-51.

[393] The document is recorded in a fifteenth-century register, now in the Archivio Capitolare del Duomo, cited in M. Spinelli, 'Uso dello spazio e vita urbana a Milano tra XII e XIII secolo: l'esempio delle botteghe di piazza del Duomo', in *Paesaggi urbani dell'Italia padana nei secoli VII-XIV* (Bologna, 1988), pp. 251-73, 254.

[394] *Ibid*, p. 257.

networks of exchange. Together these finds provide further confirmation of the importance of commercial activity in the south-west of the *campo santo*.[395]

In the area just north of the cathedrals square, landownership was dominated by the female convents of S. Maria Gisone, built at an intersection, Carrubio, and S. Salvatore Vigelinda (also known, from 1093, as S. Radegonda), next to another crossroad, Compito.[396] The latter in particular is relatively well documented and, like S. Satiro near the forum, both were able to attract a network of lay clients who were eager to acquire leases for the land surrounding the cloisters' walls. In the first years of the eleventh century San Salvatore's clients appear to have been among Milan's most high-status families. In 1006 Abbess Elena leased to Archbishop Arnolfo's brother, Landolfo da Arsago, then bishop of Brescia, a large plot of land and buildings near the convent for 5 *solidi* a year.[397] Merchants too were attracted to the area. In 1013 a Milanese trader named Rimperto rented three *tavole* and two feet of land next to the monastery for 8 denarii a year. In a comparable arrangement to what we saw in S. Satiro, Rimperto agreed that if he wished to sell or remove any of the structures which he owned on the property, he would have to offer the abbess first refusal. Should she not wish to purchase the structures on the convent's behalf, the merchant could pay 12 *denarii* and have licence either to sell or to remove them.[398] Again, the implied mobility of these light structures suggests they were for commercial use. If the zone north of the cathedrals and around Compito does not, inevitably, appear as commercially central as the forum and *campo santo*, it nevertheless attracted merchants and not insubstantial rents. Rimperto's payment of 8 *denarii* a year for three *tavole* of built land may be less then the going rate for roughly equivalent plots near the forum, but it is still double the cost of a

---

[395] E. A. Arslan, 'Le monete', in Caporusso (ed.), *Scavi MM3*, vol. 3.2, pp. 71-131, 91-2 and 104-5. For the rarity of finds of high-value silver *denarii*, see A. Rovelli, 'Coins and trade in early medieval Italy', *Early Medieval Europe*, vol. 17.1 (2009), pp. 45-76, reprinted alongside other important articles in ead., *Coinage and coin use*.
[396] *AP*, no. 786 (1093), for the dedication to Santa Radegonda.
[397] *AP*, no. 21 (1006).
[398] *AP*, no. 51 (1013).

slightly larger property of very similar quality leased in 1036 by S. Maria Aurona, another convent, right up against the city's northern walls.[399]

We gain the impression that over the course of the eleventh century the urban fabric around S. Salvatore Vigelinda grew denser and denser, forcing more property-holders to crowd together and mediate control of shared spaces – or even of rainwater. By 1081, one of the convent's clients had built a house above a portico adjacent to the monastery, which he gave to his father-in-law as a dower.[400] As tenants increasingly began to share the cloister's walls or build their houses higher, the community was also forced to pay more attention to the maintenance of the physical integrity of their religious space. Thus in 1093, abbess Vualderata contracted an agreement with Nazaro de Morsenchio and his offspring concerning their shared responsibilities towards raising and maintaining a wall between the family's property and the convent's garden. While Nazaro's family was allowed to make use of their side of the wall, the agreement prevented them from installing any window, balcony, or other aperture which would allow them to see into the cloister's gardens. Just two years earlier, the abbess of the Monastero Nuovo, near Porta Vercellina, had also included the same terms in a lease granted to a layman. The sisters' own success in attracting a supportive and profitable social network around their walls also brought its own dangers, of which the prying eyes of secular men was perhaps not the least. After 1100, agreements with neighbours also sought to stabilise rights over the collection of rain water from the gutters of the convents' roofs, which flowed into neighbouring plots of land.[401]

Most of the remaining areas of the city which can be studied in any detail were associated by contemporaries with one of the city's six principal gates. The eastern area of

[399] *AP*, no. 244 (1036).
[400] *AP*, no. 625 (1081).
[401] *AP*, no. 786 (1093), for Valderata and Nazaro; *AP*, no. 764 (1091), for the Monastero Nuovo. On agreements over rainwater usage, see *PSRadegonda*, no. 15 (1141), which elicits in even more detail a similar agreement from one Frogerio de Calvuzano; *PSRadegonda*, no. 9 (1132), for an agreement about rainwater draining from the monastery's roof.

Milan, beyond S. Maria Gisone and S. Salvatore Vigelinda, led to the Porta Orientale and – in the city's north-eastern corner – the Porta Nuova. This zone emerges less clearly, although we have seen that land near Porta Nuova (owned by S. Maria di Aurona) appears to have been rented for less than property nearer the forum and cathedrals. The area was not without its impressive addresses, however. It was here, next to the church of S. Vittore e Quaranta Martiri that the *capitaneus* and Patarine leader Erlembaldo acquired his palatial home with its grand courtyard and enclosed green spaces. Beyond the walls, between the Porta Nuova and the Porta Orientale stood the basilica of San Dionigi, where Ariberto had founded a rich monastery alongside the church's clergy (probably) in 1023.[402]

Turning to the south, the Porta Romana had since Milan's days as the imperial capital formed the ceremonial entrance into the city. In the late fourth century a 600-metre, colonnaded street was built which connected the gate to a triumphal arch, an architectural space designed to dignify the site of the ritual *adventus*. Just years later Ambrose in 386 inserted his monumental Basilica of the Apostles (later S. Nazaro) into the midst of this ceremonial architecture, attaching it parallel to the east side of the road.[403] The colonnades did not survive into the medieval period, but there are indicators that it retained its importance as a ritual space, while S. Nazaro remained one of the city's most impressive basilicas. The triumphal or 'Roman' arch certainly also survived, and indeed formed an important point in the contemporary topographical imagination of the city. In the preface to Arnolfo's deeds of bishops and kings, the author requested that the manuscript stay within the walls of the city or – 'if this appears too small... as far as the Roman arch'.[404] Evidently the arch was regarded as a marker of boundary space in Milan. The late tenth-century

[402] Violante, 'Le origini del monastero di S. Dionigi di Milano', in *Studi storici in onore di O. Bertolini*.
[403] *MM3*, pp. 251-7 on the construction of the porticos, dated to 375-80. N. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital* (Berkeley, 1994), p. 232, on the background to Ambrose's foundation of S. Nazaro, and now also H. Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City: Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 73-5.
[404] Arn, *LGR*, Preface, *Cuius privatum ac singulare volumen sue limina civitatis rogo nullatenus excedat; quod si videtur hoc parum, extendatur ad arcum usque Romanum.*

Libellus de situ civitatis Mediolani also identifies the burial place of early bishop Castriziano as being by the Via Romana and close to the *arcu triumphalis*.[405] The *Libellus*, as will be discussed, was related to a contemporary drive to associate the architectural and liturgical space of the city with Milan's sacred history and the memory of its bishops, so it is striking that the Roman arch was included in this scheme.[406] Thinking of a slightly later period, we might also remember that the Milanese raised capitals onto the Porta Romana with sculptures celebrating their return to the city after its sack in 1162 by Frederick Barbarossa.[407] They still regarded the Roman gate as the city's most public face. Thus when we read about liturgical processions and political interventions between the arch and gate it is worth bearing in mind the continuing ceremonial importance of this space and its monumental setting. In this way the decision too to establish a hospital for lepers – the *malsani* or *leprosi* who are first recorded in 1087, under the protection of S. Nazaro – under the shadow of the Roman Arch acquires further significance. The lepers were settled in a way which made their presence visible (Otto of Freising noticed them) at important public or ceremonial occasions. They were thus a physical reminder of the Milanese church's authority to order and define charity.[408] Finally, S. Eufemia and S. Celso, where Archbishop Landolfo da Carcano founded his monastery, stood further south and west of the Via Romana.

Moving clockwise from the Porta Romana, the Porta Ticinese also opened out onto one of the city's most monumental and prestigious basilicas. The earliest history of S. Lorenzo and its construction has been much debated, but an early/mid-fifth-century date

---

[405] *Libellus de situ*, p. 45.
[406] See below, Chapter 5.
[407] A. Segagni Malacart, 'La scultura figurative milanese dal 1100 al 1170 circa', in *Milano e il suo territorio,* pp. 783-94.
[408] AP, nos. 702 (1087) and 703 (1089), concern the *malsanos da Arco Romano*. *Gesta Federici*, MGH SRG XXVII, p. 31, *ante portam Romanam iuxta domos malsanorum, et vocabatur Arcus Romanus*. Milan was early in building a lepers' hospital. In Verona, for example, the hospital of Santa Croce is not attested until 1136, see. M. Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church*, pp. 87-92.

now looks most likely.[409] Its enormous domed roof and system of side chapels, including spectacular fifth-century mosaics in the sanctuary of Sant'Aquilino, reflected the basilica's precious status, which also ensured its regular renovation throughout the earlier middle ages. This and its size makes it easy to explain its substantial liturgical role at important moments of the year, especially as the site of the Palm Sunday preaching and the popular procession of the same day.[410] Our sources give the impression that the Porta Ticinese quarter was an affluent one, and until the mid-eleventh century at least it was home to a whole neighbourhood of rich judges and lawyers. We learn in 997 that the wealthy and influential family of the late judge Anselmo, forefather of the Avvocati family, had their private residence (*domus abitacionis nostre*) within the walls near the gate.[411] A quarter of a century later, another Milanese judge – Arderico, the son of Anselmo, also a judge – acquired a lease from the officials of S. Lorenzo for a large plot of built-up land (80 *tavole*) just outside the Porta Ticinese. It bordered the Olona canal and the prebends of the basilica's priests. The lease went for eight *solidi* a year, and was probably intended to encourage construction works, as the contract protected any built investment Arderico might make on it.[412] Yet another son of a judge, Ragimperto, is the first known owner of a tower house in Milan. In 1043 he sold enormously expensive real-estate, valued at £150, comprising two *casae solariatae* and a tower, not too far north from S. Giorgio al Palazzo. This was closer to the forum and also bordered the properties of yet more lawyers' families. Indeed land in this area between San Giorgio and the city's commercial heart already appears to have been costly some twenty years earlier, when a merchant bought a small house here (at 'Bagnara') for as much as £24. Ragimperto's tower house was certainly

[409] See E. Neri, S. Lusuardi Siena, P. Greppi, 'Il problema della cronologia del cantiere di San Lorenzo a Milano. Vecchi e nuovi dati a confronto', in R. Passarella (ed.), *Il culto di San Lorenzo tra Roma e Milano: dalle origini al Medioevo* (Rome, 2014), pp. 115-64.
[410] See below, Chapter 6.
[411] *CDL*, no. 929 (997): Anselmo made a very substantial wedding gift to Constantina, the daughter of a Pavese judge, of rural properties, as well as a plot with houses and walls next to their family residence.
[412] *AP*, no. 136 (1025), *terra eiusdem ecclesie sancti Laurentii que ipsis presbiteris ad eorum obedientia detinent.*

a marker of high wealth and status, a social background we can well imagine given that Ragimperto's father, Nazaro Bonizo, had acted as the advocate of the monks of S. Ambrogio.[413] With neighbours such as these, the Avvocati, and other wealthy lawyers, those who lived in Porta Ticinese before the mid-eleventh century found themselves in a quarter of rich and socially influential professionals. This degree of social and professional articulation is something we will return to.

Outside the city walls and between Porta Ticinese and Porta Vercellina stood the basilica of S. Ambrogio, the house of Ambrose's relics, and a cluster of chapels associated with the cult of his family and other early Milanese martyrs, such as Vitale and Nabore and Felice. Liturgy and cult practice made this suburban area a central part of Milan's sacred geography, and we know that at least in the early middle ages pilgrims began their tours of the tombs of the saints here. These at least are the instructions given to pilgrims who journeyed to Milan, in an itinerary written before the late eighth century and found in a guide to Roman sanctuaries.[414] Milan's western wall had been extended in antiquity by the emperor Maximian to encompass the circus, the length of which (as archaeological traces show) ran 470 m. south from the Vercelli gate towards the Porta Ticinese.[415] As late as the seventh century this space was still capable of playing a ritual function, when the Lombard king Agilulfo had his son proclaimed co-ruler in the circus in 604, but by the Carolingian

[413] *AP*, no. 303 (1043), for Ragimperto's tower and his neighbours: *casas duas solariatas et turre inter medium, seu sala cum areas in qua estant et curte seu mediatatem putei... non longe da ecclesia sancti Ambrosii qui dicitur in Solariolo; coerit ei da mane de heredes quondam Vaurimberti qui fuit iudex et in alicum Bernardi, da meridie de heredes Benzoni qui fuit similiter iudex, da sera et montis via*, and cf. no. 468 (1066). *AP*, no. 40 (1010), for Nazaro Bonizo as the advocate of Sant'Ambrogio. For the merchant Lanfroanco's £24 house, *AP*, no. 134 (1025), and cf. no. 336 (1050). On tower houses and social status, A. A. Settia, 'Lo sviluppo di un modello: origine e fanzine delle torri private urbane nell'Italia centrosettentrionale', in *Pesaggi urban*, pp. 155-71, and see also G. Rossetti, 'Il lodi del vescovo Daiberto sull'altezza dell torri', in ead., *Percorsi di Chiesa nella società medioevale*, pp. 251-270.

[414] The short Milan itinerary peculiarly interrupts the text of the *Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, in the eighth-century manuscript, Codex vindobonensis palatinus 795, ff. 186v-187, and is transcribed in G.-B. de Rossi, *Roma sotteranea cristiana*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1864-88), vol. 1, pp. 138-9. On dating the text, Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, pp. 19-24, and see also, C. Leyser, 'The temptations of cult: Roman martyr piety in the age of Gregory the Great', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9.3 (200), pp. 289-307.

[415] *Milano capitale dell'impero romano*, p. 423-31.

period the site was used for construction.[416] The Monastero Maggiore, built adjacent to the Porta Vercellina against the north-west corner of the Maximianic walls (still visible today), incorporated some of the circus' infrastructure and the same must have been the case for the church known as Santa Maria al Cerchio, which lay within its precincts on the modern day Via Cappuccio. Monastero Maggiore was a convent of considerable prestige and wealth but, unfortunately, it lacks ample documentation in the eleventh century. However, we know in 1042 that a miller, named Angelberto, petitioned the abbess for a 29-year contract for the possession of a 30-foot long stretch of the ancient city wall, south of the convent towards S. Maria al Cerchio. It is hard to imagine what Angelberto, whose family came from Lainate, north-west of the city near the river Olona, hoped to do with the wall-space unless he intended to use it to prop up some kind of temporary shop structure. This may have been used by the miller to prepare bread for consumption in the city.[417] Earlier in 1029, a silversmith named Domenico Gezo exchanged a house in Cologno and other rural properties in order to acquire from the monks of S. Ambrogio two *tavole* of empty land and wall-space by the Vercelli gate.[418] This suggests that artisans were drawn to use the lean-space provided by the walls by the Porta Vercellina, and perhaps the open space around the old circus was put to use for commercial purposes.

The monastery and imposing basilica of S. Simpliciano, another fourth-century foundation, dedicated to Ambrose's successor, overshadowed the suburban road running towards the Porta Comacina. Within the city walls, one of the quarter's major landmarks by the second half of the eleventh century was the complex belonging to the da Baggio family. Adjacent to their private residence close to the gate, Anselmo da Baggio (the future pope

[416] Paul the Deacon, *HL*, IV.30.
[417] *AP*, no. 296 (1042).
[418] *AP*, no. 175 (1029): *petia una de terra cum es parte muras desuper iuris eiusdem monasterio sancti Ambrosii, qui reiacet intra suprascripta civitate, non longe da porta qui vocatur Vercellina*. *CDL*, no. 800 (980), where a *faber* who owns a *solarium* by the forum sells just 10 inches of land adjacent to the house's wall.

Alexander II) constructed a chapel dedicated to S. Ilario.[419] By 1097 at the latest, the family possessed another household church, San Giovanni alle Quattro Facce, described by Landolfo of San Paolo as the da Baggio's *domesticam suam ecclesiam*.[420] The family's residence must have been an imposing urban landmark, as documentary references to Sant'Ilario later actually define the church's location in relation to the house, rather than the other way round.[421] A l064 lease of land owned by S. Giovanni, next to the church's cemetery, suggests that rents might have been slightly higher than in some other neighbourhood to the north of the city. A Milanese woman, Cristina, undertook to pay 15 *denarii* a year for six *tavole* and two feet of land, where she owned two buildings.[422] If this was typical this would be a little more expensive than rents near the north-west and north-east walls of the city.

Despite enormous gaps in the documentary record, an analysis of the extant evidence for property and topography in the city shows that it is still possible to reconstruct an image, however obliquely, of Milan's city space. One point is worth underlining: the extent to which, even before the mid-eleventh century, Milan's urban space was complex and socially and economically articulated. The economic centrality of the forum has long been noted, but beyond the principal market there are clear signs of differentiation in land values in the city's different neighbourhoods. South of the forum, around San Giorgio al Palazzo, land was also very expensive and home to a wealthy elite. North of the *campo santo*, around the female religious houses of San Salvatore Vigelinda and Santa Maria Gisone, property was perhaps not as exclusive but still highly prized by lay clients. Meanwhile, hard up towards the city's walls – whether in the north around Santa Maria Aurona or Monastero Maggiore, or in the south near the chapel of Sant'Andrea al Muro Rotto – rental prices were lower, only

[419] Giulini, *Memorie* III, pp. 494-5, discussing documents which are now lost.
[420] Land SP, *HM*, c. 2. Landolfo da Baggio takes shelter there after the crowd has risen up against him.
[421] E.g. ASMi, cart. perg. 303, no. 34 (6 February, 1134): *ecclesia sancti Illari quae est constructa intra hanc civitatem Mediolanensis non multum longe da casarum quae dicuntur de senioribus da Badaglo*.
[422] *AP*, no. 455 (1064).

one *denarius* per *tavola*.[423] Such patterns of differentiation in land value are a signal of a cityscape which was increasingly populous and economically complex. Rising pressure on land and growing specialisation in trade and professional activity had stimulated increasing differentiation of property values.

This was not, furthermore, simply an economic process. We are able to see too that different social networks expressed this growing urban complexity, shaping and assigning meaning to different zones of the city. Moneyers and merchants bought up houses by the mint and the market, and supported their neighbours as witnesses in social transactions. Judges and lawyers clustered together with their colleagues in the upmarket streets and tower houses of the Porta Ticinese quarter. Swordsmiths, shoemakers, and other artisans set up shop together in the same street with those in the same specialised trade, creating zones of industry between the forum and the cathedrals. And across the city, churches and religious houses used the land around their walls to attract lay clienteles, forging social networks of people who became neighbours at the same time. If we have so far sought to establish what we can know about the social space of the city, differences in time have so far been less stressed. We will attempt to do so now – cautiously, given the gaps in our evidence – by first considering potential moments and processes of economic change, and then assessing the possible extent of demographic growth which such changes might have supported.

Fragments of the Urban Economy

[423] *AP*, nos. 244 (1036) and 418 (1060).

A turning point in Milan's economic development was identified by Cinzio Violante as taking place in the mid-tenth century. Noting the emergence of merchants, moneyers, and artisans of different trades as property owners, Violante argued that those involved in commercial exchange and production were increasingly able to invest the growing profits of long-distance exchange in land and real estate.[424] Tenth-century documents also reveal that Milan was even before 1000 home to an artisanal economy of comparative complexity for the period: there were blacksmiths, silversmiths, craftsmen of various trades (*fabri),* cobblers (called *caligarius* or *sutor*), bakers, and even staff-makers (*bacilarus*).[425] If none of these appear to have been of especially elevated social or economic status, at least some of them had still grown rich enough from their trade to buy up property in the city centre. The craftsman Gisiderio, whom we met earlier, owned a house with a *piano nobile* (*solarium*) on the forum from the 970s, and had a cobbler as a neighbour.

Furthermore, a significant proportion of the owners of houses and shops in the forum area were merchants, who must have committed considerable profits in order to own the increasingly valuable bricks and mortar around the central marketplace and its environs.[426] Some of these, at least, were coming from outside of Milan. A merchant from Lodi owned property near S. Giorgio al Palazzo, and in 997 he acquired a large garden bordering his land through an exchange with Archbishop Landolfo.[427] At the same time as they were establishing workshops or warehouses in the city centre, merchants were also buying up land in the *contado*. We see, for example, a significant cluster of merchants who were resident in Milan acquiring land in Cologno in the first two decades of the eleventh century.[428]

---

[424] Violante, *Società milanese*, pp. 41-9.
[425] *Ibid*, p. 49.
[426] E.g. *AP*, nos. 51 (1012).
[427] *CDL*, no. 969 (926).
[428] *AP*, nos. 14, 32-3, 39, 41, 42, 100-4, 107.

Artisans continue to appear sporadically in eleventh-century documents, although Milanese notaries cease to record lay, professional identities after the 1050s or so. [429]Trades do however emerge as surnames towards the end of the century, so it is possible to track some artisanal activities in this way as well. Thus we learn of tailors, craftsmen, silversmiths, cobblers, mercers, bakers, and dyers who were all active in the city in this period.[430] While some owned property none of these individuals appear to have been more than modest landowners at best. Indeed those identified with these trades can only represent a small fragment of wider artisanal activity at the time, but they at least suggest something of the city's economic complexity and division of labour. Compared to Rome, there is just not the level of consistency or precise detail in recording artisans which was natural to notaries there. In Rome it is possible to trace scores of craftsmen, often working in trades as specialised as locksmithing or even sauce making. But in reality the differences in economic complexity were probably not as great as the varying notarial habits make it appear, particularly as Milan grew to rival Rome in size and economic weight by the end of the eleventh century.[431]

Perhaps most telling in this regard is the notice, discussed above, of a neighbourhood of swordsmiths (*spadari*) who rented premises in the 1060s just north-east of the forum and S. Satiro.[432] They held land on two sides of another plot of property so this must have been a sizeable group. While it is impossible to know whether the individuals had built any formal kind of professional association, their shared location is indicative of, at least, a level of

---

[429] For a comparative view of artisans in the Italy of this period, C. Wickham, 'Gli artigiani nei documenti italiani dei secoli XI e XII: alcuni casi di studio', in A. Molinari, R. Santangeli Valenzani and L. Spera (eds.), *L'archeologia della produzione a Roma (secoli V-XV)* (Rome, 2016), pp. 429-38.

[430] Donnino Gezo, son of Ragiverto of Milan, *argentarius*, exchanges a house in Cologno for land with walls in the city (*AP*, no. 175 (1029)); Domenico Gezo, son of Rozone, *faber*, witnesses acts (*AP*, nos. 298 (1042) and 332 (1049)); Domenico *sartor* is a witness to an act at Sant'Ambrogio (*AP*, no. 574 (1077)); Nazaro, *calegarius* (*AP*, no. 643 (1083)); Aupaldo *Tinctor* (*AP*, no. 622 (1085)); Liprando *Faber* witnesses (*AP*, no. 711 (1087)); Arnaldo, son of Negrone, *mercelator* (*AP*, nos. 775-6 (1092)).

[431] Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 136ff. In 'Gli artigiani nei documenti italiani', pp. 435-6, Wickham hypothesises that the ritual roles played by trade associations in Rome may have worked to underline the importance of artisanal identities.

[432] *AP*, no. 476 (1066).

informal collaboration (one can imagine a sharing of skills, bulk orders on materials, a greater level of trust between neighbours leading to small credit operations). Furthermore, that they were referred to as swordsmiths, and not simply as generic metalworkers, is an indication of the level of economic specialisation reached in the city by the mid-eleventh century. We have further evidence of the importance of arms manufacture from a notice in 1128 of a family involved in shield-making (the *Scudarii*), one of whose members was a witness for the convent of S. Maria Gisone. In the following decades many *Scudarii* acted as witnesses for the convent and, while they may have all been members of the same family, one document suggests that at least not all were related. If so this would indicate a broader association between men of this trade and the nuns of S. Maria Gisone, which in turn would imply some form of corporate identity.[433]

One trade that does appear to have had a level of formal association was that of professional bakers. During a terrible famine, Landolfo Seniore writes that Ariberto responded to the sight of the massed, destitute poor by summoning to his side five *pistoriae artis magistros*. These were then charged with producing enough food day and night to meet the needs of the hungry.[434] Whatever the veracity of Landolfo's story, the reference to master bakers attests to some kind of existing professional association, which may indeed have formed precociously under episcopal patronage because of the bishop's needs to respond to food shortages. *Pistores* and permanent bakeries, as we saw earlier, are also recorded in tenth-century documents, a hint that even before 1000 it was possible to make a profession out of selling food.[435]

---

[433] For Algiso *Scudarius*, *PSMarg*, no. 9 (1128), and for other *Scudarii* witnessing at the convent, nos. 11 (1150), 13 (1155), 14 (1158), 15 (1161), 16 (1169). In no. 13, Trankerio *Scudarius* and his son Montenario appear separated in the witness list from Arloto *Scudarius*.

[434] Landolfo Sen., *HM*, II.20, *Heribertus... videns pauperes egenosque tantos, orphanorum ac viduarum copiam immensam, convocari ad se quinque pistoriae artis magistros praecepit.*

[435] *CDL*, nos. 649 (961) and 683 (964).

Given that market demand in pre-industrial societies was much more unreliable and subject to seasonal fluctuations, investment in the costs of professionalisation - at the expense of labouring in subsistence production - could often represent a real risk, as George Grantham has argued.[436] The formation of sustained artisanal enterprises, and the likely pooling of risk, supplies, and credit represented by formal associations or shared workspaces, is therefore an eloquent attestation to the development of more reliable markets in which demand could realise the profits of production. It is all the more significant that by the 1060s, artisans in Milan could not only safely invest in the costs of professional baking activity (less surprising, given the permanent demand for bread), but also in specialised metalwork and arms production. Market demand - presumably also far beyond Milan - must have been at a level where it could sustain the costs demanded for specialist training, raw materials, and production, and could encourage formal or informal associations of producers.

The most socially prominent lay profession in the eleventh century, however, was that of the moneyers. This was certainly governed by a formal professional association – masters of the mint begin to be recorded early in the tenth century and professional regulations are recorded in the Pavese palace text, the *Honorantie civitatis papie.* We have already seen that the first decades of the eleventh century witnessed the rapid social ascent of some of profession's most prominent members, redeeming what must have been the increasing profits of minting in the period. Above all this is the case for the Rozone family of masters of the mint who founded, as we have seen, the basilica of S. Trinità/S. Sepolcro right by their workplace in the forum, entered the cardinal clergy, and inherited the church office of episcopal chancellor. Before September, 1028, another branch of the family also built the

[436] G. Grantham, 'Contra Ricardo: on the macroeconomics of pre-industrial economies', *European Review of Economic History*, 3 (1999), pp. 199-232.

suburban church of SS. Michele e Pietro *in Sala*, consecrated by archbishop Ariberto, outside the Porta Vercellina in this period.[437]

Numismatic finds themselves are scarce in the city, although significantly more than numbers found in other Italian cities.[438] Furthermore, at least one recent rural excavation has turned up a surprising number of Milanese coins compared to other regions. Documents at least describe a property market in which coinage dominated accounts of exchange, which was not always the case in other parts of northern and central Italy in this period, where substitute money was also in significant use.[439] However there is also possible evidence that moneyers were increasing the money supply in these same years. Ottorino Mauri has recorded the following reductions in the average weight of Milanese coins: 0.93 g under Otto I, 0.83 g under Arduin, 0.77 g under Henry II, 0.70 g under Conrad II, and 0.52 g for the earliest looking Henrician coins. As Ermanno Arslan has pointed out, it is an economic anachronism to understand these reductions as a function of inflation. Certainly we are not witnessing deliberate devaluation for speculative purposes, as this was a competitive monetary system, with Pavia's major mint just next door, and the type and quality of coins used in transactions is carefully recorded by users in documents.[440] The number of surviving coins also increases after 1000, as can be seen very clearly in from the finds at the recently excavated minor rural site of Tremona, far north of the city near Lake Lugano, where the increase in eleventh-century coins is considerable - among casual finds, 14 *denarii* have been found which date between the reigns of Otto II and Conrad II (up to

[437] For SS. Michele e Pietro, *AP*, nos. 163-4 (1028). *Die Honorantie civitatis Papie. Transkription, Edition, Kommentar*, eds. C. Brühl and C. Violante (Cologne, 1983). See R. Lopez, 'An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages', *Speculum*, vol. 28 (1953), pp. 1-43, with critical comments by Violante, *La società milanese*, pp. 56-9.

[438] See for example the recent excavation in the forum area of Verona, where no coins at all between the Lombard period and twelfth-century issues were turned up. A. Arzone, 'Le monete' in Cavalieri Manasse (ed.) *L'area del* Capitolium *di Verona*, pp. 531-82, 550-1.

[439] D. Herlihy, 'Treasure Hoards in the Italian Economy, 960-1139', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, vol. 10.1 (1957), pp. 1-14, 7-9.

[440] On Pavia's mint, A. Rovelli, 'The Denaro of Pavia in the Early Middle Ages (Eighth to Eleventh Century', in ead. *Coinage and Coin Use*, pt. VIII, pp. 1-23.

1039), compared to at least 43 under Kings Henry III-V (up to 1125). Again, this is unusually high for Italy in this period. Taken together this evidence might then suggest that the Milanese mint was responding to the needs of expanding market activity by increasing the money supply, and apparently at a considerable rate between c. 1000 and the early years of Henry IV's reign. Unfortunately very few coin finds from the city itself are available to us, although we have seen that the small batch excavated at the *campo santo* suggests something of that area's role in exchange and an increasing coin supply over the eleventh century.[441]

Another important indication of economic confidence during the first half of the eleventh century is the evidence for intended investment in the construction of new real estate within the city. As we have seen, a number of leases let out by ecclesiastical institutions include specific regulations concerning any new structures which the renters might raise during the period of their contracts. The merchant Rimperto in 1013 and Arioaldo di Lorenzo in 1036 both took out leases on land owned by the convents of S. Salvatore Vigelinda and S. Maria Aurona respectively, where they already owned existing buildings.[442] Both contracts imply that their clients intended to invest in this property, as the documents stipulate that the abbess of the two communities should have first refusal should their clients wish to remove or sell any buildings on the land. Should the abbess not wish to make the purchase, the laymen have full licence to alienate or remove what they have built (after a payment of 12 *denarii*, in the 1013 case). Similarly in 1025, officials of San Lorenzo guaranteed to the judge Arderico the right, during or at the end of the contract, to remove or alienate anything he might build on the land leased outside the city walls.[443] Moreover, there are many other contracts for plots of land in which the petitioner already owns

[441] O. Murari, 'Le monete di Milano dei primi decenni del secolo XI. Denari di Ottone III, di Arduino d'Ivrea e di Enrico II', *Rivista It di Num*, 82 (1980), 'La moneta milanese' (961-1250), *Memorie dell'Accademica Italiana di Studi Filatelici e Numismatici*, I/IV (1981); ''Note sulla monetazione milanese da Ottone I a Federico II', in *La Zecca di Milano.* (Milan, 1984), E. A. Arslan, 'Cenni sulla moneta e sulla politica monetaria a Milano al tempo di Ariberto', pp. 397-413. For Tremona, E. A. Arslan, 'Le monete', in A. Martinelli (ed.), *Tremona Castello: dal V millennio a.C. al XIII secolo d.C* (Florence, 2008), pp. 357-86, 357.

[442] *AP*, nos. 61 (1013) and 244 (1036).

[443] *AP*, no. 136 (1025).

buildings on site. Even without explicit clauses concerning rights over construction, it must be presumed that leaseholders hoped to develop this adjacent property in some way. The documentary formulae in leases also all require leaseholders to improve and not degrade the property in question (*ita ut aput eis meliorentur, nam non depegiorentur*). The frameworks existed, therefore, for clients to invest in infrastructure, whether they were building houses for rent or more lightweight shop structures. Furthermore, that these stipulations foresee that tenants might remove (*tollere*) these structures does suggest that some of these structures might have been less permanent, adapted for commercial ends.

Rising real estate prices, the accumulated capital of merchants and moneyers, investment in new construction, and an expanding money supply, all suggest that the first half of the eleventh century was a period of overall growth. No doubt such development faced interruptions. The 1030s especially saw moments of acute instability, including famine, civic revolt, and war. But none of this seems to have arrested a broader movement of economic expansion. Archbishop Ariberto also had his eye on securing the centrality of the city market among more distant traders, if we are to believe Landolfo Seniore: his chronicle claims that Ariberto instituted a truce of God which would facilitate people carrying out business (*negotia*).[444] Before 1043, as we have seen, the first families undertook the building of a tower house, which fetched a high price on the land market. In the same year land within the enclosed butcher's market – the *beccaria maggiore* – was sold for as much as £1 per three square feet, as we have seen. As the century progressed, the intensive extension and reconstruction of city churches must have also represented a significant expenditure of capital.[445] As we saw in the last chapter, the 1050s was a decade in which market relations penetrated deeper into parts of the countryside, as demand from the urban market

[444] Land Sen, II. 30.

[445] See E. Arslan, 'L'architettura romanica milanese', in *Storia di Milano, III: Dagli albori del comune all'incoronazione di Federico Barbarossa (1002-1152)* (Milan, 1954), pp. 395-521, and A. Ambrosioni, 'Gli arcivescovi di Milano e la nuova coscienza cittadina', in R. Bordone and J. Jarnut (eds.), *L'evoluzione delle città italiane nell'XI secolo* (Bologna, 1988), pp. 193-222, pp. 203.

stimulated further land clearances and displaced local exchange centres. We would expect therefore that the mid-century saw another relative increase in migration to the city, as well as more people coming to Milan for business. It is also striking how frequently contemporary descriptions of the crowds of the Pataria, from the 1050s to 1070s, explicitly underline the presence of people from the countryside.[446] Milan's chroniclers were describing a world in which travel and communication between city and countryside was normal, and not just for the powerful.

Although the evidence is limited, Milan's urban economy and the intensity of exchange appears to have suffered for at least a decade from about 1066. The regular series of surviving sales and leases stops, and urban property disappears from the extent documentary record from 1066 until 1079.[447] This was a period of general crisis in the city, dominated by the Pataria and the social and political turmoil left in its wake. Arialdo's murder in 1066, rather than subduing the Patarine movement, became the prelude for its later strength under Erlembaldo. Neither Archbishop Guido nor his appointed successor, Gottofredo, was ever able fully to reassert episcopal authority. Guido's tactical resignation led to his imprisonment, locked up in the city monastery of S. Celso. It is only to be expected that in this climate the ability of city institutions to maintain patronage networks and attract lay clienteles was severely degraded. The disappearance of petitions for leases of church property should be seen in this context. This was also an era punctuated by frequent crowd violence, pitched battles, and disaster, as the city twice in 1071 and 1075 was consumed by devastating fires. Arguments from silence always demand caution, but against this backdrop of instability it would not be surprising to see a reduction in market activity and a loss of confidence in the economic advantages of leasing. The fact that charters discuss

[446] See below, Chapter 4.
[447] *AP*, nos. 468 (1066) and 596 (1079) bookend this period.

urban property again from the 1080s also suggests that the documentary lacuna is not simply a casual one.

Furthermore, personal-name evidence for immigration of small property-owners from the country into the city, another important indicator of a growing urban economy, also disappear from our charters in the same period. I have not found a single explicit reference to a city resident with rural origins in the charter evidence between 1064 and October, 1075.[448] Even with all due caution owed to the limited number of our documents, the length of this gap is still arresting. Both before and after these dates lay residents of the city and members of the minor clergy, whose families come from the countryside, appear regularly dealing with rural and urban property alike. Again, it should not be surprising if social and political instability turned away potential migrants from settling in the city. And given that medieval cities all had more deaths than births, this must have meant a temporary population decline.

We are not able to quantify the depth of the economic crisis in the 1060s and '70s, but the last two decades of the century appear to have witnessed a restoration of economic confidence. Extent charters begin again to record urban land sales and petitions for leases on ecclesiastical property again.[449] Landowning immigrants to the city become regularly visible again too. By 1100, we can be confident in the vitality of commercial exchange in the city as Anselmo IV acted so decisively to expand market activity. An inscription from the basilica of S. Ambrogio records an act of the archbishop from 1098. On pain of excommunication, it forbids the imposition of tolls (*curtadiam*) either three days before or after the feast of Gervasio and Protasio. It also extends an even longer peace for eight days before and after the day, for the security of those coming and going (*venientibus et*

[448] Between *AP*, nos. 440 (1064) and 559 (1075). On the evidence of migration, see below.
[449] See *AP*, nos. 625-6 (1081), 644 (1083).

redeunitibus) to the festival.[450] The length of the peace as well as the toll exemptions reveals what was envisaged to be a major market, intended to draw people from a wide geographical area. Just two years later, as we have seen, Anselmo rededicated the altar of the forum church of S. Trinità to the Holy Sepulchre, and instituted an annual solemn procession and feast to celebrate the conquest of Jerusalem. He also established an annual market on this day, to take place by the church in the square, expected to be extremely busy and competitive - vendors were expressly forbidden from holding more than one stall (*stadium*). Again, a sixteen day peace was imposed to encourage a flow of people from outside the city to the market.[451] We have seen that the discovery of relics of saints Casto and Polimio at S. Maria alla Porta Vercellina in 1105 occasioned the institution of an important new feast day and procession on 9 May. A letter (copied by Landolfo di S. Paolo) publicising the celebration across the whole diocese also announces yet another market to be held on the same day. Once again, for eight days before and after the new market day all tolls (called *toleneum* or the vernacular words *turadia* and *portenaticum* in the text) were completely suspended, and a truce declared for the same period. The text includes the explicit clause that this would allow people to come to pray and to trade at market alike (*val causa orationis vel causa mercandi*).[452] The efforts to secure the passage of pilgrims and traders from a wide catchment area confirms the quickening process of market centralisation in the city, which we saw began to affect the countryisde in the mid-eleventh century.

The S. Sepolcro fair attests to the continued centrality of the forum marketplace, but as we have seen the twelfth century saw the increasing expansion of shop activity in the cathedral square. The first documentary reference to a permanent shop structure by S.

---

[450] V. Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e degli altri edifici di Milano dal secolo VIII ai giorni nostri*, III (Milan, 1890), no. 276, p. 217.
[451] Puricelli, *Ambrosianae Mediolani basilicae et monasterii*,, no. 289, pp. 481-5. Lucioni, *Anselmo IV*, pp. 118-21 for the social networks behind the archbishop in these two acts.
[452] Land SP, *HM*, c. 34.

Tecla in 1126, which was sold for £4, reveals that opportunities for commercial profit were substantial. In the last chapter we looked at some indications for increased artisanal production in the countryside, with iron work and textile manufacture becoming increasingly important in Brianza after 1100. Charters very rarely give insights into the exchange of commodities rather than of land, but we can catch a glimpse of merchants in Milan investing in the city's textile trade. In 1139 a certain Guilizo Albanio sold to Ambrogio Fregatosa a quantity of cloth on credit, valued at the sum of £4 and 19 *solidi*.[453] This is a substantial sum for commodities, so we must imagine that this transaction was linked to expanding commercial enterprises of the time. Despite the political and economic crisis of the Patarine years, the fragmentary testimony of our sources suggests that Milan's economy was expanding again in the decades around 1100. Although direct evidence in this period is scarce, some of this economic expansion must have related to the close economic relations developing between producers in Milan, and merchants in Genoa, the region's crucial port and export centre. As the twelfth century progressed, Milan spent increasing amounts of energy on securing transport links with Genoa, and an expanding presence of Milanese merchants and officials operated directly in the Tyrrhenian port.[454] In Milan, growth stimulated both the physical expansion of commercial space and the number of markets promoted by episcopal government. We have touched on the immigration that the growth of the city attracted, but we now turn to look in closer detail at the demographic expansion which these economic movements made possible.

Demographic Growth

[453] *PSSVimercate*, no. 31.

[454] Grillo, 'Vie di comunicazione', H. Krüger, 'Notizie su Milano e sui milanesi nei registri notarili genovesi del XII secolo', *Bollettino della Società Pavese di Storia*, 51/2 (1952), pp. 25-42. Also note the frequent interactions between Milanese and Ligurian bishops and clerics noted in Landolfo di San Paolo, *HM*, e.g. cc. 5, 25, 29, 32.

By the twelfth century, Milan was probably the largest urban centre in Italy – and therefore in Latin Europe. Even in the century before 1100, with the prominent exception of Rome, it is hard to find another city where the sources suggest a similar level of size and social complexity, and although we inevitably lack precise quantitative indicators its population must have been expanding rapidly. Cinzio Violante, once again, first stressed in his study of Milanese society that even without statistical data, we are left with a 'definite sense' of an increasing city demographic in the decades around the millennium. Furthermore, evidence for increased immigration into the city has been deployed convincingly to explain the rise of crowd movements and popular politics in the time of the Pataria, most eloquently by R. I. Moore.[455] Having at least an impressionistic sense of demographic change in this period is therefore important, if we are to assess the character of Milanese religious and political changes, as well as its economy. It is worth seeing then if our evidence for the shape of urban society can shed any further light, however dim, on the rate and extent of population growth in the city.

One of the most important, if indirect, indicators of population growth in Milan comes from a much later source. The *De magnalibus urbis Mediolani*, a panegyric to the city written by the Humiliati tertiary Bonvesin de la Riva in 1288, records the city's population at the time as standing at 200,000.[456] If not unanimously, specialists of the period have increasingly argued that such a figure is broadly credible. Pierre Racine, by both interrogating Bonvesin's other statistics (including for the composition of the army and food consumption), and considering points of comparison with other cities, argues that such a number is plausible, revising the probable figure down to 175,000. Paolo Grillo has also suggested that a six-

[455] Violante, *Società milanese*, p. 111-21. R. I. Moore, 'Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 30 (1980), pp. 49-69, p. 49 and 58.
[456] Bonvesin de la Riva, *De magnalibus Mediolani*, III, 14.

figure number is believable, given the evidence he adduces for migration into the city and its physical expansion during the thirteenth century.[457] Milan was therefore almost certainly the largest city in Latin Europe before the Black Death, and only Florence and Venice are likely to have also surpassed 100,000 souls. Even if Milan's population was half the size suggested by Bonvesin de la Riva in the 1280s, this would presuppose a rate of demographic growth in the two preceding centuries which was exceptional for Europe in the central middle ages.[458]

Looking the other way chronologically, Milan was a true metropolis of late antiquity. Capital of the Roman empire for more than a century from 286, Procopius could still declare in the sixth century that Milan was 'the first of the cities of the West, after Rome ... both in size and population and in general prosperity.'[459] As with all cities in the early medieval, Latin-speaking world, the fragmentation of the Roman fiscal structure led in succeeding centuries to a radical reduction in Milan's population size and the complexity of its material culture, despite the persisting centrality of urban centres for Italian political and social elites. The archaeologists of the MM3 excavations, highlighting the silent testimony of layers of 'dark earth' during the centuries of Lombard and Carolingian rule, argued for wide-scale abandonment of the city. This may, however, be an overly pessimistic reading of the material evidence, and other scholars, notably Cristina La Rocca, have provided more nuanced methods of reading urban change in early medieval Italy. These appreciate that different societies made different cultural choices, without denying that populations did

[457] P. Racine, 'Milan à la fin du XIIIe siècle: 60.000 ou 200.000 habitants?', *Aevum*, LVIII (1984), pp. 246-63, P. Grillo, 'Il richiamo della metropoli: immigrazione e crescita demografica a Milano nel XIII secolo', in R. Comba and I. Naso, *Demografia e società nell'Italia medievale (secoli IX-XIV)* (Cuneo, 1994), pp. 441-454, id, *Milano in età comunale*, p. 39, P. Boucheron, *Le pouvoir de bâtir. Urbanisme et politiche édilitaire à Milan (XIVe-XVe siècle)* (Rome, 1998). R. Bordone, *La società urbana nell'Italia comunale (secoli XI-XIV)* (Turin, 1984), p. 72, is less convinced, emphasising the text's rhetorical and literary character.
[458] For the immense rate of growth in later medieval Florence, W. Day, 'The Early Development of the Florentine Economy, c.1100-1275', Unpublished PhD thesis, London School of Economics (2000), esp. pp. 119-24.
[459] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, IV. 6.

decline.[460] Indeed it is plausible that, before the quickening of the demographic pace at the turn of the millennium, the number of Milan's residents had still not been reduced to the same extent as in other cities in the region. Beyond evidence for an active mercantile class and artisanate before 1000, the most telling indication of this, I suspect, is the size and complexity of Milan's minor clergy. In this respect the so-called order of the *decumani*, which we have discussed in Chapter 1, appears to have been unrivalled outside of Rome.[461] The attested activity of the minor clergy across the ninth and tenth centuries, responsible for the pastoral care of the city's population in several city basilicas (the *matrices ecclesiae*), is hard to explain without it implying a relatively well-populated urban landscape.

We have presented evidence for various turning points in Milan's economic expansion, and we would expect these to have drawn increasing number of migrants from the *contado* into the city. Here we are not only considering aristocrats, who it has already been noted were largely attracted to base themselves in the city while maintaining links with rural power centres, but also more middling property owners. For migrants of such backgrounds we have the data provided revealed by onomastic evidence (i.e. contemporary notarial practices concerning the recording of peoples' names). When the origin of the father of a city-dweller is recorded in the charter evidence, we are able to trace some individuals' movements into the city.[462] The evidence is inevitably partial, but such migrants comprise a relatively significant minority of recorded residents for most of the century and this does suggest growth, however impressionistically. A large number of such individuals were priests

[460] E. Arslan and D. Caporusso, 'I rinvenimenti archeologici degli scavi MM3 nel contesto stroico di Milano', in *Scavi MM3*, vol. 1, pp. 351-8 for the project's overarching interpretation of the excavation's historical significance. C. La Rocca, '"Dark Ages" a Verona. Edilizia privata, aree aperte e strutture pubbliche in una città dell'Italia settentrionale', *Archeologia medievale*, 13 (1986), pp. 31-78. For overviews of the early medieval evidence and its interpretation, B. Ward-Perkins, 'Continuitists, Catastrophists, and the Towns of Early Medieval Northern Italy', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 65 (1997), pp. 157-76, and 'The Lombard City and Urban Economy', in G. Ausenda, P. Delogu, and C. Wickham (eds.), *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest: An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 2008) pp. 95-106.
[461] See Chapter 1.
[462] P. Corrarati, 'Problemi di accertamento dell'immigrazione urbana fra XI e XII secolo: il caso di Milano', R. Comba and I. Naso, *Demografia e società*, pp. 27-46, although note that the author is more interested in the typologies of *antroponimi*, and does not present all the available evidence.

of the minor clergy, confirming a suggestion of Gabrielle Rossetti's for an earlier period that membership of the *decumani* was a common route for social mobility among inhabitants of the countryside.[463]

As discussed, there is a period of just over a decade from 1064 until October, 1075, when no Milanese residents are recorded with rural origins. The slowing or even reversal of demographic growth took place during a period which was certainly marked by crisis in other elements of social life. However, compared to the period before 1060 the last two decades see a relative increase in the number of attested migrants, a greater proportion of whom, furthermore, were not clerics. The main, visible zone of migration into Milan was relatively local, with perhaps most coming from within 15 or 20 km radius of the city – places such as Cologno, and Monza, Cornaredo, Quarto, and Pioltello. Others, however, came from further afield. Omodeo Tanzio, recorded in 1082, was the son of Malberto of Cantù, and the father of the cleric Rodolfo, active in the 1050s, was from Tradate, at the foot of Castelseprio.[464] We saw in Chapter 2 that Cantù was one of the most important production centres in the *contado*, so it is significant to see evidence of clear links between here and the city. It must also be stressed that those migrants to the city revealed by the documents will have been of a certain social status, having had property to dispose of or acquire. The petty artisans and small traders, servants and seasonal labourers, who should be the main protagonists of any story of urban growth sadly fall beyond the documentary gaze. Nevertheless, we can cautiously imagine wider strata of society pulled into the city by the same forces of economic expansion which drew small property-owners to move into the city, and the choirs of its basilicas. Such people may have been among the 'rustics'

[463] Rossetti, *Cologno monzese*, pp. 172-82. To take just some of the eleventh-century examples: Pasquale Amizo, official of Sant'Ambrogio, son of Maginfredo of Affori (AP, nos. 4, 17-18 (1002-6)), Pietro, official of San Giorgio al Palazzo, son of Angelberto of Ceriano (AP, nos. 207-8 (1033)), Mauro, official of Sant'Ambrogio, son of Pietro of Figino (AP, no. 559 (1075)).

[464] For Omoeo Tanzio, *AP*, no. 691 (1086), and for Rodolfo, no. 351 (1052).

recalled by contemporary chroniclers as often joining the crowd which formed in Milan's streets.[465]

One vivid indication of the increased rate of population growth in the city from the mid-eleventh century is to be found in the fact that people began increasingly to build both upwards and over the street, leading to a much denser urban space. Building expansion created the narrow lanes (*angulos*) through which, Arnolfo tells us, the Patarine rioters of 1057 scattered the priesthood.[466] We have also seen that tower-houses were raised above the cityscape by at least 1043, when the wealthy son of an advocate of S. Ambrogio sold a housing complex south of the forum which included one.[467] Tower-houses must not have been uncommon by the time of Arialdo's preaching in 1057 as, according to his biographer, the Patarine denounced so many of the Milanese clergy for aspiring to own them.[468] Towers of course reflected the status of the higher end of the city's elite, but later in the century we know that more modest residents were extending buildings to overhang the street below. Indeed we met earlier Landolfo, son of Ermario, a client of San Salvatore Vigilinda, who in 1081 owned a house (*casa una tuvata*) and other structures which were built above a portico, suspended above street-level near the convent.[469] A portico is also referenced in 1094 in a sale of properties built on land owned by the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio, near San Satiro and, as we have seen, the Piazza Duomo excavations found the new appearance in the eleventh/twelfth-century phase of what have been interpreted as traces of porticoes, or other light structures, on the road in front of the two-storey houses.[470] Archaeological data suggests therefore a faint confirmation of the growing density of the built environment

[465] See Chapter 4.
[466] Arn, *LGR*, III.10.
[467] *AP*, no. 303 (1043).
[468] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 4, *E contra vero, ut inspicitis, vestri sacerdotes, qui effici possunt ditiores in terrenis rebus, excelsiores in aedificandis turribus et domibus... ipsi putantur beatiores*.
[469] *AP*, no. 625 (1081).
[470] *AP*, no. 807 (1094). The document does not explicitly mention whether structures were built on top, but the fact that it is described as a significant property in a private charter suggests that either there were, or that it was intended to be developed in such a way. Andrews, 'Lo scavo di Piazza Duomo: età medioevale a moderna', pp. 163 and 167.

in the late eleventh century, which increasingly encroached on road space. Documents after 1100, which record agreements between city convents and their lay neighbours over the maintenance of shared walls, regulation on building higher walls or houses, and - as we have seen - the use of rainwater, reflect a similar process.

This increased crowding of the built environment in the later eleventh century also explains another phenomenon which has been surprisingly understated by historians: the frequency of city fires. Fires in the 1070s and the first decade of the twelfth century were devastating, and the trauma of the experience for contemporaries is underlined by the attention given to them in acts of historical remembrance. Arnolfo is rarely precise in recording chronological dates in his *Gesta*, but he names the exact days of the catastrophic fires of 1071 and 1075, with the latter consuming the winter cathedral of S. Maria Maggiore.[471] The terse, later medieval Milanese annals also give space to record these and other conflagrations in 1104, 1105, and 1106, and another fire of 1124, which spread from the northern Porta Giova to consume S. Lorenzo south of the city walls.[472] Annals of other northern Italian city communes, including Cremona, Parma, and Venice, record the years of great fires from the same period as well.[473] Milan's flammable history suggests that the 1070s and 1100s may have been particular moments of urban crowding, in which narrowing street space and a rising number of wooden and temporary structures vastly increased the risk of incendiary devastation.[474] Urban combustion might also be interpreted as an index of increased market and artisanal activity. Florence's Mercato Vecchio went up in flames at least three times in the twelfth century, and Dennis Romano notes the continuing risk of

[471] Arn, *LGR*, III. 22 and IV. 8., Land Sen. *HM*, III.29, p. 94.
[472] *Annales Mediolanenses minores*, MGH, pp. 385-386, 393, 399.
[473] See e.g. MGH SS XVIII, pp. 662 for Parma and 801, for Cremona, and *Annales Venetici breves*, in *Testi storici veneziani: XI-XIII secolo*, ed. L. A. Berto (Padua, 2000), aa. 1105, 1106, and 1120. The Parma fire is recalled by Peter Damian, *Briefe*, no. 70.
[474] Fires in medieval history (to my knowledge) have not received much attention, but note some of the issues raised in the editors' introduction to G. Bankoff, Uwe Lübken, and J. Sand (eds.) *Flammable Cities: Urban Conflagration and the Making of the Modern World* (Madison, 2012), pp. 1-20. See also, M. Davis, *Planet of Slums* (London, 2006).

fire here and in Venice's Rialto market throughout the late middle ages.[475] Anna Akasoy has also noted that contemporaries in medieval Islamic societies often identified markets - and the shops of carpenters, perfumers, and felt-makers in particular - as the source of city fires, and sought to impose regulations against such risks.[476] We might speculate that an increased density of active smiths, ovens, and other workshops by the second half of the eleventh century put Milan in greater danger. Milan and other cities would also have been at most risk during this earlier phase of urban growth, when wood was still the most important construction material for private city buildings. Stone and brick would gradually take its place over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[477]

The fact that major extramural basilicas – S. Nazaro in 1075 and S. Lorenzo in 1071 and 1124 – were damaged by city fires suggests too that suburban settlement was by that time dense enough to conduct flames from within the walls to the churches beyond. The development of defined and populous suburbs beyond the city gates marks another important demographic turning point in Milan's history, although it is hard to analyse the process with precision. As the twelfth century progressed, different *borghi* are referred to with increasing frequency, and in the 1170s the commune of Milan would build an enlarged circuit of walls in order to enclose the suburbs. However, as the fires of the 1070s indicate, extramural settlement was already intensifying much earlier than this. In the first half of the eleventh century, as we have seen, there are references to contracts encouraging investment in construction near S. Lorenzo and outside the Porta Vercellese.[478] More defined suburban settlements are referred to towards the end of the century. Nazaro da Rho was identified as a resident of the area outside the Vercelli gate in 1080, and the fact that a member of one of the region's most influential families settled outside the walls

[475] Romano, *Markets and Marketplaces*, pp. 142-3.
[476] A. Akasoy, 'The man-made disaster: fire in cities in the medieval Middle East', *Historical Social Research*, 32 (2007), pp. 75-87.
[477] Santangeli Valenzani, pp. 141-2.
[478] *AP*, no. 136 (1025), by S. Lorenzo, and no. 221 (1034), Porta Vercellese and towards Sala di Rozone.

suggests that suburban addresses could be attractive in this period.[479] The first documentary reference to an area defined as a suburb, meanwhile, is in 1096, when S. Lorenzo is located in the *suburbio porte Ticinensis*. Residents of the *burgus* of Porta Ticinese are later referred to in 1115.[480] The *burgo* of Pusterla Nova appears in 1103, of Porta Romana in 1125, and of both the Porta Comacina and the Pusterla Sancta Eufemia in 1131.[481]

Compared to other Italian cities these are not especially early appearances for suburban vocabulary, but one has to take into account how vastly greater the space was within Milan's walls than anywhere else outside of Rome. The ancient walls inherited by Milan enclosed some 200 hectares, which was between four to eight times the space bounded by the circuits of its nearest rivals (although Pavia, exceptionally, expanded its walls in the eleventh century to create an urban area of roughly 100 hectares).[482] The fact therefore that significant housing construction was taking place outside the enormous circuit of Milan's walls by the mid-eleventh century, and that recognised suburbs crystallised there before 1100, betrays an extraordinary rate of growth for this period.

Not only then did the emergence of references to suburbs in Milanese documents represent to locals themselves a relative turning point in the density of extramural settlement. We also know that local communities both within and without the city walls were growing to the extent that in around 1100, local neighbourhoods increasingly had their own agency and identity as *vicini*. These groups were important enough to become objects of increasing conflict for ecclesiastical institutions competing over the parochial rights which extended over them. Contemporary growth of suburban settlement beyond the Porta Vercellina also intensified bitter disputes between the monks and canons of S. Ambrogio,

[479] *AP*, no. 609 (1080), *Dominicum filium quondam Nazarii, qui fuit nominatus de Raude, et abitator foris prope civitate Mediolani prope portam que dicitur Vircelina*. See also, AP, no. 755 (1092): Benzo, *abitator foris prope civitate Mediolani*.

[480] *AP*, no. 842 (1096), *PSLorenzo*, no. 4 (1115).

[481] *PSMVelate*, no. 60 (1103), *PSMargherita* no. 8 (1125), *PSMChiaravalle*, nos. 44 (1131) and 45 (1131).

[482] E. Hubert, 'La construction de la ville: sur l'urbanisation dans l'Italie médiévale', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 59.1 (2004), pp. 109-39, pp. 112-17 and 119.

competing over altar donations and the incomes of parochial obligations. Neighbourhood communities also exercised collective agency, and struggled to define their own rights and local identities. Thus in 1099 Archbishop Anselmo IV ruled in a dispute between the *vicini* of the church of S. Protasio and the abbot of S. Simpliciano, over which party had the right to elect the head of S. Protasio's clergy. A year later in 1100, the archbishop passed judgement in a conflict between S. Maria Aurona and the convent's *vicini*, who claimed use of the church's cemetery.[483] And after the discovery of relics in 1105 at the S. Maria alla Porta (just inside the Porta Vercellina), Landolfo di San Paolo records that the *vicini* and *parochiani* of the church joined the city clergy in a solemn procession to the church while bearing lights and green foliage.[484]

* * *

Arialdo da Cucciago's biographer claimed that the Patarine leader was sent by God to preach the reform message in Milan because it was more populous than other cities.[485] If we exclude Rome, it is easy to agree. Neighbouring Pavia in the period before the eleventh century, when its importance as capital of the kingdom was at its height, shows signs of very real economic complexity, stimulated further by its role in trans-regional exchange networks. Lucca too had an active and diverse artisanate before 1000.[486] But after the

[483] On the twelfth-century history of the canons and monks of Sant'Ambrogio, see A. Ambrosioni, *Milano, papa to e impero in età medievale: raccolta di studi* (Milan, 2003). See also Pflugk-Harttung, *Iter Italicum* (Stuttgart, 1883), no. 58 (1144), pp. 469-71, a dispute between the two communities over the formation of a new parish. F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, IV (Venice, 1719), col. 118-20, for dispute with S. Simpliciano.
[484] Land SP, *HM*, c. 34.
[485] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c.4.
[486] On early medieval Pavia, Bullough, 'Urban Change in Early Medieval Italy, and P. J. Hudson, 'Pavia: l'evoluzione urbanistica di una capitale altomedievale (774-1024)', in *Paesaggi urbani dell'Italia padana nei secoli VII-XIV*, pp. 17-69. On Lucca, Wickham, *The Mountains and the City*.

millennium, neither city appears to have been subject to economic pressures as intense as those in Milan which forced such sharp increases in land values and social and economic differentiation within the city. The eleventh century was a period of marked growth for cities across the Po plain, but again - as far as the evidence will tell us - just not at the same rate as Milan, which was spilling out beyond the extensive bounds of its ancient perimeter.[487] In Verona, for example, a crowding of commercial pressures around the ancient forum very similar to what we found in Milan can be seen - but a century later, around 1100.[488] At the beginning of the eleventh century, no city on the peninsula could match the degree of economic complexity and articulation inherited by Rome, but by 1100, as Chris Wickham and others have suggested, Milan was likely beginning to overtake it.[489] Feeding this growth, we must remember, were the clearances and shifts in land management - precocious in their intensity compared to other cities - which led to greater specialised cultivation and transformed the rural landscape.

The *Vita Arialdi* also argued that precisely because Milan was more populous than other cities it was equally the most full of iniquity.[490] Urban growth generated economic opportunities for elites, but crowded city populations and widening social difference also posed new dangers. Expansion also meant the birth of new and peculiarly urban cultures, which could never be fully contained by inclusive civic identities. Those who held power were confronted by 'a people ever greedy for novelties', while life in a city of strangers, in which the nature of social relations between people became more and more obscure, led to

---

[487] On early medieval Pavia, Bullough, 'Urban Change in Early Medieval Italy, and P. J. Hudson, 'Pavia: l'evoluzione urbanistica di una capitale altomedievale (774-1024)', in *Paesaggi urbani dell'Italia padana nei secoli VII-XIV*, pp. 17-69, on Lucca, Wickham, *The Mountains and the City*. On demographic growth in Verona, Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church*, pp. 22-40, and its urban space, La Rocca, '"Dark Ages" a Verona'.
[488] Varanini, 'L'area del *Capitolium* di Verona', pp. 24-5.
[489] Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 178-80.
[490] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c.4: *ubi haec iniquitas tanto erat copiosor quanto urbibus ceteris ipsa est populosior*.

anxieties about the sources of power.[491] Thus when Peter Damian reached for a vocabulary with which to condemn perceived corruption in the Milanese church, he imagined Simon Magus as a moneyer, wielding the tools of an infernal mint - a professional world brought into existence by the conditions of the city.[492] These past two chapters have framed processes of social and economic change in the countryside and the city. In the next chapter, we will locate in its social context the major challenge to religious and political authority which this changing world brought about: the Pataria.

[491] Arn, *LGR*, III.10, *populous semper avid us novorum*. On urban expansion and moral anxiety, C. Leyser, 'Cities of the Plain: The Rhetoric of Sodomy in Peter Damian's "Book of Gomorrah"', *Romanic Review*, 86.2 (1995), pp. 191-211, and once again, Moore, 'Family, Community and Cult'.
[492] Peter Damian, *Briefe*. 65, pp. 240-1. See further in Chapter 4.

4.

THE PATARIA: AGRARIAN CHANGE AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF REFORM

We have emphasised already that the Pataria had rural roots, and at the end of Chapter 2 we suggested that these had a more precise location in time and space. In the following chapter we will substantiate this claim, by demonstrating that the beginning of the movement coincided with the first signs of both the organisation of the common life in the countryside, and the greater extension of the city market into the same area. Furthermore, this evidence clusters in the same zone where we have indications that the Pataria had early roots: very roughly a triangle in the north-eastern plain and foothills between Vimercate, Monza, and Cantù.

In assembling this evidence, we are making a number of claims about the character of the Pataria and its existence as a popular phenomenon. First of all, to repeat our contention in the introduction, is that the sources for reform were found locally and as a consequence of social transformations. This is not to deny the significance of the later movement's links with the Roman papacy and other intellectuals, but these can only have been established after the spark for the Pataria was lit - something that first took place in the countryside, beyond the reach of trans-regional networks of intellectuals. Popular anxieties about simony and priestly marriage must have taken hold already. Furthermore, the political and economic narratives discussed so far make us sceptical of the idea that the Pataria, once active in the city, acted as a proto-communal entity. This is the the position most eloquently put forward

by Hagen Keller, who emphasised contemporary reports that the Patarines were bound together by oaths, like in later communal government.[493] If the reports are true, and not rhetorical representations of subversion, it is not insignificant that Arialdo and Erlembaldo's followers had the confidence to forge political associations without any reference to episcopal authority. But that the Patarines claimed to act autonomously and legitimately as a collective does not in any way reveal any demonstrable genetic link with the later city commune; it would be teleological to assume that such independent associations appeared with only one direction of travel, towards the realisation of the commune. This is all the more the case, given that consular government in Milan only became fully independent in the 1130s, some fifty years after the close of the Pataria.

The following will make it clear that we continue to be more persuaded by the broad outlines of R. I. Moore's framework, which identifies Milan's popular religious agitation as a response to a series of social crises created by urbanism. Not every aspect of this model fits the evidence in close detail, but the basic connection made between increasing social dislocation and mobility on the one hand, and fears about the role of women and coinage on the other remains crucial to understanding this moment.[494] The argument requires modification, however, not least because commercial exchange was already very active in the city before 1000; we need to be more precise about what kinds of social transformations effected by the market could have led to such intense panic about the use of coinage in determining authority at a specific time in 1050s Milan. We will try to establish this below.

Moore and more recent feminist scholars, such as Dyan Elliott, have also stressed how women became increasingly seen as vectors of pollution in the clerical household. We have noted already the misogynistic motivations of radical reforms, and Elliott sharply notes,

---

[493] Keller, 'Batavia und Stadtverfassung', ideas repeated by Jones, *The Italian City-State*, p. 148.
[494] Moore, 'Family, Community and Cult', pp. 65-7.

deploying the analytical insights of Mary Douglas into the origins of taboo, that the drive to separate the identity of the clergy rendered the priest's wife an especially disturbing body. It did not fit into new contemporary categories of womanhood, which Peter Damian, for example, divided into virgins, wives, and widows.[495] The movement to destroy the clerical family, which must have had disastrous consequences for the security, status, and dignity of the women involved and their children, overturned a state of affairs which was up to this point unremarkable and (largely) uncontroversial.[496] In pursuing the wider social significance of the expulsion of women from the clerical household, we will also put stress in the following on this move's economic implications. It demanded the formation of new households, where men lived together and supported a life in common. By subtracting priests from the private domestic household, these new chapterhouses were reflecting an increased professionalisation of the clergy, and more broadly a greater division of labour. But they also, in turn, required a more intense exploitation of labour in order to support their living. In what follows we turn to the development of the common life among the clergy first, before locating its first appearance in the Milanese countryside in the mid-eleventh century. A consideration of the context for this development will then lead us on to reassessing the origins of anxieties concerning simony. Finally, we will very briefly take account of how the Patarine movement continued to affect the construction of political authority in Milan in the years following its defeat in 1075.

The Secular Clergy and the Common Life

[495] Peter Damian, *Briefe*, no. 114. D. Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1999) pp. 83-4. See also M. McLaughlin, *Sex, Gender, and Episcopal Authority in an Age of Reform* (Cambridge, 2010).

[496] For an overview of this question and contemporary polemics on both sides, see A. Barstow, *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy* (Lewiston, 19820. See also G. Rossetti, 'Il matrimonio del clero nell società altomedievale', *Settimane di studio del CISAM*, 24 (1977), pp. 473-567, T. di Carpegna Falconieri, 'Il matrimonio e il concubinato presso il clero romano', *Studi storici*, XLI (2000), pp. 943-71.

Sometime around 1051, Peter Damian wrote an admonishing letter to the canons of the church of Fano in Le Marche. Rumour had reached him that the clerics were divided between a minority who had established a common living (*in canonica regulariter vivere*), and the majority who continued to live apart. He urged them to maintain 'a common way of life', so that 'there should be among you no separate housing, no division of purpose, no distinction in property.' Indeed for Damian, 'the abominable possession of private property' was itself sufficient to define one as a layman. Furthermore, he argued,

> how can one who is required to chant in choir concentrate on his prayers if he is concerned with purses and wallets which some daring hand might snatch; if he worries whether his storerooms and barns are served by thieves, or whether the bars on the doors are strong enough to resist entry...?[497]

The diversity of material interests which private property guaranteed was inimical to the formation of a unified social body, dedicated to religious cult and the care of souls. Bonds forged through sexual relations and money were for this same reason subject to ever-increasing anxiety. The force of this argument provided the positive counterpart to the reformers goal of destroying the clerical household: the social reproduction of the clergy was not to be sustained by the domestic labour of the family but by the collective household of the chapterhouse.

[497] Peter Damian, *Briefe*, no. 39, and cf. 98. English translation by O. J. Blum et al., Peter Damian, *Letters*, 6 vols. (Washington D.C., 1989-2005), vol. 2.

The common life among the secular clergy remains a subject in need of more sustained study, but nevertheless certain moments in its history are well known.[498] As early as 396 in northern Italy, Ambrose had written a letter to the church of Vercelli in which he recognised the city's sainted bishop, Eusebius, as the first in western Christendom to have joined together 'the abstinence of the monastery and the discipline of the church.'[499] Far more influential however on the development of medieval institutions were the ideas and example of Augustine of Hippo, who according to his biographer Possidius established a household at his church where the community held all things in common, on the model of the apostles.[500] Indeed the evocation of the scriptural model of evangelical poverty among the first Christians in Acts would become a keystone in the future discourse of reformers who argued for the rejection of private property. Further, more than the so-called *Rule* of Augustine, the purpose and influence of which before the twelfth century (and indeed its authorship) remains hard to reconstruct, it was the African bishop's practical example of how to administer property among a community of clerics which had a tangible impact on early-medieval churchmen. His two sermons on the common life (nos. 355 and 356) would circulate with enormous success, under the title *De vita et moribus clericorum suorum*, and were deployed again and again by ecclesiastical legislators and polemicists. Perhaps the most practically influential legacy of these texts was its creative approach to the problem of personal property in a clerical community. Augustine argued that priests could continue to

[498] The literature on this subject before the twelfth century – particularly on secular as opposed to regular canons – is, as indicated, not enormous. C. Dereine, 'La vie commune, règle de Saint Augustin et chanoines réguliers au XIe siècle', in *RHE*, 41 (1946), pp. 365-406, and J. C. Dickinson, *The origins of the Austin canons and their introduction into England* (London, 1950) are foundational. Concerning Italy, the most important studies remain the proceedings of the 1959 Mendola conference: *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII: Atti della Settimana di studio* (Milan, 1962), 2 vols. C. Andenna, *Mortariensis Ecclesia: Una congregazione di canonici regolari in Italia settentrionale tra XI e XII secolo* (Berlin, 2007), pp. 17-163, for an enormous literature review. See now J. Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800-1200* (Cambridge, 2015).

[499] Ambrose, *Epistolae*, no. 66: *in Vercellensi ecclesia... duo pariter exigi videntur ab episcopo, monasterii contientia, et disciplina Ecclesiae. Haec enim primus in occidentis partibus diversa inter se Eusebius sanctae memoriae coniunxit, ut et in civitate positus instituta monachorum teneret, et Ecclesiam regeret ieiunii sobriate*.

[500] Possidius, *Vita Augustini*, ed. A. A. R. Bastiaensen (Milan, 1975), c. 5. See C. Leyser, 'Augustine in the Latin West, 430-ca.900', in M. Vessey with S. Reid (ed.), *A Companion to Augustine* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 450-63, whose account of the significance of common property in Augustine's writings and their afterlife I here follow.

support themselves off the private incomes of their estates, so long as the property itself passed over into the common, legal ownership of the church.

When Merovingian and Carolingian ecclesiastics turned to legislate the life and organisation of secular clerics, they would make marked use of these sermons together with the text of one of Augustine's Frankish followers, Pomerius' *De Vita Contemplativa* (misattributed by contemporaries to Prosper of Aquitaine). Pomerius drew on Augustine's sermons and provided an authoritative and pragmatic mitigation of the ideal of clerical poverty. Those clerics who, through either moral weakness or the need to support kin relations, would not renounce their personal property were not only permitted to retain the usufruct of their possessions (as Augustine had foreseen), but could even retain full legal ownership. This was permissible so long as they did not draw from the collective revenues of the church, reserved to support landless clerics.[501]

Because such a precept enabled men from major landowning families – precisely the families who tended to provide the cadre for the clergies of city churches – to participate in high clerical office, while reserving private and dynastic interests, Pomerius was seized upon by both Chrodegang of Metz and later the Council of Aachen in 816. Chrodegang, born in c. 712 and appointed bishop by the mayor of the palace Pippin, composed the first surviving and complete rule for members of the secular clergy, written for his own canons at Metz.[502] His text draws heavily from Benedict's *Rule* for monks, but while it prescribes shared living within an enclosure, Chrodegang also recognised a distinction between monastic and

[501] Leyser, 'Augustine in the Latin West', pp. 458-9.

[502] J. Bertram (ed.), *The Chrodegang Rules: The rules for the common life of the secular clergy from the eighth and ninth centuries* (Aldershot, 2005), for Latin text and English translation. See also, M. A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the* Regula canonicorum *in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge, 2008), J. Barrow, 'Review article: Chrodegang, his rule and its successors', *Early Medieval Europe*, 14.2 (2016), pp. 201-212.

secular-clerical discipline. For this reason he allowed for canons either to live off the incomes of donated properties during their lifetimes, or to hold land as a prebend.[503]

However, it is not clear how extensive the influence of Chrodegang's precepts was on clerical life beyond Metz – certainly extant manuscript witnesses to the rule are scarce.[504] By contrast, the *Institutes* of the Aachen Council of 816, summoned by Louis the Pious to legislate on the clerical life within the empire, were disseminated very widely in cathedral churches, especially in Francia. Close to a hundred manuscript attestations to the text of the Council proceedings have so far been located, and research by Rudolf Schieffer has demonstrated how widespread its use was in eastern Francia. It is plausible that the Italian kingdom's Frankish rulers introduced the Aachen *Institutes* to the Milanese church, although there is no explicit evidence to confirm this.[505] The chapters of the council itself are preceded by a lengthy compilation of patristic and canonical authorities, collected to legitimise the individual institutes. These texts include Augustine's sermons no. 355 and 356 in their entirety, as well as Pomerius' *De Vita Contemplativa*. Independently from Chrodegang's own rule, the *Institutes* of Aachen similarly stress the community life of secular canons within an enclosure, while again deploying Pomerius to provide the legislative basis for the licet, private administration of property among individual clerics (cc. 115-16, 120).[506] The precepts of Aachen thus provided a set of regular yet flexible norms well suited to the aristocratic membership of cathedral chapters in Carolingian and post-Carolingian Europe. Family members were not forced to make a choice between clerical office and access to

[503] *Regula Sancti Chrodegangi*, c. 31, in Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 76-9.
[504] There are two manuscripts now in Leiden, both of probable tenth-century origin, as well as witnesses in Bern – which may be eighth-century – and the Vatican. Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 24-6. The exception is the so-called 'Longer Rule', a synthesis of Chrodegang and the Aachen institutes which circulated in England and was even translated into Old English. See B. Langefeld (ed.), *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang* (Frankfurt, 2003).
[505] 'Concilium Aquisgranense', *Concilia aevi karolini*, I,1, MGH Concilia II 1, ed. A. Werminghoff (Hannover, 1906), no. 39, pp. 307-421. R. Schieffer, *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln in Deutschland*, Bonner historische Forschungen 43 (Bonn, 1976), pp. 250–60. I am not aware of any similar survey of the Italian evidence. E. Cattaneo, 'La vita comune del clero a Milano (secoli IX-XIV)', *Aevum* (1974), pp. 246-269. p. 247, on chapter in Carolingian Milan.
[506] 'Concilium Aquisgranense', pp. 397-400.

family land. It was, however, precisely these norms that were encoded in the Aachen *Institutes* which reformers in the eleventh century explicitly aimed to challenge.

As we have seen, private property became a source of deep unease among radical reformers of the eleventh century, articulated in both moral and administrative terms. It is what drove Giovanni Gualberto to demand that Florentine clerics renounce their possessions, and Arialdo and his peers to establish centres for the communal life in their own communities.[507] But in attempting to restructure the domestic economy of the priesthood, reformers had to confront the legislative authority of the Aachen rule and its timeworn prestige. Peter Damian lamented just this problem in 1063. In a letter to pope Alexander II which denounced private incomes for the clergy, he protested that on making 'these arguments against them [the canons], they promptly show me the book containing their Rule ... which grants them the right to private property, and complain that they are the victims of prejudice.'[508] The pro-imperial Sigebert of Gembloux would later also rebuff papal condemnations by asserting the rule's canonical and patristic authority.[509] As radical reformers from the Po Plain to Tuscany sought to re-organise the clergy and separate their members from their wives – sometimes by force – the need grew to establish alternative sources of legitimacy. Indeed Damian's letter of 1063 sought to turn the patristic sources collected by the compilers of the Aachen rule's institutes against them.[510] This is also how we should understand the activities of the Milanese-born bishop of Lucca, Anselmo II da Baggio, whose bitter struggle to impose the common life in the Lucchese church was motivated by the same concerns which drove the organisation of his canonical collection. Book VII of Anselmo's *Collectio canonum* compiled material which supported his rigorous

[507] Andrea da Strumi, *Vita Iohannis Gualberti*, p. 1076, id., *VSA*, c. 12.
[508] Peter Damian, *Briefe*, no. 98.
[509] Sigebert of Gembloux, *Leodicensium epistola adversus Paschalem papam*, MGH LdL, II (Hannover, 1892), p. 459, *domnus Pascasius cur 'pseudoclericos' nos vocat? ... Regulam canonicam ex patrum traditione habemus et revereumr; secundum illam vivimus, diiudicamur, satisfacimus, absolvimur*.
[510] Peter Damian, *Briefe*, 98.

conception of common property among the clergy. It combined patristic texts already drawn upon by the existing clerical rules, together with texts which included passages from a letter of Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury and false decretals of the early popes. Thus Anselmo, Peter Damian, and others turned to the collection of authoritative texts in order to weave together a mask for their novelty. The sources were destined to become very influential among contemporary reformers.[511]

Acute anxiety about private property was moreover an eleventh-century problem, and elicited a spectrum of responses. In Rome, the Lateran Council of 1059 presided over by Nicholas II approved the Aachen *Institutes*, but reluctantly. The synod was a turning point in the development of papal positions on reform, decreeing at the same time that it was forbidden to attend mass if it were known that the priest lived with a woman, and that clerics should eat, sleep, and live in common. While adoption of the Rule was permitted, the recently elevated archdeacon Hildebrand (the future Gregory VII) spoke up during the synod to denounce as contrary to the *vita canonica* the articles which allowed private property and what he saw as its grossly gratuitous ration of wine.[512] Nor did these words fall on deaf ears. There is evidence to suggest that communities responded to Hildebrand's condemnations, or at least the currents of opinion which it represented. Close to Milan in Pavia, an early-twelfth-century manuscript in use in the canonical church of S. Michele di Cameri bears unique witness to a normative collection entitled the *Regula Sanctorum*

[511] C. Dereine, 'Le problème de la vie commune chez les canonistes d'Anselme de Lucques à Gratien', *Studi Gregoriani*, 3 (1948), pp. 287-98, K. G. Cushing, *Papacy and Law in the Gregorian Revolution: The Canonistic Work of Anselm of Lucca* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 70 and 83-4. Anselmo's actions are the subject of two hagiographies: the anonymous *Vita Anselmo Lucensis*, ed. R. Wilmans, MGH SS, XII (Hannover, 1856), pp. 1-35, and Rangerio of Lucca, *Vita metrica s. Anselmi lucensis episcopi*, eds. E. Sackur and G. Schwartz, MGH SS XXX/2 (Leipzig, 1929), pp. 1152-1307. On these, see E. Pásztor, 'La «vita» anonima di Anselmo di Lucca. Una rilettura', and G. Severino, 'La *vita metrica* di Anselmo di Lucca scritta da Rangerio', in Violante (ed.), *Sant'Anselmo vescovo di Lucca*, pp. 206-22 and 223-71.

[512] MGH, Leges Const. I, no. 384, c. 3-4, p. 547: *Et rogantes monemus, ut ad apostolicam, communem scilicet vitam summopere pervenire studeant;* Mansi, 19, 898, c.4. Hildebrand's denunciation of the Aachen rule is recorded in a text found in Vatican Library, MS Ott.lat. 38, transcribed in, A. Werminghoff, 'Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Concils im Jahre 816', *Neue Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichte*, 27 (1902), pp. 669-75.

Patrum.[513] This rule synthesised articles and patristic sources from both Chrodegang and the Aachen *Institutes*, while omitting text which allowed lenient interpretations of the common life. The Aachen chapter on food and wine condemned by Hildebrand is struck out, as is chapter 115's legitimisation of private property. Furthermore, chapter 47 of the *Regula Sanctorum Patrum* combines articles from the interpolated *Longer Rule* of Chrodegang which regulate the reception of donations, but makes a crucial alteration. Where the *Longer Rule's* text had allowed individual canons to accept gifts and dispose of these at will, the Pavese copyist (or his *exemplum*) amended the text to entrust their stewardship to the community's provost.[514] Similarly, a Roman community of canons repressed the Aachen rule's text concerning private property in an eleventh-century codex, replacing it with scriptural and patristic authorities sanctioning the common life.[515]

The Pavese *Regula* is a revealing indication of how by c. 1100 contemporaries were, even outside of more noted reforming circles in north-west Italy, increasingly troubled by the traditional norms and texts which guided the organisation of the pre-eleventh-century clergy. This brief rehearsal of early medieval approaches to the clerical household reminds us that, despite the discourse of return, what the reformers proposed was deeply innovative and disruptive.

The Pataria and Agrarian Change

---

[513] Biblioteca Civica Bonetta, Pavia MS II. 12, ff. 47v-85, and c. XLVII, f. 72 for the amended article (all in the original copyist's hand). Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 256-7 for relevant text of the 'Longer Rule'. On the Pavese manuscript, see N. Widloecher, 'Un prezioso codice per la storia dei Canonici Regolari e la sconosciuta Regola SS. Patrum', in *Bollettino della Società pavese di Storia patria*, N.S., I (1936), pp. 81-111. See also notice in Verheijen, *Regle d'Augustin*, pp. 183-4, which suggests a relation between the Pavia MS and Paris BN, Lat. 15670.
[514] Compare the wording in the extended rule of Chrodegang: *Si aliquis uni sacerdotis ... dare voluerit, ... a tribuente accipiat et exinde quod voluerit faciat*; with that of the *Regula Sanctorum Patrum*: *Si aliquis uni sacerdoti ... aliquid in elemosina dare voluerit accipiat et exinde quod praeposito placuerit faciat. Ibid*, p. 107.
[515] See C. Egger, 'De antiquis regulis Canonicorum Regularium', *Ordo Canonicus*, I (1946), pp. 35-60, 48.

A few years after Damian's letter to the canons of Fano, the Patarine leader Arialdo was driven by the same beliefs and anxieties to agitate for change, and not in the city but in the countryside. Before his disruption of the celebration of San Nazaro's translation in Milan in May, 1057, Arialdo had travelled to Varese in the far north-west of the diocese. There, Landolfo Seniore tells us, he climbed the steps of the *pieve* church of S. Vittore, and among a crowd of peasants and priests he denounced the clergy and called for them to be separated from their wives.[516] Although Arialdo's message failed to take root on this occasion, it is worth emphasising the movement's rural beginnings, not least because contemporaries themselves underlined this. Not only does Landolfo make sure to record it, but the Patarine priest Siro wrote a reprimanding letter to Arialdo's biographer, in which he grieved the omission in Andrea's account of something he found so important.[517] The rural roots of Arialdo's reforming activities are also hinted at by his earlier establishment of a church on his property outside Cucciago, dedicated to SS. Protasio e Gervasio. The exact date of its foundation is unknown, but we hear in Arialdo's biography that the church, together with the vines and chestnuts of his family estate, was vandalised by a party of suburban priests opposed to the Pataria.[518] The 'brothers of Cantù', whom Andrea da Strumi says assisted Arialdo's flight from the city, most plausibly came from the Cucciago church (just outside of Cantù), as Alfredo Lucioni has noted. Given Andrea's consistent use of the term *fratres* to refer to canonical clerics, we are left with the impression that Arialdo intended his

[516] Land Sen, *HM*, III.6.
[517] 'Presbiter Syrus Andreae Christi famulo', *VSA*, p. 1073:
tamen valde doleo, quia omisisti praecipua tibi notissima… Ante quippe quam introisset Arialdus Mediolanum ad predicandum publice, ad Varensem plebem clericorum multitudinem convocavit.
[518] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 10.

foundation to be a centre of communal living. At least by 1096, SS. Protasio e Gervasio was referred to as a *canonica* in a charter of that year.[519]

It is worth beginning with Arialdo's early story in order to stress again that the origins of the Pataria not only had their context in the broader, developing ideology of reform in the period, but also in Milan's particular social landscape. The radical movement for clerical celibacy and communal property began in the countryside. Indeed the suggestion was made in Chapter 2 that there may have been a connection between the Milanese reform movement and the region centred on the Brianza plain and hills northeast of the city. In this regard we can make a further observation about Cantù. The immediate environs of the town, home to Arialdo's family, were the site of the foundation in June 1086 of the Cluniac convent of Santa Maria. While Cluniac monasticism remained on the diocese's physical and political margins, Santa Maria stands out for a number of reasons. In the first place, it was founded by a non-aristocratic patron, Omodeo Tanzio, a Milanese resident whose family was from Cantù. This distinguished it from Pontida and other Lombard Cluniac houses, which were typically founded by members of the upper aristocracy. Pontida's founder, most notably, came from the capitaneal da Prezzate family and strongly identified with the imperial hierarchy, having appeared in Henry IV's entourage at tense moments of the civil war. In the second place, S. Maria's foundation took place in the direct presence of Cluny's abbot, Hugh, a moderate member of the pro-papal party who must have been returning to France following the election of pope Victor III. Hugh's niece, Agnes, is also the first recorded prioress of S. Maria.[520] These political connections, and Omodeo's social

[519] Ibid., c. 21, *quidam fratres Canturienses*. *PSPGCucciago,* no. 1 (1096) calls the church at Cucciago a *canonica*. A. Lucioni, 'La canonica dei Santi Protasio e Gervasio di Cucciago. Dalla fondazione nel secolo XI alla soppressione nel 1582', in M. Tagliabue (ed.) *Le pergamene della canonica dei Santi Protasio et Gervasio di Cucciago, 1096-1582* (Florence, 2011) pp. 7-41.

[520] For the foundation of S. Maria, *AP*, no. 691 (1086), which confirms the presence of Hugh of Cluny. See C. Violante, 'Per una riconsiderazione della presenza cluniacense in Lombardia', in *Cluny in Lombardia. Atti del Convegno storico celbrativo del IX Centenario della fondazione del priorato cluniacense di Pontida (22-25 aprile, 1977)*, (Cesena, 1979-81), 2 vols, pp. 521-664. For Agnes as Hugh's niece, G. Andenna, 'Il monachesimo cluniacense femminile nella "Provinca Lumbardie" dei secoli XI-XIII', in *Cluny in Lombardia*, pp. 331-82, 356-7.

background, place therefore the convent's foundation in Cantù outside of the traditional networks we would expect to see associated with the archbishop and his entourage. The establishment of S. Maria may therefore hint towards the local existence of alternative currents of religious culture and political opinion.

However the most striking indication that the movement for reform had rural roots, especially in the area roughly between the rivers Adda and Seveso, can be found in the history of those *pievi* which first adopted communal living and property in the same years as the eruption of the Pataria. Most arresting is the case of S. Stefano in Vimercate. The *pieve* had adopted some form of common living by April, 1056, when it is first referred to as a house of canons (*canonica*) in a charter drawn up in its favour.[521] This document suggests a richer context for Arialdo's decision to begin his preaching at the baptismal church in Varese. It shows that communities of clerics in other baptismal churches were already in the process of transforming property relations and the forms of their institutions. Arialdo may still have represented the reform movement's most radical wing, but nevertheless he emerged from a part of the countryside where others too were changing existing forms of clerical life. A decade later in 1067 another *pieve* north of Milan, S. Stefano of Appiano, lying just west of Cantù, was also defined as a house of canons, and a year after that a charter in favour of Santo Stefano of Mariano (between Monza and Cantù) suggests at least a degree of a collective living among its members.[522] An episode in Andrea da Strumi's life of Arialdo suggests furthermore that Monza was a rural centre in which Patarine ideology took hold. Two Monzese clerics are reported to have declared allegiance to Arialdo and his movement, before returning to their houses to annul their marriages. The archbishop seems to have been struck by fear of contagion, for he immediately had the two clerics arrested and

[521] *AP*, no. 387 (1056), *ad partem iam dicta canonica*.
[522] *AP*, nos. 480 (1067), *a kanonica sancti Stefani sita loco Apiano*, and no. 496 (1068).

incarcerated in the episcopal castle at Lecco.[523] A grainy, fragmented picture emerges of a triangle around Vimercate, Monza, and Cantù, in which unease with traditional patterns of clerical life in the Milanese first emerged. Not that such movements in favour of communal property and reform were restricted to Brianza and its immediate environs. The clergy of S. Vittore in Varese may having turned Arialdo away in 1057, but within less than a decade in 1064, a charter of donation records the existence of a chapter house, although after that date it is not referred to consistently until later in the century, from 1088.[524]

A word should be said about vocabulary. It would be right to stress that the Latin term *canonica* on its own does not give us a precise description of a church's institutional structure. However the sudden appearance of the term and its cognates in the sources in Milan and Italy from the mid-eleventh century demands explanation. [525]Contemporaries in other sources do, at least, use the word consistently to mean a clerical structure which supported communal living. Peter Damian, as we have seen, described the reformed clerics of Fano as living *in canonica*, while Bonizo of Sutri saw in Arialdo's community at S. Maria di Porta Nuova the emergence of the *canonica cohabitatio*.[526] Some years later, but coming from the Milanese countryside itself, an ordinary private document makes it clear that the author regarded a life without property as essential to membership of a *canonica*. In 1130 certain Enrico di Ardicione donated property to the *canonica* of SS. Protasio e Gervasio in Cucciago, where he wished to become a cleric. 'Because canons must live without their own property,' he noted in his charter of donation, 'I wish to dispose of mine.'[527]

The first appearance of the term in Milan's documentary evidence should not, however, be assumed to record a binary change in clerical culture. Perhaps, like in Fano, an

---

[523] *VSA*, c. 19, *Regressi igitur domos, connubio illico a se repulso*.

[524] *AP*, no. 457 (1064), *faciendum exinde a parte canonica ipsius heclesie*. See below.

[525] See di Carpegna Falconieri, *Il clero romano*, pp. 178-9, which argues that the novelty of the terms in Rome suggests that they did held a precise meaning.

[526] Peter Damian, *Briefe*. no. 39, Bonizo, *Liber ad amicum*, VI, p. 595: *Dum haec ita se haberent, Mediolani canonica cohabitatio primum exhorta est.* In his *Liber de vita christiana*, p. 204, Bonizo claims that the common life at Arialdo's *canonica* is regulated according to the rigorous interpretation of Anselmo II of Lucca.

[527] *PSSPGCucciago*, no. 13: *Quoniam canonici sine proprio decent vivere, volo res megs disponere*.

activist minority of a rural church's members established a shared household while others remained at home. An experiment in common living might be abandoned years later. A whole community might have eaten and slept in the same building, but some may still have disposed of their own private estates. These are the sorts of local dramas and scenarios which must have taken place but mostly escape the documentary record. But even if we recognise that the appearance of a *canonica* may refer to a spectrum of different lived experiences, and that change did not have to be in one direction, the term still reveals something new. In some way and to different degrees, clerical communities in the countryside had in these years made active steps to transform their living and – crucially – the economic and property relationship required to support it.

The context in which these religious movements emerged was the changing social world of the countryside which we explored in Chapter 2. We have seen that even before 1000, Milan's territory – especially the upper plain – underwent significant phases of land clearance, at a stage much earlier than other parts of Italy north of Rome. A second, much more intensive transformation of land management, centred on deforestation and the expansion of cereal cultivation in areas closer to the city, began probably around the mid-eleventh century (and certainly before the 1070s). Landowners and cultivators were responding, gradually and sporadically, to Milan's energetic demographic growth, and there is evidence to suggest a centralisation of market activity in the city at the expense of rural exchange centres. At the same time, in the 1050s we see the beginning of a period in which institutions made the decision to exact rents in kind, especially cereals, instead of in cash, allowing them to bring surplus production to the market. This process is first visible in and around Vimercate. The first recorded rents in kind were collected here by Santo Stefano in 1053, and here too at almost exactly the same time – as we have seen – the first record of a chapter house in one of the diocese's *pievi* appears in 1056. The following decades saw the

new *canonica* undertake an intense phase of accumulation, of both properties and rents for the market. Indeed, there appears to have been a broader relationship between the institution of the common life in *pievi* and their growing interest in commercialising rents. The 1067 charter which describes the baptismal church of Santo Stefano in Appiano as a *canonica* also assigned rents in kind to the institution, to be paid by a relative of the author. A year later, two brothers from Mariano assigned a number of properties to their local *pieve* (another Santo Stefano), with the stipulation that it should be held by a son who owed the clergy an annual rent of grains, wine, and cash in order to support the common table of its members. While a chapter house at S. Vittore in Varese is first mentioned in 1064, its institution may have been fragile, as despite a consistent documentary record in the intervening years it is not referenced again until 1088. In this year two brothers and their mother undertook to pay an annual render of six *sestaria* of wheat (*frumento*), a cereal favoured by urban markets, to the *canonica* of the church.[528]

First we should note the simple fact that growing economic specialisation made the common life, even in rural centres, possible. Larger economic surpluses and commercial exchange supported, as we have seen in earlier chapters, an increased division of labour, which should be understood to include a clerical profession separated from the familial household and its domestic economy. The documents, moreover, confirm the impression that that the establishment of chapterhouses in *pievi* and other rural institutions coincided with their increased participation in market activity. But even if a changing physical and economic landscape made the common life possible, it did not make it inevitable. Communities had to make particular choices to use surpluses to support new institutions and social relationships, and from the 1050s these appear to have been made locally, rather than under the pressure from urban leadership. institutions. Indeed there is evidence to

[528] *AP*, no. 720 (1088).

suggest that elsewhere in the peninsula the common life in the eleventh century emerged outside of the city. Toubert drew attention to the fact that the first recorded *canonica* in Lazio, S. Pietro di Canneto near Veroli, was founded in 1028 by twelve priests with the active support of laymen, and without episcopal initiative. Unlike in Milan, rural parochial centres would not impose common property until much later in the twelfth century. But the shared experience of rural and ground-up movements acting to re-organise clerical life, in advance of city insitutions, is worth stressing.[529]

We have argued that Brianza was both the area in which common life and property among the rural clergy first emerged, and the part of the countryside where the most visible supporters of activist reform came from. In Chapter 2 we also argued that the precocious commercialisation of rents in this area – especially around Vimercate – was in turn a consequence of the extension of monetised and market relations among local, rural producers. Decades earlier than in other regions of northern Italy, small cultivators were forced into debt which led them to default on mortgaged property, while others may have been forced to alienate their land to the church because they were increasingly dependent on bringing surpluses to markets which they could not access. Not only the expansion of credit, but the role of an increasing money supply in accounting for the value of debt would have intensified the coercive nature of debt in social relations. Thus the increasingly intense extension of market relations into the countryside north-east of Milan enriched local institutions which were able to market surpluses and feed more idle mouths, while degrading the social status and economic autonomy of a number of local producers. In this context of rapid change, a peasant in debt, at risk of losing full ownership of his property, may have viewed the role of silver currency with heightened anxiety.[530] An anecdote told by Peter Damian can help us understand why.

[529] Toubert, *Les structures*, pp. 924-30.
[530] See Chapter 2, for the relevant arguments.

In 1060, Damian wrote a letter to the hermit Domenico Loricato and his brothers in the hermitage of Suavicinum, in which he impresses the moral dangers risked in accepting gifts.[531] To illustrate his argument, he relays a story from his recent visit to Milan, during his legation of 1059. The abbot of S. Simpliciano sent him a silver bowl as a gift. Damian was, however, reluctant to accept it, particularly while he performed his office as a papal legate; he explained that he was forbidden to receive gifts from a party which had any business (*negotium*) open with the Roman see, and might be seeking to influence the outcome. However, the Milanese abbot assured Damian that this was not the case – he solely wished to establish 'friendship' (*amicitiam*). To this the hermit responded that monks did not need to follow the customs of the *saecularium*, where friendship was bought; brothers could possess it freely.[532] In the end, after days of wrangling Damian relented, but not without cost. Returned to his hermitage, his conscience was wracked with guilt, 'which, like a mass of worms, never ceased gnawing at my innards'. He soon determined to return this 'sordid gift' to S. Simpliciano's abbot.

Peter Damian's extended and visceral anxiety over accepting the gift is evidently partly motivated by his attempts to maintain his role in the increasingly institutionalised mechanisms of the papacy, by avoiding anything that might resemble traffic in influence and favours. But the transaction, set amid the political turbulence and commercial effervescence of Milan, caused a double anxiety. Peter Damian remained unconvinced to accept the bowl even after the abbot had stated that he has no business with the papacy. In deploying the word *redimere* to characterise the 'worldly' practice of acquiring friendship through gifts, he used a term also used to describe the action of redeeming debts. It may be that in a social context where silver was increasingly used as credit, could accrue interest, and create debts as part of unequal power relations, the vessel appeared less like an instrument of solidarity

[531] Peter Damian, *Die Briefe.*, no. 76.

[532] Ibid, *respondi, ut quod suum erat tollens, amicitiam nostram non more saecularium mercede redimeret, sed quod inter fratres legitimum est, gratuito possideret.*

and more like a dangerous object. To draw from Marx's concept of commodity fetishism, where local economic practices concealed the social qualities of exchange, commodities may seem themselves to be sources of value, and 'appear as independent beings endowed with life'.[533]

Historians have often suggested that the eleventh-century anxiety about simony functioned as a reaction to the contemporary rise of commercial exchange in European society.[534] It is notable that Peter Damian's encounter with the abbot of San Simpliciano took place during the same visit in which he condemned the Milanese clergy's practice of parting with money on their ordination into the church. On this occasion he had likened Simon Magus to a moneyer who had made the Ambrosian church into his iniquitous workshop (*officinam*). Recalling the commercial activities which crowded the very streets near the Milanese cathedral in which he was preaching, Peter Damian underlined the queasy association between traffic and sanctity which monetary exchange in this context so easily invited. Describing how the Milanese exchanged their purses for ordination, he wrote:

> In this way, alas, Simon Magus converted the holy church of St. Ambrose into his perverted workshop. This forger and wicked master of the mint was equipped with bellows, hammers, and anvil, and forged nothing more than universal peril for the souls of all men.[535]

Meanwhile, Humbert of Silva Candida provided the most eloquent articulation of contemporary unease in his *Against the Simoniacs*. The sheer impossibility of making the

[533] K. Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* , vol. 1 (London, 1976), p. 165, and 163-77 more broadly.

[534] The list is long, but see again Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy,* which is emblematic of the argument. An excellent set of critical articles on the relationship between gift exchange and commerce, which is very critical of assumptions that the early middle ages represented a radically different economic world which existed beyond commerce is found in W. Davis and P. Fouracre, *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010), and see especially the introduction and conclusion.

[535] Peter Damian, *Briefe*, no. 65, pp. 240-1, *Hoc itaque modo Symon Magus, heu prodolor, hanc sanctam Ambrosianam aecclesiam perversitatis suae velut officinam fecerat. Follem, malleos et incudem trapezita ac monetarius iniquitatis habebat, nichilque aliud nisi animarum omnium commune periculum fabricabat.* Translated by O. Blum in Peter Damian *Letters*, vol. 3, no. 65, pp. 33-4.

divine gift of grace circulate through commercial purchase, Humbert reasoned, rendered ordination through purchase invalid and inconceivable.[536] Thus reformers made explicit the association between simony and the commercial realities of contemporary exchange. Yet it should be noted that in Milan, the explosion of violent opposition against simony and clerical incontinence in the mid-century followed decades in which the city was already the site of comparatively intense market activity, as we have seen. It can be imagined that social outsiders, including increasingly mobile exponents of reform, who arrived in the city, were more likely to see only blurred lines between commerce and other forms of exchange. But to explain the emergence of radical reform from within Milan itself in the 1050s requires a more nuanced response than a simply association between simony and the profit economy allows.

This is why it has been necessary to stress the rural context of the early Pataria. Arialdo began his preaching nearly 50 km away from the city in Varese, at the same time as the common life was first established in the north-east of Milan's territory. The early extension of city-centred market relations into this area in the 1050s, especially the coercive function of debt among cultivators, suggests an immediate context in which abrupt change may have unsettled assumptions about the social character of exchange. Indeed, this area focused around Brianza and its *borghi* was also where support for the Pataria and other currents of reform is most visible.

Furthermore, the economic instability in the countryside brought about by the agrarian change of the mid-eleventh century was likely a factor alongside broader demographic growth which pushed more and more people into the city. Contemporary sources are also unanimous in emphasising both the participation of people from the countryside in religious conflicts in the city, and the presence of support for the Pataria in

[536] Humbert of Silva Candida, *Libri III. adversus simoniacos*, ed. F. Thaner, MGH LdL, pp. 95-253.

the *contado*. Arnolfo often says that the crowds moved by Arialdo and Erlembaldo were made up of city-dwellers and rustics alike (*agrestes turbas et civiles*). These mixed rural and urban crowds are reported on during major festivals such as Pentecost and Epiphany, days which would have pulled in people from the region arriving for the celebration but also for business, and perhaps for work while there was a greater demand for labour. Andrea da Strumi also claims that Arialdo's *canonica* at S. Maria di Porta Nuova was a centre of attraction for those coming from the villages and castles of the countryside as well as the city.[537] On the one hand people may have been coming from parts of the countryside where their experience of monetisation and debt rendered commerce and coinage suspicious; on the other, in coming to the city, they entered a world of strangers, where the social reality of power was obscured.

The Resources of Authority: The Legacy of Reform in the City

In the early Summer of 1075, while Erlembaldo's naked body lay unburied on the streets of the city and his candidate for archbishop, Atto, was unable to get even close to Milan, the Pataria's defeat looked total. The movement's supporters scattered, and soon the city accepted the emperor's appointment to the archiepiscopate of Tedaldo, a cleric of the Milanese cathedral and chaplain at the royal court.[538] This was, in other words, an election which represented a restoration of the political and social hierarchies which had traditionally structured the Milanese church before the Patarine challenge. It is easy to think,

[537] Arn, *LGR*, III. 17, *turbam civilem et agrestem*, 18, *Agrestes turbas et civiles;* 23, *amicam… turbam agrestium*. Cf. Land Sen, *HM*, III. 21. Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 12, coming to Arialdo's *canonica* are *non solum de urbe sed etiam de villis et castellis*. Arn, *LGR*, IV. 6 also describes the Pataria's growth *in pagis et opidis.*

[538] On Tedaldo and his appointment by Henry IV, see Arn, *LGR*, V.5, Landolfo Sen, *HM*, III.32, Gregory VII, *Register*, 3.8-9.

therefore, that for all the movement's radicalism the years leading up to 1075 represented an aberration which failed to leave lasting effects on Milanese society.

However, contemporaries continued to worry about the significance of the Pataria and its legacy throughout the remaining years of the century. The translations in the 1090s of the remains of Arialdo and Erlembaldo to S. Dionigi, and the concern to bring their cults within archiepiscopal control, reveals this especially clearly. Without popular feeling around their movement and cults these interventions would not have made sense. The movement against Grosolano led by Erlembaldo's former comrade, Liprando, mutilated for his role in administering the alternative baptisms of 1074-5, has also often been read as a revival of the city's radical past. Indeed Piero Zerbi went as far as to name this moment the 'Second Pataria'.[539] However, as other historians have noted, there is a danger in assuming that the logics of religious and social conflict which underlaid the upheavals around 1100 simply reproduced those of a generation earlier.[540] Indeed, it can be questioned whether it is helpful at all to view the aged Liprando or his nephew Landolfo as radicals – even if Liprando's participation in the events of the 1070s remained a point of pride for them both. Landolfo of San Paolo's history often suggests that the pair held attitudes which look decidedly different to the Patarines.

One minor, but conspicuous, example of this arrives in Landolfo's account of Grosolano's vicariate. Liprando was attending Grosolano, sat on the archiepiscopal seat, when he rebuked him for the cheapness and indecorum of his vestments. When Grosolano evoked his contempt for worldly things, Liprando attacked him again for spurning the customs and precious ornaments and foods of the Milanese church.[541] This story jars sharply when read against Andrea da Strumi's biography of Arialdo, where the Patarine leader is

---

[539] P. Zerbi, *Tra Milano e Cluny. Momenti di vite e cultura ecclesiastica nel secolo XII* (Rome, 1991).
[540] A point well expressed in Lucioni, *Anselmo IV*, pp. 38-41.
[541] Land SP, *HM*, c. 6. *En civitas ista suo more utitur pellibus variis grixis, marturinis et ceteris pretiosis ornamentis et cibis. Turpe quidem eris nobis, cum advene et peregrini viderint te hispidum et pannosum in nobis.*

reported to have condemned in a sermon the fine clothing and personal wealth and comfort of Milan's clergy, which so vitiated his ideal of Christian poverty.[542] If we to believe the sympathetic narrative of his nephew Landolfo, Liprando in this episode appears to have had more concern for the traditional status symbols of the Ambrosian church. Moreover, from what we learn in Landolfo's history, it is not easy to associate Liprando's bitter opposition to Grosolano with any explicit expression of reform ideology. After Grosolano's acclamation as archbishop, the ex-Patarine is said to have received word of something shameful or indecent (*quedam turpia*) concerning his election. This led to Liprando leading a charge of simony against the new archbishop, which culminated in the ordeal by fire of 1103. Liprando expressed the anxieties of a section of the city population, which emerged around an outsider-figure who was established in the city where he had little place in existing social networks. Reform discourse, which Liprando would have been well acquainted with from his earlier life, provided a language which expressed these uncertainties.

The clearest indication that Liprando and Landolfo di San Paolo did not stand in fundamental antagonism to the traditional hierarchies of the Ambrosian church lies in their hostility to the non-aristocratic appointments to the episcopal seat. The election of Anselmo IV da Bovisio in 1097 marked the first successful assumption of the archiepiscopate in our period by a candidate who was neither a member of a leading aristocratic family nor of the cathedral clergy. While the rupture of the link between family and ecclesiastical office was one of the primary goals of the Patarine movement, at the beginning of Landolfo di S. Paolo's history it is identified as 'the root of novelty', the generative source of civil discord discord.[543]

---

[542] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 4 pride in their *mollibus delectatisque vestibus* goes together with Arialdo's condemnation of living with women and owning mansions and tower houses.

[543] Land SP, *HM*, c. 1, ... *plantavit quandam radicem novitatis, que paulatim non solum Mediolanensem ecclesiam, set regnum Longoabrdorum per omnes suos status fere perturbavit, donec Bernardus abas Clarevalensis, ad expelendum demones et ad sanandum et ad erigendum infirmos contritos secundum iussum hominum Mediolanum intravit.*

However, while Liprando and Landolfo may not be readily identified with a 'second Pataria', it is clear that the *vulgus* continued to flex its muscles. Anselmo da Bovisio was installed, with the support of Roman cardinal and bishop of Brescia Arimanno da Gavardo, after the imminent election of Landolfo da Baggio by an aristocratic assembly (*nobliem multitudinem*) was overturned by a violent crowd of commoners (the *vulgus*). Landolfo, a member of one of the city's most influential capitaneal families and a canon of the cathedral church as well as the provost of the chapter of S. Ambrogio, was forced to take refuge in his family church of S. Giovanni delle Quattro Facce, by the Porta Comacina.[544]

Anselmo IV, by contrast, only held office in the order of the *decumani* (although an important one, he was the provost of S. Lorenzo) and came from what appears to have been at most a minor, rural landowning family.[545] The legacy of the Pataria should not, therefore, be understood genetically. If on the other hand, we characterise the Patarines as a social movement, we are able to identify its successors in those groups which harnessed popular forces in order to achieve reforming ends. Such was the case for Nazaro Muricola (future *primicerius* of the minor order of the city church) who drew on the energy of the anti-simoniac sermon preached by Urban II in the city. In order to block simoniac appointments, Urban proclaimed that it was legitimate for the *vicini* of a church to elect their officers. Nazaro rose up, and with the support of the *vulgi illius vicinitatis* expelled the rectors of S. Babila, where he established a *canonica*. Other followed in his wake.[546] This unrest also seems to have driven out Archbishop Arnolfo III da Porta Orientale, who died in the rural monastery of Civate. It was these actions – disapproved of by Landolfo di S. Paolo – which created the space for Anselmo IV's election. This is not to say that Anselmo's episcopate itself necessarily articulated a 'radical' reform programme; the latter did, however, make

[544] *Ibid*, c. 2.
[545] Albuzzi, 'Per una prosopografia dei da Bovisio', for the family.
[546] Land SP, *HM*, c. 40.

room for a very different kind of episcopal politics than was typical under the archbishops of aristocratic families.

This is most visible in Anselmo's moves to delink family from ecclesiastical office. Among other concerns, Anselmo's synod of 1098 forbade the current practice of clerics and laymen alike acquiring special clerical offices (the archpresbyterate, archdiaconate, and treasury are listed) through paternal inheritance (*paternam successionem seu catalogum*).[547] As we have seen, the chancellery of the cathedral clergy also became a heritable office, transmitted through the Cangellari branch of the family which founded S. Sepolcro. The fact that the office later passed out of the family (at least by the time of Guazo) may have been a consequence of this act, although others certainly remained within family control. Anselmo da Bovisio also turned to secure the common life in rural institutions. A later 1119 diploma issued by archbishop Giordano in favour of the canons of church of San Giovanni in Monza states explicitly that it is confirming dispensations made by Anselmo in order to support common life and property.[548] A surviving decree from 1098 also sought to guarantee the regular and canonical life of the clergy at the *pieve* of S. Vittore in Varese.[549] The document condemns the division of the church's properties among lay owners (*milites*), and in so doing rejects the previously functional circulation of properties and incomes between institutions and aristocratic families which we observed in the case of the da Baggio family in Chapter 2.

And the beginning of the twelfth century increasingly saw *pievi* in which common property relations held sway re-appropriate tithes and other benefices previously held by the local aristocracy. This is especially well illustrated – again – in Vimercate, where S. Stefano was able to embark on such a campaign, re-assigning the incomes of tithes held by the capitaneal da Vimercate family or their vassals, and using its economic renders to

---

547 The text of the council is edited in P. Zerbi, '<<Cum mutato habitu in coenobio sanctissime vixisset...>>: Anselmo III o Arnolfo II?', *ASL*, pp. 524-6.

548 Frisi, II/XLV.

549 *PSMVelate*, no. 56.

support and expand the domestic and liturgical demands of the communal life at the church. These were at times quite considerable, and included in one year stipulations to provide for the making of a copy of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*.[550] Rural churches therefore, administered by communities of clerics living the common life, were able to substantially re-pattern the flow and circulation of resources in the earlier twelfth century, and legitimise their incomes through the emphasis of the ritual character of these commodities.

The destabilisation of the aristocracy's hold on episcopal office and the experience of crowd politics, and the economic implications of the common life in the rural chapterhouse, represent two of the major legacy of the eleventh-century reform movement. These marked substantial changes to the exercise of authority in the city, and to the organisation of the rural economy. We have argued that these developments first emerged thanks to the extension of city market relations to the north-eastern plain and foothills of the diocese. In the remaining two chapters, we will examine the ways in which the movement that these changes made possible contested two of the essential ideological resources of episcopal power: the cult of the saints and public, urban liturgy.

[550] For the recapturing of tithes by S. Stefano, *PSSVimercate*, nos. 18-19 (1131), 24 (1135), 32 (1140), 33 (1142), 41 (1147), and no. 32 for the provision of working on a copy of *Moralia in Iob*.

5.

AUTHORITY AND THE CULT OF SAINTS

Arialdo and Landolfo chose a particular date to bring radical reform to the urban crowd. According to Landolfo Seniore's chronicle it was on 10 May 1057, during the solemn celebration of the translation of San Nazaro, a festival involving not just the clergy but the whole city populace (*civibus universis*), that the agitators first preached in the city.[551] Undoubtedly Arialdo and Landolfo must have sought maximum impact in their preaching, and the choice of one of the major celebrations of the Milanese liturgical year, involving lay people as well as clergy, should not surprise us. However their precise choice of date also draws attention to a more specific aspect of the Patarine movement which has not hitherto been seriously considered: its apparent connection to the associated cults of saints Nazaro and Celso, two of the seven Milanese martyrs whose veneration had been at the centre of the city's religious life since the time of Ambrose.[552]

By the end of the century, in 1096 and then in 1099/1100, the very archiepiscopal establishment which they had opposed organised the solemn translations of the bodies of Ariado and Erlembaldo, as saints, from their tombs in the monastery of San Celso to new resting places in archbishop Ariberto's foundation of S. Dionigi. Deeply controversial figures as they might have been, the reform leaders nevertheless became the subjects of episcopally-sanctioned cult practices. Their continued memory evidently demanded a highly visible response from local authorities. Taken together, the translations of Erlembaldo and

[551] Land Sen., *HM*, III. 8.

[552] These were Gervasio and Protasio, Nazaro and Celso, Nabore and Felice, and Vittore. See C. L. Pilsworth, 'Representations of sanctity in Milan and Ravenna', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge (1999).

Arialdo and the disputed celebration of San Nazaro in 1057 remind us that all contemporary attempts to define and to challenge authority in Milan required an engagement with the cult of saints. The role in this period of representations of sanctity in legitimising power and providing means of symbolic communication were too important to be ignored.[553] But such representations were not static. They had to be continually reproduced and transformed by those with power, and were contested by others.

The cult of saints in Milan did much to pattern – in space and time – the shape of urban conflicts, determining or enabling the contest of particular sites and moments in time. Paying attention then to what these were can assist in revealing the character and proper logic of how the Pataria and their opponents behaved in a broader framework. Therefore in this chapter, we will first trace how the episcopal church engaged with its own past and the memory of its saints, in order to solemnise its own authority and the dignity of its bishops. Equally, we will argue that the Pataria was forced to engage with the cult of saints as it existed in Milan, in order to make its challenge to the Ambrosian church authoritative. It is in this context that we analyse the movement's engagement with the cult of San Nazaro. The reformers were also, however, concerned to create their own cults, and this chapter will examine the attempts by reform networks across Italy to promote the veneration of the Patarine leaders. Finally, as episcopal government worked to restore its authority after the defeat of the reformers in 1075, it placed a new emphasis on the apostolic nature of archiepiscopal authority, and acted to subordinate the still dangerous memory of Arialdo and Erlembaldo to the Ambrosian tradition.

The Ambrosian Tradition

[553] The literature here is voluminous, but see P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* 2nd Ed. (Chicago, 2014), and P. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Age* (Ithaca, 1994).

Ambrose's career in episcopal office at the end of the fourth century marked a turbulent moment in northern Italian history, and centuries later his memory and active presence as city patron was pervasive. The rich store of contemporary documents by and about Ambrose reveal a figure who was superbly fitted to providing models of authority: a model of Christian orthodoxy in his struggle against the Arians, a commanding commentator on cult and scripture, and a prelate capable of imposing his word even on emperors.[554] Ambrose was also a builder, and acted to construct for Milan its own sacred topography of basilicas and martyrs' shrines.[555] The Ambrosian basilica, which he intended for his own burial, the *Basilica apostolorum* (San Nazaro), and the *Basilica virginum* (later S. Simpliciano) remained central sites of cult in the city throughout the medieval period. Indeed Ambrose did not simply encourage the veneration of saints but was a creator of cults himself. He discovered two of Milan's ancient martyrs, Gervasio and Protasio, at a moment of political dispute with the empress Justina in 386. Not only were they housed in the basilica which bore his name, but they would share their tomb with the bishop who had discovered them.[556] From the beginning of the Ambrosian tradition, therefore, episcopal memory became tightly entwined with the veneration of local saints.

As early as 600 Milan's archbishop was known as the 'vicar of Saint Ambrose', and his clergy as the 'servants of Saint Ambrose, as we know from a letter by Gregory the Great.[557] The importance of Ambrose's cult in Milan later reached a turning point in the Carolingian period. In the years after Charlemagne's conquest, the Frankish archbishop

[554] For an account of Ambrose and contemporary politics and religion in Milan, N. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital* (Berkeley, 1994), and for wider context, M. Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed: Social Environment and Religious Change in Northern Italy, AD 200-400* (Oxford, 2000).
[555] McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, pp. 226-36.
[556] Ambrose, *Epistulae*. 77.1-2. See also, Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. M. Pellegrino (Rome, 1961) c. 14 and Augustine, *Confessions*, IX, 7. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, pp. 212-15.
[557] Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. D. Norberg (Turnhout, 1982), II. 6.

Pietro founded a monastery at the basilica in 789, and in death Pietro also marked a lasting change in the devotional habits of archbishops. While before him archbishops preferred, overall, to be buried with apostles and saints of more universal status, Pietro joined Ambrose in his extramural basilica. Between his episcopate and that of Andrea (d. 906), nine out of eleven prelates did the same.[558] The increasingly intense association between the city's religious hierarchy and Ambrose's authority was further reflected in a letter by pope John VIII in 879. This describes – for the first time – the Milanese church as the *ecclesia ambrosiana*.[559]

The eleventh century saw the continued centrality of Ambrose's cult, and the emphasis of his spiritual patronage of the city.[560] At key moments of the liturgical year - from Palm Sunday to the evening before Easter - the archbishop journeyed to the Ambrosian basilica to celebrate the Christian sacrifice with the saint and his martyrs. But Milanese society as a whole was saturated with his memory, and expectations of his special protection extending over the city, guaranteeing the legitimacy of local customs and the autonomy of the local church. In Landolfo Seniore's fantastic remembrance of the city's past, Milan was saved from devastation at the hands of a jealous king after the people called on Ambrose to exercise his spiritual patronage.[561] Even the archbishop's militia were identified as the knights of Ambrose (*milites sancti Ambrosii*), and identification with the honour of the saint was such that even supporters of reform were alienated by Peter Damian's perceived slight of Ambrose's dignity during his 1057 legation. The ensuing uproar threatened to turn

[558] Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, pp. 93-5. On the cult of Ambrose in the Carolingian period, see A. Ambrosioni and S. Scarioni (eds.), *L'altare d'oro di Sant'Ambrogio* (Milan, 1996), G. Vocino, 'Framing Ambrose in the resources of the past', in R. McKitterick et al. (eds.), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 135-54.
[559] *Registrum Iohannis VIII papae*, ed. E. Caspar, in *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, V, MGH, Epistolae VII (Berlin, 1928), no. 228, pp. 202-3.
[560] See now, R. M. Tessera, 'La memoria di Ambrogio a Milano nei secoli X-XI', in P. Boucheron and S. Gioanni, *La memoria di Ambrogio di Milan* (Paris-Rome, 2015), pp. 421-40.
[561] Land Sen, *HM*, II.2.

violent but not, according to Arnolfo, for the sake of Archbishop Guido but for ' Ambrosian honour'.[562]

Around the turn of the millennium, Milan's prelates also attempted with increasing intensity to focus cult and veneration on the figure of the archbishop more broadly. They sought sources of legitimacy in their own image. Archbishop Arnolfo II discovered the bones of Mona, the city's fifth bishop according to local traditions and episcopal lists.[563] He was buried in the church of S. Vitale. The *Libellus de situ Mediolani*, written probably around 1000, not long before Mona's remains were found, according to the most convincing efforts to date the work, also records the recent discovery of the relics of Milan's third archbishop, Castriziano.[564] Their location was revealed in the Porta Romana cemetery, near the triumphal arch, and the body was later translated within the walls to S. Giovanni in Conca.[565] Urban topography became attached to episcopal memory, associations which became affirmed and reproduced by the rhythm of the city's liturgy and religious processions. Liturgical calendars of the eleventh and early-twelfth century record the celebration, for example, of the translations of Mona to S. Vitale, Castriziano to S. Giovanni in Conca, Materno to S. Nabore and several other holy prelates. And during the processions of the Three-Day Litanies, the names of venerated bishops were appealed to at the sites of their tombs, alongside those of martyrs, apostles, and Ambrose.[566] A further sign of growing interest in the memory of bishops is provided by two episcopal lists, one apparently drawn

---

[562] Arn, *LGR*, III.12, *Ambrosianae causa honoris*.
[563] Arn, *LGR*, I.20.
[564] *Libellus de situ*, p. 45-6.
[565] *Catalogus*, p. 102, and see Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, p 28. Beroldo, *Ordo*, p. 13.
[566] For the calendars, O. Heiming, 'Die ältesten ungedruckten Kalender der mailändischen Kirche', pp. 214-35, 218-35, *Beroldo*, pp. 1-14, *Manuale ambrosianum*, vol. 1, pp. 181-96, For the Three-Day Litanies, see Arnulf's prayerbook, Heiming, 'Ein benediktinisch-ambrosianisches Gebetbuch, pp. 387-8, 390-1, and the later eleventh-century *Manuale ambrosianum*, pp. 249, 251, 255, 257 for the rogations dedicated to the archbishops Mirocle at S. Vittore al Corpo, Mona at S. Vitale, Materno at S. Nabore, Dionigi at S. Dionigi, Calimero at S. Calimero.

up during the office of Ariberto and another after the death of Tedaldo in 1085. Both catalogues begin with Milan's first archbishop, Anatalone.[567]

The years around 1000 were also the moment in which an anonymous author began to write the *Libellus de situ Mediolani*.[568] This was an incomplete attempt to provide Milan with its own *Liber pontificales*, something to rival its Roman model, a text which is explicitly acknowledged in the author's preface.[569] The composition includes the hagiographies of Milan's first six archbishops. But it also went further, and attempted to situate the origins of the Milanese church at the very beginnings of Christian history, by claiming its foundation at the hands of the New Testament apostle Barnabas. His arrival in Milan forms the work's first chapter. This was a stark claim of ecclesiastical independence, emancipating the story of the church's origins from the grip of Peter and Rome, and challenging the claims of apostolic primacy made by the rival seats of Pavia, Ravenna, and Aquileia. The move was all the bolder, given that at the time supporting evidence for this story appears to have been scarce. To connect Barnabas with Milan, local writers could only depend upon a Greek-language tradition, the earliest text of which is an eighth-century, Byzantine account of the apostles by Pseudo-Epiphanios. In Italy meanwhile, a figure such as Paul the Deacon wrote that Milan's first archbishop had been appointed by Peter. Yet the first chapter of the *Libellus* sees Barnabas, not a Roman apostle, arrive in Milan to convert the people and make Anatalone the city's first archbishop, before his return to Palestine.[570] When later in the eleventh century the authority of archbishops came under increasing pressure, supporters of the Ambrosian tradition increasingly turned to the apostolic origins asserted by the *Libellus*.

[567] The earlier list is found appended to Bamberg, Cod. C. 47. P. I. 8. and the later one to Milan, Bib. Amb. Cod. C. 133 inf., edited in *Catalogus*. For commentary, Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, pp. 443-9.

[568] Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano*, pp. 399-413 and Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, pp. 453-9. The general association between the construction of episcopal histories and the liturgical remembrance of bishops in a city is underlined by Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum*, pp. 17-21.

[569] *Libellus de situ*, p. 5.

[570] *Libellus de situ*, pp. 14-21, for the chapter on the advent of Barnabas. See Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina*, and pp. 17-18 for Pseudo-Epiphanios.

The turn towards the memory of bishops past did not at all mean the neglect of Milan's traditional martyr cults. The two went together. As well as recovering the relics of Mona, Arnolfo II also cultivated the veneration of the Milanese martyr S. Vittore. In 1004 he established and richly endowed a new monastery, to be attached to the basilica of S. Vittore al Corpo. He also chose to be buried here, in proximity therefore to the relics of the martyr himself.[571] It is quite likely that Arnolfo showed special devotion to the saint because of the importance of his cult in his family homeland of Arsago, where the *pieve* was dedicated to S, Vittore. But Vittore's cult was also a warrior's cult. The martyr's early medieval hagiography made clear that he was a soldier (*miles*), and in Arnolfo's richly illustrated prayer book, now in the British Library, we find opposite an oration addressed to the saint a fine, full-page miniature of Vittore dressed for war. He is pictured in full armour and military garb, holding a shield in his left hand and a spear with a battle standard on his right. Here then was a cult, which sacralised the martial culture and service shared by the aristocratic families from which Arnolfo and Milan's archbishops came.[572]

Ariberto, too, followed the pattern of his predecessors and established a new, Benedictine monastery in 1023 at the suburban basilica of S. Dionigi, between the Porta Nuova and Porta Orientale. A surviving diploma assigns substantial tranches of Ariberto's family property to support twelve monks, an abbot, and a hospital for the poor at the church.[573] On his death, Ariberto would make S. Dionigi, dedicated to one of Milan's fourth-century bishops, his mausoleum. Indeed his association with the church appears to have been especially strong, as a story told by Landolfo Seniore suggests. Shortly after Ariberto's death in 1045 the monks – whom, it is stressed, were consecrated by the archbishop – broke open his tomb. Finding his body still shining with health and dressed in episcopal

[571] Arn, *LGR*, I.20, *Catalogus archiepiscoporum*, p. 104.
[572] London, British Library MS Egerton 3763, f. 116v. See also Tessera, '*Christiane signifer milicie*', pp. 384-5.
[573] Ariberto, *I documenti*, nos. 2-3, D C II, no. 58. See Violante, 'Le origine del monastero di S. Dionigi', pp. 735-809

insignia, they protested to their patron the illegal occupation of the properties which he had left them. As rumour (*fama*) of the exhumation flew across the city, a popular fury grew, one which was only settled on the following day by a solemn assembly of clergy and laity, when those who had occupied the monastery's property renounced their claim. This series of events – a ritual desecration of the church's patron's relics, as a means of polarising a community around disputed property claims – represents a type of ritual complaint well attested across Latin Europe at this time.[574] The Milanese narrative, stressing as it does a quasi-saintly imagery for this controversial archbishop, is a significant example.

Ariberto had associated his own tomb with the memory of a sainted predecessor, and one to whom he or his relations paid special devotion to. The later *Liber notitiae sanctorum* claims that Ariberto translated Dionigi's relics to a new altar, and a church was dedicated to the saint by him or his relatives on his family estate at Intimiano.[575] Dionigi was archbishop in the fourth century, until his exile to Cappadocia by the emperor Constantius in 355 – he had refused to condemn the anti-Arian Athanasius at the Milanese council of that year. Although contemporary evidence suggests that Dionigi's loyalties were split, he became remembered as a symbol of orthodoxy in the struggle against Arianism. Indeed Ambrose, who rejected Dionigi's imposed successor Auxentius as a heretic, claimed to be his direct successor.[576] The memory of these events was preserved in the eleventh century. The episcopal lists follow Ambrose and do not include Auxentius' office, seen as illegitimate, and Dionigi's hagiography is centred very closely on his confrontation with the Arians and exile. The text was copied by Milanese scribes in the eleventh century, and indeed the compiler of our contemporary manuscript witness places Dionigi's hagiography very

[574] Land Sen., *HM*, II.33. For ritual complaints to saintly patrons, or *clamores*, see P. Geary, 'Humiliation of Saints' and 'Coercion of Saints in Medieval Religious Practice', in id., *Living with the Dead in the Middle Age* (Ithaca, 1994), pp.95-124, and L. K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, 1996).

[575] Violante, 'Le origine del monastero di S. Dionigi', p. 38 and 802, *Liber notitiae*, col. 102.

[576] On Dionigi and his exile in 355, McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, pp. 16-21, Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed,* pp. 49-50 and 116-19. On the early veneration of Dionigi, and the belief that his body had been returned from Cappadocia to Milan, Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, pp. 608-13.

prominently, after the biographies of the *Libellus de situ*.[577] Ariberto thus claimed a close association with the legitimate predecessor of Ambrose, and a link with the anti-Arian struggles of Milan's past. This was, moreover, a well known moral contrast. Peter Damian expected his Patarine audience to know it, when he encouraged them in their struggle against Archbishop Guido by reminding then that it was in Milan's nature to produce both good men and bad - those like Ambrose and like Auxentius.[578]

The relics of Giovanni Buono, the archbishop who according to tradition ended the Milanese church's exile in Genoa in the seventh century, were also discovered in Ariberto's time. They were later buried in one of the chapels of the episcopal palace, S. Michele in Domo. A much later manuscript preserves a hagiographic poem on the discovery of Giovanni, attributed to Ariberto, to whom his resting place had been revealed in a dream. Even if the text's composition was not contemporary, the discovery of Giovanni's bones in the early eleventh century is yet another sign of the growing sacralisation of episcopal memory, at a time in which the power of the archbishops was at its height.[579] These were men who sought representations of sanctity in their own mirrors.

The Cult of San Nazaro

[577] Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS C. 133 inf., ff. 5-38 contain the hagiographies of the *Libellus*, and ff. 38v-47r Dionigi's shorter and longer lives (BHL, nos. 2169 and 2168). Edited as appendix in A. and G. Colombo's's edition of the *Libellus de situ*, pp. 79-89. P. Tomea had argued in 'L'agiografia milanese nei secoli XI e XII', pp. 641-7 that Ariberto's foundation of the monastery at S. Dionigi was the occasion for the composition of the hagiography. Since then, however, an earlier, late ninth-century witness to the shorter text (BHL, no. 2169) has been found by S. Gavinelli, 'Per una edizione della *Vita sancti Gaudentii*: i codici carolingi', *Hagiographica*, vol. 8 (2001), pp. 35-86, 47-8, n. 3, in Intra, Archivio Cap., 12 (10). Ariberto's foundation could still have stimulated renewed interest in the text, however.

[578] Peter Damian, *Briefe*, no. 129.

[579] Arn, *LGR*, II.20, P. Olcese, *Biografia di s. Giovanni Buono, arcivescoco di Milano* (Genoa, 1894), pp. 90-5. See Tomea, 'L'agiografia milanese nei secoli XI e XII', pp. 670-5 and Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, pp. 81-3.

The associated saints of Nazaro and Celso were the subject of another important cult established by Ambrose. Their memory and history contain many parallels with that of Gervasio and Protasio but also enough differences to allow their cult to communicate divergent meanings in the central middle ages. According to the bishop's fifth-century biographer Paulinus, Ambrose in 395 went to visit the tomb of the martyr Celso in a private garden in a suburb south of the city. It was during this visit that the grave of Nazaro was revealed to Ambrose, who found his body fresh with running blood.[580] The archbishop resolved to endow Nazaro with the greatest possible dignity by leaving Celso and organising the solemn translation of his uncorrupted body to the *Basilica Apostolorum*. It was precisely the celebration of this translation that the Patarines would later target for their preaching.

Founded some ten years earlier by Ambrose, the *Basilica Apostolorum* was one of the most prestigious churches of the city, built to house the recently acquired relics of apostles, enclosed in a remarkable silver reliquary which survives to this day.[581] Despite being an almost unknown saint, Ambrose not only claimed Nazaro to be a worthy companion to the apostles, but buried him – as an epigraph once read – under the 'head' of the church beneath the centre of the basilica's innovative cruciform design.[582] Ambrose's powerful intervention in favour of Nazaro's cult would prove decisive in ensuring its broad dissemination across Christian societies.[583] Nazaro would retain his strong association with the cult of apostles in Milan through the entire early middle ages. The most substantial hagiographical narrative, BHL, no. 6039, is first recorded in a manuscript witness of the tenth century, although it could have been composed at almost anytime between then and

[580] Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio,* cc. 32-3.
[581] McLynn, *Ambrose*, pp. 227-35 again provides a clear overview of these events. See also, *La Basilica degli Apostoli e Nazaro martire nel culto e nell'arte* (Milan, 1969). Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, pp. 44-58. For the silver reliquary, G. Sena Chiesa (ed.), *Il tesoro di San Nazaro* (Milan, 2009).
[582] *Inscriptiones Latinae Christinae Veteres*, ed. E. Diehl (Berlin, 1925-31), no. 1800.
[583] See P. Sessa, 'Antiche fonti sul martire Nazaro' and P. Borella, 'Basilica romana nel 404 dedicati ai santi Nabore e Nazario', *La Basilica degli Apostoli e Nazaro martire nel culto e nell'arte* (Milan, 1969), pp. 98-114 and 145-70.

the post-Ambrosian period.[584] It records that Nazaro was born in Rome to a non-Christian father and a Christian mother, Perpetua, who was baptised by Peter the apostle himself. Resisting initiation into his father's religion, Nazaro was baptised by pope Linus, Peter's successor in the Roman see. Although the saint undertook an evangelical mission to Gaul, where the young boy Celso was entrusted to him, it is Milan that is most frequently the scene of Nazaro's deeds, and it is here that he ultimately finds martyrdom.[585]

Nazaro's association with pope Linus is clearly indicated in his *passio*. Their connection, which was evidently well known, accentuated Nazaro's status as a conduit between Roman evangelisation and Milan, and was also broadcast in other ways. In the basilica of San Nazaro and the Apostles a funerary chapel had been dedicated to the pope Linus, as we know from at least 948, when bishop Arderico was buried there.[586] Linus rarely received special devotion in the region, and evidently this was a very deliberate association. During the Three-Day Litanies, the procession also stopped at the basilica and called in its orations on Linus.[587]

As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, the association between the Patarines and the cult of Nazaro was announced near the beginning of their history, when Arialdo and Landolfo the Patarine disrupted the celebration of the translation of the saint's body on 10 May. But furthermore, the Patarines came to control the suburban monastery of San Celso, a saint's whose memory was dependent on that of Nazaro, as the latter's hagiography demonstrates. On the death of the monastery's abbot some time after 1057, Archbishop Guido himself appointed a cleric, Lanfranco Azzo. According to Andrea da Strumi, he received the appointment in return for his renunciation of an income from the bishop's household, which Arialdo interpreted as an incidence of simony. However this appointment

[584] U. Zanetti, 'Les Passions des SS. Nazaire, Gervais, Protais et Celse', *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 97 (1979), pp. 69-88, and id., 'Les Passions grecques de s. Nazaire', *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 105 (1987), pp. 303-84.
[585] Mombritius, B. *Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum,* 2 vols. (Paris, 2010), vol. 2, pp. 326-334.
[586] *Catalogus*, p. 104.
[587] *Manuale ambrosianum ex codice saec. XI*, 2 ed. M. Magistretti, 2 vols. (Milan, 1905), vol. 1 p. 258.

was forcefully blocked by Arialdo and Erlembaldo, who armed the monks, and both forbade the unfortunate cleric from even entering the boundaries of the monastery's *parroechiae,* as Andrea da Strumi calls it. This violent deposition, together with the expulsion by the Patarines of the abbot of San Vincenzo, was also confirmed by Pope Alexander II, the former Anselmo da Baggio. In a letter to the Milanese clergy, he deposed these 'invaders' of the monasteries, deeming their appointments invalid because of their status as secular canons who claimed the title of abbot before they had even become monks.[588]

The success of the Patarines in blocking the episcopal nomination of S. Celso's abbot forged a powerful association between the reformers, the monastery, and the cult of Nazaro and Celso. It was here, during the height of the movement's power, that Erlembaldo in 1071 had archbishop Guido imprisoned, 'ignominiously' according to Arnolfo's chronicle.[589] However what is more revealing about the particular cultic significance of the site to the Patarines are the details of Arialdo's solemn translation and burial. After the deacon's body was recovered a year after his murder in 1066 in Lake Maggiore, his sweet-smelling remains were first brought before the basilica of Sant'Ambrogio on the feast day of the Ascension. Here for ten days the body was the focus of intense, popular veneration during the day, while monks and clerics kept a vigil in chant during the nights. Finally on the day of Pentecost, 27 May 1067 - the anniversary of the disturbances which led to his murder - Arialdo's body was translated to the monastery of S. Celso. We learn that Arialdo's tomb was deliberately located at a point midway between the shrine of Celso and the sanctuary which marked the original site of Ambrose's discovery of Nazaro in the fourth century.[590] This important detail underlines that the Patarine leader, already being celebrated by his supporters as a martyr, was not simply being buried under the auspices of a supportive

[588] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 16, Arn, *LGR*, III.15. Alexander's letter, S. Loewenfeld, (ed.) *Epistolae pontifcum romanorum ineditae* (Leipzig, 1885), no. 103.
[589] Arn, *LGR*, III. 20.
[590] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, cc. 23 and 25, and Land Sen, *HM*, III. 30.

institution, but was being explicitly associated by promoters of his cult with the memory of Nazaro himself.

The importance of the cult of Nazaro and Celso for the Patarines appears to have been its 'Romanist' value. Simultaneously, veneration of Nazaro kept a link to powerful local sources of sanctity. It is notable in narrative sources that the Patarines do not repudiate Ambrosian tradition entirely. We have already seen that a vigil around Arialdo's corpse was held outside the basilica of Sant'Ambrogio, and while still alive the Patarine deacon, Andrea tells us, prayed before Ambrose's body and urged his own supporters to do the same.[591] Indeed it would have been necessary to work inside these extremely powerful traditions, which commanded so much adhesion in Milan, in order to win popular support. The Patarines would have had to re-contextualise, rather than repudiate, such traditions and representations. As Eric Hobsbawm once reminded us, so often movements for radical change cloak themselves in the mask of a legitimising past, so as best to mitigate the most disturbing features of novelty.[592] In this regard the Patarines' assault on particular Ambrosian liturgical observances were well noted, with Arialdo's condemnation of the pre-Easter fast being particularly disturbing to anti-Patarine commentators. Further, their activists constantly invoked Roman authority against that of local institutions and office-holders. Nazaro and Celso could provide a solution: this was a vastly popular cult (the 10 May celebration of Nazaro's translation is one of the few litanies where we are certain that there was mass participation) with links to the heart of Ambrose's memory and tradition, but with important 'Romanist' associations. Gervasio and Protasio were beyond appropriation – their relics flanked the body of Ambrose himself, in the heart of Sant'Ambrogio, one of the core institutions of the Milanese church, its mechanisms of power, and control of the countryside.

---

[591] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 11.

[592] E. Hobsbawm, 'The Social Function of the Past: Some Questions', *Past and Present*, 55 (1972), pp. 3-17.

Nazaro and Celso's cult represented a different story, even if one still of central importance to Milanese traditions. No one seemingly had any idea who Nazaro was when discovered; Ambrose constructed his significance through his own intervention and his association with the apostles in the *Basilica Apostolorum*. The topography of Nazaro's new resting place was important in itself – the basilica stood by the Porta Romana, on the Via Romana, the artery out of the city which led towards Rome. By the eleventh century, as Landolfo Seniore makes clear, it was believed that the first relics of the apostles housed in S. Nazaro were those of Paul and Peter, founder of the Roman church.[593]

Finally, Peter Damian reveals that Nazaro's potentially powerful association with Rome through Peter and Linus was deliberately exploited by the reform party. In report of the 1059 legation to Milan, he records his address to the Milanese in which he argues for the see's subordination to Rome:

> Your gracious loyalty should not be unaware that the blessed princes of the apostles, Peter and Paul, had consecrated the Roman Church by their blood. So also, at the very beginning of the newborn faith, they won for Christ this church of Milan through their disciples. The celebrated martyr Nazarius, as the sources attest, received the baptism of Peter from his successor Linus and, with blessed Celsus, was later crowned with martyrdom in this holy city.[594]

The Cult of Patarine Saints and the Episcopal Response

[593] Landolfo Sen, *HM*, I. 6. See further not the question, Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, pp. 51-2 and McLynn, *Ambrose*, pp. 229-32.

[594] Peter Damian, *Briefe*, no. 65. Translation from O. Blume, *The Letters of Peter Damian*, vol. 3, no. 65.

We should now turn to the evidence for the cult and veneration of the Patarines themselves. Arialdo da Cucciago, martyred (in his supporters' eyes) in 1066, was made the subject of an extensive, contemporary hagiography probably just before 1076.[595] The *Vita sancti Arialdi* was not, however, a Milanese composition and this is important, as it underlines the interregional character of the networks which sustained the deacon's cult. The biography's author, Andrea da Strumi, was not only an eye-witness to the events he described, but also an engaged and committed activist in the Milanese Pataria. He had even risked his life trying to recover Arialdo's corpse in Lake Maggiore.[596] But by the time he wrote his biography, Andrea was a monk of the Vallombrosan congregation, later to become the abbot of the house of Strumi, near Arezzo. Indeed, according to Andrea's prologue, the text was commissioned by the then head of the order (from 1073-6), abbot Rodolfo of S. Pietro di Moscheta, outside of Florence.[597]

The eleventh-century Vallombrosans were among radical reform's most committed protagonists. Giovanni Gualberto first founded a rigorous religious community at Vallombrosa, outside Florence, on an uncertain date in the early eleventh century. It was from this base that he and his followers launched fierce challenges against the married and simoniac bishops of Florence, summoning crowds in a way which paralleled the Milanese radicals.[598] Although monks, they were deeply concerned to bring about a thorough transformation of the life and organisation of the secular clergy. According to his biography,

[595] There has been surprisingly little sustained study of the *Vita sancti Arialdi*. See C. Pellegrini, 'Fonti e memorie storiche di S. Arialdo', I-II, *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 3rd Series, vol. 14 (1900), Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, pp. 215-31, A. Degl'Innocenti, 'Analisi morfologica e modello agiografico nelle Vite di Arialdo e Giovanni Gualberto', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 1 (1987), pp. 101-29, C. Dartmann, *Wunder als Argumente. Die Wunderberichte in der Historia Mediolanensis des sogenannten Landulf Senior und in der Vita Arialdi des Andrea von Strumi* (Frankfurt, 2000).

[596] 'Presbiter Syrus Andreae Christi famulo,' *VSA*, p. 1073.

[597] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, Prologue: *Praecepisti, venerande pater Rodulfe, ut beati martyris Arialdi passionem describerem*.

[598] For the Vallombrosans, S. Boesch Gajano, 'Storia e tradizione vallombrosane', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo*, vol. 76 (1964), pp. 99-216 and F. Salvestrini, *Santa Maria di Vallombrosa: Patrimonio e vita economica di un grande monastero medievale* (Florence, 1998). See also G. Monzio Compagnoni, *I Vallombrosani nella società italiana dei secoli XI e XII* (Vallombrosa, 1995).

Giovanni Gualberto was as concerned to institute reformed priests in churches as he was monks in monasteries – priests who would live a 'common life' without wives or private property, and following the 'apostolic rule'.[599] In an arresting detail relayed by Andrea da Strumi's life of Giovanni Gualberto, we are told that the Vallombrosan leader sent priests untainted by simony to assist with the reformed ministry in Milan. We are told that priests from Cremona and Piacenza sought assistance from Gualberto's community, which fits with what Bonizo of Sutri tells us of the Pataria's spread to those cities.[600] Links between the monks and the Patarines, then, had deep roots. It was recognition of a shared cause which led the order to engage Andrea to provide a textual model of virtue through an account of Arialdo's life, and his attempt to reform the Milanese clergy. This in itself is striking, in a way which has yet to be fully appreciated. Arialdo's cult broke the usual early medieval pattern. As we have seen in the case of Milan's saints, veneration or hagiography tended to be promoted by a local church in order to further that institution's particular rights and claims. In Arialdo's case, cult was not exclusively or even primarily a local concern, but was advanced by networks seeking to promote a universal ideology.

The structure and content of the hagiography is related to these aims and context. The *vita* clearly cleaves to standard hagiographic *topoi*: Arialdo is born to parents of noble stock, and his virtue is prefigured to his mother during her pregnancy by a night-time vision of brilliant light, as bright as the midday sun; as a boy he already assumes his commitment to celibacy, refusing to join his fellow schoolmates as they eye up beautiful girls; a model of virtue in life, in death his bodily remains emit a perfumed fragrance.[601] Arialdo's piety and his dramatic story are also associated with biblical models – so Arialdo's imprisoner, and

[599] See Andrea da Strumi, *Vita Iohannis Gaulberti* pp. 1084, 1087, 1093-4.
[600] Ibid, cc. 68 and 78. Bonizo, *LAA*, VI, pp. 597-8 and 599. On the Milanese-Vallombrosan connection, and the Gualberto's commitment to reform of the secular clergy, see especially S. Boesch Gajano, 'Giovanni Gualberto e la vita comune del clero nelle biografie di Andrea da Strumi e di Atto da Vallombrosa', in *La vita comune del clero,* vol. 2, pp. 228-35, 229-3, and P. Golinelli, 'I Vallombrosani e i movimenti patarinici', in *I Vallombrosani nella società italiana*, pp. 35-56.
[601] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, cc. 2-3, 24.

archbishop Guido's niece, Oliva, is better called Jezebel or Herod.[602] Miracle stories, however, have a less important role in establishing Arialdo's sanctity.[603] Putting aside the hagiographic tropes mentioned above, there is no attempt to depict Arialdo himself as a miracle-worker. Rather, preaching and activism against simony and clerical incontinence become the literary site in which Arialdo's sanctity is located, an association crafted through Andrea's careful deployment of hagiographic and Biblical commonplaces.

Thus after establishing the Christian virtue of Arialdo's family and his early life, Andrea immediately makes the contrast with the life of the Milanese clergy, mired in the errors and vice of the secular world. The saint confronts a clergy of husbands, hunters, and wicked (*impii*) usurers, men who were more likely to be at the tavern than acting as good stewards (*villici*). Arialdo preaches against their modes of living, and empowers the listening crowd to pass judgement on those clerics who are impure. 'I know that you know the life of your priests,' Andrea records Arialdo as saying, 'listen, and then you will recognise more fully whether these men are your ministers, or rather your enemies.' At the end of the sermon, Arialdo declares his readiness to face martyrdom to achieve the purity of life which he demands of the clergy.[604] In Andrea's text, therefore, it is commitment to the cause of popular reform which sanctifies Arialdo's life.

A later sermon against simony is also recorded in extensive detail by Andrea. As a former companion of Arialdo's in Milan, it is not implausible that his biographer preserved something of the sermon's original material, whether written or oral. Arialdo begins with Peter's struggle against Simon Magus himself, but the text is also striking for revealing some of the authoritative sources drawn on by the Patarines to legitimise their condemnation of simony. Quoted are Pseudo-Ambrose (*De dignitate sacerdotali*, V), and Gregory the Great

[602] *Ibid*, c. 22.
[603] This makes the selection of the text as one of the two case-studies on the rhetorical function of miracle stories a rather eccentric choice in C. Dartmann, *Wunder als Argumente*.
[604] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 4, *Vestrorum vitam sacerdotum scio vos nosse. ... audite, atque tunc plenius cognoscetis utrum isti sint eius ministri, an ipsius potius adversarii.*

(IX, ep. 218 and XI, ep. 9). Fascinatingly, as Giovanni Miccoli long ago observed, these are precisely the same sources drawn upon by Humbert of Silva Candida in a passage of his *Libri adversus simoniacos*.[605] These shared sources hint at underlying networks of knowledge exchange which bound radical reformers from Rome to the Po plain. Arialdo had been to Rome, and may have came into touch with Humbert or members of his circle. Equally the Vallombrosans may have acted as a conduit for ideas and sources of authority, allowing their flow across the peninsula.

This was the content of the *Vita sancti Arialdi*, but we need to consider how it circulated. The text in fact only survives in one medieval manuscript: Rome, Biblioteca Alessandrina, 25 b, composed by a late eleventh or early twelfth-century hand, with annotations from the twelfth century and later which reveal the codex's Vallombrosan provenance.[606] The biography, appended with letters exchanged between Andrea da Strumi and a Patarine priest named Siro, comprises the entirety of the extant codex. The pattern of circulation – far from its subject's home in Milan – is explained by the text's intended audience: the monks of the Vallombrosan congregation. Andrea writes in his prologue, as we have seen, that he wrote the text on the instructions of abbot Rodolfo, and the author goes on to say that the text should be read for the spiritual edification of the members of the twelve houses subject to Rodolfo's order.[607] This suggests, therefore, that copyists within the order undertook the circulation of the text across their own network.

It is at least clear that the single extant manuscript originates from a Vallombrosan community, and one far from the western Po plain. The manuscript's twelfth-century annotator makes several notes underlining details relevant to the order and its praise, and

[605] The relevant passage in Humbert is *Tres libri adversos simoniacos*, MGH LdL, I, pp. 126-8. See G. Miccoli, 'Per la storia'.

[606] For discussion of the manuscript, its probable dating, and annotations, Pellegrini, 'Fonti e memorie storiche di S. Arialdo', I. Baethgen, the text's editor for the MGH in 1934, does not add any significant information about the manuscript.

[607] Andrea da Strumi *VSA*, Prologue.

has to gloss the fact that Como was a city.[608] The later hand locates the period of Arialdo's campaign against simony and nicolaitism as in 'the time of the blessed Giovanni, abbot of Vallombrosa', and highlights the priest Siro's praise of the order with the phrase, *Nota de monasterio Valle*.[609] In absence of other manuscript witnesses, it is difficult to know whether the hagiography enjoyed a circulation beyond the walls of the communities for which it was written. According to his letter exchange with Siro however, Andrea did at least send a copy of the biography to this Patarine priest, whose opinons on the work's veracity he sought. We also learn from the letter that Siro himself had written a work on Arialdo, although its lack of detail partly prompted Rodolfo to commission Andrea's fuller work.[610] None of Siro's writings beyond his letters to Andrea survive. However there does exist a later, more brief and anonymous *Passio Arialdi* – mostly derivative of Andrea's work – which, although difficult to date itself, does bear witness to the 'return' of Andrea da Strumi's composition to Milan.

The anonymous Passion only survives in a single, late-medieval manuscript now conserved in Milan, Ambrosiana H. 89 inf, and dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.[611] There are however further clues, brought to our attention long ago by Carlo Pellegrini, which allow us to limit the dating of the text's composition. The anonymous author records Arialdo's resting place in the basilica of San Dionigi, which means he was writing after the translation of the Patarine leader's relics from S. Celso, organised by archbishop Anselmo IV in 1099/1100. Further, the author records the church established by the Rozo family of moneyers (*ecclesiae quae dicitur Rozoni* in Andrea da Strumi), he notes that the sanctuary 'is now called S. Sepolcro'. This re-dedication only took place in 1100,

[608] When Andrea, in c. 2, describes the location of Cucciago, Arialdo's birth place, as lying between Milan and Como, the annotator has glossed the smaller city as being, *Cumo, quae urbs est*.
[609] Ibid, pp. 1050 and 1073. Other glosses by the same hand note that *Iste Rodulfus fuit secundus abbas Vallumbrose et discipulus sancti Iohannis Gualberti*, and by Andrea's reference to the twelve houses of the order, he notes *Vallumbrosanus ordo tunc non habebat plura monasteria*, pp. 1049-50.
[610] 'Syro venerando et fedeli sacerdoti Andreas', *VSA*, p. 1072.
[611] Pellegrini, 'Fonti e memorie storiche di S. Arialdo', i., p. 222-4. Again Pellegrini is followed by Baethgen.

before Anselmo IV left for his disastrous crusade.[612] Thus the anonymous *Passio* can be no earlier than the twelfth century. It also cannot be later than the late-thirteenth-century composition of the *Liber notitiae Sanctorum Mediolani*. This records notes on Arialdo, and refers to the existence of a *libellum* on the martyr, and repeats a detail only found in the anonymous biography, that the saint's family came from Carimate.[613]

While it is fruitless to try to date the text more exactly than to a time between 1100 and the second half of the thirteenth century, we do know that the anonymous author was from Milan and writing for a local audience: he refers to Ambrose as 'the protector of our most illustrious city.'[614] He also draws on the chronicles of both Landolfo Seniore and Arnolfo. However, as we have noted, most of the passion's substance derives from Andrea da Strumi, whom he himself mentions as his source.[615] Thus the original *vita*, intended to promote the cult of Arialdo among the communities of the Vallombrosans, must have arrived in the city which first inspired its composition to be later used by the anonymous author. In the absence of evidence for the circulation of Andrea's text outside of his declared audience, the most likely context for its introduction to Milan is therefore the establishment of the small Vallombrosan community of S. Barnaba, three miles south of the city at Gratosoglio. The monastery is not recorded in the list of member-communities in Paschal II's privilege to the order in 1115, but literary and documentary evidence attest to the house's existence by at least 1130.[616] The house's dedication to Barnabas, the figure promoted by partisans of the local church to provide Milan with an apostolic origin to rival

[612] Compare Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 20 and *Anon VSA*, c. 56.
[613] Anon, *VSA*, c. 1. *Liber notitiae*.
[614] Anon, *VSA*: *protector nostrae clarissimae urbis.*
[615] E.g., Anon. *VSA*, 38.
[616] On the origins of Gratosoglio, see P. Zerbi, 'Un documento inedito riguardante l'abbazia di S. Barnaba in Gratosoglio. Note sugli inizi della vita vallombrosana a Milano', in *idem*., *Tra Milano e Cluny*, pp. 112-15, and G. M. Compagnoni, 'Fondazione vallombrosane in diocesi di Milano. Primie ricerche', in *idem*. (ed.), *I vallombrosani nella società italiana del secoli XI e XII*. Only four medieval documents survive from the monastery, the earliest dating to 1148. Zerbi however first noted a reference to Gratosoglio in a document of Chiaravalle in April 1141 (*PChiar*, I, no. 71). Later Compagnoni drew attention to the testimony of the poem, *Rytmus quem fecit abbas Manfredus de Astino*, and an unpublished document dated to 1130.

Rome's, reminds us however that by this period the Vallombrosans had lost their radical edge. When Atto da Vallombrosa wrote a second *Vita* of Giovanni Gualberto, the order's founder, which was derivative of Andrea da Strumi's, he omitted the original biography's most radical comments against clerical private property and for the exclusion of simoniac and married priests from active ministry.[617] And where Gualberto was in the 1060s providing material support and clerical personnel to the Patarines in Milan and neighbouring cities, in the early twelfth century new Vallombrosan foundations in Lombardy were firmly established in harmony with local structures of authority.[618] If Andrea's *Vita Arialdi* was transmitted to Milan during this more conciliatory phase of the Vallombrosan movement, such an environment and the softening effect of the passage of time would also explain the anonymous biographer's less partisan spirit. He has no difficulty, for example, in drawing freely from the virulently anti-Patarine polemic of Landolfo Seniore to construct his presentation of Arialdo's sanctity. He repeats, for example, Landolfo's claim that Anselmo da Baggio began the Patarine disturbances, and references the historian's constructed anti-Patarine speech, put into the mouth of a Roman cardinal named Dionigi.[619]

There are, however, other indications of Arialdo's veneration in Milan itself. Indeed, the deacon's cult must have been still powerful in the city over three decades after his mutilation and murder, as archbishop Anselmo IV intervened to organise a solemn translation of his relics in 1099/1100, an episode discussed below. Furthermore, the dispute over Arialdo's sanctity which takes place in the narrative texts is brought out with clarity if we focus on representations of his body. Andrea tells a story about the vigil over Arialdo's recovered body in the atrium of Sant'Ambrogio. Anxious about whether the corpse had begun to decompose over the past year, one night he examined a cavity in the martyr's

617 Atto of Vallombrosa, *Vita sanction Iohannis Gualberti*, in PL, CXLVI, coll. 671-706. See S. Boesch Gajano, 'Giovanni Gualberto et la vita comune del clero', pp. 233-5.
618 Other Vallombrosan foundations from this period in the region were dedicated to important local cults, such as S. Sigismondo in Cremona and S. Prospero in Reggio Emilia.
619 Anon, *VSA*, cc. 17 and 31.

flank. The viscera within shone brilliant colours, and moving two fingers to touch within the body he was left with a perfume of incomparable sweetness.[620] The fragrance of the special dead, the inversion of pollution fears associated with human remains, was a key and powerful stereotype in medieval hagiography.[621] Drawing on the rhetorical authority of the eye-witness, Andrea here makes skilful use of it in seeking to convince his audience of the sanctity of a reform activist. Given the violent controversy focused on Arialdo, it is no wonder that such claims were contested. Even before death, Arialdo's enemies mutilated his body when he was captured after his flight from the city. They gouged out his eyes and stuffed his ears, nose, and tongue down his throat.[622] In an echo of these events, when Liprando was similarly mutilated (but not killed) for his role in administering the Patarine-organised baptism, the sources are explicit that this was done to negate clerical status, as church law demanded that ministers be bodily intact.[623] It seems likely that a similar motivation at least in part drove the brutality of Arialdo's captors. After death, in comparison to the sweet odours described by Andrea, Landolfo Seniore claims the stench (*foetor*) of Arialdo's corpse was so nauseating that its guardians in Valtravaglia flooded the castle's cellar, where the body lay. When the Patarines finally found their dead comrade, his cadaver is foul-smelling and shrivelled, making the image of his supporters bearing his body, wrapped in the honorific garments of a 'quasi-Levite', during his funeral litanies to S. Celso a deeply grotesque one.[624]

The contest over the nature of Arialdo's body helps us understand the post-mortem fate of the movement's other leader, Erlembaldo. Erlemabldo was killed in a street battle between his supporters and the episcopal militia on 15 April, 1075. The same day saw the

[620] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 24.
[621] See for example R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013), pp. 534-5.
[622] Arn, *LGR*, III.18, Andrea, *VSA*, c. 22, Land Sen, *HM*, III. 30.
[623] Arn, *LGR*, IV. 10, Land SP, *HM*, c. 9, for questions around Liprando's clerical status. See O. Capitani, 'Da Landolfo senior a Landolfo iuniore', in *Milano e il suo territorio*, vol. 2, pp. 589-622, 599-610.
[624] Land Sen., *HM*, III. 30.

Patarine movement dispersed. Strikingly, the narrative sources tell us that Erlembaldo's body was left exposed in the street and desecrated – stripped naked, beaten, and made an object of mockery. Furthermore, according to the south German chronicler, Berthold of Reichenau, armed men actively forbade his corpse to be moved or buried.[625] To restore just how shocking this was, we might recall Sophocles' *Antigone*. The dramatic economy of this Athenian play derives precisely from the perversion of divine order and rite caused by the Theban tyrant's refusal to allow the translation or burial even by family of the slain body of a rebel, Polynices.[626] The anxiety which we know was felt on both sides around Arialdo's corpse suggests that the archbishop's supporters were prepared to go far in seeking to vitiate the formation of a martyr's cult around Erlembaldo, as they had witnessed emerge around Arialdo. Beyond humiliating the dignity of a former aristocrat, the men who Berthold tells us patrolled the corpse would, by refusing proper burial, have ensured its public corruption. Precluding habits of veneration, they made Erlembaldo's remains matter out of place, a vector of pollution in the midst of the city.[627] Nevertheless after some time – a symbolic three days, Berthold says, when at night a divine shaft of brilliant light summoned a crowd around his illuminated body – supporters were able to steal the corpse away. They then had him honourably interred with appropriate funeral rites, most likely at the Patarine-controlled house of S. Celso (although the extant text of Bonizo says S. Dionigi).

And indeed – despite the efforts of his opponents – there are significant signs of Erlembaldo's veneration, and of attempts by reformers beyond Milan to advance his cult. The Vallombrosan Andrea da Strumi's *Vita Arialdi* includes an interesting description of Erlembaldo, rendered in accordance with various typologies of sanctity. Andrea depicts him as committed to constant acts of charity and, in acts which renounced his aristocratic status, he is said to have washed the feet of the poor, even lowering his head before them. Indeed

[625] Arn, *LGR*, IV.10, Bonizo of Sutri, *LAA*, VII p. 605, Berthold of Reichenau, *Bertholdi Chronicon*, a. 1077, p. 305.
[626] Sophocles, *Antigone*, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones, *Sophocles*, vol. 2 (Cambridge MA, 1994).
[627] See M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo* (London, 1966).

the difficulty of reconciling typologies of sanctity with martial and lay aristocratic mores recalls the problems faced by the tenth-century monastic author of Gerald of Aurillac's hagiography, which grappled with what Stuart Airlie once memorably termed the 'anxiety of sanctity'. Erlembaldo is said to have held himself like a military leader when he appeared before the world (*saeculo*), dressed in fine garments and surrounded by his armed entourage. But to balance this dignified but unsaintly image, Andrea tells us that in secret – when 'before God' – Erlembaldo wore the rough wools of a rural hermit. The text also states that Erlembaldo would later be 'crowned with martyrdom', and indeed Andrea hoped that another author would write up his deeds and passion in a different book.[628]

We also know that the Vallombrosans worked more broadly to preserve Erlembaldo's memory, just as they did for Arialdo. There is a manuscript originating with the order (later in the possession of the Florentine *pieve* of S. Appiano) which, in addition to homilies of Gregory the Great and Paul the Deacon, includes a short collection of anti-simoniac canons and an appended necrology. The commitment to reform ideology is not only signalled by the canon collection, but also by the selected names of the special dead. 'Erlembaldo of Milan' is recorded under 15 April, alongside the names of Vallombrosan abbots and figures of radical reform, all added by the same eleventh-century hand, including pope Nicholas II and – perhaps most strikingly of all – the intransigent Humbert of Silva Candida.[629] The special memory of Erlembaldo and Humbert, men without local backgrounds in Tuscany, shines a light on the living networks which connected together

[628] Andrea, *VSA*, c. 15. For Gerald, Odo of Cluny, *Vita sancti Geraldi Auriliacensis* (Brussels, 2009), S. Airlie, 'The Anxiety of Sanctity: St. Gerald of Aurillac and his Maker', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 43 (1992), pp. 372-95.

[629] The manuscript is Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. XIX dext. 5. See W. Goez, 'Reformpapsttum, Adel und monastische Erneuerung in der Toscana', in J. Fleckenstein (ed.) in *Investiturstreit und Reichverfassung* (Sigmaringen, 1973), pp. 205-39, 237-8 and G. Motta, 'Echi della polemica antisimoniaca nei secoli XI-XII: i tre codici di Sant'Appiano in Valdelsa', *Aevum*, vol. 62 (1988), pp. 198-214, 201, which confirms the original Vallombrosan provenance of the manuscript. Erlembaldo is also commemorated in a Vallombrosan liturgical calendar of the eighteenth century, which may reflect the transmission within the order of medieval practices of veneration. See C. Pellegrini, 'Fonte e memorie storiche di S. Arialdo, III. S. Arialdo ed i Vallombrosani: verità e leggende', *Archivio storico lombardo*, vol. 16 (1901), pp. 5-24, 23.

centres of reform. These were cults where shared ideology patterned commemoration, not simply the institutional rights and claims of individual churches.

Andrea and members of his order were not alone in working to extend the recognition of Erlembaldo's sanctity. Bonizo of Sutri's *Liber ad Amicum* twice recalls his tomb and the many miracles which God caused to appear there. Indeed the second reference is one of the closing remarks of the entire composition, where Erlembaldo's martyrdom to the cause of reform is associated with that of the Roman layman Cencio di Giovanni Tignoso, a Gregorian partisan murdered in 1077.[630] The connection between the two men derived from the fact that they were both honoured by Gregory VII during his celebration of a Lent synod in 1078. In life Erlembaldo was well known in Gregory's circle, and the two men corresponded, with the pope sharing strategic information and fielding queries.[631] The Lenten assembly saw the publication of reports of miracles from the tombs of both Cencio and Erlembaldo, adding all the weight of canonical authority to claims of the two laymen's sanctity. Berthold of Reichenau stresses that the many witnesses to Erlembaldo's miracles were divine proof that the Patarine's violent struggles against the simoniac and nicholaite 'heretics' were sanctioned by God.[632]

Erlembaldo's cult then was evidently important to figures in Gregorian circles, who sought to publicise signs of his veneration. But the development of his cult in Milan itself must also have been significant, and sustained until at least the end of the century. A contemporary inscription, copied by a fourteenth-century glossator into a manuscript of Landolfo Seniore, records that Erlembaldo's remains were translated and solemnly interred in the basilica of S. Dionigi by Archbishop Arnolfo III and Pope Urban II. This took place in 1095/6, depending on whether Urban II was making his first or second visit to Milan. The

[630] Bonizo, *LAA*, VII, p. 609 and IX, p. 620.
[631] Gregory VII, *Register*, I.25-6 are both addressed to Erlembaldo.
[632] Berthold of Reichenau, *Bertholdi Chronicon*, a. 1077, pp. 305-6. For the synod's publication of Cencio's miracles see as well Paul of Bernried, *Vita Gregorii VII papae*, ed. J. M. Watterich (Leipzig, 1862), pp. 474-545, c. 92.

epigraph memorialises Erlembaldo as a soldier of Christ (*miles Christi reverendus*), whose campaign against the unchaste (*incestus*) and the simoniac led to his destruction at the hands of the followers of Simon Magus and 'servants of Venus'. The evocation of a pagan divinity is striking. It associated Erlembaldo's death with the heroic martyrdoms of early Christians who stood against the ancient Roman state and cult, as well as evoking an uncontrolled, even demonic, sexual desire among the supporters of clerical marriage. Deeply controversial figure that he was, two decades after his body was left to rot in the street the Patarine leader became the subject himself of public veneration, sanctioned by the archbishop. Furthermore, Arnolfo III's successor – Anselmo IV – followed suit. Two years into his office (according to a probable interpolation in Landolfo Seniore) in 1099/1100, he organised the translation of Arialdo's bones from their original resting place in S. Celso to S. Dionigi, bringing together the tombs of both Patarine leaders. Again an epitaph recording the reburial has been copied, both by the anonymous author of the saint's later *Passio* and by the rubricator of the fourteenth-century text of Landolfo Seniore.[633] Here too the once dangerous deacon became the object of episcopally sanctioned cult.

The very fact that these translations took place is a vivid witness to the continued vitality of Erlembaldo and Arialdo's cult, and the charged importance of their memory in Milan years after the Pataria had been defeated. This alone can explain the highly public and dramatic interventions made by archbishops and pope. Historians have read these moments as symbolising a changed attitude towards reform and Rome, and a re-evaluation of the Pataria by the archbishops.[634] While it is true that Arnolfo III's archiepiscopate saw a diplomatic turn towards the papacy, it would be a crude syllogism simply to read 'pro-Roman' as forever synonymous with 'pro-Patarine'. As we have argued, reform ideologies

[633] The glosses to Landolfo Seniore are both published in Land Sen, *HM*, p. 96-7, or see Forcella, *Iscrizionie delle chiese*; Anonymous, *VSA*, c. 78. See also Pellegrini, 'Fonti e memorie storiche di S. Arialdo, IV: Alla ricerca dei corpi dei SS. Arialdo ed Erlembaldo', in *Archivio storoco lombardo*, no. 29 (1902), pp. 60-83.
[634] See for example Cowdrey, 'The Papacy, the Patarenes', pp. 46-8, or Lucioni, *Anselmo IV*, pp. 76-8, which assume the translations demonstrate that S. Dionigi was a pro-Patarine institution,.

were more complex, and intersected with political affiliations in different ways. More ingeniously, Alfredo Lucioni has suggested that Arnolfo III, a member of the da Porta Orientale family, might have been honouring Erlembaldo partly because he was a relative. Developing a cautious hypothesis of Hagen Keller that Erlembaldo might have belonged to the aristocratic da Besana family, with possible links to the da Porta Orientale, this suggestion must however remain a conjecture.[635] Without explicit evidence to the contrary, it is safer to assume that an archbishop from a high aristocratic family like the da Porta Orientale would have, at the very least, had anxieties about the memory of leaders of a popular movement.

Rather, the archbishops appear to have responded to the continued veneration of these subversive figures by submitting their cult to archiepiscopal control, and incorporating their memory into the wider body of Ambrosian tradition.[636] Urban II himself was playing a tricky balancing act at the time, attempting to mediate between the radical currents of reform and traditional episcopal hierarchies, and thus to curb the popular excesses and lay initiatives of the radicals.[637] This reading of events is made more plausible if we consider the two sites of cult involved in the translation. Arialdo certainly and Erlembaldo quite probably were first buried in the grounds of S. Celso, a monastery which was a Patarine stronghold. In Arialdo's case we have seen, furthermore, that his followers placed his body in quite deliberate association with the memory of Nazaro. The translation therefore ripped Arialdo out of this context, deliberately constructed by his supporters, and moved him to S. Dionigi, which – as we have seen – was now strongly associated with both the memory of archbishop Ariberto and the Ambrosian tradition, in which Dionigi was Ambrose's predecessor.

---

[635] Lucioni, *Anselmo IV*, pp. 76-9. Keller, *Signori e vassalli*, p. 179.

[636] This is also the view argued by Violante, 'Riflessioni storiche sul seppellimento e la traslazione di Arialdo e di Erlembaldo capi della Pataria milanese', in R. Lievens, E. van Mingroot, V. Werner (eds.), *Pascua Mediaevalia: Studies voor Prof. Dr. J. M. De Smet* (Levuen, 1983), pp. 66-74.

[637] For Urban II's political situation, Becker, *Papst Urban II (1088-1099)*.

The bishops therefore swallowed the cult of the Patarines. At the same time, the episcopal church turned to promoting more seriously the Barnabas legend of its apostolic origins. We have seen that the text of the *Libelllus de situ mediolanensis* was most probably composed around the year 1000. But, as Paolo Tomea has suggested, its arguments about the city church's apostolic origins appear to have lay dormant until the Patarine challenge demanded a more intense defence still of episcopal authority. Landolfo Seniore, writing shortly after 1075, knew these texts, and it is striking to note from the evidence of Milan's liturgical calendars that the celebration of Barnabas was introduced at approximately the same time. The earliest calendar (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Can. Misc. 560), dated to c. 1055/6-74, has no mention of Barnabas, while the next oldest calendars, which have been dated to not long after c. 1070, celebrate 'the advent of the apostle saint Barnabas', on 11 June, to be celebrated in the archbishop's palace.[638] It is possible that the reformers' assertion, through the memory of Nazaro and Linus, that Milan's links to apostolic authority were routed through Rome was a motive which drove the episcopal church to promote a story of independent apostolic origins.

There is evidence to suggest that the city church made other interventions into the politics of cultic memory in the same period. The Oxford calendar attests the veneration of the tenth-century Cluniac abbot Maiolus, whose cult initially developed in Italy in Pavia, where the saint had founded a monastery with the support of Otto I's queen, Adelaide. Later, however, it became closely associated with reforming popes, including Gregory VII, and their supporters. It is at least plausible that it was this association which led to the Ambrosian church's erasure of Maiolus' memory; his feast day ceases to be recorded in any

[638] See next note.

of the later calendars which survive after c. 1070, and the experience of local, subversive reform movements.[639]

This reading of the fate of the cult of Maiolus in Milan would confirm an argument already suggested: that the political competitions in which promoters of saints' cults were engaged in were increasingly in this period not simply competitions over the rights of rivals churches, but were rather being driven by contrasting ideologies.The Vallombrosans and the court of Gregory VII deliberately promoted and sacralised the memory of Erlembaldo and Arialdo, as a means of encoding and disseminating unsettling, alternative visions of religious life and organisation. Earlier medieval cults of bishops, apostles, and martyrs, sought to ground the sacred locally, vindicating the status of a particular church or institution.[640] The commemoration of Arialdo and Erlembaldo and other reform leaders marked a break with these cults, by unmooring these saints from their associations with local institutions, and making them proponents of a universal ideology. In response Milanese archbishops struggled to re-absorb the local memory of these Patarine martyrs, accommodating them to the effective exercise of episcopal authority.

But we have evidence that further afield their commemoration continued to convey an ideological charge. Written across the Alps in the mid-twelfth century, Arno of Reichersberg's polemical vindication of the superiority of the regular clergy, the *Scutum canonicorum*, recalled the 'barbarous death' of Erlembaldo of Milan, claimed as the 'prior' of the movement.[641] Arno's text therefore is a witness to how the broad circulation of the memory of Erlembaldo's martyrdom (in the eyes of his allies) continued to communicate

---

[639] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Can. Misc. 560, and see Helming, 'Die ältesten ungedruckten Kalender'. D. Iogna-Prat, Agni immaculati: *Recherches sur les sources hagiographiques relatives a saint Maieul de Cluny (954-994)* (Paris, 1988), for the cult of Maiolus and the reform ideology which it encoded, and pp. 379-84 for its association with reforming popes and the Canossa.

[640] On the local character of early medieval saints' cults, see for example A. Thacker, *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), and on cults and competition in that period, Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, G. Vocino, 'Under the Aegis of the Saints: Hagiography and Power in Early Carolingian Northern Italy', *Early Medieval Europe*, 22 (2014), pp. 26-52.

[641] *PL*, CXCIV, col. 1493. See O. Capitani, 'Nota per il testo dello «sputum canonicorum»', in *La vita comune del clero*, vol. 2, pp. 40-7.

powerfully ideas about the transformation of clerical culture. As this chapter has insisted, cults were of central importance to both the reproduction of traditional hierarchies and the formation of movements which opposed them. Cults created communities of identity and shared ritual, but they were also a crucial means of communicating ideology outside of the narrow networks of hyper-literate elites. In Milan, the social dislocations of the mid-eleventh century which unleashed the religious radicalism of the crowd also brought into question the capacity of traditional cults to communicate consensus. This opened up the space for the Patarines to re-contexualise the meanings of existing saints' cults and construct new ones. Our next chapter will investigate in finer detail how ritual competition in Milan made, and unmade, the authority and social consensus required to wield power in an increasingly populous and fractious city space.

6.

CONTESTING THE LITURGY:

THEATRES OF CONSENSUS AND RITUAL VIOLENCE

What serenity, at last, what a relief: here, in this stone sanctuary, the peasant became the peasant, the master the master, the Mass the Mass, the stone stone and everything returned to itself.

Witold Gombrowicz, *Pornografia*.[642]

The control and exploitation of landed property and producers enabled the construction of this aristocratic group's power. Ideology and ritual – acts which dramatised and embodied consensus – were necessary elements for its reproduction. As a consequence in early medieval Milan and Italy, where as we have seen cities remained the most relevant centres of power, the regulation and performance of consensus in urban space was vital to the legitimacy of élites.[643] It has also been repeatedly emphasised that in this period, most (although not quite all) of the regional ruling class were active participants in the social and political life of the city, and identified with the structures and images of authority which culminated in the figure of the archbishop. As a result, the role of the city church's liturgy in maintaining social consensus acted not only to reproduce the legitimacy of the bishop and

[642] W. Gombrowicz, *Pornografia*, trans. A. Hamilton (London, 1991), p. 17.
[643] See above, Chapter 3.

his clergy, but also that of the wider, regional, property-owning élite, who before the autonomous government of the commune were drawn to participate in the politics of the city and that of the episcopal court.

Indeed clerical partisans of the Ambrosian establishment themselves recognised the role of urban liturgy in supporting the authority of both the archbishop and the lay élite. In an idealistic description of the city church in the days after the death of archbishop Ariberto in 1045, which repeatedly underlines the participation of laymen in ecclesiastical institutions, Landolfo Seniore celebrates the splendour of clerical processions: 'If you were to come across [our clerics] singing the psalms on the feast-days of the saints (what the Romans call a procession), brilliantly clothed and praiseworthy in their honesty and devotion, you would sooner say they were bishops than ordinary priests.' Landolfo describes all the different clerical grades of the major order together in psalmody as 'like a choir of angels', but in the next sentence he immediately associates the brilliance of the ecclesiastical procession with the virtues of the viscount and the laity, who in their respect for authority are 'like gods' and 'sons of the highest' (a reference to Psalm 82).[644]

Landolfo Seniore and our other narrative texts for Milan not only describe political events and changing religious practices, they also betray what actions and rituals were understood by contemporaries to be either constitutive or disruptive of competing visions of social order. As we will demonstrate in this chapter, the marking of sacred time and liturgical celebration was seen by observers as a vital element in the reproduction of social as well as religious consensus. And for this reason, attempts by the Patarines to contest the

[644] Land Sen, *HM*, II. 35: *Si enim eos in sacntorum natalibus maxime ad psallentium, quod apud Romanos vocatur processio, supervenires, vestibus nitidos, honestate ac devotione laudabiles, magis diceres episcopos quam sacerdotes urbanos. Ordinarii vero archieposcopum antecedentes... quasi angelorum chori... At layci omnes unum dominum, laicum tamen, habents, qui baculum ferulae uni, unis qui decem regebat sacerdotes, ita veneravantur, quasi Dii essent apertissimi; de quibus propheta:* Ego dixi, Dii estis et filii Excelsi omnes. Landolfo is referring to the role in stational processions which the viscount occupied, something also recorded by Beroldo. See Beroldo, *Ordo* (Milan, 1894), pp. 70-1.

ritual and processional culture of Milan were recognised by partisans of both sides as direct challenges to the legitimacy of the Ambrosian church's hegemony.

Furthermore, the important role of urban liturgical processions in restoring or re-forging social cohesion after crisis can be established in the great cities of Italy before the eleventh century. More broadly, the transformation and re-patterning of ancient civic and religious processions in the Mediterranean was a necessary task for the sacral leaderships of post-Roman metropolises.[645] Acute moments of social stress could demand more extraordinary ritual acts. It was in Vienne, in the urban world of fifth-century southern Gaul, that bishop Mamertus is understood to have instituted the Three Day Litanies as city-wide processions of supplicatory prayer after a series of disasters.[646]

Later in 590, Rome was struck by disastrous flooding, famine, and pestilence. According to a report from one of Gregory of Tours' deacons, water snakes and a great dragon ploughed the river Tiber before an epidemic broke out which claimed the lives of pope Pelagius and many of his fellow citizens. Pelagius' successor, Gregory the Great, in an attempt to restore civic community and emphasise his sacral leadership within it, organised a penitential procession involving the participation of the entire city. The population was divided into seven groups, according to lay, clerical, or religious status, but all under the explicit leadership of the city church and its bishop.[647] About a century later in Ravenna – according to Agnellus' *Liber pontificalis* – bishop Damiano (692-708) organised a comparable procession in the city to reconstruct civic solidarity after a neighbourhood was massacred

---

[645] J. F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome, 1987), particularly on the transformation of ancient processions, pp. 234-8. Note, for example, the continuity between the ancient Roman *Robigalia* on 25 April and the city's later Christian celebration of the Great Litany, taking place on the same date and route.

[646] Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae et carmina* (Berlin, 1887), *Epp.* 7.1 and 5.14, and Avitus of Vienna, *Homily*, 6. The Three Day Litanies were later preserved as a general observance in Francia after the council of Orléans in 511, before finally being adopted in Rome by Leo III.

[647] Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, X. 1. See also Paul the Deacon, *HL*, III. 24. On the afterlife of Gregory's Litany, see J. Latham, 'Inventing Gregory "the Great": Memory, Authority, and the Afterlives of the *Letania Septiformis*', *Church History*, 84, pp. 1-31.

by vengeful rivals, following the lethal fall-out of a round of traditional war-games.[648] We may suspect the exact details of the conflict and its aftermath, but it is striking that Agnellus understood such a procession to be an appropriate response. Interestingly, the form of Damiano's litany according to Agnellus recalls Gregory's, as he divided the population into separate choruses of clerics and monks, laymen and married women, widows and paupers. As in Rome, the constituent parts of citizenry were articulated while also forming a collective, where the people and the animals of 'the city cried together'. And in Milan too, Landolfo Seniore would betray a similar conception of urban social order to that expressed ritually by Gregory and Damiano, when he noted how Ambrose presided over the different orders of priests and laymen, virgins and widows, old men and youths.[649] For Landolfo too, these separate social classes were unified and harmonised under the leadership of the city's bishop.

In both Rome and Ravenna, still in the early middle ages complex urban societies, social trauma demanded ritual responses which simultaneously dramatised horizontal bonds of community and episcopal leadership. By the eleventh century, when city populations in Italy swelled and focused increasing levels of social tension and dispute, the importance of procession and liturgy could only grow. This was above all the case in Milan, where we have seen that immigration and demographic change was driving the city to become perhaps the largest urban centre in western Europe by 1100. The more complex and articulated urban space was, the more pressing became the need to weave that space together into a unity which was meaningful for residents. This need emerges clearly in other earlier medieval cities of comparable complexity. John Baldovin situated the origins of Rome's stational

[648] Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis (Turnhout, 2006) cc. 126-9. See J. M. Pizzaro, 'Crowds and Power in the *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*', in J. Hill and M. Swan (eds.), *International Medieval Research, 4: The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 265-283, although Pizzaro is overly believing of Agnello's text as a record of real events.
[649] Land Sen., *HM*, I, 1.

liturgy in the bishop's need to integrate under his leadership the disparate Christian communities scattered around the city's *titluli* churches, and Chris Wickham recently affirmed the essential role of public ritual in constructing civic unity in the spatially and politically fractured city of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Much of Constantinople's wide-ranging, popular processional culture developed out of the need to perform unity, under the emperor and patriarch, in a vast urban space and in the face of competition with rival religious groups such as the Arians. And as Venice grew in the late eleventh and twelfth century, the desire to bridge literal island of newly populous communities coincided with the increasing centring of public ritual around the doge and his political centre in Rialto. Processions over land and water, such as the great Candlemas celebration first attested in 1143, were an important part of this.[650] Milan was a city which faced different crises and structural problems to any of these places, but this chapter proposes that the urban liturgy was of comparable importance for the construction (and restoration) of elite hegemony in the evermore fractious space of the pre-communal city.

The popular and visible legitimisation of episcopal authority through civic ritual was necessary, but it was not risk free. Major celebrations and processions gathered and sought to organise crowds in a single point as a means to affirm consensus. But this same concentration of bodies and diverse social and political groups could equally become destabilising. To borrow the vocabulary (suggestive rather than forensic) of Elias Canetti, the 'closed crowd' of the liturgy – constituted by regular and repeated assembly, accepting of boundaries in space and time – risked the eruption of the extraordinary, activist 'open

[650] On Rome, Baldovin, *The Urban Character*, pp. 149-41 and 231-4, A. Chavasse, *La liturgie de la ville de Rome du 5e au 8e siècle* (Rome, 1993), Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 321-48. On Constantinople, Baldovin, *The Urban Character*, pp. 209-14, L. Brubaker, 'Topography and the Creation of Public Space in Early Medieval Constantinople', in M. de Jong at al. (eds.) *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 31-43. On Venice, E. Muir, 'Idee, riti, simboli del potere', in G. Cracco and G. Ortalli (eds.), *Storia di Venezia*, II, pp. 73-69, and G. Fasoli, 'Liturgia e cerimoniale ducale', in ead. *Scritti di storia medievale* (Bologna, 1974), pp. 857-958, E. Crouzet-Pavan, *Le moyen âge de Venise: Des eaux salées au miracle de pierres* (Paris, 2015), pp. 405-15.

crowd' which contested it.[651] The experience of the 'open crowd', which appears to dissolve distinctions between individuals and divisions of class and status, is intoxicating. Its members desire constantly to expand and maintain their assembly. And yet, it must be said, and as students of crowds since George Rudé have emphasised, this was not an irrational body.[652] We need to uncover the crowd's logic of behaviour just like any other actor. To do this in our period in part means to uncover the meanings and implications of liturgy and cult. For it was these practices which did so much to pattern and locate the rhythmic appearance of the crowd and the targets it set out to contest.

Those persuaded by Philippe Buc's insistence that we read medieval descriptions of ritual as a purely rhetorical function, which allows no access to a social reality, may be sceptical about the approach taken here.[653] The unusual richness of our source material, however, should assuage at least some of these doubts. Not only do our narrative texts, which initially circulated among very different audiences, often confirm details about the role of rituals, but elements can often be cross referenced with the liturgical evidence, which sought to fix norms of practice in writing. Furthermore, even if texts are not mirrors of social action, for the rhetorical effects of descriptions of ritual to be persuasive they had to make sense for the reader. They betray, at least, the *kinds* of actions which contemporaries understood to play a real role in communicating or disrupting power.

This chapter will first examine the liturgical sources before presenting elements of city ritual which served to support the legitimacy of the archbishop and his aristocratic vassals. We will then consider what rites and practices of the Ambrosian liturgy were contested by the Patarines, and ask why. Finally, we will reflect on the importance of the

[651] E. Canetti, *Crowds and Power* (London, 1973), trans. C. Stewart, especially pp. 15-19, 21-4, 26-8.
[652] G. Rudé, *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730-1848* (London, 1981), pp. 3-13.
[653] P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual* (Princeton, 2001), and see the debate between Buc and Koziol in *Early Medieval Europe*, 11 (2002), pp. 367-88 and 15 (2007), pp. 441-52.

city liturgy in restoring confidence in episcopal government as a response to the traumas of the Patarine challenge.

Writing the Liturgy

Milan presents a rare (and so far unexploited) opportunity to compare narrative evidence and sources describing the norms of the Ambrosian liturgy.[654] Thanks to the early twelfth-century calendar and ordinals of Beroldo, we are able to gain an unusually detailed picture of Milanese liturgy and the orders of its major processions and celebrations. Beroldo, a warden and candle-bearer (*custos et cicendelarius*) of the cathedral clergy, must have been writing after the death of archbishop Olrico in 1126, whom he refers to as deceased, and before the composition of our twelfth-century manuscript (dated to before 1140).[655] (It is interesting to note that comparable sources for Rome date from the same period, the first and most detailed of which were the *Ordines* authored in c. 1140 by Benedetto, cantor of the Roman church.)[656] However it is fair to imagine that Beroldo was not the sole author of his *Ordines*, but also a compiler of previously existing descriptions, in line with comparable kinds of writing from the period. Regardless, Beroldo's work comprises four differentiated parts: a liturgical calendar of celebrations in the Milanese church (which can be compared to

[654] Milan's liturgical source have so far almost only been used by scholars pursuing liturgical history as traditionally defined, e.g. E. Cattaneo, *La chiesa di Ambrogio. Studi di storia e di liturgia* (Milan, 1974), P. Carmassi, *Libri liturgici e istituzioni ecclesiastiche a Milano in età medioevale* (Münster, 2001), C. Troelsgaard, 'Stational liturgy and processional antiphons in the Ambrosian rite', in E. L. Lillie and N. H. Petersen (eds.), *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages. Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan* (Copenhagen, 1996). T. Bailey, 'Ambrosian processions of the saints', in T. Bailey and A. C. Santosuosso (eds.) *Music in medieval Europe: studies in honour of Bryan Gillingham* (Burlington, 2007), pp. 263-86.

[655] Olrico established the celebration of All Souls described by Beroldo, *Ordo*, p. 120: *Feria II post dedicationem ecclesiae, instituit dominus olricus bonae memoriae archiepiscopus commemorationem et officium fieri omnium fidelium defunctorum in ecclesiae Mediolanum.* Palaeographic dating by M. Ferrari, 'Valutazione paleografica del codice ambrosiano di Beroldo', in *Il Duomo cuore e simbolo di Milano* (Milan, 1977), pp. 302-7.

[656] Febre and Duschesne (eds.), *Le Liber Censuum* (Paris, 1889-1952).

a number of eleventh-century examples); a short text on the division of altar donations among the clergy on feast days (entitled *Ordo qualiter denarii omnium festivitatum dividuntur*);[657] another writing on the divisions of bread, wine, and other resources across the liturgical year; and the *Ordo et caeremoniae ecclesiae ambrosiane Mediolanensis*, a lengthy text (77 folios in our manuscript witness) which describes the order of the offices of liturgical service as well as the city processions and major celebrations.

It would be misleading of course to imagine that liturgy in Milan was static, and that Beroldo and his sources give us a picture of ritual practices unchanged across generations. Indeed, as will be seen, accretions and alterations – occasionally discernable – could represent important responses to the changing social and political realities of the city. However our twelfth-century source can also be compared, not just with witnesses in narrative texts, but with earlier liturgical sources, the most important of which is the late eleventh-century 'Ambrosian Manual', probably composed in the *pieve* of Valtravaglia (north of Varese).[658] The Manual, which records the appropriate prayers and speech parts for celebrations, is less descriptive of other elements of the rite than Beroldo but its details broadly corroborate and supplement the later source. Beroldo's liturgical calendar was preceded by at least three earlier examples: the earliest was composed by a priest named Berno between 1055/6-74, and is now in Oxford, while two others, which come to us attached to liturgical manuals, have been dated to between c. 1074 and the first years of the twelfth century.[659] As we saw in the last chapter, comparison between these calendars reveals some important changes in local cult practices. Some of Ambrose's own writings also make reference to the rite of his own day, and demonstrate that certain elements

[657] Bib. Amb. I. 152 inf, f. 15 v.
[658] The Valtravaglia manuscript (Milan Bib. Metrop. D 2-30) is edited by M. Magistretti, *Manuale Ambrosianum ex codice saec. XI* (Milan, 1905), vols. 1-2. Magistretti briefly discusses dating and provenance, vol. 1, pp. 11-12.
[659] Berno's calendar of 1055/6-1074, is found in MS Oxford Bod. Can. Misc. 650, ff. 67r-73v. The Valtravaglia manuscript (now Milan Bib. Metrop. D 2-30), dated to the last quarter of the eleventh century by O. Heiming, includes a calendar. The calendar in MS Milan Bib. Metrop. E 2-16 has also been dated to the same period. See O. Heiming, 'Die ältesten ungedruckten Kalender', pp. 214-35.

survived the intervening centuries into our own period.[660] Read with caution therefore it is permissible to use Beroldo's ordinals as a relevant source for the century before its composition in the 1120s/30s.

Why a cleric of our period chose to write down the liturgy is not actually obvious, as Sarah Hamilton has observed.[661] Beroldo and his colleagues would not likely have risked forgetting the repeated rites which formed their daily professional commitments without the aid of writing. Therefore it is worth considering the text's broader cultural significance. One often neglected consequence of the conflicts which orbited Gregorian reform was a revived, intense scholarly engagement with the liturgy, unrivalled since the Carolingian early ninth century.[662] Many of the figures most associated with public polemic in the years around Gregory's pontificate – including Peter Damian, Bonizo of Sutri, Humbert, and Bernold of Constance – were also assiduous commentators on the Christian rites, and of course promoters of Roman norms. Their works were also widely disseminated and influential, as is demonstrably the case in the example of Bernold's *Micrologus*.[663] The peculiarity of Ambrosian custom was often criticised, if not ridiculed, by reformers outside of Milan, while within the city's local rites - especially the pre-Easter and pre-Pentecost fast - were the targets of violent opposition led by Arialdo.[664]

This context of wider scrutiny around liturgical practice may therefore have stimulated Beroldo and his peers to seek greater confidence in their own customs through the fixity of written record. Our manuscript witness to Beroldo's text - Biblioteca

[660] See for example, especially on baptism, Ambrose, *De sacramentis*, I-5, 9 and 18, II, 14, 15, 20, and 24, and III. I and 4-5; *De mysteriis*, cc. 3, 5-8, 20-1, 28-32, both edited in *Sancti Ambrosii opera: Pars VII*, ed. O Faller (Vienna, 1955).

[661] H. Gittos and S. Hamilton, 'Introduction', in eaedem. (eds.), *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnam, 2015), pp. 1-10.

[662] So underlines R. Reynolds, 'Liturgical scholarship at the time of the investiture controversy: past research and future opportunities', *Harvard Theological Review*, 71 (1978), pp. 109-24, reprinted in id., *Law and Liturgy in the Latin Church, 5th-12th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1994).

[663] V. L. Kennedy, 'For a New Edition of the *Micrologus* of Bernold of Constance', *Mélanges en l'honneur de Monseigneur Michel Andrieu* (1956), pp. 229-41, counted at least 45 manuscripts containing the text.

[664] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 17, Bonizo, *LAA*, p. 596, Land Sen, III. 30, for Patarine opposition to the fast; Bonizo, *Liber de vita Christiana*, IV. I, for condemnation of Ambrosian custom.

Ambrosiana, I. 152 inf. - is a coherent and extensive expression of the authority of the Ambrosian church, combining liturgical records with hagiographic material and the texts of the *Libellus de situ urbis Mediolanensis*. The codex's principal scribe also copied the so-called *Sermon of St. Thomas*, a text which was included (and perhaps authored or adapted) by Landolfo Seniore.[665] Evidently deriving from local memories of the Carolingians' attempt to suppress Milanese customs and substitute the Roman rite, the text describes how Charlemagne sought to burn or remove all books of the Ambrosian liturgy. However a legendary archbishop, Eugenio, solicited pope Hadrian to consider Milan's protest at a council in Rome. There clergy and people witnessed the placing of a book of the Ambrosian tradition and a codex of Gregory the Great on top of the altar of St. Peter's. After three days of fasting, the crowd returned, only to be met with a loud and terrifying sound as the two books both burst their bindings, strewing and intermingling their pages across the altar. The observers unanimously understood this as an apostolic verdict on the shared legitimacy and co-dependency of the two liturgical traditions, recognition of which was owed by the universal church.[666] Our manuscript copyist therefore included a dramatic vindication – or apology – of the very kind of manuscript which he was constructing. But that Beroldo's compilation required such an apology betrays the ritual contests which most likely precipitated the text's production. When the Ambrosian rite was challenged in the reform period, its guardians appear to have reached back to this creative memory of an earlier moment of liturgical resistance. Taken as an integral piece, manuscript Bib. Amb. I 152 inf. is an expression of the *ordo* of the Milanese church as a whole.

[665] Bib. Amb. I. 152 inf., ff. 105r-110v. For the text, Land Sen,, *HM*, II, 10-14. Apart from Landolfo's *Historia*, this is the text's earliest manuscript witness. There is debate about whether the *Sermo beati Thomae* is an original composition of Landolfo, or a text he copied or adapted. See Tomea, ' L'agiografia milanese nei secoli XI e XII. Linee di tendenza e problemi', pp. 648-51. C. Milani, 'Osservazioni linguistiche sul «Sermo beati Thomae episcopi Mediolani»', *Aevum* (1971), XLI, 1, pp. 87-129 provides tables for a comparison of particular linguistic forms across the chapters of the text.

[666] Land Sen, *HM*, II. 12, *Dicebant enim: Ut haec mysteria laudentur fermiterque ab universis totius orbis episcopis tenantur, Dei omnipotentis et beati Petri apostoli cernitur esse voluntas*.

More broadly, still reading these liturgical manuscripts as cultural artefacts, the way in which our codices were constructed reveals an attempt to associate the marking of sacred time in Milan with the divinely ordained mechanics of nature. The Beroldo manuscript begins with a short miscellany of texts on the calendar year, including etymologies of the months as well as notes on the cycles of the moon.[667] The scribe of the manuscript containing Berno's mid-eleventh-century calendar, probably as we have seen composed between 1055/6 and 1074, also included some of the same texts on the solar and lunar cycles.[668] As well as including long tables and texts to be used for the dating of Easter, the first part of the Oxford manuscript is a miscellany on natural history, much of which derives from Bede's *De natura rerum*.[669] The scribes of the Milanese church therefore constructed texts which led the reader from a consideration of the mechanics of nature which dictated the movements of the stars, the seasons, and the earth, to a description of the rhythm of the Ambrosian liturgical year. The manuscript context of Berno's calendar, written in fact during the most intense period of the Pataria, suggests an attempt to naturalise the city church's contested celebration of sacred time. Just as Rome's ancient emperors took so seriously the appropriation of the *pontifex maximus'* offices concerning the calculation and publication of the calendar year and its rhythm of festivals, so episcopal leaders claimed the authority to determine the public ordering and unfolding of time.[670] As well as texts, they presided over a living calendar, in which the turning of the seasons was articulated through the liturgical beat of feast and street procession.

[667] Bib. Amb. I. 152 inf., ff. 1r-7r.

[668] MS Oxford, Bod. Can. Misc. 560.

[669] The martyrological calendar is found on ff. 67r-73v, while the miscellany on natural history is found from ff. 3r-24r. The text here draws from chapters of Bede's *De natura rerum*, including cc. 1-9, 19, 22-23, 36, 11, 10, 16, 20, 12-13, 15, 14, 25, 28-35, 37, 46, 49, 38, 40-43. Bede, *De natura rerum*, ed. C. W. Jones et al., *Opera didascalia* (Turnhout, 1975), translation by C. B. Kendall and F. Wallis, *On the Nature of Things and On Times* (Liverpool, 2010).

[670] M. Beard, 'A Complex of Times: No More Sheep on Romulus' Birthday', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 33 (1987), 1-15, M. Beard, J. North, and S. Price, *Religions of Rome*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1998), vol. 1, 24-6, D. Feeney, *Caesar's Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History* (Berkeley, 2007), esp. 184-9 and 202-9.

Finally, before examining the ritual practices themselves, it should be stressed that Beroldo's ordinals are certainly not simple scripts for liturgical theatre. Not all kinds of information are reported consistently across their descriptions. Often the sort of data attractive to today's social or cultural historian (the fact or extent of lay people's participation say, or the exact routes taken by processions) are not spelled out. Indeed, the main emphasis is often placed on the complex distribution of gifts and responsibilities among the city clergy: who, for example, is to hold what kind of cross, who should hand the gospel to the archbishop and sit at his dining table, or which officiant should receive a pound of wax or a volume of wine.

Theatres of Consensus

Although we have very few sources to trace its development before our period, Milan's complex and dense stational liturgy is best read as a consequence of its church's inheritance of a metropolitan society. As Baldovin insisted in his comparative study of the stational liturgy in Rome, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, public ritual developed in accordance to the particular historical, demographic, and spatial contexts of the city – it was not simply translated abstractly from other liturgical practices.[671] This is particularly worth restating in a study of Milan, where the dominant model for understanding early liturgical history has derived from a purely conjectural hypothesis stated by Gian Piero Bognetti, and developed by Enrico Cattaneo. Bognetti argued that many of the peculiarities of Ambrosian liturgy and church organisation were the consequence of imagined Greek and Syrian missionaries (who

[671] Baldovin, *The Urban Character*, pp. 37-40.

were to become the *decumani*), sent by Rome to evangelise the pagan or Arian Lombard barbarians during the Milanese church's exile in Genoa. Not only is this hypothesis fantastic, but it ignores the realities of local context in the development of cultic practices.[672] The particular topographical and historical backcloth became the stage for liturgical dramas where people – sometimes as participants, sometimes as spectators – were witnesses to expressions of political community centred aorund the archbishop was at the apex. These visible processions through the streets and squares of the city were also very frequent, regularly punctuating popular experience of urban life.

Very many of these were celebrations of the saints venerated in Milan, when processions from the cathedral church to the sanctuary of the saint, or an associated basilica, took place on both the vigil the night before and the feast day itself.[673] The major clergy moved solemnly through city space in imitation of the angels, carrying lanterns during vigils, and engaged in the chanting of antiphons (many of which were composed specifically for the saint in question).[674] Usually, the cathedral clergy celebrated the relevant office in the saint's sanctuary or basilica together with the *decumani* or other clerics who were attached to the church. Venerating the saints therefore made tangible a common community shared between the city's minor and metropolitan clergy. And for citizens of Milan, the repeated and sanctified rhythms of the liturgical year made visible the corporate unity of the cathedral

---

[672] G. P. Bognetti, 'S. Maria Foris Portas di Castelseprio e la storia religiosa dei longobardi', in G. P. Bognetti, G. Chierici, A. de Capitani d'Arzago, *Santa Maria di Castelseprio* (Milan, 1948), pp. 11-511, E. Cattaneo, *La chiesa di Ambrogio*. For criticism and on Bognetti's liberal relationship with sources, see S. Gasparri, 'I Germani immaginari e la realtà del regno. Cinquant'anni di studi sui Longobardi', in *I Longobardi dei ducati di Spoleto e Benevento* (Spoleto, 2003), pp. 3-28.

[673] The general order for saint's vigil is described in Beroldo, *Ordines*, p.: *In vigiliis sanctorum quando ordinarii canunt psalmos, suemper canunt tertiam in ecclesia hyemali, deinde profiscuntur ad festum cum processione cantando cantus letaniarum secundum diem cui ipsa ecclesia festi ipsius data est.* (Almost) all vigil processions began and ended in Santa Maria (the Winter Cathedral), regardless of the season (the general order for stational processions states this and this is confirmed by some individual descriptions, e.g. the vigil for the nativity of John the Baptist). Feast day processions themselves, however, appear to have begun from the Winter or the Summer Cathedral according to the season. For an overview of the processions for saints, with particular reference to the use of antiphons, see T. Bailey, 'Ambrosian processions of the saints', *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham* (Aldershot, 2009), pp. 263-286.

[674] *Manuale Ambrosianum*, Beroldo, *Ordines*. Landolfo Seniore compares the clergy in procession to the angels, *LS*, II. 24.

church, its saintly protectors, and the basilicas and communities which lay both within and beyond their walls.

For many saints' festivals one assumes that the cathedral clergy processed alone, but celebrations of particular significance could be exceptions, and indeed other evidence suggests there may have been more popular processions than Beroldo cares to mention. In the last chapter we considered the first urban eruption of the Patarine crowd during the procession celebrating the translation of San Nazaro on 10 May, 1057. Landolfo Seniore's account relays that Arialdo and Landolfo the Patarine disrupted a regular assembly involving 'all the citizens' of Milan, who processed alongside six burning lights.[675] It was during this celebration that the radicals sought to excite the crowd with speeches against married priests, made 'throughout the streets and city neighbourhoods'. The liturgical sources meanwhile state that the archbishop and all his clergy convened at S. Eufemia (south-west of the city walls), before beginning a procession to S. Celso.[676] And indeed it was at S. Celso that the Patarines later gathered to continue their attacks on the city clergy. As we have seen, the discovery in S. Maria all Porta Vercellina on 9 May 1105 of the relics of two Milanese saints, Casto and Polimio, among other fragments relating to the life of Christ, led to the institution of a new diocese-wide celebration. According to Landolfo di S. Paolo, this was marked by a procession from S. Tecla to S. Maria alla Porta Vercellina, made up of not just the cathedral clergy but also the latter church's *vicini* and *parochiani* - the layman of the local neighbourhood.[677] These laymen were to process bearing wooden boughs, candles, and green foliage, before the cathedral ordinaries celebrated mass in S. Maria. These

[675] Land Sen, *HM*, III. 8, *Ea tempestate cum beati Nazarii martyris translatio a civibus universis utriusque sexus cereis magnis multisque ardentibus devote celebraretur... et Landulfus et Arialdus, iusiurandum quod fecerant memores, cum per plateas ac urbis regiones sacerdotes ob oniugium aliquantulum diffamassent*. Landolfo goes on to contrast the disorder of the 1057 celebration with the silence and order of the original translation under Ambrose's watch.
[676] Beroldo, *Ordines*, p. 124.
[677] Land SP, *HM*, c. 34.

descriptions suggest that lay and popular participation may have been a larger part of processional culture than the liturgical sources make clear.

While at other times lay people would have often witnessed these courses rather than taken part in them, the laity as a constituent social order of the church was often represented by the viscount. We have noted already that this representation of lay inclusion in the city church was significant to contemporaries, like Landolfo Seniore, who eulogised the viscount holding the staff (*ferula*), with which he wielded his authority over the lay order, during processions. This staff, together with a pair of gloves, was according to Beroldo handed to the viscount by the archbishop in his palace every year on Christmas day. This was an attempt, evidently, to communicate the dependency of the military aristocracy and its authority on the archbishop. Beroldo also notes that the viscount was to precede the archbishop during the processions on Christmas day, Easter Sunday, and on the feasts of St. Stephen and St. John the Evangelist.[678]

Among the most important processions of the year, which certainly did depend on popular lay participation, was the Three-Day Litanies, held according to local custom on the first three days of the week after Ascension. Outside of Milan the Litanies occurred before Ascension. In contrast again to other observances, in the Ambrosian liturgy these were days of penance and fast, a source of controversy as we will see.[679] On the first day one of the cardinal priests first blessed refined ashes, comparing the Milanese to the fasting citizens of Biblical Nineveh. The archbishop then made a penitential mark of the cross with the ashes on the heads of the cathedral canons and the leader (*primicerius*) of the minor clergy; the latter in turn marked the heads of the *decumani* who were under his authority. Thus these actions made clear the hierarchical links binding the minor clergy to the metropolitan clergy and the archbishop. The procession began from the cathedral square and was joined by

[678] Beroldo, *Ordines*, pp. 33, 36 and 78.
[679] Beroldo, *Ordines*, 118-20. For a summary of the celebration in the Ambrosian liturgy, Alzati, *Ambrosianum mysterium*, 108-13.

laymen and indeed lay women who in turn received the mark of the ashes.[680] Over these three days the penitential procession of clergy and people bounded the walls of the city, chanting antiphons for the expiation of sin, beginning and ending each day in the centre. According to the testimony of the Ambrosian *Manual* and an early eleventh-century prayer-book, thirty-three basilicas and chapels were visited in this time, and at each one the clergy invoked the names of Mary, Ambrose, and those of saints associated with the station in question.[681]

On the first day, this took the procession through the northern Porta Comacina to the ancient basilica of S. Simpliciano. It moved anti-clockwise to suburban churches including S. Vittore al Corpo, S. Vincenzo in Prato, and S. Ambrogio, before returning to the cathedral through the Porta Vercellina. The day after, the procession moved eastwards, leaving the Porta Nuova to stop at S. Dionigi and S. Babila, and then went clockwise towards S. Nazaro Maggiore, before re-entering the city through the Porta Romana and visiting S. Giovanni in Conca. On the final day, clergy and people exited the city again through the Porta Romana, the city's traditional ceremonial entrance, and visited S. Eufemia, S. Celso, and S. Lorenzo Maggiore, before processing through the Porta Ticinese to chapels inside the city. Several stations in the south-west quarter of the city were then made, S. Maria Beltrade being the last before the final return to the cathedral complex. When passing the city gates, the petitioners prayed for the strength of their walls. After three days of exhausting procession, the urban community – lay men and women as well as archbishop and clergy – had collectively traced a sacred topography, weaving the whole city together.

The Ambrosian church's exceptional insistence on fasting must have deepened the intensity of this experience for participants further still. Certainly the celebration, and its

[680] Beroldo, *Ordines*, 118, *De cetero vero laicis et mulieribus etiam, praedicto custode semper portante et porrigente cinerem usque ad s. Simplicianum*. Andrea da Strumi, *Vita sancti Arialdi*, 17, ed. F. Baethgen, MGH SS 30.2 (Leipzig, 1934), confirms the penitential character of the procession.

[681] *Manuale ambrosianum*, 245-69, O. Heiming (ed.), 'Ein benediktinisch-ambrosianisches Gebetbuch des frühen 11. Jahrhunderts. Brit. Mus. Egerton 3763', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 8 (1964), 325-435, 385-99.

unusual local features, gained a deep-rooted significance for ordinary Milanese citizens. As we will see, when the Patarine leader, Arialdo da Cucciago, condemned the Litanies fast, the crowd turned on him and his clerical followers.[682] Its significance as a representation of civic consensus emerges again in the aftermath of the Pataria, which was decisively defeated in 1075. According at least to the contemporary chronicler Arnolfo, papal legates, bishops Anselmo II of Lucca and Geraldo of Ostia, chose this same celebration to pronounce the resolution and reintegration of what was recently an intensely divided city. Their popular preaching and rites of benediction lasted all three days of the Litanies, although Archbishop Tedaldo (1075-85), who had been excommunicated, tried to agitate violent opposition against them.[683]

However the most striking incidence of popular participation in the processions of Milan's stational liturgy was during the celebration of Palm Sunday.[684] The festival began in the church of S. Lorenzo, one of the city's largest and most impressive basilicas by the Porta Ticinese, where both the clergy and the people were congregated.[685] After the beginning of the service, the archbishop entered the church where he gave a sermon addressed to the whole people (*ad populum*). After mass, the archbishop blessed the palm and olive leaves, which were then distributed by the bishop and the *primicerius* of the minor clergy outside the basilica. At this point the celebration took on a markedly dramatic – if not theatrical – character, as the bishop clearly imitated the figure of Christ in re-enacting his entry to Jerusalem.[686]

---

[682] Arn *LGR*, III.15: *Arialdus... letanias illas, quas Ambrosiani post ascensionem dominicam antiquitus devotissime celebrant, suis predicabat execrandas.*
[683] Ibid., IV. 9: *Qui toto illo triduo confluentibus as eos civibus divina predicantes eloquia, cunctos absolvunt, benedicunt universos.*
[684] Beroldus, *Ordines*, pp. 96-7.
[685] Ibid., ... *congregato clero et populo in ecclesia s. Laurentii.*
[686] The mimetic character of Palm Sunday processions is something which Milan shared with the liturgies of Jerusalem and the other two great metropolises of the early Christian world, Rome and Constantinople. See Baldovin, *The Urban Character*, p. 238.

A white and ceremonially dressed horse awaited the bishop in the atrium of the basilica. Mounting the steed, the bishop was handed a crystal cross adorned with palm and olive leaves. It was also at this point that a leading knight of the da Rhò family, wearing ceremonial gloves from the bishop's chamber, was charged with leading the horse by its bridle down the middle of the street towards Sant'Ambrogio.[687] During the procession, the bishop's train was joined and surrounded by thick crowds of lay people, with (one imagines) palms and olive leaves in hand, imitating the popular acclamation of Christ's arrival in Jerusalem.[688] The major clergy however went to the cathedral church, while the episcopal procession continued towards S. Ambrogio, stopping beforehand to be received by the abbot of that church and his clergy. The abbot then accepted a specially large branch of palm leaves, before joining the bishop in his procession to the basilica of Milan's patron saint. Here the archbishop celebrated the mass with the city's protector, the saint whose relics lay in the altar, and Ambrose's own basilica clergy. Finally, after mass, the knight of the da Rho family went with his entourage to dine at the archbishop's table.

This rare testimony of direct popular participation in Milan's Palm Sunday procession underlines the rite's significance for the city's self-representation and the valorisation of its leadership. It is impossible to know how stage-managed this popular element of the procession was, but Beroldo's use of the word *turba*, typically used to describe the disordered crowd in this period, suggests that this was not simply a small number of carefully selected leading laymen. Further, the logic for risking the interruption of the crowd into liturgical spectacle here is easily legible. The evocation of Christ's triumphant *adventus* demanded it. Although the archbishop himself headed to Sant'Ambrogio, rather than into the city, the prayers of the Ambrosian manual make it clear that the procession is recalling Christ's own entrance into Jerusalem. The bishop's popular acclamation by the city

[687] Beroldus, *Ordines*: ... *unus egregius miles de genere rodensium*, p. 98.
[688] Ibid., ... *turba multa populorum sequente et praecedente ipsum*.

community was a powerful expression of Christomimetic rulership, the renewed victory of which was symbolised by the palms of victory and the expressed consensus of the people.[689] People who participated would also have been very clear about the event they were re-enacting, as one of the hymns sung in San Lorenzo and the antiphons during the procession narrated the Biblical story. These songs described the *turba* of Jerusalem, bearing the palms of victory but also 'witnesses' of Christ's power.[690] The crowd in Milan was similarly summoned to witness authority.

Another figure, however, betrays with rare explicitness how liturgical spectacle legitimised the authority of the city's broader aristocratic elite, beyond the figure of the archbishop. Guiding the prelate's horse, and eating as a guest at the bishop's table, was a knight of the capitaneal da Rho family. Ritualised groom service was in this period an established way of both communicating relations of service and dignifying the servant. (On 10 April, 1095, for example, King Conrad of Italy had performed the *officum stratoris* for Urban II in Cremona before swearing an oath to the pope.)[691] In Milan the da Rho were throughout the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries important vassals of the archbishop, and indeed one of their number, Anselmo III, became the vicar of Ambrose between 1086 and 1093. The family's leading members were also intransigent opponents of the Pataria, and indeed Arnaldo da Rho is reported to have been their leader Erlembaldo's killer in 1075.[692] This central role in restoring consensus after the worst turbulence of the Patarine years

[689] An association between Palm Sunday's liturgical symbolism of victory and rulership was common in the early middle ages. It was probably, for example, the palms sent for the celebration of the festival sent by the papacy to the Frankish court which were used in the coronation at Metz of Charles the Bald on 9 September, 869 (M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 370-3). See *Ordo coronationis Karoli II in regno Hlotharii II factae*, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, *MGH Capit.*, 2. pp. 456-8, John VIII referenced the custom's antiquity in Feb 875, *JL*, 3007, ed. E. Caspar, *MGH. Epist.*, 7 (1928), 302. 28.

[690] *Manuale Ambrosianum*, II, pp. 171-3. See for example the third processional antiphon: *Testificata est turba quae erat cum Ihesu, quia Dominus Lazarum vocavit de monumento, et suscitavit ei clamans, et dicens: Osanna regi Israel...*

[691] *Urbani II et Conradi regis conventus*, MGH Constituiones, I., p. 564. For background, see A. Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088-1099)*, (Stuttgart, 1964-88), 2 vols., vol. I, pp. 133-6.

[692] If we follow the testimony of Landolfo of San Paolo. *LSP*, c. 66: *Quia Arnaldus, huius Arnaldi avus, Herlembaldum protectorem presbiteri Liprandi occidit...*

provides therefore a plausible context for introducing the roles of the knights of Rho - a new family in the eleventh century as far as we can see - into the Palm Sunday drama. (We might even imagine that their participation in the procession would have recalled these events of recent history to spectators.) More broadly, becoming the bishop's groom, made visible to the crowds of Milan the proximity and collaboration between the archbishop and his aristocratic vassals, the guarantors of his effective authority.

Another moment of liturgical theatre took place the day after Palm Sunday, on the Monday of Holy Week.[693] The prelate, together with his chaplains and a number of priests from city chapels and the basilica of San Lorenzo, gathered on this day in the church of San Vitale. Here they met three or more men who were believed to have descended from the family of a leper once cured by Ambrose, and who now knelt before the altar. After a prayer and a scattering of holy water, the bishop led one of these men by hand to a bath, accompanied by the chant of the priests of San Lorenzo. A prayer of supplication was then addressed to God, 'who healed Naaman the Syrian from the stain of leprosy after he was immersed seven times in the river Jordan'.[694] After these words the 'leper' of Milan was washed in the bath. Cleansed, the vicar of Ambrose dressed him in new clothes, before kneeling to wash and kiss his feet. Before rising, he lifted and struck the leper's foot three times on his head. Finally, the group processed to San Lorenzo with the ringing of all the bells of the basilica. Inside, the leper fell face down before the altar, where the archbishop prayed above him and kissed before conducting a mass. The choice of the great basilica of San Lorenzo, and the public summons of the bells, suggests the supplications of the cleansed leper had a large audience.

This liturgical play cast the prelate in the role of the city's patron, Ambrose, but also recalled the leprosy cures of Christ. There was a social message here too: the

[693] Beroldus, *Ordines*, pp. 97-8.

[694] Ibid, *ORATIO: Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui hos famulos tuos saeva corporis contagiones obtectos, ad huius lavacri purgationem accedere permisisti, concede propitius...*

administration of charity (ritual or actual) was key to medieval bishops' ability to define and shape social categories within their community.[695] Furthermore, as the prayer's evocation of Naaman the Syrian makes clear, the rite invoked baptism: it underlined the bishop's ability to redraw lines of social separation and admit individuals into purified Christian community in a double sense. The Old Testament story of Naaman, who was healed following the advice of the prophet Elisha after immersion in the same waters later chosen by John the Baptist, had explicitly been recognised by Ambrose as an illustration of the grace of baptism before the time of Christ.[696] Indeed Ambrose compared the experience of Naaman to that of the newly baptised.[697] The act of foot-washing (given sacramental value in the Ambrosian rite), including the bishop's three-times lowering of his head, would be repeated some days later during Easter baptism. The Monday of Holy Week therefore looked forward to the initiation on Easter Saturday, the single most important ritual for the reproduction of episcopal authority, as we argue below.

However, it was not only Ambrosian history which was re-enacted across the liturgical year. Recent history could be incorporated into the sacred time marked by the church. Before leaving on his disastrous crusade, Archbishop Anselmo IV da Boviso rededicated the chapel of S. Trinità built in the forum, as we have seen.[698] S. Trinità already had at its foundation a second dedication to the physical sites of Christ's life and passion.[699] However on 15 July, 1100, Anselmo IV, accompanied by his clergy, re-consecrated the church and its altar to the Holy Sepulchre as a celebration of the recent Christian conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. The bishop went further: he instituted an annual feast on the day to

---

[695] The bishop determines charity and thus determines who are *pauperes*. On medieval poverty in general, see M. Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History* (New Haven, 1986).

[696] 2 Kings 5; Luke 4:27 mentions the story, the Greek is *baptizein*. Ambrose, 'On St Luke's Gospel', 4, 49-50, 1, 33.

[697] Ambrose, *De sacramentis*, 1.9 and *De mysteriis*, 21.

[698] On Anselmo IV's re-foundation, see Salvarani, 'San Sepolcro a Milano nella storia della crociate', in G. Andenna and R. Salvarani (eds.), *Deus non voluit*, Schiavi, *Il Santo Sepolco di Milano*, Lucioni, *Anselmo IV*, pp. 128-36.

[699] See document edited in Schiavi, *Il Santo Sepolcro*, Appendix I.

commemorate the capture of Palestine, together with an annual Truce of God and a new market day.[700] The physical resemblance of the church to the Lord's tomb was also stressed; as we have seen, Anselmo claimed that the faithful could find the likeness of the Jerusalem within the walls of his own city. A solemn procession of the cardinal clergy to the new S. Sepolcro on this day was also instituted (and this practice must have endured as it is recorded in Beroldo's calendar). This new celebration, and its refiguring of Milan's symbolic space; the association of the community of S. Maria della Porta Vercellina and their church with the cathedral church on the new feast day of Santi Castro and Polimio; and the knights of Rho: all these are reminders that public liturgy was not static. Its forms could be reproduced in order to communicate new meanings and associations between ecclesiastical power and the world around them.

The Crowd and Ritual Violence

The most important indication that the ritual culture of the Milanese church was actively constitutive of social order and religious and political authority lies in the fact that opponents sought to attack it. The Patarines understood that they had to disrupt the ideological scaffolding which supported episcopal government. As a consequence, the later eleventh century in Milan frequently saw the opposition of two kinds of public, collective activity: the repetition of liturgical assemblies and the radical agency of the Patarine crowd. As we have seen, for landowners and élites, urban development focused exchange, production, and political relevance in ways which enriched them but also created new

[700] *Puricelli*, no. 289.

dangers. They risked the crystallisation of active political association in moments and places beyond those ordered by the normative religious and political structures of the day. At a certain point in this process, Latin words for the 'crowd' could no longer refer to the passive and powerless members of the community defined by episcopal authority, as indeed they had signified in Milan before the eleventh century. One epitaph, for example, (still preserved today in the basilica of Sant'Ambrogio) commemorates the life of archbishop Ansperto who died in 882, and praises him for his charity towards the 'destitute crowd' (*turbae ... egenae*).[701]

By the later eleventh century, however, *turba*, *multitudo*, and *vulgus* described activist groups rather than passive collectives. Because such activist associations could challenge rather than sanction authorities, they also were used negatively, in contrast to the *populus* which, for example, typically evoked the popular consent awarded to episcopal elections. It was precisely this vocabulary of disorder which the anti-Patarine authors, Arnolfo and Landolfo Senior, used to describe the supporters of reform in the streets. But equally the Pataria's supporters, Andrea di Strumi and Bonizo of Sutri, and the twelfth-century historian Landolfo di S. Paolo deployed the same terms to reject the popular followings of their opponents.[702] This is significant, as recently historians sceptical about the novelty of eleventh-century religious reform movements have argued that descriptions of popular participation should be read as symbolic representations, rather than reflections of social reality. Sarah Hamilton, for example, has stressed the rhetorical function of texts' invocations of crowds, and their scriptural models in contemporary texts.[703] But in Milan at least, the evidence for demographic change transforming the city is unavoidable, as we have

[701] Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese*, III, pp. 204-208. On the vocabulary of poverty in early medieval Europe, Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages*.
[702] Compare, for example, the divergent vocabulary deployed to describe the same group supporting the contested election of Archbishop Atto: for Bonizo, *LAA,* VI, p. 599, this is a *catholicus populus*, while for Arn, *LGR*, III.23 this is a *turbam agrestium*. See further illustrations in LS, *HM*, III.18, 21; Arn, *LGR*, III.10, 17-18; Andrea, *VSA*, 17, 25; Land SP, *HM*, 12.
[703] S. Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900-1200* (Harlow, 2013) 360.

seen at the outset. The risk of dissent which this engendered stretched to breaking point previous associations held by crowd vocabulary. R. I. Moore's insistence on the startling novelty of the crowd in this period remains correct.[704]

The anti-Patarine chronicler, Arnolfo, explained that Arialdo was able to raise the crowd by proposing 'new things' (*nova*) to the people and because 'they knew the way of the crowd' (*prout noverat vulgi morem*), who, by definition we are told, were 'always eager for novelties' (*novorum*).[705] It was precisely the Patarine leaders' 'knowing the way of the crowd' which enabled a novel mechanism for achieving political goals. Part of the horror for the Milanese clergy was what they saw as the erosion of a monopoly on authoritative interpretation, granted by their literacy and the regular, fixed reproduction of liturgy.[706] While the Milanese clergy draw legitimate authority on the basis of an ordered reading of texts, the Patarine leaders – in the eyes of their enemies – based an illegitimate authority on a disordered 'reading' not of documents, but of the crowd itself, through the unfixed medium of speech.

The use of pubic preaching to mobilise the crowd allowed the disruption of holy office and the support of interventions which reform leaders alone would not have had the authority to impose. Landolfo the Patarine leader's imposition of a written oath or the preservation of clerical continence, for example, followed his guidance of a crowd which disrupted a church service.[707] Much of this testimony has been drawn from sources deeply hostile to the Patarines, but their supporters were not shy about the violence with which they disrupted the liturgical life of the city. 'For the unbelieving and the perverted,' one Patarine priest wrote unapologetically, 'the words and deeds of Arialdo – and indeed also of Christ – *are* full of scandal.' He then described how Arialdo, passing by the winter cathedral,

[704] Moore, 'Family, Community and Cult', p. 49.
[705] Arn, *LGR*, III. 10.
[706] See Stock, *Interpretations of Literacy*, p. 160.
[707] *Ibid*.

saw an 'adulterous and simoniac' priest heading to give mass at the church's altar. Arialdo followed him inside, abused him for approaching the sacraments in a state of corruption, and ripped the vestments off his back, driving him away from the altar. He was able to do this, we are told, because he won over the support of the crowd of people at market in the square outside.[708]

Of course, once the urban crowd became a permanent variable in the conduct of Milanese politics, it was not only the Patarines who could direct the mob. 'The crowd is quick to change and to favour opposing sides,' Andrea da Strumi has bishop Guido say, when in the days after Pentecost, 1066, support drains from the Pataria to the episcopal *curia*.[709] The dynamic of popular politics made the reformers victims of crowds as well as their guides. The most dramatic incidence of this occurred in 1072. Erlembaldo (with support from Hildebrand in Rome) sought to have Atto elected bishop on the day of Epiphany without seeking royal nomination.[710] Erlembaldo agitated for crowds of ordinary laymen - many of whom, according to Arnolfo, came from the countryside, as well as clerical and religious followers, to attend the assembly in the winter cathedral and lend their consensus to proceedings (including, Bonizo claims, supporters from Cremona and Piacenza).[711] After mass a council, attended by the Roman legate Bernardo, elected Atto, but his opponents in the Milanese clergy objected. Restless crowds began to press against the altar. While Erlembaldo and Atto sat down to feast in celebration in the bishop's palace, a mob burst into the residence, plundered the place, and beat the new bishop. They are said to have dragged him physically across the palace, before forcing him before the winter cathedral altar where they made him swear an oath to abandon his claims on the Ambrosian

[708] Siro the Priest, 'Presbiter Syrus Andreae', *VSA*, 1074: *Scito, carissime, quia dicta factaque Arialdo, immo et Christi, incredulis et perversis plena scandalis, piis vero fomenta sunt ardoris et lucis*.

[709] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 21.

[710] Arn, *LGR*, III. 23, Bonizo, *LAA*, VI, pp. 599-600. On Epiphany in Milan, the day on which the date of Easter is announced from the pulpit, Beroldo, *Ordines*, pp. 80-1.

[711] Arn, *LGR*, III. 23, *Studet ergo sollicitare presentes... clericos et laicos, abbates et monachos, amicam sibi non omittens turbam agrestium*. Bonizo, *LAA*, VI, pp. 599-600. On Epiphany in Milan, the day on which the date of Easter is announced from the pulpit, Beroldo, *Ordines*, pp. 80-1.

see.[712] The Patarines too, therefore, risked the eruption of the open crowd when they attempted to lay hold of the mechanisms of liturgy and assembly politics.

But when the reform movement did successfully win popular adhesion, it was able to lay down institutional and formal roots. The cultic 'dual power' which developed in Milan demanded that the Patarines also seek to establish an alternative, visible city ritual. Arialdo (his biographer tells us), led daily solemn processions to the sanctuaries of the saints, surrounded by his religious brothers.[713] This would have visibly contrasted with the established processions to the saints carried out by the city's cardinal clergy. We have no details of which sanctuaries were favoured by Arialdo, or whether particular pathways became repeated over time, but Milan's reformed clergy – however informally – was rivaling the major order's monopoly over public liturgy. (And their signification of urban space.)

Nine years after the first eruption of the Patarine crowd in 1057, however, the movement's first leader Arialdo was mutilated, murdered, and hurled into Lake Maggiore.[714] If we consider the radicals' substantial successes up until this point – extensive popular support, an institutional stronghold in the *canonica* at S. Maria di Porta Nuova, a widening presence in the countryside and other cities – this abrupt reversal demands explanation. Arialdo's support seems to have quickly fractured when, after Erlembaldo secured from Rome a letter of excommunication against archbishop Guido, the leaders disrupted the Pentecost Sunday sermon on 4 June, 1066. The cathedral of S. Maria erupted into riotous fighting.

The sources (depending on their partisanship) differ on whether it was Guido's party or the Patarines who were ultimately responsible for the conflict. Both Arnolfo's chronicle and Andrea da Strumi explain that the bishop denounced his excommunication from the

[712] Both Bonizo and Arnolfo, pro- and anti-Patarine commentators respectively, record these details.
[713] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 18.
[714] The most important accounts are Land Sen, *HM*, III. 30. Arn, *LGR*, III.18, *VSA*, c. 20, (although the key passages only survive in the abbreviated account of the anonymous passion of Arialdo: Anon, *VSA*, cc. 52-6.

pulpit, but Andrea (or at least his abbreviator) states that Guido had encouraged confrontation by sending messengers the day before calling on people to attend the service.[715] Holding the bull of excommunication before the congregation, Guido argued that the decree violated Ambrosian autonomy. As a consequence, the reformers had launched an attack not just on the bishop but on the whole civic body.[716] According to Andrea, as death threats were hurled against the Patarine leaders, the bishop called on those who 'esteemed Ambrose's honour' to help eliminate the Patarine leaders. Arnolfo's chronicle also makes the claim that the letter was taken to be 'shaming' (*obprobium*) for the city, a response made the more believable if compared to Peter Damian's report of his 1059 legation to Milan.[717] On his third day in the city, a riot broke out as outrage grew about Rome's presumption to judge the affairs of the 'free' (*libera*) Ambrosian see. Amid the ringing of bells and the blasts of a trumpet, crowds gathered before the episcopal palace, becoming even more enraged when Damian, in a lack of politic, sat the Milanese archbishop on his left-hand side at the council which he presided over. This offence to Ambrosian dignity was once again, Damian's letter tells us, regarded to be a 'shame' (*obprobrium*).[718] Such was the power of the idea of Ambrosian 'liberty' that interventions from Rome gambled alienating even supporters of reform in Milan.

Even before they had entered the cathedral church on Pentecost, therefore, Arialdo and Erlembaldo had already risked provoking a public offence against the perceived honour of the city.[719] However it is clear that they were deliberately provocative once inside as well, and sought to disrupt the bishop's exercise of holy office. Interrupting the sermon, Arialdo and Erlembaldo stood up in full view of the congregation, provoking violent clashes inside

[715] Anon, *VSA*, c. 52.
[716] Anon, *VSA* c. 53, Guido proclaims that: *videam in his scriptis omnium nostrum perniciem contineri: haec enim civitas ob reverentiam beati Ambrosii Romanae numquam paruit ecclesiae*.
[717] Arnolfo, *LGR*, III. 18: *Quod a pluribus grande visum est civitatis obprobrium*.
[718] Peter Damian, *Briefe*. 65, c. 3: *Nimis indignum, inquiunt, ut, quae sub progeniturobis nostris semper extitit libera, ad nostrae confusionis obprobrium nunc alteri, quod absit, aeclessiae sit subiecta*.
[719] Cf. Keller, 'Batavia und Stadtverfassung', pp. 340-1.

the cathedral. Patarine supporters also raided and plundered the episcopal palace, and stripped and nearly captured the bishop, while Arialdo was left seriously injured by the melee. The Patarine and his supporters then took refuge in the atrium of the chapel of the S. Trinità (the future S. Sepolcro), which had been founded in the forum by the Rozo family of moneyers.[720] However, popular support for Arialdo dwindled over the following days (as even his hagiographer admits) and he soon fled the city. It was while traveling in the countryside that the Patarine was captured and handed over to his murderers, relatives of archbishop Guido, in their family heartlands on the shores of Lake Maggiore.[721]

The crowds summoned by Pentecost weekend drew both parties to attempt to resolve the formal dispute over authority provoked by Rome's bull of excommunication. The reform movement's offence against popular conceptions of the dignity of the Ambrosian church degraded its popular base. But so too – in the memory of supporters and opponents alike – did the disruption of the liturgy. First, Pentecost was an especially important festival because of its association with baptism and initiation into the civic community. On the Saturday of Pentecost, the day before the 1066 cathedral riot, the archbishop had conducted the second and final baptism of the year, after Easter. This would have radically increased the preacher's audience, but in Milan the feast had a further charge because of how it followed on from the Three Day Litanies. As we have seen, it was Ambrosian custom that the Litanies took place on the first days of the week after Ascension, which meant they were celebrated in the same week as Pentecost. We also suggested that the exceptional Milanese enjoinment to fast during the Litanies intensified the experience of the exhausting three-day popular procession, a powerful articulation of the social and spatial unity of the city.

[720] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, c. 20.
[721] Andrea da Strumi, *VSA*, cc. 21-2, Land Sen, *HM*, III. 30.

All the important contemporary accounts underline Arialdo's fierce opposition to the Ambrosian Three-Day Litanies fast. This he judged a perversion of the 50-day season of feast inaugurated by Easter and ending at Pentecost. Indeed, Landolfo Seniore and Bonizo of Sutri, one hostile the other sympathetic, both write that it was Arialdo's denunciation and disruption of the Litanies which incited the people to riot and ultimately led to his expulsion from the city. Neither mentions the Pentecost Sunday disturbance itself. Arnolfo also recalls the dangerous 'novelties' of Arialdo's attack on this Ambrosian tradition, which plunged the city into murderous brawling. According to Andrea da Strumi, the Patarine's erudite denunciation of the fast so enraged the citizenry, all assembled for the procession outside the cathedral, that the people (*plebs*) turned to riot and sacked the movement's chapterhouse at S. Maria alla Porta Nuova.[722]

The sources suggest then that Patarine opposition to the Litanies, a defining ritual of civic community, was as much the cause of the popular reaction against Arialdo as the Pentecost riot which triggered the final confrontation. The liturgical disturbances in 1066 were also just days apart. The gravity of Arialdo's transgression against Ambrosian liturgy is confirmed by the structure of Landolfo Seniore's chronicle, the source most hostile to the Patarines. Landolfo reshapes the narrative of events so that Arialdo and Erlembaldo's murders, and the Patarine priest Liprando's mutilation, all appear to occur in quick succession. He recalls Arialdo's dispute of the Litanies fast and ensuing death, before describing Erlembaldo's destruction of the Easter chrism in 1074 and his murder in 1075. The effect of this literary contraction, noted before by Brian Stock, is to frame the violent fates of the Patarine leaders as providential judgement for their deeply subversive transgression of the liturgical norms of the Ambrosian church.[723] The disruption of the Easter baptism was the most shocking of all these offences, and a fuller contextualisation of

[722] Andrea, *VSA*, 17, LS, *HM*, III.30, Arn, *LGR*, III.15, Bonizo, *LAA*, VI, 596 (Bonizo also mentions the sack of the chapterhouse).
[723] LS, *HM*, III.30. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, 210-12.

this rite – and its importance to the legitimisation of political authority in Milan – will help us understand this.

The Patarines and Baptism

The eight-walled baptistery continued in this period to be to be an essential monument to civic unity under the bishop in the cities of northern Italy. Where separate baptisteries existed in northern Europe before 1000, they did not survive the reconstruction of new cathedrals. By contrast, in northern Italy (and Provence) ancient baptisteries were either preserved, restored or built anew from the eleventh century onwards.[724] Peter Cramer has argued that this continuity with the built environment of late antiquity was a consequence of post-Roman Italy's urban survival. The factional strife which was a condition of the complex city supported the existence of the baptistery, 'the place in which the city in its conflicting parts was resolved into one'.[725] The rite which took place inside it had also developed an important role in the early medieval polity. Under the Carolingians, the identity between political and religious belonging represented by baptism had been made central by intellectuals and legislators: this was the oath (the meaning of *sacramentum*) which simultaneously bound individuals to imperial polity as well to the body of Christ.[726] Baptism also established economic obligations, as members were expected to pay tithes to the

[724] E. Cattaneo, 'Il battistero in Italia dopo il Mille', in *Miscellanea Gilles Gérard Meersseman* (Padua, 1970), pp. 171-195, and see pp. 173-6 list for the dating of extent or attested baptisteries in Italy.
[725] P. Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c.200-c.1150* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 268-9.
[726] O. M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, and the* Imperium Christianum (Oxford, 2014), E. Cattaneo, 'La *basilica baptisterii*, segno di unità ecclesiale e civile', *Atti del convegno di Parma (1976)*, Ravennatensia VII (Cesana, 1979), pp. 11 ff.

church in which they were baptised.[727] And later in the communal period, the baptistery would be explicitly understood as not only the portal into Christian society but also into the civic body. Once Genoa had established its political autonomy, the city's consuls determined that a public official should guard the gate to the cathedral baptistery on Easter Saturday, as archbishop and clergy made their procession there.[728] In his *Paradiso*, Dante asks one of his Florentine ancestors, 'Tell me of the sheepfold of S. Giovanni?'[729] For the poet it was the baptistery, not his cathedral of S. Maria, which symbolically structured filiation to the civic body.

Baptism in the city was further intensified by its singularity and its occasional performance, under the exclusive administration of the bishop. The cathedral baptistery was the sole site in which the rite could take place in the city, while the *pievi*, the only churches in the countryside which possessed baptismal rights, were ritually dependent on the episcopal church. The chrism used for rural baptisms also had to be consecrated and mixed with balsam by the bishop before being delivered to the *pieve*, a performance carried out annually on the celebration of the Last Supper (two days before Easter Saturday).[730] Thus the bishop or his representative became the sole gatekeeper controlling entry into rightly ordered Christian and civic community. It was the bishop who, through the death-and-resurrection symbolism of baptism, dissolved relationships of blood and created new bonds of spiritual kinship.[731] Zeno, fourth-century bishop of Verona, had called initiates to the 'milky font' (*lace fontis*), where – despite differences in age and family – they would become

---

[727] MGH Cap, I, no. 20, p. 47-50, MGH Leges IV, pp. 485-6, for the *Liber papiensis*.

[728] *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genoa, dal DCCCCLVIII al MCLXIII*, ed. C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo (Rome, 1936), no. 119 (1142).

[729] Dante, *Paradiso*, 16. 25-27: *Ditemi dell'ovil di San Giovanni / quanto era allora, e chi eran le genti / tra esso degne di più alti scanni.*

[730] Cattaneo, 'Il battistero', p. 186. Beroldo, *Ordines*, pp. 102-5 describes the consecration of sacred oil, how the archbishop must use his thumb to mix balsam with oil, before it is filled into *ampullae*. Arn, *LGR*, IV. 6 states that the chrism was consecrated on the celebration of the Last Supper.

[731] See especially Ambrose, *De mysteriis*, 2.20 and 3.1 on the baptistery as tomb, immersion as burial, leading to new life in Christ.

'true brothers' (*subito germani fratres*).[732] The bishop became a parent in this watery rebirth. Peter Damian, in an address to bishops, argued that all those 'who are reborn... by the sacrament of baptism must be ascribed to you as your children.'[733] Furthermore, there were only two dates a year when city baptism took place: Easter Saturday and the day before Pentecost. (In Milan, the exceptional Ambrosian practice of the pre-Easter fast – sharply contested by reformers – intensified the significance of Easter Saturday still further.) These two days – and Paschal baptism in particular – thus became immense popular assemblies, when people and their children from the city and the diocese crowded the cathedral square. At the centre of this assembly was the bishop, the leader of the community. In a society in which politics and rule depended on face-to-face interaction, it was only assemblies where, as Timothy Reuter once put it, 'the ruler could represent himself as a ruler', and 'the polity could represent itself to itself.'[734]

Thus when Erlembaldo arrived before the cathedrals of Milan on the Easter Saturday of 1074, he was not simply contesting a rite, but one of the city's most vital representations of political consciousness and authority. This becomes even clearer if we examine the particular order of Paschal baptism in Milan.[735] After a trumpet blast at midday, the cathedral clergy gathered in S. Tecla for a service. Once both the wax and the new flames were blessed, the cathedral was illuminated with a sanctified light. Then the archbishop, his clergy, and a choir of boys made a solemn procession with antiphons out of the Summer cathedral to the baptistery of S. Giovanni. However the prelate halted outside of the baptistery to put on a ceremonial tunic and to wear his mitre. He then girded himself with a cloth, knotting it on his left so as to imitate – our source says – a sword, and similarly tied knots in the heels

[732] *Zeno Veronensis Tractatus*, ed. B. Löfstedt (Turnhout, 1971), I. 23-4, 24.
[733] Peter Damian, *Die Briefe*, 61. 11. Damian explicitly states that this relationship also pertains to individuals baptised in the *pievi* of his diocese; see Chapter 2.
[734] T. Reuter, 'Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth', in P. Lineham and J. L. Nelson, *The Medieval World* (London, 2001), pp. 378-9.
[735] Beroldo, *Ordines*, pp. 108-114. *Manuale Ambrosianum*, pp. 195-212. See P. Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, pp. 288-90 for comments on the Milanese rite.

of his sandals in imitation of spurs. The purpose of this striking dress, according to Beroldo, was that 'it demonstrates that he is a king and a bishop.'[736] Thus at this moment where people of the city and the countryside were made to sense the larger political community to which they belonged, it was a bishop-king who led them together into the baptistery to initiate their new members.

Inside, the bishop would blow on the waters and bless the font.[737] With a turn of his hand he then poured chrism from a spoon into the font three times, tracing the image of the cross as he did so. Three of his minor clerics then looked through the crowds for three boys, named Peter, Paul, and John (if possible), who were then handed over to be held by cardinals in the font. They were questioned by the bishop: 'What do you seek?' 'To be baptised,' they responded through the clerics who held them. Asked three times if they believed in the Son, the Father, and the Holy Spirit, they were then immersed in the waters of the font three times.[738] The bishop then knelt towards the East, before anointing the three boys with oil in the shape of a cross. As he had done the Monday before with the ritual lepers, he then washed and kissed the feet of each boy, and struck their heels over his head three times.[739] All the bells then began to ring, and after his role in the baptism was over, the bishop-king mounted a horse to Sant'Ambrogio, where he celebrated mass with the city's patron saint, who had had died on the vigil of Easter in 397. The Easter Saturday liturgy therefore communicated the bonds which tied together people, bishop-ruler, and saintly patron.

However, from 1073 these dramatic reproductions of civic and diocesan consensus were suspended. After a March synod hosted by Gregory VII in Rome that year, both claimants to the see of Milan abandoned the city, neither able to command sufficient

[736] Beroldo, *Ordines*, p. 108, *ut ostendatur quod sit rex et pontifex*.
[737] The blessing is in the *Manuale* (pp. 205-7), and addresses the water directly (*Adiuro te, creatura aquae*).
[738] The order of questioning and triple immersion is remarkably similar – if not quite identical – to the practice described centuries earlier by Ambrose. See *De sacramentis*, II.20.
[739] See above.

support: Atto stayed at the papal curia in Rome, while Goffredo withdrew to the episcopal castle at Brebbia, south of Varese.[740] In this situation Erlembaldo appears to have emerged as the most prominent authority figure in the city. Gregory VII certainly regarded him as the effective local leader, addressing letters to him, informing him about his diplomacy with the Normans, and encouraging other Lombard bishops to lend him their support.[741] Evidently the absence of a bishop threw into question the performance of urban ritual. One of Erlembaldo's first interventions was to forbid baptism on the Saturday of Pentecost, 18 May 1073.[742] (Pentecostal baptism was largely similar to the rite on Easter Sunday; the bishop once again knotted his clothes to appear as king and pontiff.)[743] Erlembaldo rejected Goffredo's consecration, but also the legitimate office of Milan's suffragan bishops, who might have assumed the archbishop's role in his absence. This radical disruption of the Ambrosian tradition however would be taken a step further the following year.

On Easter Saturday, 20 April, 1074, members of the major clergy brought the chrism (consecrated two days before in the archbishop's absence by one of Milan's suffragen bishops), to the baptistery in preparation for the consecration of the font as described.[744] At that point, Erlembaldo arrived armed with clubs and forced the clergy into the cathedral square. Addressing the thick crowds assembled for baptism, he tore the chrism from the ordinaries' hands, poured the oil onto the ground in full view of the people, and crushed it underfoot.[745] He then produced his own chrism amid the people (the provenance of which

---

[740] Arnolfo, *LGR*, IV. 3-5.

[741] Gregory VII, *Reg.*, I. 25 and I. 26 (27 September and 9 October, 1073) are addressed to Erlembaldo, and the former discusses the Norman situation. I. 27 (13 October, 1073) to Alberto, bishop of Acqui, and I. 28 (13 October, 1073) to bishop Guiglielmo of Pavia both urge support for Erlembaldo. I. 77 (15 April, 1074), to Beatrice and Matilda also requests collaboration with Erlembaldo and implies his pre-eminent authority in the area.

[742] Arnolfo, *LGR*, IV. 5.

[743] Beroldo, *Ordines*, pp. 120-1.

[744] Arnolfo, *LGR*, IV. 6, Land Sen, *HM*, III. 30.

[745] Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, p. 211, says this happens in the 'Roman theatre'. Landolfo does describe this action as taking place in the *theatro*, but this was a word frequently used to describe a city's forum or cathedral square. Arnolfo does not name the place where Erlembaldo's intervention took place, but both narratives imply that this indeed was the cathedral square. As we can see from comparing the narrative to the liturgical sources, Erlembaldo intercepted the chrism before it was used to consecrate the font, at which point

Arnolfo says is 'unknown', although it could plausibly have been consecrated and delivered by one of the regional bishops whom Gregory VII urged to support Erlembaldo, such as Alberto, the bishop-elect of Acqui).[746] Landolfo Seniore lamented this *placitum sine vero*, understanding that this was not just ritual violence, but also a travesty of the assembly politics necessary for representing stable authority in the community. Erlembaldo later organised an alternative baptism which took place the following week on Friday *in albis*, 25 April. People thus had the choice of recognising the legitimacy of the Patarines to draw the boundaries of political and religious community (and its rites of initiation), or to forgo baptising their children altogether. Indeed Arnolfo claims that many catechumens were thus denied the grace of baptism, that the 'Easter joy did not know its bath' (*pashale gaudium … lavacrum)*.[747]

The radicalism of this act sent shockwaves far beyond Milan and northern Italy. Far north of the Alps, in a letter under the name of bishop Theoderic of Verdun (1047-88), a vociferous denunciation of Gregory VII argued that the reform programme had given license to this 'son of death' (Erlembaldo), who 'not only poured, not only hurled, but crushed underfoot the reverend sacraments after their consecration'.[748] This reaction does suggests the veracity of these invents, given that Theoderic would not have had access to the Milanese narratives The political implications of destroying the chrism would also have been legible to contemporaries, as a near-contemporary incident in Rome suggests. In 1116, the

there would have been huge crowds present by the cathedrals attending the baptism. As the sources make clear, Erlembaldo was making a public ritual attack (*coram omni populo*); it is thus implausible that he would have abandoned the crowds gathered outside the baptistery in order to head to the north-west of the city where the ancient theatre stood.

[746] Gregory VII, *Register*, I. 27.

[747] Arn, *LGR*, IV. 6: *Unde contigit, ut paschale gaudium suum nesciret lavacrum, ac multo post tempore plures catecumini baptismi carerent gratia*. Note that the dislocation between Easter and baptism is mourned specifically. Arnolfo however also confirms that many people did undergo the Patarines' baptism.

[748] 'Wenrici scolastici Trevirensis epistola sub Theoderici episcopi Virdunensis nomine composita', ed. K. Francke, *MGH: Libelli di lite imperatorum et pontificum*, I, pp. 298-9: *Id autem est, quod vestro vel precepto vel monitu vel assensu in partibus Italiae venerenda mysteria post sanctifactionem nescio a quo mortis filio referuntur effusa, non effusa, sed et proiecta, non proiecta, sed et pedibus conculcata*. On Theoderic of Verdun, see P. Healey, *The Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny: Reform and the Investitutre Contest in the Late Eleventh Century* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 54-8.

son of the deceased urban prefect sought to succeed his father in the face of pope Paschal II's opposition. In the following factional tumult, another opponent writes, the son's supporters rioted on the Thursday of Holy Week (the day of the consecration of the baptismal chrism) and smashed the vase of newly balsam-infused oil.[749] Contemporaries clearly had an awareness of the connection between episcopal leadership and the rituals of Christian initiation.

The Patarine destruction of the sacrament would have been hard for all but the most radical of reformers to defend; no doubt this is why Bonizo of Sutri, a great supporter of the Patarines, avoids any mention of the outrage in his narrative of events in Lombardy.[750] That it was possible in Milan confirms that the Patarines subscribed to the radical sacramentary theory that insisted on the purity of the minister for the validity of the mystery. Landolfo Seniore wrote that Erlembaldo and his followers crushed the sacred oil 'like mud', and for the Patarines materials consecrated by sexually-active, simoniac, or heretic priests were indeed pollutants. According to Arnolfo, when Landolfo the Patarine used to preach to crowds of laymen he denounced the sacraments of impure ministers as 'dog excrement', and their churches as 'mules' stables.'[751] By destroying the polluted chrism and furnishing a new supply (probably consecrated by an allied local bishop), the Patarines sought to restore the effective validity of the sacrament that they believed the clergy had broken. Their opponents understood this rationalisation and sought to resist it. Landolfo Seniore defined the Patarines as eleventh-century Donatists, quoting from that controversy remarks of Augustine – partially re-attributed to Ambrose in order to align orthodoxy with Milanese tradition – which asserted that divine grace, not the officer, made the sacrament.[752]

---

[749] *Liber pontificalis, nella recensione di Pietro Guglielmo OSB e del card. Pandolfo*, ed. U. Přerovský, vol. 2., 161.27-9, pp. 717-18.
[750] Bonizo, *LAA*, VII, describes Erlembaldo's murder but does not discuss the Easter Saturday events.
[751] Arn, *LGR*, III. 9: *quorum sacrificia idem est, ac si canina sint stercora eorumque basylice iumentorum presepia*.
[752] Land, *HM*, III. 30: Accedit enim, *sicut beatus Ambrosius dixit*, verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum, from Augustine, *et quid Augustinus sanctus, intellige...*

As the chrism consecrated for Easter week was distributed to rural *pievi*, the Patarines were also seeking to restore sacramental links between the city and the countryside. Therefore their authority replaced the Ambrosian bishop-king as gatekeepers of the of community for the whole diocese. Indeed, as immensely controversial as these acts were, the Pataria and its allies appear to have been powerful enough to survive any initial consequences of the 1074 baptism.[753] However this probably quite fragile consensus ruptured the following year, after a catastrophic fire in 1075 (just four years after the last fire confounded the city) on the Monday of Holy Week.[754] The flames raged across the entire city, devastating many of the most important churches, treasures, and libraries, including the Summer and Winter cathedrals. Arnolfo regarded this as a providential judgement on the city's religious strife. Despite this trauma, Erlembaldo eschewed seeking consensus. Instead, Arnolfo says, a few days later on Easter Saturday, 4 April, he again took over the organisation of the baptism. Surrounded by the catechumens dressed in white, he once again forced the use of an 'unknown chrism'.[755] As the cardinal clergy refused to carry out the rite with Erlembaldo's oil, the priest Liprando of San Paolo 'usurped' their office and washed the catechumens in their place.

At this point, the Pataria's support definitively fragmented, not least because the disturbance became popularly associated with the fire some days before - something we need not doubt as the pro-Patarine Bonizo confirms this.[756] The *capitanei* (belonging to the same families as the cathedral ordinaries whose monopoly on the initiation rite had been broken) plotted Erlembaldo's murder. Some days later, violence returned to the squares and Erlembaldo was killed in the fighting. His corpse was denied burial rite and forced to lie

[753] Indeed, Arnolfo's hostile account claims that after the 1074 baptism the movement grew in number and in strength, and across the region in other towns and cities (IV. 6): *excrevit numerus atque virtus in pagis et opidis ac quibusdam duce ipso in urbibus...*
[754] Arnolfo, *LGR*, IV. 8.
[755] *Ibid*, IV. 9.
[756] Bonizo, *LAA*, VII, pp. 604-5.

stripped and beaten in the piazza. Soon after, Liprando was captured and had his nose and ears cut off for his usurpation of the baptismal office.[757] Many remaining Patarines (we are told) at this point fled the city. The victory of the Milanese establishment was marked by a formal triumph: the following day members of the clergy and the laity – bearing arms – processed to S. Ambrogio, intoning litanies and celebrating absolution in their patron's basilica. Arnolfo also claims that the Milanese later 'ordered a triumph for the killing of Erlembaldo' (*mandates Arlembaldice interfectionis triumphum*), which raises the possibility that citizens revived elements of ancient victory processions to mark the return of peace. Part of the settlement agreed upon by the victorious aristocratic party - again according to Arnolfo - was to accept an archbishop as the gift of the king.[758] Urban catastrophe and ritual transgression had forced the majority of the city population back to seeking stability in the traditional hierarchies of authority, represented by the archbishop and his vassals, and the king. Between the walls which enclosed Ambrose and his guardians, the Milanese elite hoped for order to return to itself.

Reproducing the Liturgy

Popular challenges to the liturgy did not just interrupt a structure of symbolic communication. They also disrupted a liturgical economy. As in other large cities, the rhythms of the sacred year also established a pattern for the distribution of resources

[757] Arnolfo, *LGR*, IV. 10, Land Sen, *HM*, III, 30. Because of canonical injunction that mutilated priests cannot hold office.

[758] Arnolfo, *LGR*, V. 2, cf. Land Sen, *HM,* III. 30. On the early medieval inheritance of Roman rituals of victory, McCormick, *Eternal Victory*.

among the clergy.[759] Beroldo is very precise about detailing the division of altar donations and gifts on the major feasts of the year; indeed separate sections of the word are dedicated to this.[760] Alongside cash payments, gifts of food were also made alongside invitations to the archbishop's dining table. We must imagine, therefore, that major disruptions of the liturgy broke the flow of altar money to members of the city clergy. But as well as silver, the liturgical year served to distribute the material resources necessary for divine office: wine, oil, candle wax.

One striking example of this can be seen for the celebration of the Purification of the Virgin Mary (2 February), also known as Candlemass. On the morning of the feast, bells were rung and the archbishop was to attend the church of S. Maria Beltrade (just east of the forum) with the minor city clergy as well as his cathedral clerics. A mass of candles were blessed and the archbishop was responsible for distributing a great number of them among the *primicerius* of the *decumani*. After the singing of the psalms, the clergy and the confraternity of St. Ambrose all lit candles and began a procession to S. Maria Maggiore, bearing an icon of Mary and the the holy child known as the *Idea*. Exceptionally, a twelfth-century relief sculpture of the icon and procession, originally from S. Maria Beltrade, survives (see Figure 6.1). This was a highly visible celebration then, but also one that underlined the conspicuous distribution of necessary liturgical affects among the city clergy.[761]

[759] For Rome, for example, Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 346-8.

[760] Beroldo, *Ordines*, pp. 18-33. The rubric, *Incipit ordo qualiter denarii omnium festivitatum dividuntur*, gives general formulae for how donations should be divided among the officiating clerics and members of the *schola sancti Ambrosii*, as well as a list of specified payments to be made on particular feast days.

[761] Beroldo, *Ordines*, p. 81.

Figure 6.1: Candlemass procession with the icon of the *Idea* (inscribed on the sculpture). Milan, Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Antica del Castello Sforzesco.

Another visible distribution of church lighting took place on the vigil of Pentecost.[762] Before baptism took place, two of the major order's door keepers had to tie together 41 wax tablets in the shape of a cross by the font. (In this they were assisted by a nun of the female baptistery, Santo Stefano.) Thirteen lit candles were then placed on top of the wax. Before the chrism was poured into the font's water, however, the wax was delivered to the cathedral treasurer, who was obliged to distribute the tablets among the cardinal priests and deacons. Thus the festival also provided a scene to sacralise and make conspicuous the circulation of liturgical commodities, in this case the hard fats which would illuminate the holy basilicas of the city. When in 1073, Erlembaldo suppressed the celebration of Pentecostal baptism, therefore, these ritual acts of distribution must also been suspended. These resources and their circulation mattered to contemporaries. The canons of Arezzo authored a short narrative text which described the struggle between cathedral clerics and lay guardians over altar donations.[763] The author, unsurprisingly, deplored the violent rioting which accompanied disputes over silver. But he also mourned their particular consequences:

[762] Ibid., pp. 120-1.
[763] *Historia custodum Aretinorum*, ed. A. Hofmeister MGH SS. 30.2, pp. 1471-82. On the text and its context in eleventh-century reform, see W. North, 'The Fragmentation and Redemption of a Medieval Cathedral: Property, Conflict, and Public Piety in Eleventh-Century Arezzo', in W. C. Brown and P. Górecki (eds.), *Conflict in Medieval Europe: Changing Perspectives on Society and Culture* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 109-130.

the silence of the bells and the darkness of unlit churches. Contesting the liturgy also meant disrupting the church's normal mechanisms of demarcating time and space.

* * *

The perceived gravity of the Pataria's transgression of the rites which legitimised the bishop and his aristocratic entourage's power over Milan betrayed their strength. However, that it was possible at all is a testament to the extraordinary social transformations which raised the urban crowd. Before the population expansions and increased social divisions of the eleventh century, public ritual was far from risk-free (as a reading of Liutprand of Cremona easily reminds us) but certainly there was less danger in representing the people as passive legitimisation of consensus.[764] Its performance could more reliably represent consensus around political leaders. As we have emphasised, in Milan, this did not simply mean the legitimisation of the bishop or even the cathedral chapter: it sanctioned the broader diocesan power structure which the bishop represented, and his aristocratic vassals accordingly underlined their collaboration through ritual performance. In stating this, the intention is not to provide an overly reductive analysis of ecclesiastical ritual, which renders liturgy as simply an expression of cynical ideology. But it is to acknowledge, partially following the anthropologist Maurice Bloch, that liturgy was a social technology which had to be actively reproduced by living actors in historical time.[765] Mass and baptism were not devised as instruments of social control. But their reproduction was carried out by those with authority and material power. They were able to associate their own offices, their own

[764] Liutprand of Cremona, *Liudprandi Cremonensis opera omnia*, ed. P. Chiesa (Turnhout, 1998).
[765] See notes in Introduction.

statuses, families, identities with the transcendent, cyclical time of liturgy. The bishop-king made himself the gatekeeper of the ancient baptistery; the archbishop's men, the knights of Rho, assisted their ruler-as-Christ in triumph on Palm Sunday; Milan's desired participation in the conquest of Jerusalem solidified into stone and liturgical memory.

These associations could not so simply be reproduced in a socially complex, fractious world like the eleventh-century city. Occasional, passive assembly was increasingly replaced by more permanent political interaction. The Patarine opposition could not simply ignore the ritual supports which supported the establishment church and were embedded in the liturgy; they did not reject the importance of the rites or the city's cults. Rather, they too had to struggle to re-contextualise, re-associate these moments of political representation and religious sacrament. Their success – against great odds, and thanks to the energies of the crowds – was not permanent. But even when the Pataria failed, they had succeeded in redrawing the logic by which internal conflict took place in Milan. They contributed, gradual as the process was after 1075, to the delegitimisation of episcopal government, its connection with the aristocracy, and the rituals which supported them. Indeed we may imagine some agitation as Beroldo sat down in the 1130s to try and preserve the liturgical theatre and sacred economy which depended on this living calendar. Not only did memories of popular violence mist over his visions of order. He was entering a new world in which the commune also claimed to organise time and civic space.

CONCLUSION

A sceptical modern observer, standing before the long atrium of the church of S. Ambrogio in March 1103 to witness Liprando undergo a trial by fire, might be forgiven for agreeing with an old man from the Rhineland that history is determined to repeat itself: 'the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce.'[766] Before them they would have seen a bitter old man, without any ears, walking into the flames to uphold charges of simony against his archbishop - an exact imitation of the ritual choreography which had led to Pietro Igneo forcing out the bishop of Florence a generation earlier in 1068. But where Pietro Igneo and his Milanese contemporaries were so expert at summoning popular support, it is harder to see that Liprando 'knew the way of the crowd', as had been said by a contemporary about Erlembaldo.[767] The charge of simony against Grosolano also seems to have been vaguely defined and, as we have seen, Liprando's campaign does not appear to have articulated wider ideas about the reform of clerical life. Rather than reviving the goals of the Pataria, Liprando's ordeal can easily be painted as a farcical and empty repetition of subversive moments of the past. One might go on to conclude, furthermore, that the violent opposition of the Patarines to their archbishops was dramatic, perhaps indeed a symptom of a more restless, urban world; but ultimately part of the cyclical, random history of events, which only punctuated the surface of more stable structures which girded society in place. At most, Arialdo gave his fellow citizens a new vocabulary with which to express discontent.

This discussion has sought to argue otherwise. First of all, the rate of economic change in Milan in the eleventh century really was remarkable. The city was growing at a

[766] K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, in id. *Later Political Writings*, ed. T. Carver (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 31-127, 31.
[767] Arnolfo, *LGR*, III. 10.

furious rate, creating a truly complex urban world. The force of these population movements transformed the value of city space, and energetic centres of production and exchange grew in their wake. Furthermore, we have seen that Milan's hinterland underwent social and economic changes which were not simply quantitative, but marked a real and precocious turning point. Busy markets were not new in this part of Europe, but the intimate penetration of the market into parts of the countryside was. Its demands led to a step-rate change in the rhythm of clearances, as cultivators cut down trees and abandoned their chestnuts to make ready fields of rye and other grains to feed the city.

As local churches in the 1050s increasingly turned their eye on the profits of urban trade, peasants found it harder and harder to access markets themselves. Rural social relations became more monetised at the same time, making cultivators more vulnerable to the coercive effects of debt, as is above all visible in Vimercate. The abrupt impact of rural commercialisation, and the risk of dependency on economic actors who could not access the market, provides a plausible context for changing popular perceptions about money. Debtors were victims of social forces, but the growing reality of commercial exchanges has the power to obscure the social character of relationships between people. For Marx, this was how moveable wealth could become a fetish, how circulating objects could appear as sources of power rather than human labour itself.[768] Indeed Peter Damian located the source of corruption not in social inequality itself, but in the image of a demonic moneyer who turned the city into his workshop.[769] In this context it is easier to see how those who had fallen victim to the destabilising effects of monetisation would increasingly view money as dangerous, and an illegitimate way of determining authority.

The landscapes transformed by the urban market were where the roots of reform lay. Those laymen and clerics alike who sought to re-construct the domestic economy of

[768] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1.
[769] Peter Damian, *Briefe*, no. 65.

the clergy, gathered into communal houses without their wives, were not waiting for ideas of doctrine from across the Alp. They drew on their own social experiences. In time, networks of reform tying together movements from Milan, Florence, Rome would facilitate the circulation of textual authorities which provided the Patarines with a vocabulary with which to express their aims. But these were forged after Arialdo's disruption of the feast of San Nazaro's translation in 1057, not before. The Pataria's origins were rural. Arialdo first sought to tear priests away from their wives in Varese, and time and time again sources underline the number of rustics who swelled the urban crowds which contested episcopal authority in the streets. Furthermore, it is precisely the same area of Milan's hinterland - around the *borghi* of Vimercate, Cantù, and Monza, in which greater economic complexity and commercialisation first becomes visible, that the original proponents of reform appear to have come from. At precisely the same time that the clerics of S. Stefano decided to sell the surpluses of their rents at the market, they built a chapter house in which to live a life in common, the first attested in the countryside.

Urban growth gave birth to a site of danger, as well as wealth and opportunity. The concentration of crowds in a city of strangers incubated social tensions, but people were also forced to confront a very different social world than the face-to-face communities of the village. The social mechanisms which endowed authority became obscured, and in such an environment the role of women and coin, as Moore compellingly argued, were made to appear polluting.[770] But once anxieties about power relations in the city were expressed, opponents had to take aim against those rituals and symbols which they understood as constitutive of the political hierarchies which held traditional religious authority in place. This is why the cult of saints and the city liturgy became sites of such intense conflict and competition for meaning. These were symbolic structures which mattered, and those who

[770] Moore, 'Family, Community and Cult'.

sought change worked to undermine their association with existing elites - above all, the archbishop and the aristocratic families of his court. Thus the rhythm of conflict so often focused around the processions and rites of the liturgical year. And while the Patarines sought to re-contexualise the authority of existing saints' cults and communicate reform ideology through new cults, forces behind the archbishop worked to accentuate and reproduce the sacrality of the Ambrosian tradition and promote a story of apostolic origins which refuted the Romanisation of the city's martyr, Nazaro.

Milan experienced nearly 20 years of unprecedented popular conflict, in which the movements of crowds and ordinary people became decisive in determining the outcome of competition. But in 1075, as armed men oversaw the public decay of Erlembaldo's naked corpse in the open street, the movement evaporated. A quarter of a century later, Arialdo and Erlembaldo lay at rest in S. Dionigi, under the shadow of Ariberto da Intimiano's monument to the grandeur of episcopal power. But some of the wider logics of reform were already underway. As clerical communities in both the city and the countryside increasingly adopted communal property and lived in common, they were driven to appropriate incomes, tithes, and properties which were controlled by families, and place them under institutional control. This was a radical change to the way that land was held in previous generations, and enabled the support of a religious division of labour. We see this very clearly with the efforts in the twelfth century of *pievi* to secure control of tithes previously held by the archbishop's aristocratic vassals. These incomes were channelled not just to support the idle mouths of the chapter house, but also to control the flow of liturgical goods and objects, the material components of rituals and symbolic communication which commanded adherence from the local community.

Furthermore, if the Patarines were defeated, they still made a decisive contribution to the redrawing of the rules by which social competition took place. Discussing a very

different era of reform, Ethan Shagan cut through debates about the significance of the Reformation in sixteenth-century England, by observing that the convulsions of that era did not so much transform 'faith', as make religious politics subject to constant popular negotiation.[771] Something not so different was taking place in the eleventh century. The Patarine legacy was a landscape in which social movements became a more constant factor in city politics, empowered with a set of ideas which could counter the legitimacy of wealth and kinship in making power. In this respect, Liprando was less the heir of Arialdo than were the crowds who heard Urban II in 1096 and expelled the priests of city churches, setting up houses for the communal life in their stead. These new factors did indeed make the episcopal court a less secure site of patronage for local elites. Furthermore, the failure of aristocratic members of cathedral clergy to elect aristocratic clerics from their own number in 1097 and after Anselmo IV's death in Constantinople in 1101, may well have been among the decisive factors which encouraged local elites to experiment with new forms of government. The subtraction of episcopal authority created space, in other words, for improvisations in lay government, the beginnings of the city commune.

[771] E. H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript and Archival Sources

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C. 133 inf.
— E. 22 inf.
— I. 152 inf.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Can. Misc. 560.
— Can. Pat. Lat. 214.
Pavia, Biblioteca Civica Bonetta, II. 12.

Milan, Archivio di Stato di Milano, A.D. Perg. cart., 303 (Fondo Capitolo di S. Ambrogio).
— A.D. Perg. cart., 587 (Fondo S. Giovanni di Monza).
— A.D. Perg. cart. 485 (Fondo S. Maurizio (Monastero Maggiore)).
Milan, Archivio Capitolare di Sant'Ambrogio, perg. sec. XI.
Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, Perg. cart. 6.

Printed Primary Sources

Agnello of Ravenna, *Liber pontifical ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D. Muaskopf Deliyannis (Turnout, 2006).

Ambrose of Milan, *Sancti Ambrosii opera: Pars septima,* ed. O. Faller, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1955).

— *Epistularum liber decimus, Epistulae extra collectionem, Gesta concilii Aquileiensis*, ed. M. Zelzer Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout, 1982).

— *Political letters and speeches*, trans. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz (Liverpool, 2010).

Andrea da Strumi, *Vita sancti Arialdi*, ed. F. Baethgen, MGH SS XXX.2 (Leipzig, 1934) pp. 1047-75.

— *Vita Iohannis Gualberti*, ed. F. Baethgen, MGH SS XXX.2 (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 1104-1110.

— *Arialdo: Passione del santo martire milanese* (Milan, 1994). ed and trans. M. Navoni.

Annales minores et notae Mediolanenses, ed. P. Jaffé, MGH SS XVIII, pp. 383-402.

Anonymi Mediolanensis libellus de situ civitatis Mediolani, de adventu Barnabe Apostoli, et de vitis priorum pontificum Mediolanensium, eds. A. and G. Colombo (Bologna, 1942).

Anselmo da Besate, *Rhetorimachia*, ed. K. Manitius, MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, II (Weimar, 1958).

Ariberto da Intimiano: i documenti segni del potere, eds. M. Petoletti, M. Basile Weatherill, M. R. Tessera, et al. (Milan, 2009).

Arnolfo of Milan, *Liber gestorum recentium*, ed. C. Zey, MGH SRG, LXVII (Hannover, 1994).

Bede, *De natura rerum*, ed. C. W. Jones et al., *Opera didascalia* (Turnhout, 1975).

Benzone of Alba, *Sieben Bücher an Kaiser Heinrich IV*. ed. H. Seyffert, MGH SRG LXV (Hannover, 1996).

Bernold of Constance, *Bernoldi Chronicon, 1054-1100*, ed. I. S. Robinson, *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bertolds von Konstanz, 1054-1100* (Hannover, 2003), MGH SRG NS, XIV, pp. 383-542.

Beroldo, *Ecclesiae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis Kalendarium et Ordines, saec. XII, ex codice Ambrosiano*, ed. M. Magistretti (Milan, 1894).

Berthold of Reichenau, *Bertholdi Chronicon, 1054-1080*, ed. I. S. Robinson, *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bertolds von Konstanz, 1054-1100* (Hannover, 2003), MGH SRG NS, XIV pp. 161-382

Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH LdL, I (Hannover, 1891), pp. 568-620.

— *Liber de vita christiana*, ed. E. Perels (Berlin, 1988 (1930)).

Bonvesin de la Riva, *De magnalibus Mediolani. Le meraviglie di Milano*, ed. P. Chiesa (Milan, 1997).

Capitularia regem Francorum, vols. 1-2 ed. A. Boretius, MGH (Hannover, 1883).

Catalogus archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium, eds. L. C. Bethmann and W. Wattenbach, MGH SS, VIII (Hannover, 1848), pp. 101-110.

Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae, Historiae patriae Monumenta, vol. 13, ed. G. Porro Lambertenghi, (Turin, 1873).

Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genoa, dal DCCCCLVIII al MCLXIII, ed. C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo (Rome, 1936).

Concilia aevi karolini, I. 1, ed. A. Werminghoff, MGH Concilia, II. 1(Hannover, 1906).

Conradi II diplomata, ed. H. Bresslau, MGH Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae, IV (Hannover, 1909).

Epistolae Karolini Aevi, V, MGH, Epistolae VII (Berlin, 1928).

Forcella, V. *Iscrizioni delle chiese e degli altri edifici di Milano dal secolo VIII ai giorni nostri*, 12 vols. (Milan, 1889-93).

Gesta Federici I. Imperatoris in Lombardia, auct. cive Mediolanensi, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SRG XXVII (Hannover, 1892).

Gli atti del Comune di Milano fino all'anno MCCXVI, ed. C. Manaresi (Milan, 1919).

Gli atti privati milanesi e comaschi, eds. C. Manaresi, 4 vols. (Milan, 1933-69).

Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SSRM, I (Hannover, 1884).

Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. D. Norberg (Turnhout, 1982).

Gregorii VII Registrum, ed. E. Caspar, MGH Epistolae selectae, II, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1920-3).

Gregory VII, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085*, trans. H. E. J. Cowdrey (Oxford, 2002).

Grosolano, *Due sermoni inediti di Pietro Grosolano, arcivescovo di Milano*, ed. A. M. Amelli (Florence, 1933).

Heinrici II diplomata, ed. H. Bloch and H. Bresslau, MGH Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae, III. (Hannover, 1903).

Heinrici III diplomata, ed. H. Bresslau, MGH Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae, V. (Hannover, 1931).

Heinrici IV diplomata, eds. D. von Gladiß et al. MGH Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae, VI, 3 vols. (Weimar, 1941-78).

Historia custodum Aretinorum, ed. A. Hofmeister, MGH SS, XXX.2 (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 1468-82.

Humbert of Silva Candida, *Adversus simoniacos libri tres*, ed. F. Thaner, MGH LdL, I (Hannover, 1891).

I diplomi di Berengario I, ed. L. Schiaparelli (Rome, 1903).

Inscriptiones Latinae Christinae Veteres, ed. E. Diehl (Berlin, 1925-31).

I placiti del 'Regnum Italiae', ed. C. Manaresi, 3 vols. (Rome, 1955-60).

Kehr, P. (ed.) *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, vol. 6 (1929).

Landolfo Seniore, *Historia Mediolanensis*, eds. L. C. Bethmann and W. Wattenbach, MGH SS, VIII (Hannover, 1848), pp. 32-100.

— *Landulphi Senioris Mediolanensi historiae libri quatuor*, ed. A. Cutolo (Bologna, 1942).

Landolfo di San Paolo, *Historia Mediolanensis*, eds. L. Bethmann and P. Jaffé, MGH SS XX (1868).

Le carte degli archivi parmensi del secolo XII, ed. G. Drei (Parma, 1950).

Le carte della Chiesa di Santa Maria del Monte Velate, vol. 1, ed. P. Merati (Varese, 2005).

Le carte del monastero di Santa Maria di Morimondo, vol. 1, ed. M. Ansani (Spoleto, 1992).

Le carte del monastero di S. Ambrogio di Milano, III/1 (1101-1180), ed. M. L. Mangini (Pavia, 2007).

Le pergamene degli archivi di Bergamo aa. 1002 - 1058, eds. M. Cortesa and A. Pratesi (Bergamo, 1995).

Le pergamene degli archivi di Bergamo aa. 1059(?) - 1100, eds. M. Cortesa and A. Pratesi (Bergamo, 2000).

Le pergamene della canonica dei santi Protasio e Gervasio di Cucciago 1096-1582, ed. T. M. Tagliabue (Florence, 2011).

Le più antiche carte dell'Archivio Capitolare di Asti, ed. F. Gabotto (Pinerolo, 1904).

Leges Langobardorum, eds. F. Bluhme and A. Boretius, MGH Leges IV (Hannover, 1868).

Liber notitiae sanctorum Mediolani, ed. M. Magistretti and U. Monneret de Villard (Milan, 1917).

Liber pontificalis, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 vols. (Paris, 1955-7).

Liber pontificalis, nella recensione di Pietro Guglielmo OSB e del card. Pandolfo, 3 vols., ed. U. Přerovský (Rome, 1978).

Liutprand of Cremona, *Liudprandi Cremonensis opera omnia*, ed. P. Chiesa (Turnhout, 1998).

Loewenfeld, S. (ed.) *Epistolae pontifcum romanorum ineditae* (Leipzig, 1885).

Manuale ambrosianum ex codice saec. XI, 2 ed. M. Magistretti, 2 vols. (Milan, 1905).

Mombritius, B. *Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum* (Paris, 2010), 2 vols.

Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I. Imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz and B. de Sion, MGH SRG, XLVI (Hannover, 1912).

Ottonis I diplomata, ed. T. Sickel, MGH Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae, I (Hannover, 1884).

Ottonis II diplomata, ed. T. Sickel, MGH Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae, II (Hannover, 1893).

Ottonis III diplomata, ed T. Sickel, MGH Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae, II (Hannover, 1893).

Paul of Bernried, *Vita Gregorii VII papae*, ed. J. M. Watterich (Leipzig, 1862), pp. 474-545.

Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, eds. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz, MGH SRL, pp. 12-187.

Pergamene milanesi dei secoli XII-XIII, eds. various, 20 vols. (Milan, 1984-).

Peter Damian, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. K. Reindel, MGH Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, IV, 4 vols. (Munich, 1983-93).

— *Letters*, 6 vols. (Washington D.C., 1989-2005), trans. O. J. Blum et al.

Pflugk-Harttung, J. *Iter italicum* (Stuttgart, 1883).

Possidius, *Vita Augustini*, ed. A. A. R. Bastiaensen (Milan, 1975).

Puricelli, G. P. *Ambrosianae Mediolani basilicae ac monasterii hodie cisterciensis monumenta* (Milan, 1645).

Sigebert of Gembloux, *Leodicensium epistola adversus Paschalem papam*, MGH LdL, II (Hannover, 1892).

Rangerio of Lucca, *Vita metrica s. Anselmi lucensis episcopi*, eds. E. Sackur and G. Schwartz, MGH SS XXX/2 (Leipzig, 1929), pp. 1152-1307.

Regino of Prüm, *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, MGH, SRG, 50 (Hannover, 1890).

Registrum Iohannis VIII papae, ed. E. Caspar, in MGH, Epistolae VII, Epistolae Karolini Aevi, V (Berlin, 1928).

Rodolfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. J. France (Oxford, 1989).

Testi storici veneziani: XI-XIII secolo, ed. L. A. Berto (Padua, 2000).

Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Holzmann, MGH SRG, N.S. IX (Berlin, 1935).

Vita Anselmo Lucensis, ed. R. Wilmans, MGH SS, XII (Hannover, 1856), pp. 1-35.

Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum gestarum saxonicarum libri tres*, eds. H.-E. Lohmann and P. Hirsch, MGH SRG, LX (Hannover, 1935).

Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris*, in *Wiponis Opera*, ed. H. Bresslau, MGH SRG, LXI (Hannover, 1915), pp. 1-62.

Zeno Veronensis Tractatus, ed. B. Löfstedt (Turnhout, 1971).

Secondary Sources

Airlie, S. 'The Anxiety of Sanctity: St. Gerald of Aurillac and his Maker', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 43 (1992), pp. 372-95.

Akasoy, A. A. 'The man-made disaster: Fire in cities in the medieval Middle East', *Historical Social Research,* 32 (2007), pp. 75-87.

Albuzzi, A. 'Pergamene inedite dei secoli X e XI nell'archivio privato Antona Traversi di Meda', *Aevum,* 70 (1996), pp. 193-211.

— 'Per una prosopografia dei da Bovisio. I secoli XI e XII attraverso le pergamene di San Vittore di Meda', in G. Andenna, R. Salvarini (eds.), *Deus non voluit. I Lombardi alla prima crociata (1100-1101)*, pp. 219-32.

Allen, A.H., 'The family of archbishop Guido da Velate of Milan (1045-1071)', in *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia medioevale,* I (Milan, 1968), pp. 1-9.

Althoff, G. *Otto III* (University Park PA, 2003), trans P. G. Jestice.

— *Family, Friends and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2004), trans. C. Carroll.

Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses, in id. *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (1971), pp. 127-86.

Alzati, C. 'I motivi ideali della polemica antipatarinia: matrimonio, ministero e comunione ecclesiale secondo la tradizione ambrosiana nella Historia di Landolfo Senire', in C. Violante (ed.), *Nobilità e chiese nel medioevo e altri saggi. Scritti in onore di Gerd G. Tellenbach* (Rome, 1993), pp. 199-222.

Ambrosioni, A. 'Gli arcivescovi nella vita di Milano', *Milano* e *I milanesi prima del Mille*, pp. 85-118.

— 'Gli arcivescovi di Milano e la nuova coscienza cittadina', in R. Bordone and J. Jarnut (eds.) *L'evoluzione delle città italiane nell'XI secolo. Atti della settimana di studio, 8-12 settembre 1986* (Bologna, 1988).

— 'Milano e i suoi vescovi', in *Milano e il suo territorio*, vol. 1, pp. 291-326.

— *Milano, papato e impero in età medievale: raccolta di studi* (Milan, 2003).

Ambrosioni, A. and Scarioni, S. (eds.), *L'altare d'oro di Sant'Ambrogio* (Milan, 1996).

Andenna, C. *Mortariensis ecclesia. una congregazione di canonici regolari in Italia settentrionale tra XI e XII secolo* (Berlin, 2007).

Andenna, G. 'Una famiglia milanese di «cives» proprietari terrieri nella pieve di Cesano Boscone: i Cagapisto', in *Contributi dell'istituto di storia medioevale, II*, pp. 641-86.

— 'Il monachesimo cluniacense femminile nella 'Provincia Lumbardie' dei secoli XI-XIII. Origine, evoluzione dei rapporti politici con le strutture organizzative dei territori e problematiche economiche e sociali', in *Cluny in Lombardia*, pp. 331-82.

— 'Aspetti e problemi dell'organizzazione piovana milanese nella prima età comunale', in *Milano e il suo territorio*, vol. 1, pp. 341-73.

Andenna, G. and Salvarani, R. (eds.) *Deus non voluit. I lombardi alla prima crociata (1100-1101)* (Milan, 2003).

Andrews, D. 'Lo scavo di Piazza Duomo: Età medioevale a moderna', in D. Caporusso (ed.), *Scavi MM3. Ricerche di archeologia urbana a Milano durante la costruzione della linea 3 della Metropolitana, 1982-1990*, 4 vols (Milan, 1991), 1, pp. 163-210.

Arslan, E. 'L'architettura romanica milanese', *Storia di Milano*, vol. III, (Milan, 1954), pp. 395-521.

Arslan, E. A., 'Le monete', in D. Caporusso (ed.), *Scavi MM3*, 2, pp. 71-130.

— 'Cenni sulla moneta e sulla politica monetaria a Milano al tempo di Ariberto', in E. Bianchi and M. Basile Weatherill (eds.), *Ariberto da Intimiano. Fede, potere e cultura a Milano nel secolo XI* (Milan, 2007), pp. 397-415.

— 'Le monete', in A. Martinelli (ed.), *Tremona Castello: dal V millennio a.C. al XIII secolo d.C* (Florence, 2008), pp. 357-86.

Arslan, E. A. and Caporusso, D., 'I rinvenimenti archeologici degli scavi MM3 nel contesto storico di Milano', in Caporusso (ed.) *Scavi MM3*, I, pp. 351-8.

Atti del Convegno: Como e Aquileia. Per una storia della società comasca (612-1751) (Como, 15-17 ottobre 1987) (Come, 1991).

Augenti, A. 'Tutti a casa. Edilizia residenziale in Italia centrale tra IX e X secolo', in P. Galetti (ed.), *Edilizia residenziale*, pp. 127-51.

Bailey, T. 'Ambrosian Processions of the Saints', in T. Bailey and A. Santosuosso (eds.), *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 263-86.

Baldovin, J. F. *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome, 1987).

Balzaretti, R. 'The Monastery of Sant'Ambrogio and Dispute Settlement in Early Medieval Milan', *Early Medieval Europe*, 3.1 (1994), pp. 1-18.

— 'Elites and Silver in Milan and its Region in the Ninth Century', in R. Le Jan, L. Feller, et al. (eds.) *Les élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 403-37.

— 'Women, Property and Urban Space in Tenth-Century Milan', *Gender and History*, 23.3 (2011), pp. 547-75.

— *Dark Age Liguria: Regional Identity and Local Power, c.400-1020* (London, 2013).

Bankoff, G., Lübken, U. and Sand, J. (eds.) *Flammable Cities: Urban Conflagration and the Making of the Modern World* (Madison, 2012).

Barnish, S. J. B. 'Pigs, Plebeians and Potentes: Rome's Economic Hinterland c. 350-600 A.D', *Papers of the British School At Rome,* 54 (1987), pp. 157-85.

Barrow, J. S., 'Ideas and Applications of Reform', in T. F. X. Noble and J. M. H. Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 2008).

— 'Review article: Chrodegang, his rule and its successors', *Early Medieval Europe,* 14/2 (2006), pp. 201-12.

— *The Clergy In The Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families And Careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800 - c. 1200* (Cambridge, 2015).

Barstow, A. *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy: the Eleventh-Century Debates* (Lewiston, 1982).

Barthélemy, D. *L'an mil et la paix de Dieu: la France chrétienne et féodale, 980-1060* (Paris, 1999).

— *The Serf, the Knight, and the Historian* (Ithaca, 2009), trans. by G. R. Edwards of *La mutation de l'an mil a-t-elle eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des Xe et XIe siècles* (Paris, 1997).

Bartlett, R. *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford, 1986).

— *Why Can the Dead Do such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013).

Basile Weatherill, M. 'Una famiglia "longobarda" tra primo e secondo millennio: I "da Intimiano". I parenti e le proprietà di Ariberto', in E. Bianchi and M. Basile Weatherill (eds.), *Ariberto da Intimiano*, pp. 311-33.

Beard, M., North, J. and Price, S. *Religions of Rome*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1998).

Becker, A. *Papst Urban II (1088-1099)* (Stuttgart, 1964).

Bertram, J. (ed.) *The Chrodegang Rules: The Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2005).

Bianchi, E. and Basile Weatherill, M. (eds.), *Ariberto da Intimiano. fede, potere e cultura a Milano nel secolo XI* (Milan, 2007).

Biscaro, G. 'Gli avvocati dell'arcivescovo di Milano nei secoli XI e XII', *Archivio Storico Lombardo,* 33 (1906), pp. 5-29.

— 'Le origini della signoria della chiesa metropolitana di Milano sulle valli di Blenio, Leventina e Riviera nell'alto Ticino', *Bolletino storico della svissera italiana,* 32 (1910), pp. 32-71.

— 'I maggiori dei visconti, signori di Milano', *Archivio storico lombardo,* 38 (1911), pp. 5-76.

Blanchard, I. *Mining, Metallurgy and Minting in the Middle Ages*, vols. 1-2 (Stuttgart, 2001).

Bloch, Marc, *French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics,* trans. J. Sondheimer (Berkeley, 1966).

— 'The Advent and Triumph of the Watermill', in id., *Land and Work in Medieval Europe* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 136-68.

Bloch, Maurice, *From Blessing to Violence: History and Ideology in the Circumcision Ritual of the Merina of Madagascar* (Cambridge, 1986).

— 'The ritual of the Royal Bath in Madagascar: The Dissolution of Death, Birth and Fertility into Authority', in D. Cannadine and S. Price (eds.) *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 271-97.

Boesch Gajano, S. 'Storia e tradizioni vallombrosane', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e archivio muratoriano,* 76 (1964), pp. 99-215.

— 'Giovanni Gualberto e la vita comune del clero nelle biografie di Andrea da Strumi e di Atto da Vallombrosa', in *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII*, vol. 1, pp. 228-35.

Bognetti, G. P. 'Le miniere di Valtorta e i diritti degli arcivescovi di Milano (sec. XII-XIV)', *Archivio storico lombardo*, vol. 53 (1926), pp. 281-308.

— *Studi sulle origini del comune rurale* (Milan, 1978).

Bognetti, G. P., Chierici, G. and de Capitani d'Arzago, A. *Santa Maria di Castelseprio* (Milan, 1948).

Bordone, R., 'I poteri di tipo comitale dei vescovi nei secoli X-XII', in A. Spicciani (ed.) *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel Medioevo*, pp. 103-22.

— *La società urbana nell'Italia comunale: (secoli XI - XIV)* (Turin, 1984).

— *La società cittadina del regno d'Italia: formazione e sviluppo delle caratteristiche urbane nei secoli XI e XII* (Turin, 1987).

Borella, P. 'Basilica Romana nel 404 dedicata ai santi Nabore e Nazaro', in G. Giacometti (ed.) *La Basilica degli apostoli e Nazaro martire nel culto e nell'arte* (Milan, 1969), pp. 145-70.

Boucheron, P. *Le pouvoir de bâtir. Urbanisme et politiche édilitaire à Milan (XIVe-XVe siècle)* (Rome, 1998).

Boucheron, P. and Gioanni, S. (eds.), *La memoria di Ambrogio di Milano: Usi politici di una autorità patristica in Italia (secc. V-XVIII)* (Paris-Rome, 2015), pp. 253-60.

Bougard, F. *La justice dans le royaume d'Italie de la fin du VIIIe siècle au début du XIe siècle* (Rome, 1995).

— ‘Adalhard de Corbie entre Nonantola et Brescia (813): commutatio, gestion des biens monastiques et marché de la terre’, in E. Cuozzo, V. Déroche, A. Peters-Custot, and V. Prigent (eds.), *Puer Apuliae: Mélanges Offerts à Jean-Marie Martin* (Paris, 2008), pp. 51-68.

— ‘Le crédit dans l'occident du haut moyen Âge: Documentation et pratique', in R. Le Jan, L. Feller, et al. (ed.) *Les élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 439-78.

— 'Commutatio, cambium, viganeum, vicariatio: L’échange dans l’Italie des VIIIe-XIe siècles', in I. Fees and P. Depreux (eds.) *Tauschgeschäft und Tauschurkunde vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert / L'acte d’échange, du VIIIe au XIIe siècle*, pp. 65-98.

— ‘Le feu de la justice et le feu de l’épreuve, IV-XIIe siècle’, *Settimane di studio del CISAM*, 60 (2013), pp. 389-432.

Boyd, C. E. *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy: The Historical Roots of a Modern Problem* (Ithaca, 1952).

Brogiolo, G. P. *Le origini della città medievale* (Mantua, 2011).

Brown, P. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity,* 2nd Ed. (Chicago, 2014).

Brown, T. J., Meredith-Owens, G., et al., 'Manuscripts from the Dyson Perrins collection', *The British Museum Quarterly,* 23/2 (1961), pp. 27-38.

Brown, W. C., Costambeys, M., et al. (eds.) *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013).

Brown, W. C., Górecki, P. (eds.), *Conflict in Medieval Europe: Changing Perspectives on Society and Culture* (Aldershot, 2003).

Brubaker, L. ‘Topography and the Creation of Public Space in Early Medieval Constantinople’, in M. de Jong et al. (eds.) *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 31-43.

Bruce, S. G. *Silence and Sign: Language in Medieval Monasticism* (Cambridge, 2007).

Buc, P. *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001).

— ‘The monster and the critics: a ritual reply’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 15 (2007), pp. 441-52.

Bullough, D. ‘Urban Change in Early Medieval Italy: The Example of Pavia’, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 34 (1966), pp. 82-130.

Busch, J. W. ‘*Landulfi senioris Historia Mediolanensis* – Überlieferung, Datierung und Intention’, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, vol. 45 (1989), pp. 1-30.

— *Die Mailänder Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Arnulf und Galvaneus Flamma. Die Beschäftigung mit der Vergangenheit im Umfeld einer oberitalienischen Kommune vom späten 11. Bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1997).

Cagnana, A. ‘Materiali da costruzione e cicli produttivi fra IX e X secolo’, in P. Galetti (ed.) *Edilizia residenziale*, pp. 171-97.

Canetti, E. *Crowds and Power* (London, 1973).

Cannadine, D. and Price, S. (eds.) *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1987).

Capitani, O. 'Nota per il testo dello «scutum canonicorum»', in *La vita comune del clero*, vol. 2, pp. 40-7.

— 'Storiografia e riforma della Chiesa in Italia. Arnolfo e Landolfo seniore di Milano', in *Settimane di studio del CISAM*, 17 (1970), pp. 557-629.

— 'Da Landolfo seniore a Landolfo iuniore: momenti di un processo di crisi', in *Milano e il suo territorio*, vol. 2, pp. 589-622.

Caporusso, D. (ed.) *Scavi MM3. Ricerche di archeologia urbana a Milano durante la costruzione della linea 3 della Metropolitana, 1982-1990* (Milan, 1991), 4 vols.

Carazzali, L. 'Ambrogio vescovo di lodi (1027-1051?)', *Archivio storico lodigiano,* 20 (1972), pp. 47-57.

Carmassi, P. *Libri liturgici e istituzioni ecclesiastiche a Milano in età medioevale: studio sulla formazione del lezionario ambrosiano* (Münster, 2001).

Cassanelli, R. and David, M. (eds.) *Dizionario della chiesa ambrosiana* (Milan, 1987).

Castagnetti, A. *La pieve rurale nell'Italia padana: territorio, organizzazione e vicende della pieve veronese di San Pietro di "Tillida" dall'alto medioevo al secolo XIII* (Rome, 1976).

— (ed.) *La vassallità maggiore del regno italico: i* capitanei *nei secoli XI-XII. Atti del convegno, Verona, 4-6 novembre 1999* (Rome, 2001).

— 'I di Porta Romana da consorti di Velate a 'capitanei' in Milano e la questione della signoria in Velate', *Studi storici Luigi Simeoni*, Vol. LIV (2004), pp. 9-44.

— *Una famiglia di immigrati nell'alta Lombardia al servizio del regno (846-898)* (Verona, 2004).

— 'Feudalità e società comunale II. *Capitanei* a Milano e a Ravenna fra XI e XII secolo', in *La signoria rurale in Italia nel medioevo. Atti del II Convegno di studi, Pisa, 6-7 novembre 1998* (Pisa, 2006), pp. 117-216.

— 'Benefici e feudi nella documentazione milanese del secolo XI', in A. Mazzon (ed.) *Scritti per Isa. Raccolta di studi offerti a Isa Lori Sanfilippo* (Rome, 2008) pp. 187-213.

— "'Lociservatores", locopositi, gastaldi e visconti a milano in età carolingia', in O. Corrao and E. I. Mineo (eds.) *Dentro e fuori la Sicilia: studi di storia per Vincenzo D'Alessandro* (Rome, 2009), pp. 45-78.

Cattaneo, E. 'La vita comune del clero a milano (secoli IX-XIV)', *Aevum,* (1974), pp. 246-69.

— 'La 'basilica baptisterii', segno di unità ecclesiale e civile', in *Atti del convegno di Parma (1976)* (Cesena, 1979), pp. 9-32.

— 'Il battistero in Italia dopo il mille', in *Miscellanea Gilles Gérard Meersseman* (Padua, 1970), pp. 171-95.

— 'Il più antico elenco di chiese di Milano', *Notizie dal chiostro del Monastero Maggiore,* 3/4 (1969), pp. 25-33.

— 'Istituzioni ecclesiastiche milanesi', in *Storia di Milano*, vol. IV (1954), pp. 651-703.

— *Il clero e la cura pastorale nell'antico duomo S. Tecla* (Milan, 1950).

— *La chiesa di Ambrogio. Studi di storia e di liturgia* (Milan, 1974).

Cavalieri Manasse, G. (ed.) *L'area del* Capitolium *di Verona: ricerche storiche e archeologiche* (Verona, 2008).

Ceresa Mori, A., 'Dal foro romano all'ambrosiana: Dati archeologici sulle dinamiche di trasformazione di un settore urbano milanese', *Studia ambrosiana,* 4 (2010), pp. 91-113.

— '"*Palatium duabus turribus sublime*…" Il palazzo imperiale di Milano nel quadro delle indagini recenti', in *L'editto di Milano e il tempo della tolleranza: Costantino, 313 d.C.* (Milan, 2012), pp. 22-8.

Chavasse, A. *La liturgie de la ville de Rome du 5e au 8e siècle* (Rome, 1993).

Chazelle, C. and Cubitt, C. (eds.) *The Crisis of the Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean* (Turnout, 2007).

Chiappa Mauri, L. *I mulini ad acqua nel milanese, secoli X - XV* (Rome, 1984).

— *Paesaggi rurali di lombardia, secoli XII - XV* (Rome, 1990).

Claussen, M.A. *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the* Regula canonicorum *in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge, 2004).

Cluny in Lombardia. Atti del Convegno Storico Celebrativo del IX Centenario della Fondazione del Priorato Cluniacense di Pontida (22-25 aprile 1977) (Cesena, 1979).

Comba, R. and Naso, I. (eds.) *Demografia e società nell'Italia medievale* (Cuneo, 1994).

Contributi dell'Istituto di storia medioevale, I: Raccolta di studi in memoria di Giovanni Soranzo (Milan, 1968).

Contributi dell'Istituto di storia medioevale, II: Raccolta di studi in memoria di Sergio Mochi Onory (Milan, 1972)

Cooper, K. and Leyser, C. (eds.) *Making Early Medieval Societies: Conflict and Belonging in the Latin West, 300-1200* (Cambridge, 2016).

Corraratti, P. 'Problemi di accertamento dell'immigrazione urbana fra XI e XII secolo: Il caso di Milano', in R. Comba and I. Naso (eds.) *Demografia e società nell'Italia medievale*, pp. 27-46.

Corsi, M. L. 'Note sulla famiglia da Baggio (secoli IX-XIII)', in *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia medioevale,* I (Milan1968), pp. 166-204.

Cowdrey, H. E. J. 'Archbishop Aribert II of Milan', *History*, 51 (1966), pp. 1-15.

— 'The Papacy, the Patarenes and the Church of Milan', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ser. 5., vol. 18 (1968), pp. 25-48.

— 'The Succession of the Archbishops of Milan in the time of Pope Urban II', *English Historical Review*, 83 (1968), pp. 285-94.

— *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970).

— 'The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century', *Past and Present*, 46.1 (1970), pp. 42-67.

— 'Anselm of Besate and some North-Italian Scholars of the Eleventh Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 23.2 (1972), pp. 115-24.

— *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085* (Oxford, 1998).

Cracco, G. 'Pataria: *opus* e *nomen* (tra verità e autorità)', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 18 (1974), pp. 357-87.

Cramer, P. J. *Baptism and change in the early middle ages c.200-c.1150* (Cambridge, 1993).

Crosby, E. U. *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the* Mensa Episcopalis (Cambridge, 1994).

Crouzet-Pavan, E. *Le moyen âge de Venise: Des eaux salées au miracle de pierres* (Paris, 2015).

Cuozzo, E., Déroche, V., et al. *Puer apuliae: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin* (Paris, 2008).

Cuscito, G. 'Agrippino di Como: Un emissario del partito scismatico nella provincia ecclesiastica milanese', in *Atti del convegno. Como e Aquileia*, pp. 27-48.

Cushing, K. G. *Papacy and Law in the Gregorian Revolution: The Canonistic Work of Anselm of Lucca* (Oxford, 1998).

Dameron, G. W. *Episcopal Power and Florentine Society, 1000-1320* (Cambridge MA, 1991).

Dartmann, C. *Wunder als Argumente. Die Wunderberichte in der Historia Mediolanensis des sogenannten Landulf Senior und in der Vita Arialdi des Andrea von Strumi* (Frankfurt, 2000).

Davies, W. and Fouracre, P. (eds.) *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1986).

— *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1995).

— *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010).

Davis, M. *Planet of Slums* (London 2006).

D'Avray, D. 'Peter Damian, Consanguinity and Church Property', in L. Smith and B. Ward (eds.), *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson* (London,1992), pp.71-80.

De Angelis, G. *Poteri cittadini e intellettuali di potere. Scrittura, documentazione, politica a Bergamo nei secoli IX-XII* (Milan, 2009).

Degl'Innocenti, A. 'Analisi morfologica e modello agiografico nelle Vite di Arialdo e Giovanni Gualberto', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 1 (1987), pp. 101-29

DeMarrais, D., Castillo, L. J., and Earle, T. 'Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies', *Current Anthropology*, vol. 37.1 (1996), pp. 15-31.

Depreux, P. 'Le souverain, maître de l'échange?', in I. Fees, P. Depreux (eds.) *Tauschgeschäft und Tauschurkunde vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert / L'acte d'échange, du VIIIe au XIIe siècle* (ed.) (Cologne, 2013), pp. 45-64.

Dereine, C. 'Le problème de la vie commune chez les canonistes. D'Anselme de Lucques à Gratien', *Studi gregoriani per la storia di Gregorio VII e della riforma gregoriana,* 3 (1948), pp. 287-98.

— 'La vie commune, règle de saint Augustin et chanoines réguliers au XIe siècle', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* 41 (1946), pp. 365-406.

de Rossi, G. B. *Inscriptiones christianae urbis romae septimo saeculo antiquiores* (Rome, 1857).

Destefanis, E. and Guglielmotti, P. (eds.). *La diocesi di Bobbio. Formazione e sviluppi di un'istituzione millenaria* (Florence, 2015).

Dey, H. W. *The Afterlife of the Roman City: Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2014).

— 'From "Street" to "Piazza": Urban Politics, Public Ceremony, and the Redefinition of *platea* in Communal Italy and Beyond', *Speculum*, 91.4 (2016), pp. 919-44.

di Carpegna Falconieri, T. 'Il matrimonio e il concubinato presso il clero romano (secc. 8-12)', *Studi storici*, XLI (2000), pp. 943-71.

— *Il clero di Roma nel medioevo: istituzioni e politica cittadina (secoli VIII-XIII)* (Rome, 2002).

Dickinson, J. C. *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950).

Doglioni, F., Merli, C., et al. 'Prime osservazioni sul ritrovamento di parti superstiti di costruzioni a struttura lignea in edifici del centro storico di Parma', *Archeologia medievale,* 14 (1987), pp. 505-16.

Douglas, M. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966).

Duby, G. *La société au XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953).

— *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West* (London, 1968).

— *The Knight the Lady and the Priest: the Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France* (New York, 1983).

Egger, 'De antiquis regulis Canonicorum Regularium', *Ordo Canonicus*, I (1946), pp. 35-60.

Eldevik, J. *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire: Tithes, Lordship, and Community, 950-1150* (Cambridge, 2012).

Elliott, D. *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1999).

Everett, N. C. 'The earliest recension of the life of S. Sirus of Pavia (Vat. Lat. 5771)', *Studi medievali,* 43 (2002), pp. 857-958.

Faini, E. *Firenze nell'età romanica (1000-1211): L'espansione urbana, lo sviluppo istituzionale, il rapporto con il territorio* (Florence, 2010).

Fasoli, G. 'Liturgia e cerimoniale ducale', in ead. *Scritti di storia medievale* (Bologna, 1974), pp. 529-61).

Fees, I. and Depreux, P. (eds.) *Tauschgeschäft und Tauschurkunde vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert / L'acte d'échange, du VIIIe au XIIe siècle* (Cologne, 2013).

Ferrari, M. 'Valutazione paleografica del codice ambrosiano di Beroldo', in *Il Duomo cuore e simbolo di Milano* (*Archivio ambrosiano*, XXXII) (Milan, 1977), pp. 302-7.

— 'Produzione libraria e biblioteche a Milano nei secoli XI e XII', in *Milano e il suo territorio*, vol. 2, pp. 689-736.

— 'Il nome de Mansueto arcivescovo di Milano (c. 672-681)', *Aevum,* 82/2 (2008), pp. 281-91.

Fieni, L. (ed.) *La costruzione della basilica di San Lorenzo a Milano* (Milan, 2004).

Fliche, A. *La réforme grégorienne*, 3 vols. (Louvain, 1924-37).

Fonseca, C. D. *La signoria del Monastero Maggiore di Milano sul luogo di Arosio (secoli XII-XIII)* (Genoa, 1974).

— 'Riforma del clero e ordinamento cannibale tra paradigmi ideologici e realtà istituzionale: il caso di Milano', in *Milano e il suo territorio*, vol. 1, pp. 327-40.

Fossier, R. *Enfance de l'Europe: Xe-XIIe siècles: aspects économiques et sociaux,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1982).

Fouracre, P. 'Eternal light and earthly needs: practical aspects of the development of Frankish immunities', in W. Davies and P. J. Fouracre, *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 53-8.

Frigerio, P. (ed.) *Arona, porta da entrare in Lombardia: Tra medioevo ed età moderna. Atti del IX Convito dei Verbanisti, Arona 28 maggio 1995* (Verbania, 1998).

Fumagalli, V. *Terra e società nell'Italia padana: i secoli IX e X* (Turin, 1976).

— *Coloni e signori nell'Italia settentrionale, secoli VI-XI* (Bologna, 1978).

— 'I cosidetti "conti di lecco" e l'aristocrazia del regno italico tra IX e X secolo', in A. Spicciani (ed.), *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel medioevo. Marchesi conti e visconti nel regno Italico (secc. IX - XII) (ed.)* (Rome, 1996), pp. 113-24.

Galetti, P. (ed.) *Edilizia residenziale tra IX-X secolo: storia e archeologia* (Florence, 2010).

Gasparri, 'I Germani immaginari e la realtà del regno. Cinquant'anni di studi sui Longobardi', in *I Longobardi dei ducati di Spoleto e Benevento*, Atti del XVI Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo (Spoleto, 2003), pp. 3-28.

Geary, P. J. *Furta sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978).

— *Living with the Dead in the Middle Age* (Ithaca, 1994).

Gelichi, S. and Librenti, M. (eds.) 'Edilizia abitativa tra IX e X secolo nell'Italia settentrionale: stato della questione', in P. Galetti (ed.), *Edilizia residenziale*, pp. 15-30.

Gittos, H. and Hamilton, S. (eds.) *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham, 2015).

Giulini, G. *Memorie della città, e della campagna di Milano, ne' secoli bassi*, vols. 3-5 (Milan, 1760-65).

Godelier, M. *The Mental and the Material: Thought, Economy and Society* (London, 1986).

Goez, W. 'Reformpapsttum, Adel und monastische Erneuerung in der Toscana', in J. Fleckenstein (ed.) in *Investiturstreit und Reichverfassung* (Sigmaringen, 1973), pp. 205-39.

Golinelli, P. *La pataria: lotte religiose e sociali nella Milano dell'XI secolo* (Novara, 1984).

— 'I Vallombrosani e i movimenti patarinici', in G. Monzio Compagnoni (ed.) *I vallombrosani nella società italiana dei secoli XI e XII*, pp. 35-56.

Gombrowicz, W. *Pornografia*, trans. A. Hamilton (London, 1991).

Gorini, G. *La zecca di Milano. Atti del convegno internazionale di studio, Milano 9-14 maggio 1983* (Milan, 1984).

Graeber, D. *Towards an Anthropological Theory of Value: the False Coin of our Dreams* (New York, 2001).

— *Debt: The first 5,000 years* (New York, 2011).

Grantham, 'Contra Ricardo: on the macroeconomics of pre-industrial economies', *European Review of Economic History*, 3 (1999), pp. 199-232.

Grierson, P. 'Commerce in the Dark Ages: A Critique of the Evidence', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 9 (1959), pp. 123-40.

Grillo, P. 'Il richiamo della metropoli: Immigrazione e crescita demografica a Milano nel XII secolo', in R. Comba and I. Naso (eds.) *Demografia e società nell'Italia medievale*, pp. 441-57.

— *Milano in età comunale (1183-1276). Istituzioni, società, economia* (Spoleto, 2001).

— P. Grillo, 'Vie di comunicazione, traffici e mercati nella politica intercittadina milanese fra XII e XIII secolo', *Archivio storico italiano*, 159.2 (2001), 259-88.

— 'A Milano nel 1130. Una proposta di rilettura della composizione "tripartite" del collegio consolare', in *Bulletino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo*, no. 109/1 (2007), pp. 219-234.

Hamilton, S. *The Practice of Penance, 900-1050* (London, 2001).

— *Church and People in the Medieval West: 900-1200* (Harlow, 2013).

Healy, P. J. *The Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny: Reform and the Investiture Contest in the Late Eleventh Century* (Aldershot, 2006).

Head, T. And Landes, R. *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, 1992).

Heiming, O. 'Ein benediktinisch-ambrosianisches Gebetbuch des frühen 11. Jahrhunderts. Brit. Mus. Egerton 3763', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft,* 8 (1964), pp. 325-435.

— 'Die ältesten ungedruckten Kalender der mailändischen Kirche', in B. Fischer (ed.) *Colligere Fragmenta: Festschrift Alban Dold zum 70. Geburtstag am 7.7.1952* (1952), pp. 214-35.

Herlihy, D. 'Treasure Hoards in the Italian Economy, 960-1139', *The Economic History Review*, new series, 10.1 (1957), pp. 1-14.

— 'The Agrarian Revolution in Southern France and Italy, 801-1150', *Speculum,* 33.1 (1958), pp. 23-41.

— 'Land, Family and Women in Continental Europe, 701-1200', *Traditio,* vol. 18 (1962), pp. 89-120.

Hobsbawm, E. 'The Social Function of the Past: Some Questions', *Past and Present*, 55 (1972), pp. 3-17.

Horden, P. And Purcell, N. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000).

Howe, J. *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and His Patrons* (Philadelphia, 1997).

Hubert, E. 'La construction de la ville: Sur l'urbanisation dans l'Italie médiévale', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 59.1 (2004), pp. 109-39.

Hudson, P. J. 'Pavia: l'evoluzione urbanistica di una capitale altomedievale (774-1024)', in *Paesaggi urbani*, pp. 17-69.

Humphries, M. *Communities of the Blessed: Social Environment and Religious Change in Northern Italy, A.D. 200-400* (Oxford, 2006).

Iogna-Prat, D. Agni immaculati: *Recherches sur les sources hagiographiques relatives a saint Maieul de Cluny (954-994)* (Paris, 1988).

Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel medioevo: convegno di studi nel XII centenario, 784-1984, 5-6 novembre 1984 (Milan, 1988).

Jarnut, J. *Bergamo 568-1098. Verfassungs-, Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte einer lombardischen Stadt im Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden, 1979).

Jarrett, J. and McKinley, A. S. (eds.) *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters* (Turnhout, 2013).

Jones, P. *The Italian City-State: From Commune To Signoria* (Oxford, 1997).

— 'An Italian estate, 900-1200', *The Economic History Review,* 7 (1954), pp. 18-32.

Keller, H. 'Die soziale und politische Verfassung Mailands in den Anfängen des kommunalen Lebens', *Historische Zeitschrift,* 211/1 (1970), pp. 34-64.

— 'Pataria und Stadtverfassung, Stadtgemeinde und Reform. Mailand im 'Investiturstreit" in J. Fleckenstein, *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung* (Sigmaringen, 1973), pp. 321-50.

— 'Origine sociale e formazione del clero cattedrale dei secoli XI e XII nella Germanie e nell'Italia settentrionale', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'Societas Christiana' dei secoli XI-XII*. Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie, pp. 136-86.

— 'Le origini sociali et famigliari del vescovo Anselmo', in Violante (ed.), *Sant'Anselmo Vescovo di Lucca*, pp. 27-50.

— *Signori e vassalli nell'Italia delle città (secoli IX-XII)* (Turin, 1995), trans. G. G. Merlo of *Adelsherrschaft und städtische Gesellschaft in Oberitalien 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1979).

— *Il laboratorio politico del comune medievale* (Naples, 2014).

— 'Milano nel secolo XI: l'esemplarità di un caso particolare', in id. *Il laboratorio politico*, pp. 229-61.

Kempshall, M. *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400-1500* (Manchester, 2011).

Kennedy, V. L. 'For a new edition of the *Micrologus* of Bernold of Constance', in *Mélanges en l'honneur de Monseigneur Michel Andrieu* (Strasbourg, 1956), pp. 229-41.

Khatchatrian, A. *Origine et typologie des baptistères paléochrétiens* (Paris, 1982).

Kotel'nikova, L. A. *Mondo contadino e città in Italia dall'XI al XIV secolo. Dalle fonti dell'Italia centrale a settentrionale* (Bologna, 1975), trans. L. Sandri Catocci.

Koziol, G. 'The dangers of polemic: is ritual still an interesting topic of study?' *Early Medieval Europe*, 11 (2002).

H. Krüger, 'Notizie su Milano e sui milanesi nei registri notarili genovesi del XII secolo', *Bollettino della Società Pavese di Storia*, 51/2 (1952), pp. 25-42.

La Basilica degli Apostoli e Nazaro martire nel culto e nell'arte (Milan, 1969).

Langefeld, B. (ed.) *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang* (Frankfurt, 2003).

La Rocca, C. '"Dark ages" a Verona: edilizia privata, aree aperte e strutture pubbliche in una città dell'Italia settentrionale', *Archeologia medievale,* 13 (1986), pp. 31-78.

La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII. Atti della Settimana di studio, Mendola, settembre 1959, 2 vols. (Milan, 1962).

Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'Societas Christiana' dei secoli XI-XII. Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie. Atti della sesta Settimana internazionale di studio, Milano, 1-7 settembre 1974 (Milan, 1977).

Le Jan, R., Feller, L. et al. (eds.) *Les élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 2010).

Leyser, C. 'The temptations of cult: Roman martyr piety in the age of Gregory the Great', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9.3 (2000), pp. 289-307.

— 'Cities of the Plain: the Rhetoric of Sodomy in Peter's Damian's "Book of Gomorrah"', *Romanic Review*, vol. 86.2, pp. 191-211.

— 'Episcopal Office in the Italy of Liudprand of Cremona, c.890-c.970', *English Historical Review*, 125 (2010), pp. 795-817.

— 'Augustine in the Latin West, 430-ca. 900', in S. Reid, M. Vessey (eds.) *A Companion to Augustine* (Oxford,2012), pp. 450-64.

— 'Church reform - full of sound and fury, signifying nothing?', *Early Medieval Europe* (Forthcoming).

Leyser, K. J. *Communications and Power*: *The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries* (London, 1994).

— 'Ritual, Ceremony and Gesture: Ottonian Germany', in id. *Communications and Power*: *The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, pp. 189-213.

— *Communications and Power*: *The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond* (London, 1994).

Linehan, P. A. and Nelson, J. L. (eds.) *The Medieval World* (London, 2003).

Little, L. K. 'The Personal Development of Peter Damian', in W. C. Jordan, B. McNab, T. F. Ruiz (eds.) *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 317-41.

— *Religious poverty and the profit economy in medieval Europe* (London, 1978).

— *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, 1996).

López, R. S. 'An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages', *Speculum,* 28 (1953), pp. 1-43.

Lucioni, A. 'Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano nelle terre settentrionali. Due brevia de fictis dei secoli XI-XIII' *Aevum*, 59 (1985), pp. 208-31.

— 'La cella di S. Sepolcro di Ternate e il monastero di S. Ambrogio', in *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel medioevo* (Milan, 1988), pp. 395-412.

— 'Arona e gli esordi del monastero dei SS. Felino e Gratiniano (secoli X-XII)', in P. Frigerio (ed.) *Arona: tra Medioevo ed età moderna* (Verbania, 1998), pp. 19-78.

— *Anselmo IV da Bovisio arcivescovo di Milano (1097-1101): Episcopato e società urbana sul finire dell'XI secolo* (Milan, 2011).

— 'La canonica dei santi Protasio e Gervasio di Cucciago. Dalla fondazione nel secolo XI alla soppressione nel 1582', in T. M. Tagliabue (ed.) *Le pergamene della canonica dei Santi Protasio e Gervasio di Cucciago 1096-1582* (Florence, 2011), pp. 7-41.

Lusuardi Siena, S. 'Milano: La città nei suoi edifici. Alcuni problemi', in *Milano e i milanesi prima del mille*, pp. 209-40.

Lusuardi Siena, S. and Giostra, C. (eds.) *Archaeologia medievale a Trezzo sull'Adda: il sepolcreto longobardo e l'oratorio di San Martino; le chiese di S. Stefano e S. Michele in Sallianense* (Milan, 2012).

Mainoni, 'La politica dell'argento e del ferro nella Lombardia medievale', in *La sydérurgie dans les Alpes lombardes (XIIe-XVIIe siècle)* (Rome, 2001), pp. 417-53.

Malanima, P. *I piedi di legno: una macchina alle origini dell'industria medievale* (Milan, 1988).

Malinowski, B. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (London, 1922).

Manaresi, C. 'Notizie sulla famiglia dell'arcivescovo Ariberto da Intimiano', *Archivio storico lombardo*, 49 (1922).

Mariotti, V. and David, M., 'Da Kaprotabis ad Angera. L'epigrafe funeraria di un siriano ai piedi delle Alpi', *Syria,* 82/1 (2005), pp. 267-78.

Martinelli, A. (ed.) *Tremona Castello: dal V millennio a.C. al XIII secolo d.C* (Florence, 2008).

Martínez Pizarro, J. 'Crowds and Power in the *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae ravennatis*', in J. Hill and M. Swan (eds.), *The Community, the Family and the Saint. Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe. Selected proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 4-7 July 1994, 10-13 July 1995* (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 265-83.

Marx, K. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1 (London, 1976).

— *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, in id. *Later Political Writings*, ed. T. Carver (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 31-127.

Mauss, M. *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London, 199).

McCormick, M. Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900 (Cambridge, 2002).

— Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West (Cambridge, 1987).

McLaughlin, M. Sex, Gender, and Episcopal Authority in an Age of Reform (Cambridge, 2010).

McLynn, N. B. A*mbrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital* (Berkeley, 1994).

McCready, W. D. Odiosa Sanctitas: *St. Peter Damian, Simony, and Reform* (Toronto, 2012).

Meens, R. *Penance in medieval Europe: 600 - 1200* (Cambridge, 2014).

Melve, L. *Inventing the Public Sphere: The Public Debate during the Investiture Contest, c.1030-1122*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2007).

Menant, F. *Campagnes lombardes du Moyen Âge. L'économie et la société rurales dans la région de Bergame, de Crémone et de Brescia du Xe au XIIIe siècle* (Rome, 1993).

— 'Pour une histoire médiévale de l'entreprise minière en Lombardie', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales,* 42 (1987), pp. 779-96.

— *L'Italie des communes (1100-1350)* (Paris, 2005), trans. *L'Italia dei comuni (1100-1350)* (Rome, 2011).

— 'Dîme et féodalité en Lombardie, XIe-XIIIe siècles', in R. Vader (ed.), *La dîme dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne. Actes des XXXe Journées Internationales d'Histoire de l'Abbaye de Flaran, 3 et 4 octobre 2008* (Toulouse, 2010), pp. 101-26.

Miccoli, G. *Pietro Igneo: Studi sull'età gregoriana* (Rome, 1960).

— 'Per la storia della pataria milanese', in *Chiesa gregoriana*, pp. 101-68.

— *Chiesa gregoriana: Ricerche sulla Riforma del secolo XI*, 2nd Ed. (Rome, 1999 (1966)).

Milani, C. 'Osservazioni linguistiche sul 'sermo beati Thomae episcopi mediolani'', *Aevum,* 45 (1971), pp. 87-129.

Milano e il suo territorio in età comunale. Atti del 11o Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1989).

Milano e I milanesi prima del Mille. Atti del 10o Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo (Spoleto, 1986).

Miller, M.C. *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950-1150* (Ithaca, 1993).

— *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, 2000).

— *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c.800-1200* (Ithaca, 2014).

— 'The Crisis in the Investiture Crisis Narrative', *History Compass*, 7.6 (2009), pp. 1570-80.

Moeglin, J. 'Harmiscara - harmschar - hachée. le dossier des rituels d'humiliation et de soumission au moyen âge', *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi,* 54 (1996), pp. 11-65.

Mollat, M. *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, trans. A. Goldhamer (New Haven, 1986).

Monasteri in alta Italia dopo le invasioni saracene e magiare, sec. X-XII. Relazioni e comunicazioni presentate al XXXII Congresso storico subalpino (Torino, 1966).

Montanari, M., *L'alimentazione contadina nell'alto medioevo* (Napoli, 1979).

Monzio Compagnoni, G. (ed.) *I vallombrosani nella società italiana dei secoli XI e XII: II Colloquio vallombrosano, Vallombrosa, 3-4 settembre 1993* (Vallombrosa, 1995).

— 'Fondazioni vallombrosane in diocesi di Milano. Prime ricerche', in id. (ed.) *I vallombrosani nella società italiana dei secoli XI e XII*, pp. 203-38.

Moore, R. I. *The Origins of European Dissent* (London, 1977).

— 'Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 30 (1980), pp. 49-69.

— 'Duby's Eleventh Century', *History*, 69 (1984), pp. 36-49.

— *The First European Revolution, c.970-1215* (Oxford, 2000).

— 'The Weight of Opinion: Religion and the People of Europe from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century', in K. Cooper and C. Leyser (eds.), *Making Early Medieval Societies* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 202-19.

Morris, C. *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989).

Motta, G. 'Echi della polemica antisimoniaca nei secoli XI-XII: i tre codici di Sant'Appiano in Valdelsa', *Aevum*, vol. 62 (1988), pp. 198-214

Muir, E. *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981).

— 'Idee, riti, simboli del potere', in G. Cracco and G. Ortalli (eds.), *Storia di Venezia: Dalle origini alla caduta della Seranissima*, II. L'età del comune, pp. 739-69.

Murari, O., 'Note sulla monetazione milanese da Ottone I a Federico II (961-1250)', in G. Gorini (ed.), *La zecca di Milano* (Milan, 1984), pp. 263-76.

— 'Le monete di Milano dei primi decenni del secolo XI', *Rivista italiana di numismatica,* 82 (1980), pp. 149-65.

— 'La moneta milanese nel periodo della dominazione tedesca e del commune (961-1250)', in *Memorie dell'Accademia Italiana di Studi Filatelici* e *Numismatici* (1981).

Murray, A. C. *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1978).

Naismith, R. 'The Social Significance of Monetization in the Early Middle Ages', *Past and Present*, no. 233 (2014), pp. 3-39.

Neri, E., Lusuardi Siena, S. and Greppi, P. 'Il problema della cronologia del cantiere di San Lorenzo a Milano. Vecchi e nuovi dati a confronto', in R. Passarella (ed.) *Il culto di San Lorenzo tra Roma* e *Milano: dalle origini al Medioevo* (Rome, 2014).

North, W. L. 'The Fragmentation and Redemption of a Medieval Cathedral: Property, Conflict, and Public Piety in Eleventh-Century Arezzo', in W. C. Brown, P. Górecki (eds.), *Conflict in Medieval Europe* (2003), pp. 109-30.

— 'Bonsai of the Consanguinities: Cultivation and Control of Incest Regulation in the Works of Bonizo of Sutri', *Early Medieval Europe*, 23.4 (2015), pp. 478-99.

Occhipinti, E. 'L'economia agraria in territorio milanese fra continuità e spinte innovative', in *Milano* e *il suo territorio in età comunale* (Spoleto, 1989), pp. 245-64.

— 'I visconti di Milano nel secolo XII', in A. Spicciani, (ed.), *Formazione* e *strutture dei ceti dominanti nel medioevo*, pp. 123-36.

Padoa Schioppa, A. 'Aspetti della giustizia milanese dal X al XII secolo', in *Milano* e *il suo territorio*, vol., pp. 459-549.

Paesaggi urbani dell'Italia padana nei secoli VII-XIV (Bologna, 1988).

Pásztor, E. 'La «vita» anonima di Anselmo di Lucca. Una rilettura', in Violante (ed.), *Sant'Anselmo vescovo di Lucca*, pp. 206-22.

Pauler, R. *Das Regnum Italiae in ottonischer Zeit. Markgrafen, Grafen und Bischöfe als politische Kräfte* (Tübingen, 1982).

Pellegrini, C. 'Fonti e memorie storiche di S. Arialdo', *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, ser. 3, 14 (1900), pp. 209-36, 16 (1901), pp. 5-24, 17 (1902), pp. 60-98.

Phelan, O. M. *The Formation Of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, And The Imperium Christianum* (Oxford, 2014).

Piazza, A. *Monastero* e *vescovado di Bobbio (dalla fine del X agli inizi del XIII secolo)* (Spoleto, 1997).

Picard, J.-C. *Le souvenir des évêques: Sépultures, listes épiscopales et cultes des évêques en Italie du nord des origines au X*e *siècle* (Rome, 1988).

Pini, A. 'Due colture specialistiche del Medioevo: la vite e l'olio nell'Italia padana', in V. Fumagalli, (ed.), *Medioevo rurale. Sulle tracce della civilità contadina* (Bologna, 1980), pp. 119-38.

Pivano, S. *Chiesa* e *stato* (Turin, 1908).

Polonio, V. '*'Bobiensis ecclesia':* Un vescovado peculiare tra XI e XII secolo', in E. Destefanis and P. Guglielmotti (eds.) *La diocesi di Bobbio*, pp. 179-224.

— *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche della Liguria* (Rome, 2002).

Racine, P. *Plaisance du Xème a la fin du XIIIème siècle: essai d'histoire urbaine* (Paris, 1980).

— 'Milan à la fin du XIIIe siècle: 60,000 ou 200,000 habitants?', *Aevum,* 58 (1984), pp. 246-63.

Radding, C. M. *The Origins of Medieval Jurisprudence* (New Haven, 1988).

Rapetti, A. M. *Campagne milanesi. aspetti e metamorfosi di un paesaggio rurale tra X e XII secolo* (Cavallermaggiore, 1994).

Reuter, T. 'Assembly politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth', in P. A. Linehan, J. L. Nelson (eds.). *The Medieval World*, pp. 432-50.

Reynolds, R. 'Liturgical Scholarship at the Time of the Investiture Controversy: Past Research and Future Opportunities', *Harvard Theological Review,* 71 (1978), pp. 109-24.

— 'Clerics in the early middle ages: Hierarchies and functions', in *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages*, pt. 1, pp. 1-31.

— *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and image* (Aldershot, 1999).

Reynolds, S. *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994).

Riboldi, E. 'I contadi rurali del milanese', *Archivio storico lombardo,* ser. 4, vol. 1 (1904), pp. 15-74, and 204-302.

Rippe, G. *Padoue et son contado (Xe-XIIIe siècle)* (Rome, 2003).

Robinson, I. S. *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century* (Manchester, 1978).

— *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106* (Cambridge, 1999).

Romano, D. *Markets and Marketplaces in Medieval Italy, c. 1100 to c. 1440* (New Haven, 2015).

Rosenwein, B. *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca, 1989).

Rossetti, G. *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo. Cologno Monzese 1. secoli VIII-X* (Milan1968).

— 'Motivi economico-sociali e religiosi in atti di cessione di beni a chiese del territorio milanese nei secoli XI e XII', in *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia medioevale*, vol. 1 (Milan, 1968), pp. 349-410, reprinted in ead. *Percorsi di Chiesa*, pp. 151-214.

— 'Contributo allo studio dell'origine e della diffusione del culto dei santi in territorio milanese. San Giuliano martire', in *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia medioevale*, vol. 2 (1972), pp. 573-607, reprinted in ead. *Percorsi di Chiesa*, pp. 55-88.

— 'Il matrimonio del clero nella società altomedievale', *Settimane di studio del CISAM*, 24 (1977), pp. 473-567, reprinted in ead. *Percorsi di Chiesa*, 303-74

— 'Origine sociale e formazione dei vescovi del "regnum italiae" nei secoli XI e XII', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della "Societas Christiana" dei secoli XI-XII. Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie*, pp. 57-84.

— 'I ceti proprietari e professionali: status sociale, funzioni e prestigio a Milano nei secoli VIII-X', in *Milano e i milanesi*, pp. 165-207.

— 'Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio nei primi due secoli di vita: I fondamenti patrimoniali e politici della sua fortuna', in *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel medioevo. Convegno di studi nel XII centenario, 784-1984* (Milan, 1988), I, pp. 20-34.

— 'Il lodo del vescovo Daiberto sull'altezza delle torri: prima carta costituzionale della repubblica pisana', in *Pisa e la Toscana occidentale nel medioevo. A Cinzio Violante nei suoi 70 anni*, 2 vols. (Pisa, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 25-47, reprinted in ead. *Percorsi di Chiesa,* pp. 271-86.

— *Percorsi di Chiesa nella società medioevale* (Pisa, 2011).

Rossi, M. 'Il rinnovamento architettonico della basilica di San Vincenzo e il battistero di San Giovanni Battista a Galliano', in E. Bianchi and M. Basile Weatherill (eds.), *Ariberto da Intimiano*, pp. 87-99.

Rossini, R. 'Note alla "Historia Mediolanensis" di Landolfo Iuniore', in *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia Medioevale*, vol. 1, (1968), pp. 411-80.

Rovelli, A. 'Monetary Circulation in Byzantine and Carolingian Rome: A Reconsideration in the Light of Recent Archaeological Data', in J. M. H. Smith (ed.) *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 85-99, reprinted in ead. *Coinage and Coin Use*, pt. V, pp. 1-15.

— 'Coins and Trade in Early Medieval Italy', *Early Medieval Europe*, vol. 17.1 (2009), pp. 45-76.

— 'The Denaro of Pavia in the Early Middle Ages (Eighth to Eleventh Century)', in ead. *Coinage and Coin Use*, pt. VIII, pp. 1-23.

— *Coinage and Coin Use in Medieval Italy* (Farnham, 2012).

Rudé, G. F. E., *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730-1848* (London, 1981).

Salvadori, F. 'Gli animal nell'economia e nell'alimentazione in Italia', in *Italia, 888-962: A Turning Point / 888-962: una svolta* (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 301-40.

Salvarani, R. 'San Sepolcro a Milano nella storia delle crociate', in *Deus non voluit. I Lombardi alla prima crociata (1100-1101)* (Milan, 2003), pp. 263-82.

Salvatori, E. 'I presunti «capitanei *delle porte*» di Milano e la vocazione cittadina di un ceto', in A. Castagnetti (ed.), *La vassallità maggiore del Regno Italico*, pp. 35-94.

Salvestrini, F. *Santa Maria di Vallombrosa: Patrimonio e vita economica di un grande monastero medievale* (Florence, 1998).

Sannazaro, M. 'Il complesso religioso di Galliani prima di Ariberto', in E. Bianchi and M. Basile Weatherill (eds.), *Ariberto da Intimiano*, pp. 71-85.

Santangeli Valenzani, R. *Edilizia residenziale in Italia nell'altomedioevo* (Rome, 2011).

Savio, C. F. 'La leggenda dei santi Nazario e Celso' (Milan, 1897).

— *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia dalle origini al 1300 descritti per regioni. Il Piemonte* (Turin, 1899).

— *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia dalle origini al 1300 descritti per regioni. Milano* (Florence, 1913).

— *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia dalle origini al 1300 descritti per regioni. La Lombardia*, 2 vols. (Bergamo, 1929-32).

Schianchi, F. *L'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore* (Milan, 1974).

Schiavi, L.C. *Il Santo Sepolcro di Milano: Da Ariberto a Federico Borromeo: Genesi ed evoluzione di una chiesa ideale* (Pisa, 2005).

Schieffer, R. *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln in Deutschland* (Bonn, 1976).

Schumann, R. *Authority and the commune, Parma 833-1133* (Parma, 1973).

Schwartz, G. *Die Besetzung der Bistümer Reichsitaliens unter den sächsischen und salischen Kaisern, mit den Listen der Bischöfe, 951-1122.* (Leipzig, 1913).

Segagni Malacart, 'La scultura figurative milanese dal 1100 al 1170 circa', in *Milano* e *il suo territorio*, vol. 2 pp. 783-94.

Sena Chiesa, G., *Il tesoro di San Nazaro: antichi argenti liturgici della basilica di San Nazaro al Museo diocesano di Milano* (Milan 2009).

Sena Chiesa, G. and Lavizzari Pedrazzini, M. P. (eds.) *Angera romana. scavi nell'abitato, 1980-1986* (Milan, 1995).

Sennis, A. 'Destroying Documents in the Early Middle Ages', in Jarrett and McKinley (eds.), *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters*, pp. 151-69.

Settia, A. A., *Castelli* e *villaggi nell'Italia padana. Popolamento, potere* e *sicurezza fra IX* e *XIII secolo* (Naples, 1984).

— 'Lo sviluppo di un modello: origine e funzione delle torri private urbane nell'Italia centrosettentrionale', in *Paesaggi urbani*, pp. 155-71.

Severino, G. 'La *vita metrica* di Anselmo di Lucca scritta da Rangerio', in Violante (ed.), *Sant'Anselmo vescovo di Lucca*, pp. 223-71.

Shagan, E. H. *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003).

Somerville, R. with Kuttner, S. *Pope Urban II, the* Collectio Britannica*, and the Council of Melfi (1089)* (Oxford, 1996).

Somerville, R. *Pope Urban II's Council of Piacenza* (Oxford, 2011).

Spicciani, A. (ed.) *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel Medioevo: marchesi, conti* e *visconti nel regno italico (secc. IX-XII): atti del terzo Convegno di Pisa: 18-20 marzo 1999* (Rome, 2003).

Spinelli, M. 'Uso dello spazio e vita urbana a Milano tra XII e XIII secolo: l'esempio delle botteghe di piazza del Duomo', in *Paesaggi urbani*, pp. 251-73.

Spinks, B. *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism: From the New Testament to the Council of Trent* (Aldershot, 2006).

Sot, M. *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum* (Turnhout, 1981).

Squatriti, P. *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy, A.D. 400-1000* (Cambridge, 1998).

— *Landscape and Change in Early Medieval Italy: Chestnuts, Economy, And Culture* (Cambridge, 2013).

Stock, B. *The Implications of literacy: Written language and models of interpretation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Princeton, 1983).

Storia di Milano, vols. 2-4 (Milan, 1954).

Stroll, M. *Popes and Antipopes* (Leiden, 2012).

Tabacco, G. 'Gli orientamenti feudali dell'impero in Italia', in K. Eubel (ed.) *Structures féodales et féodalisme* (Paris, 1980), pp. 219-40.

— 'Le istituzioni di orientamento comunale nell'XI secolo', in *Milano e il suo territorio*, pp. 55-81.

— *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy: Structures of Political Rule* (Cambridge, 1989).

Taviani, H. 'Naissance d'une hérésie en Italie du Nord au XIe siècle', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 29.5 (1974), pp. 1224-52.

Tellenbach, G. *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1993).

Tessera, M. R. 'La memoria di Ambrogio a Milano nei secoli X-XI', in P. Boucheron and S. Gioanni, *La memoria di Ambrogio*, pp. 421-40.

— '"Christian signifer milicie": chiesa, guerra e simbologia imperiale ai tempi di Ariberto', in E. Bianchi and M. Basile Weatherill (eds.), *Ariberto da Intimiano*, pp. 375-95.

Thacker, A. *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002).

Tomea, P. 'L'agiografia milanese nei secoli XI e XII linee di tendenza e problemi', in *Milano e il suo territorio in età comunale* (Milan, 1989), vol. 2, pp. 623-88.

— *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo: La leggenda di San Barnaba* (Milan, 1993).

— 'L'agiografia dell'Italia settentrionale (950-1130)', in G. Philippart (ed.), *Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, vol. III (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 99-178.

Toubert, P. *Les structures du Latium médiéval. Le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IXe siècle à la fin du XIIe siècle,* 2 vols. (Rome, 1973).

— *L'Europe dans sa première croissance: de Charlemagne à l'an mil* (Paris, 2004).

Travaini, L. 'La moneta milanese tra X e XII secolo. Zecche e monete in Lombardia da Ottone I alla riforma monetaria di Federico Barbarossa', in *Milano e il suo territorio*, vol. I, pp. 223-44.

Troelsgaard, 'Stational liturgy and processional antiphons in the Ambrosian rite', in E. L. Lillie and N. H. Petersen (eds.), *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages. Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan* (Copenhagen, 1996).

Turner, D. H. 'The prayer-book of archbishop Arnulph II of Milan', *Revue bénédictine*, vol. 70 (1960), pp. 360-92.

Tyler, J. E., *The Alpine Passes. The Middle Ages (962-1250)* (Oxford, 1930).

Varanini, G. M. 'L'area del *Capitolium* di Verona nel medioevo e in età moderna', in Cavalieri Manaesse, *L'area del* Capitolium *di Verona*, pp. 15-47

Vergani, G.A., 'Da Galliano alla Martesana: aspetti costruttivi e decorativi della pieve di Santo Stefano a Vimercate nel medioevo', *Arte lombarda,* 156 (2009), pp. 86-96.

Violante, C., *La società milanese nell età precomunale* (Bari, 1953).

— *La Pataria milanese e la riforma ecclesiastica. 1. Le premese, 1045-1057* (Rome, 1955).

— 'Les prêts sur gage foncier dans la vie économique et social de Milan au XI siècle', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale,* 5 (1962), pp. 147-168, 437-459.

— 'Per lo studio dei prestiti dissimulati in territorio milanese (secoli X-XI)', in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani* (1962), pp. 643-735.

— 'L'arcivescovo Ariberto II (1018-1045) e il monastero di S. Ambrogio di Milano', in *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia medioevale*, vol. 2, pp. 608-23.

— 'Le origini del monastero di S. Dionigi di Milano', in *Studi storici in onore di Ottorino Bertolini* (Pisa, 1972), pp. 735-809.

— *Studi sulla cristianità medioevale. Società, istituzioni, spiritualità* (Milan, 1975).

— 'I laici nel movimento patarino', in id., *Studi sulla cristianità medioevale*, pp. 145-246.

— 'I vescovi dell'Italia centro-settentrionale e lo sviluppo dell'economica monetaria', pp. 325-47.

— 'Pievi e parrocchie nell'Italia centro-settentrionale durante I secoli XI e XII', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della "societas christiana" dei secoli XI-XII. Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie*, pp. 643-799.

— 'Quelques caractéristiques des structures familiales en Lombardie, Émilie et Toscane aux XIe et XIIe siècles', in *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval* (Rome, 1977), pp. 87-147.

— 'Per una riconsiderazione della presenza cluniacense in Lombardia', in *Cluny in Lombardia*, pp. 521-664.

— (ed.) *Sant'Anselmo vescovo di Lucca (1073 - 1086) nel quadro delle trasformazioni sociali e della riforma ecclesiastica. Atti del convegno internazionale di studio, Lucca 25 - 28 settembre 1986* (Rome 1992).

— (ed.) *Nobiltà e chiese nel medioevo e altri saggi. Scritti in onore di Gerd G. Tellenbach* (Rome, 1993).

— 'L'immaginario e il reale. I 'da Besate' una stirpe feudale e 'vescovile' nella genealogia di Anselmo il Peripatetico e nei documenti', in id. (ed.), *Nobiltà e chiese nel medioevo*, pp. 97-157.

G. Vocino, 'Framing Ambrose in the resources of the past: the late antique and early medieval sources for a Carolingian portrait of Ambrose', in C. Ganter, R. McKitterick, S. Meeder (eds.), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 135-154.

— 'Under the Aegis of the Saints: Hagiography and Power in Early Carolingian Northern Italy', *Early Medieval Europe*, 22 (2014), pp. 26-52.

Ward-Perkins, B. *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Buildings in Northern and Central Italy, AD 300-850* (Oxford, 1984).

— 'Continuitists, Catastrophists, and the Towns of Early Medieval Northern Italy', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 65 (1997), pp. 157-76.

'The Lombard City and Urban Economy', in G. Ausenda, P. Delogu, and C. Wickham (eds.), *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest: An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 2008) pp. 95-106.

Weitzmann, *The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio* (Princeton, 1951).

Werminghoff, A. 'Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Concils im Jahre 816', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde,* 27 (1902), pp. 605-75.

Werner, E. *Pauperes Christi: Studien zu sozial-religiösen Bewegungen im Zeitalter des Reformpapsttum* (Leipzig, 1956).

West, C. 'The significance of the Carolingian advocate', *Early Medieval Europe,* 17 (2009), pp. 186-206.

— *Reframing the Feudal Revolution: Political and Social Transformation between Marne and Moselle, c.800-1100* (Cambridge, 2013).

Wickham, C. J. *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400-1000* (London, 1981).

— *The Mountains and the City: The Tuscan Apennines in the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988).

— *Land and Power. Studies In Italian And European Social History, 400-1200* (London, 1994).

— 'Lawyers' Time: History and Memory in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Italy', in id. *Land and Power,* pp. 275-94.

— 'European forests in the early middle ages: Landscape and land clearance', in id. *Land and Power*, pp. 155-200.

— 'Justice in the Kingdom of Italy in the Eleventh Century', *Settimane di studio del CISAM*, 44, pp. 179-255.

— *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400 - 800* (Oxford, 2005).

— 'The 'Feudal Revolution' and the Origins of Italian City Communes', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 24 (2014), pp. 29-55.

— *Medieval Rome: Stability And Crisis of A City, 900-1150* (Oxford, 2015).

— *Sleepwalking Into A New World: The Emergence Of Italian City Communes In The Twelfth Century* (Princeton, 2015).

— 'Gli artigiani nei documenti italiani dei secoli XI e XII: alcuni casi di studio', in A. Molinari, R. Santangeli Valenzani and L. Spera (eds.), *L'archeologia della produzione a Roma (secoli V-XV). Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Roma, 27-29 marzo 2014* (Rome, 2016), pp. 429-38.

Widloecher, N., 'Un prezioso codice per la storia dei canonici regolari e la sconosciuta regola SS. patrum', *Bollettino della società pavese di storia patria,* 1 (1936), pp. 81-111.

Wood, S. *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006).

Zaccaria, F. A. *De' Santi Fedele, Carpoforo, Gratiniano e Felino* (Milan, 1750).

Zanetti, U. 'Les passions des SS. Nazaire, Gervais, Protais et Celse', *Analecta bollandiana,* 97 (1979), pp. 69-88.

— 'Les Passions grecques de s. Nazaire', *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 105 (1987), pp. 303-84.

Zerbi, P. '«Cum mutato habitu in coenobio sanctissime vixisset…» Anselmo III o Arnolfo III?', *Archivio storico lombardo,* 90 (1963), pp. 509-24.

— 'I monasteri cittadini di Lombardia', in *Monasteri in alta Italia dopo le invasioni saracene e magiare sec. X-XII. Relazioni e comunicazioni presentate al XXXII Congresso storico subalpino* (1966), pp. 283-314.

— *Tra Milano e Cluny: Momenti di vita e cultura ecclesiastica nel secolo XII* (Rome, 1991).

— 'Un documento inedito riguardante l'abbazia di S. Barnaba in Gratosoglio: Note sugli inizi della vita vallombrosana a Milano', in id. *Tra Milano e Cluny*, pp. 111-23

— 'La chiesa ambrosiana di fronte alla chiesa romana dal 1120-1135', in id. *Tra Milano e Cluny*, pp. 125-230.

— '"Ad solita castela archiepiscopatus exhibit" (Landulfi de S. Paulo Historia Mediolanensis, cap. 59). Intorno a un diploma inedita di Robaldo', in id. *Tra Milano e Cluny*, pp. 257-83.

Zey, C. 'Una nuova edizione del "Liber gestorum recentium" di Arnolfo di Milano: un progresso?', in P. Chiesa, *Le cronache medievali di Milano* (Milan, 2001), pp. 11-27.

Unpublished Theses

Balzaretti, R. 'The Lands of Saint Ambrose: The Acquisition, Organisation and Exploitation of Landed Property in North-Western Lombardy by the Monastery of Sant'Ambrogio Milan, c.780-1000', University College London (1990).

Day, 'The Early Development of the Florentine Economy, c.1100-1275', London School of Economics (2000).

Pilsworth, C. L. 'Representations of sanctity in Milan and Ravenna, c.400-c.900', University of Cambridge (1999).